

**Private Tutions in West Bengal: A Study of Market
Dynamics and Parental Choice**

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2021**



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Date 27.12.21

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "Private Tutions in West Bengal: A Study of Market Dynamics and Parental Choice" submitted by me for the award of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I am beginning to reflect on my experiences of the self-reflexive journey i.e., PhD, I can hardly find the right words to express the bundle of emotions that surround me. During the course of the work, I have come across a bunch of wonderful people who made the journey worthwhile.

On a formal note, I thank my supervisor Professor Saumen Chattopadhyay for his continued guidance and for always motivating me to explore the study beyond my disciplinary boundary. I have benefitted immensely from the M.Phil. course at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences which broadened my intellectual horizon. Prof. Manabi Majumdar has been a source of inspiration throughout the journey. Her work on shadow education and our meetings at the Centre during the course of my PhD fieldwork helped me in sharpening my arguments. I am thankful to Dr. Priya Sangameswaran of CSSSC for helping me out with the methodology of the study and for always responding to my emails promptly whenever I needed help.

At various phases of my research, I received unwavering support from my friends and family both emotionally and academically. This academic journey has been a witness to many hiccups and has passed through the most turbulent times that is unimaginable. The thesis is finally seeing the light of the day due to their persistent encouragement. JNU has endowed me with some fascinating friends without whom the journey would have remained incomplete. Sinjini has been a constant companion in this process. She has introduced me with the world of Sociology and I owe a lot to her for her insights during the phase of my fieldwork. I remember the evening strolls in the campus of North Bengal University, where Prof. Sanjay Roy would engage in academic discussions on social issues. His valuable insights helped me in framing my research questions. I am very grateful to Biswajit Dhar of CSRD for sharing the NSSO data with me and for helping me with the extraction of the data. I thank my friends Raina, Aheli, Ritu and Kasturi for always believing in me since the beginning of the PhD course and accompanying me during the sleepless nights of deadlines and term paper submission. My friends from CITD- Gaurav, Azhar, Saheli and Piyali have made my stay in JNU

more meaningful with their company. They have kept me informed about the developments of the ‘other side’ of Economics as I kept pushing its boundary.

I would like to thank my respondents for sharing their experiences and stories with me. I have received help from unexpected quarters and made many acquaintances from various walks of life during the process of data collection. I would like to express my love and gratitude to my colleagues- Ankita di and Sudipta, who later became an extended family to me. It is worth mentioning how Ankita di mentored me in the last phase of writing my thesis by setting deadlines to finish the chapters. Her invaluable suggestions clarified many doubts during this phase. I would like to thank my friends Paramita, Tanusree and Bhaswati for always being there with me through thick and thin. I would like to thank my friends at ZHCES- Simrat and Shalini for their support. My colleagues- Priyanka di, Krishna di, Debolina and Bidisha deserve a mention for being very supportive at my workplace.

Last but not the least, my family- my parents and siblings have been the strongest pillar when I embarked on this journey. My sister took great care of my parents as I spent years doing my PhD. I have no words to express my gratitude to my unofficial guide, Priyanta, who relentlessly worked with me on my thesis. He understood my journey like no one else and motivated me towards the completion of my thesis. His insights, attitude towards life, dedication towards his work influenced me throughout and will continue to do so. I owe my interest in Econometrics to him.

Finally, as self-obsessed as it might appear, I would like to indulge in self-praise for having completed the thesis. The thesis is very close to my heart as I have gone through the struggle as a private tutor myself since my college days. My own experiences as a tutor at one point of time, helped me in becoming an ‘insider’. For me, the thesis has indeed been a philosophical endeavour and is a lifetime experience that I will cherish forever.

Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	4
1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	7
1.4 UNDERSTANDING RESEARCH PROBLEM IN THE CONTEXT OF WEST BENGAL	10
1.5 CONTEXTUALISING THE PROBLEM IN THE URBAN SITE OF KOLKATA	12
1.6 CHAPTER SCHEME	13
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE	18
2.1 BACKGROUND	18
2.2 SITUATING PRIVATE TUITION MARKET WITHIN THE PERSPECTIVE OF ‘SHADOW’ EDUCATION	19
2.3 UNDERSTANDING THE DEMAND SIDE OF THE MARKET	26
2.3.1 <i>Who chooses to opt for private tuition and why?</i>	26
2.3.2 <i>Determinants of demand for tutoring</i>	29
2.4 WHO ARE THE PLAYERS IN THE MARKET AND HOW DO THEY STRATEGIZE?	32
2.5 SOME METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL CONCERNS	37
2.6 THE INDIAN CONTEXT	40
2.7 GAPS IN THE LITERATURE	42
2.8 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	44
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	46
3.1. INTRODUCTION	46
3.2. MARKET: ECONOMICS PERSPECTIVE	47
3.3 ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY AND THE MARKET	53
3.3.1 <i>Market as networks</i>	53
3.3.2 <i>Market from a cultural perspective</i>	55
3.3.3 <i>The problem of coordination within the Market: Combining Embeddedness and Cultural Perspective</i>	59
3.4 MARKET FOR SHADOW EDUCATION-AN ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY PERSPECTIVE	62
3.5 EXPLORING CHOICE WITHIN THE MARKET	69

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	74
4.1 INTRODUCTION	74
4.2 CRITICAL REALISM AS THE PHILOSOPHICAL STANCE	75
4.2.1 <i>Ontological Assumptions</i>	76
4.2.2 <i>Epistemological Assumptions</i>	79
4.2.3 <i>Methodological Issues</i>	80
4.3 DESCRIPTION OF SECONDARY DATA AND ESTIMATION STRATEGY	82
4.3.1 <i>Secondary data sources</i>	82
4.3.2 <i>Econometric Techniques</i>	86
4.4 LIMITATIONS OF SECONDARY DATA AND ECONOMETRICS AS A METHOD	88
4.5 GAINING ENTRY INTO THE FIELD	94
4.5.1 <i>Choosing multiple sites in the urban</i>	95
4.5.2 <i>Phases of Research</i>	98
4.5.3 <i>Description of the field sites</i>	103
4.5.4 <i>Mapping the chosen wards- Population and Sample</i>	105
4.6 METHODS	110
4.6.1 <i>Semi-structured interviews</i>	110
4.6.2 <i>Document Analysis</i>	112
4.6.3 <i>Case study</i>	114
4.6.4 <i>Field observations</i>	115
4.6.5 <i>Participant Observation</i>	117
4.7 DATA ANALYSIS	118
4.8 BUILDING TRUST AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF FINDINGS	120
4.9 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS	123
4.10 CONCLUSION	126
CHAPTER 5: EXPLORING THE DETERMINANTS OF DEMAND FOR PRIVATE TUITION IN WEST BENGAL	127
5.1 INTRODUCTION	127
5.2 INCIDENCE OF PRIVATE TUITION IN WEST BENGAL- A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS	130
5.2.1 <i>Participation across class, caste, gender and region</i>	130
5.2.2 <i>The question of access and choice</i>	136
5.3 DETERMINANTS OF PRIVATE TUITION	139
5.3.1 <i>Data</i>	140

5.3.2 <i>Empirical Strategy</i>	142
5.3.3 <i>Empirical Results and Discussions</i>	145
5.3.4 <i>Robustness Check</i>	159
5.4 CONCLUSION	161
CHAPTER 6: INTRA-HOUSEHOLD GENDER DISPARITY IN PRIVATE TUITION: THE CURIOUS CASE OF WEST BENGAL	172
6.1 INTRODUCTION	172
6.2 DATA AND METHODOLOGY	174
6.2.1 <i>Engel Framework</i>	175
6.2.2 <i>Hurdle Model</i>	178
6.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS	179
6.3.1 <i>Analysis of household level data</i>	180
6.3.2 <i>Analysis of individual data</i>	188
6.3.3 <i>Is there discrimination against girls in choice of school?</i>	196
6.3.4 <i>Robustness Check</i>	196
6.4 CONCLUSION	197
CHAPTER 7: UNRAVELLING THE COMPLEXITIES OF CHOICE IN THE TUITION MARKET: QUALITATIVE INSIGHTS	202
7.1 INTRODUCTION	202
7.2 SCHOOLING IN KOLKATA	204
7.3 SCHOOLS, FAMILIES AND PRIVATE TUITION	207
7.3.1 <i>Private Tuition: A product of School</i>	208
7.3.2 <i>Emergence of various tutoring activities: Role of the family</i>	219
7.4 STAGES OF CHOICE MAKING: UNEQUAL CHOICE ACROSS FAMILIES	232
7.4.1 <i>The predisposition phase</i>	233
7.4.2 <i>The Search Phase: ‘Overt’ Choice through ‘covert’ means</i>	237
7.4.3 <i>Choice: Hierarchy, differentiation and Outcome</i>	244
7.5 CHOICE WITHIN THE FAMILIES: FAMILY STRATEGIES AND EDUCATION OF GIRLS	246
7.6 CONCLUSION	252

CHAPTER 8: MARKET DYNAMICS: SITUATING THE PROVIDERS IN THE PRIVATE TUITION MARKET	258
8.1 INTRODUCTION	258
8.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF TUTORS IN WEST BENGAL	259
8.3 VARIETIES OF MOTIVATION AND IDENTITIES	266
8.4 UNDERSTANDING COMPETITION AND COLLABORATION OF TUTORS	272
8.5 SHADOW OF THE SHADOW: ROLE OF INTERMEDIARIES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MARKET	276
8.5.1 <i>Teacher Bureaus in Kolkata: Origin and Motivations</i>	279
8.5.2 <i>Varieties of mediation: From ‘establishing rules’ to ‘consultation’ to ‘maintaining hierarchy’</i>	289
8.5.3 <i>Future Prospects and Challenges of the market</i>	297
8.6 PRIVATE TUITION MARKET AS SOCIAL MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF WEST BENGAL PRIVATE TUTORS’ WELFARE ASSOCIATION	302
8.6.1 <i>The Origin of the movement</i>	304
8.6.2 <i>Goals and Mobilization strategies and Negotiation with the State</i>	306
8.7 IDENTIFYING VARIOUS ACTORS WITHIN THE SHADOW EDUCATION MARKET	311
8.8 CONCLUSION	313
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION	326
9.1 CONTEXT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	329
9.2 DYNAMISM AND THE MARKET FOR PRIVATE TUITION- THEORETICAL LENS	331
9.3 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES	334
9.4 CHOICE IN A HIERARCHICAL MARKET- QUANTITATIVE OUTCOMES AND QUALITATIVE INSIGHTS	336
9.5 INTRA-HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING: THE ROLE OF GENDER OF THE CHILD	339
9.6 MARKET AND ITS NETWORKS AND CONTRADICTIONS	340
9.7 CONTRIBUTIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS	341
REFERENCES	344

List of Tables

Table 2.1:	Categorising the previous studies by level of analysis	37
Table 2.2:	Method and Approaches used in previous studies	39
Table 4.1:	Profile of the Parents	108
Table 4.2:	Profile of the Students	109
Table 4.3:	Profile of the Tutors/ Providers in the Market	110
Table 4.4:	Mapping Research Questions with data and analysis	119
Table 4.5:	Social Class Characteristics	125
Table 5.1:	Percentage of school students (up to higher secondary level) attending private tuition	130
Table 5.2:	Participation in private tuition across various categories in Rural and Urban from 1986-87 to 2014-15	131
Table 5.3:	Per child median expenditure on school and private tuition in current academic year by Quintile, 2014	140
Table 5.4:	Comparison between students who attend private tuition and who do not	139
Table 5.5:	Hurdle model of demand for private tuition up to higher secondary level	154
Table 5.6:	Hurdle model of demand for private tuition at elementary and post elementary stages	160
Table 6.1:	Summary Statistics for Share of tuition expenditure and Other Independent Variables	176
Table 6.2:	Engel Curve estimates	182
Table 6.3:	Hurdle Model with Household data	185
Table 6.4:	Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 6-10 (Individual data)	189
Table 6.5:	Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 11-14 (Individual data)	191
Table 6.6:	Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 15-20 (Individual data)	193
Table 6.7:	Estimation for choice of school for the age group 6-20 and 15-20	195
Table 7.1:	Linking schools, families and forms of shadow	231
Table 7.2:	Hierarchical choice of subjects in the market (board wise)	245
Table 8.1:	Household Characteristics and Personal Characteristics of Tutors	260
Table 8.2:	Characteristics of Teachers Bureaus (based on interviews and Website)	286

List of Figures

Figure 4.1:	A map of the Field Sites	105
Figure 5.1:	Percentage of students attending tuition by different Social Groups in Rural and Urban West Bengal	134
Figure 5.2:	Percentage of students attending private tuition by different income class (Quintile) in rural and urban West Bengal	135
Figure 5.3:	Distribution of private tuition fee (2014-15) in West Bengal	138
Figure 8.1:	Distribution of tutors by tutor type	262
Figure 8.2:	Age Distribution of different types of tutor	262
Figure 8.3:	Distribution of two types of tutors by education level	263
Figure 8.4:	Distribution of Principal activity of tutors who take tuition as 'subsidiary activity'	264
Figure 8.5:	Distribution of two types of tutor by gender	265
Figure 8.6:	Principal activity of subsidiary male and female tutors	265
Figure 8.7:	Network of various providers in the 'shadow education' market	274
Figure 8.8:	Notice by Birbhum District Primary School Council	309
Figure 8.9:	Schematic representation of the Shadow education market of West Bengal	312

List of Appendix Tables

Table A5.6:	Definitions of Variables and Summary Statistics	165
Table A5.7:	LPM (Robustness Check)	166
Table A5.8:	Heckman Model (Robustness Check)	168
Table A5.9:	Heckman Model by stages of schooling (Robustness Check)	170
Table A6.1:	Distribution of student across different institution type by gender up to higher secondary (in percentage)	198
Table A6.2:	Percentage of students taking private tuition by stages of schooling	198
Table A6.3:	Difference in participation of male and female in private tuition	198
Table A6.4:	Average Marginal Effect of Probit Model using household level data)	199
Table A6.5:	Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 15-20 using Heckman Model	201
Table A7.1:	Select Characteristics of the families with one or more school going children (December 2018-June 2019)	255
Table A8.1:	Characteristics of tutors in the sample	314

List of Appendix Figures

Figure A5.1:	Percentage of students taking tuition by Per Capita Income Quintile (Monthly) (2014-15)	162
Figure A5.2:	Percentage of students taking private tuition by occupation status (2014-15)	162
Figure A5.3:	Percentage of students taking private tuition by Institution type (2014-15)	162
Figure A5.4:	Percentage of students taking private tuition by Gender (2014-15)	163
Figure A5.5:	Annual private tuition expenditure by institution type	164
Figure A7.1:	Timetable of Mock Test conducted by PathFinder in a School of Ward A	254
Figure A7.2:	Private Tuition within School	254
Figure A.8.1:	Logo of WBPTWA	323
Figure A.8.2:	Protests by tutors in Cooch Bihar district, West Bengal	323
Figure A8.3:	Kolkata Gazette, March 2018	324

Abbreviation

ABTA	All Bengal Teachers' Association
AIEEE	All India Engineering Entrance Examination
B.Sc	Bachelor of Science
B.Tech	Bachelor of Technology
BBA	Bachelor of Business Administration
BCA	Bachelor of Computer Application
BDO	Block Development Officer
C.B.S.E.	Central Board of Secondary Education
CA	Chartered Accountant
CLAT	Common Law Admission Test
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CPIM	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CSO	Central Statistical Organisation
DI	District Inspector
DISE	District Information System of Education
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
FITJEE	Forum for Indian Institute of Technology Joint Entrance Examination
FSU	First Stage Unit
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRE	Graduate Record Examinations
HS	Higher Secondary
I.C.S.E	Indian Certificate of Secondary Education
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IHDS	India Human Development Survey
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IT	Information Technology
JEE	Joint Entrance Examination
KMC	Kolkata Municipal Corporation
LPM	Linear Probability Model
M.Sc.	Master of Science
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MISH	Market Information Survey of Households
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita expenditure
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIC	National Industrial Classification
NSDP	National State Domestic Product
NSS	National Sample Survey
OBC	Other Backward Caste
OECD	Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Square
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment

PPSWR	Probability Proportional to Population size with Replacement
RMSA	Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan
RTE	Right to Education
SC	Schedule Caste
SCERT	State Council of Educational Research and Training
SSA	Sarbha Shiksha Abhiyan
ST	Schedule Tribe
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TINA	There is no alternative
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
U.S	United States
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
W.B.S.E	West Bengal Board of Secondary Education
WBPTWA	West Bengal Private Tutor Welfare Association
WBSED	West Bengal School Education Department

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Motivation

The increasing use of the 'market' metaphor in education raises concern about the ways school education is changing. While the mainstream education market is getting transformed by applying market principles, a parallel market is growing like a shadow with the mainstream and reshaping the way education is envisaged today by turning children and parents into 'consumers'. To use Brown's (1990) words, 'parentocracy' characterises the education system wherein the child's education is a function of parents' wealth and wish and not the child's ability or effort. Private tuition market can be conceived as a gateway to exercise choice outside formal schooling, with the ideology of 'parentocracy' paving the way for a 'customised' education market based on the ability to pay. Studies suggest that the culture of competition fuelled by globalisation has resulted in families viewing investment in education as a way to gain entry into the labour market (Bray, Kwo & Jokić, 2015).

On the other hand, there are vested interests, i.e. the way education is commercialised 'for profit' (Majumdar, 2014), reflecting the growth of various forms of tutoring centres franchises catering to the demand for customised education (Aurini and Davies, 2004). In countries like Japan, Canada, United States, there is enormous presence of franchises as Kumon, Oxford learning centres etc. (Castro and Guzman, 2014). These forces, operating outside formal schooling, shape schools' processes and outcomes, which merit attention because they can profoundly impact school ethos. After-school classes make children inattentive in schools (Bray, 2009) and create a rift between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' (Majumdar, 2014) by reinforcing social inequality. There is also an element of coercion with schoolteachers engaging in tutoring children where the parents do not have enough choice. The market thus presents us with the complexities of choice. This market, which is commonly known as the 'shadow education' market, had attracted attention from researchers until recently when the market changed its nature from being an informal market based on social networks to a market with professional networks in the form of business houses and educational franchises. In India, the

coaching industry is a 6.4 billion dollar industry.¹ The proportion of students taking private tuition shows a gradual increase from 18.8 % in age group 6-24 in 2007-08 to 25.9% in 2014 (NSS, 2007-08 and 2014-15). In some states, like Tripura, Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar, the proportion is more than 75% (NSS, 2014-15). The increasing participation of students in private tuition and the growth of the coaching industry cannot but make us ponder over the kind of impetus it provides to its ‘customers’ for its smooth functioning. This issue necessitates probing deeper into the nature of the market and what forces are central to fostering this market.

Private tuition, a form of shadow education,² is defined as a “set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student’s chances of successfully moving through the allocation process” (Stevenson and Baker, 1992). This market has the elements of the commodity market in it (Hartmann, 2008) as it is based on the ability to pay. Operating outside the ambit of formal schools, inputs for examination is provided by this market. Thus the learning outcome of a student is no more a derivative of schools alone but ‘outside’ school as well. The rising credence on private tuition might also wipe out learning in school and act as a disincentive for school teachers to teach in the class (Biswal, 1999; Jayachandran, 2014). Studies cite that one of the reasons which have led to the incidence of private tutoring in developing countries is the poor functioning of government schools (Baker et al., 2001; Glewwe & Kremer, 2006; Chaudhury et al.; 2006) and poor pay of teachers who look for additional income. However, recent studies in the Indian context suggest that students from private schools mainly go for private tuition (Azam, 2016; Banerjee and Wadhwa, 2013), challenging the assumption that private tuition is the preserve of the government school students. As far as teachers’ salary is concerned, the regular teachers’ salary far exceeds the salaries of teachers in countries like China, Korea and OECD countries (Drèze & Sen, 2013) which question their engagement with tuition. Sen (2009) pointed out in the context of West Bengal that “this development is seen as having resulted from the pursuit of the perceived *competitive* benefits over privately tutored children over others”. This “artificially generated essentiality” (p.14), as Sen (2009) points out, is

¹ Retrieved from the website: <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/education/in-india-private-coaching-is-65billion-business/article3606716.ece>

² ‘Shadow education’ is a broader term encompassing all types of tutoring activities including coaching. In this study different types of providers are mentioned including coaching centres to get an understanding of supply side dynamics. Also, the boundary between private tuition and coaching gets blurred when students navigate between various forms of the shadow.

harmful to first-generation learners who cannot afford private tuition. This market would then work towards the betterment of the already privileged class. In India, the increasing reliance on private tuition in schools can also be driven by an obsession with ‘first boys’, what Sen (2015) coins as the “first boy syndrome”, which glorifies getting high scores in the examinations. The obsession with marks will help the market thrive and might completely obscure the need for schooling. Zhang & Bray (2017) attested that the market has reduced learning into performativity, and professionalism and ethical commitments have been devalued in the face of market principles and institutional survival.

It has been found that families with better resources can secure more significant quantities and better qualities of tutoring (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014a; Bray, 2007). Some families invest in tutoring for gaining a competitive edge, and some (low achievers) see it as a way of passing the exam (Bray, 2007). The difference in the attitudes towards tutoring prompts one to ask how aspirations are different across families from different class structures. It is also crucial to ask how the existence of the differentiated nature of the market from high-end coaching centres to low-end tuition centres exacerbates inequality in the market as the big coaching centres select students based on their own criteria. These coaching centres aim to prepare the students (who are meritorious and passed a selection test) for competitive exams.³ There is a hierarchy in the market with high-end coaching institutes striving for the best students. Hence, the reputation that they earn is a function of students' achievement in the competitive examination. Given the hierarchical nature of the market with different types of providers, the question is how far the families from different backgrounds can exercise choice outside the formal schooling market.

In view of this, this study is an attempt to explore the dynamics of the ‘shadow education’ market, particularly focusing on the private tuition market by interrogating the question of ‘choice’ made by parents and tracing various providers and their motivations in this market. Specifically, I focus on various linkages and networks in the market that sustain the market and create its legitimacy in the context of West Bengal. This question cannot be answered by separately considering the demand or the supply side but needs to be understood by considering the market in its totality as the

³ Information gathered from the websites of the coaching centres.

nexus between the parents and the tutors (if any) is likely to shape the market. In an attempt to understand these linkages, one needs to reconceptualise the market by moving beyond the black box of the market as merely equating demand and supply. Deconstructing the black box of the market would require embracing the possibility that the market constitutes a flow of shared meanings advanced by various stakeholders in the market. It also means that the market also gets constructed by a constellation of rules set by the dominant players. Therefore, to arrest these possibilities, I employ theoretical perspectives from economic sociology to guide the overarching question of understanding the nature of the market. Simultaneously, it makes an attempt to illuminate as to why private tuition is so pervasive in West Bengal.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Indian school education system is beset with contradictions. On one hand, eight million children are out of school (The Economic Times, 2014), and on the other hand, one out of every four students goes for private tuition (NSS, 2014), which raises doubt on the functioning of the school system. What is more intriguing is that the poorer section of the population also goes for private tuition (about 30% of the lowest income quintile group, according to NSS, 2014). However, the burden of tutoring falls heavily on them as expenditure on tuition constitutes a higher proportion of their educational expenditure (Majumdar, 2014). Their participation in private tuition questions the assumptions that the poor do not value education and at the same time indicates that there is a segment of the market which is accessible to them. Nevertheless, the quality of the tutoring services remains an issue to reflect on.

This individuated effort that has surfaced in the sphere of school education wherein parents spare an extra amount to remedy the learning gap or provide a competitive edge to their children (Bray, 1999; Baker et al., 2001; Southgate, 2009; Wolf, 2002) indicates that the market fosters inequality. The additional expenditure that is incurred, indicates that a parent can easily use the ‘exit’ option through private spending instead of raising ‘voice’ if he is unsatisfied with the service delivered by the school. Since exit from schools is not a viable option if one is dissatisfied with service delivery, the private tuition market provides a gateway to exercise choice.⁴ The possibility of exercising

⁴ This ‘exit’ may not be easy in case of tuition if there exists down payment and if students are coerced into tuition.

choice arises from the alternatives present in the market in the form of various types of tutors and coaching centres. In a society where individuals are divided along the axis of caste, class, and religion, access remains an issue, especially in a market with a diverse range of providers. Majumdar (2017) argues that this private investment favours the upper middle classes by multiplying their advantages in education and hence creates a new inequality. Although studies across the world and in India (Azam, 2016; Bray, 2010; Lee and Souse, 2011) point out ‘statistical significance’ of variables like income, caste/race, gender, religion in determining the demand for private tuitions, the processes through which these variables become significant in decision making remained unexplored. The subtleties of decision making are also a reflection of one’s social milieu tied to one’s family history. Therefore, the narratives of families are vital to unfold the complexities of choice where traces of class positions are likely to become visible. These issues pertaining to choice have been left out in the scholarship on private tutoring.

The purpose of private tuition remains a debatable issue in the literature, with one strand defining the purpose of tuition as a ‘remedial strategy’ (Baker et al., 2001; Wolf, 2002; Ireson, 2004) and the other as ‘enrichment strategy’ (Bray and Kwo, 2003; Bray, 2009; 2011). These studies are based on large data samples that underplay the role of context specific to one’s social background or region. Situating the debate within a particular context of a family belonging to a particular social class in a particular region would bring out nuances of decision making wherein the purpose of tutoring is expected to vary from one family to the other. Therefore, these questions are to be answered by delving deeper into family choice making.

The increasing dependence on private tuition is also attributed to the quality of schools. Studies based on tutoring (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Davies, 2004) suggest a possible linkage between Government schools and private tuition where government schools and private tuition are taken as one strategy versus the enrolment in private school. Contrary to this, Azam (2016) found in the Indian context that private school-goers are most likely to attend private tuition. The higher probability of private school students attending private tuition presents another puzzle related to institutional factors that remain unresolved and is likely to differ across cultures or regions. For instance, in West Bengal, the percentage of tutees is 79.45% from government schools, 82.36%

from private aided and 72.40 % from private unaided schools (NSS, 71st Round), indicating that the majority of students avail private tuition irrespective of the type of schools. This statistics demands looking at various ways schools ‘manufacture’ demand for private tuitions. A recent study conducted in West Bengal by Ghosh and Bray (2020) showed that schools are the ‘breeding ground’ of private tuition, and schools create demand for the service in various ways of which one is the involvement of schoolteachers as tutors. However, the study lacks in drawing the picture of negotiations and everyday transactions between parents and schoolteachers in fuelling private tuitions or how the players gain legitimacy in the market.

As the market is a ‘socially structured’ arena (Marginson, 2004, p.177), it is likely to have segregation based on social class and varying amounts of capital possessed by providers. There is a need to conceptually build on the market as reflecting these considerations where outcomes in the market, i.e., how individuals are placed in the market, reveal the hidden uneven distribution of resources. Therefore, one has to revisit ‘choice’ in education and link it with the educational objectives of the families. The notion of informality that characterizes the market is likely to pose further challenges in the choice making process due to informational asymmetry associated with the meaning of informality. On the other hand, the market for tutoring remains elusive as some tutors (mainly schoolteachers) are likely to withhold information on their engagement of tutoring as regulation remains at the periphery of the market through RTE, 2009 which bans schoolteachers from providing private tuition.

Studies that have focused on shadow education market missed out on the role of intermediaries that can arise out of informational constraints or higher search costs in an informal market of the likes of private tuition market. A closer examination on this market is expected to bring out these possible outgrowths which would unpack various networks which is organic to the sustenance of private tuition market. Once we trace the possible structures that arise from what Collins (1990) calls ‘superordinate market’, it would be easier to argue why parents are increasingly demonstrating reliance on this market. The literature on shadow education market particularly private tutoring is silent on these linkages or networks which might contribute to shaping the choice process of parents by providing information or by creating a ‘cultural template’ on the type of tutors.

In order to understand the nature of the market, it is important to see the interaction between the parents/students and tutors and how the aspirations of people from different social backgrounds meet at the education marketplace where the providers range from high end coaching institutes, to school teachers to unemployed youth. It is also imperative to look at the supply side choice as big coaching centres choose students on the basis of merit where the 'identity' of the students and his/her performance in the selection test becomes important which becomes an impediment to exercise choice. Also, the motivations of tutors of different types – from unemployed youth to school teachers are not dealt with in the literature. The study intends to examine factors determining choice through secondary data (NSS 71st Round) to get a macro picture but as the macro picture does not reflect the process of choice, it is important to understand subtleties of choice through a primary survey. The focus is on the students at the secondary level of different types of schools since tutoring phenomenon is more pronounced at this level (Bray, 2009) in comparative studies and also in West Bengal (NSS, 2014). In trying to understand choice, decisions within the family with respect to allocation of resources is of particular interest as West Bengal has more percentage of girls going for private tuition at the secondary level (94% girls as against 91.5% boys) questioning the kind of tuition availed by them, the expenditure incurred on them and the interaction between the type of school they attend and the type of tutor they avail. The complexity of the problem allows us to employ multiple theoretical frameworks to understand the market. To sum up, the purpose of the study is to align theories of economics and sociology to understand the dynamics of the market which is under studied in the literature.

1.3 Research Objectives

Against the backdrop of the changing nature of the education market, the thesis investigates the nature of the shadow education market with special focus on private tutoring whose ubiquitous presence is felt in West Bengal. An analysis of market dynamics would require to consider each of the forms of 'shadow' in relation to other forms as the nature of the market is rapidly changing. This requires that market is understood as a dynamic arena which evolves with time depending on the changing preferences of the parents which is shaped by the policies of the State, change in formal education structure as well as labour market conditions. Therefore, a broader

framework is required to capture the dynamics of the market where the question of parental choice making is to be linked with various motives of the providers. By bringing together the providers and the families, I intend to fill the gap in the literature where the market is mostly viewed either from the perspective of the parents/ students or from the perspective of the providers in the literature. To do so, one needs to go beyond the boundary of one discipline and embrace an interdisciplinary framework not only at a theoretical level but also at the methodological level. Theoretical perspectives from economic sociology form the basis for understanding private tuition market as an instituted process which is embedded in culture, politics and network (Fligstein, 1996; 2001, Bourdieu, 2005, Granovetter, 1985). This also calls for transcending the idea of 'event regularities' that Lawson (1997) conceptualises as an 'open system' which understands 'reality as it is' instead of abstraction through models. There are two separate divisions of scholarship on shadow education- one which focuses on the quantitative outcomes of decision making of parents/students and the other which uses qualitative methods to understand the practice of tutoring among parents. This leaves scope for formulating a research problem that would encompass plurality of methods to grasp reality as far as possible by bringing in the questions of ontology. This is a departure from other studies conducted in analysing the phenomenon of private tutoring which eludes the questions of ontology. This is particularly important in an informal market where various agents have tendency to conceal their motives so much so that reality is obscured and escape naked eyes. In view of this, critical realism is embraced as a philosophy of science which considers reality as layered and takes ontology i.e. 'the nature of reality' as the starting point. Theoretical framework adopted in the thesis is also in tandem with critical realism to understand various mechanisms that bring out interrelated forms within the market as well as the interdependence of structure and agency. These issues which remain unaddressed in the literature on private tutoring are important as the market is undergoing transformation before one could get grip of it. These transformations are understood as a result of contestation within the market where different players in the market attempt to change 'rules of the game' in their favour. Clearly, this dynamism cannot be explained by the neo classical theories of the market which alienate economy from the society in explaining the market and propounds that an individual is atomistic. The research engages critically with this view of an individual and considers individuals as embedded in the society through social

networks and ties. The research objectives with research questions addressing the gap in the literature are identified as follows:

1. *To examine the factors responsible for determining the decision and expenditure on tuition.*

a) What is the impact of household level factors (household income, occupation status, number of siblings, and education of household head), child level factors (age, gender, grade, and ability), institution type (government/private) and geographical factors (location, distance from school) on the decision to attend private tuition and spending on tuition?

b) Is there any pro male bias in the decision to attend tuition within the household? Is there any bias in expenditure within the household?

2. *To examine how and why family decides to send their children to tuition in a particular locality.*

a) How does social and family background influence student's access to tuition and the type of tutor they choose?

b) What kind of information parents use to reach out to the providers? How do they gain information from?

c) How is the decision with regard to tuition made within household? What is the role of gender, subject and choice of school in budget allocation?

3. *To explore how the providers of the families gain legitimacy in the market*

a) Who are the players in the market?

b) Why do various providers choose to become part of the market and how do they strategise to gain tutees, build reputation and survive in the market?

c) How do the providers in the private tuition market see themselves and their competitors/Collaborators?

1.4 Understanding Research Problem in the context of West Bengal

West Bengal as a case is particularly interesting because of the fact that it has the highest proportion of private tuition goers at the secondary and higher secondary level (90.5%) among Indian states with a large proportion of students opting for tuition from different institutions. In the context of West Bengal, what we see in general is that students opt for tuition irrespective of the type of institution (private or government) as argued in the preceding section. This questions the relevance of schools in imparting education. The ‘shadow’ which emerged from the mainstream is now quite visible and is casting a shadow on the mainstream. As students avail tuition from all types of institution, it is imperative to ask whether different providers are serving different types of ‘clients’ located across different institutions. In other words, is the nature of tutoring market in different types of institutions (private aided, private unaided and government) different or is there a hierarchy in the market for tuition? The market is segmented along income lines as there is a difference of Rs. 1000 in terms of per capita consumption monthly expenditure between those who are availing tuition from Government school vis-à-vis private unaided school (calculated from NSS, 2014-15). One can thus expect that the type of tuition varies between institutions.

Another case which merits attention in the context of West Bengal is the issue of gender. Contrary to the case of India, where there is a bias in favour of boys in the investment decision of private education (Azam, 2016; Sahoo, 2017), West Bengal shows that the decision to invest in private tuition is in favour of girls at the secondary (94.7% girls and 91.5% boys)⁵ and higher secondary level. Given the fact that private tuition expenditure is discretionary in nature, it is expected that girls’ participation will be less as compared to boys as labour market returns are considered less for girls and also as girls are married off, the returns from girl’s education does not accrue to the family. This observation can be explained by situating it in the context of West Bengal. Is it a response to the marriage market where educated bride is more in demand for child rearing? The logic of spending on girl child might be a project of making of “ideal committed mothers” who are expected to take charge of child’s education as a full time job which requires skills (Donner, 2008). This perspective holds true for the middle class mothers in Kolkata as Donner (2008) pointed out. This observation also prompts

⁵ Calculation based on NSS data (2014-15) for school education

us to ask whether the macro picture of no gender bias at higher levels of education reflects micro reality. It is important to probe deeper into the class position of the student, the interaction between choice of school and expenditure on tuition and the type of tutors assigned for the girl child. This involves looking at intra household decision making.

In order to understand the tuition market in West Bengal, it is pertinent to historically trace the developments in education policies in West Bengal which are responsible for shaping the culture of tutoring. In 1983, the Left Front Government abolished English at the primary level as a strategy to increase enrolment and to decrease dropout mainly for students of rural Bengal. Although the policy increased enrolment, it had far reaching effect which was seen in the increase in private tutoring to supplement learning of English (Roy, 2010) as knowledge of English language is widely perceived by the society as a status symbol and has an advantage in terms of getting entry into the labour market. The policy was revoked in 2004 with reintroduction of English but by then the demand for tutoring had already set in. Attempts have been taken by the Government of West Bengal to curb the practice of tutoring students by school teachers. In 2001, the Government banned private tuition of regular teachers in government and government aided schools and colleges (SCERT, 2009) but the ban did not seem to be effectively implemented as tutoring became an everyday phenomenon in the lives of children and there are instances of coercing students into tuition classes (“Schools for Scandal”, 2010). Yet another time the ban was reintroduced in 2010 which covered the school teachers of all the boards in Bengal (“All teachers now under pvt tuition ban”, 2010). Section 28 E of the RTE (Right to Education) bill, also states school teachers’ private gain outside the school as a punishable offence. Despite these attempts, private tuition is growing and it appears to be deeply entrenched in the education system.

What is more noteworthy is that the incidence of private tuition has brought about social unrest in some parts of West Bengal between the unemployed youth and the school teachers. In Islampur, members of Unemployed Private Tutors’ Association filed a complaint with the head teachers of schools against the school teachers as the school teachers are depriving them of their means of livelihood by taking coaching classes (“Tutors in Teaching Crusade”,2007). Similar incident occurred in Murshidabad where unemployed young men moved to the high court to demand action

against school teachers engaged in tutoring (“Enforce law, says court- Tuition ban or pollution bar: govt is sleeping”, 2006). Clearly, in West Bengal where the number of educated unemployed is quite high (2.5 million applicants for 6000 government jobs)⁶, private tuition is a boon for the unemployed youth as it continues to give them income until they hit a job. On the other hand, there are vested interests in the market in the form of ‘star’ coaching centres

Private tuition market in West Bengal thus narrates a complex tale of helplessness of unemployed youth, aspirations of parents from different backgrounds, passage to earn ‘extra’ income for school teachers, lucrative business opportunity for coaching centres and above all a crisis in the education system.

1.5 Contextualising the problem in the urban site of Kolkata

While the questions on the patterns of private tuition or determinants of decision making is taken up for West Bengal as a whole, the processes or nuances of decision making needs to be located within a particular context. Therefore, in order to unravel the dynamics of the market as stated in the research objectives, an urban site is chosen as it has different types of providers and aspiration of parents are high in the urban space. This is also documented in the literature which suggests that private tuition is more prominent in the urban (Brehm and Silova 2014; Kim & Lee, 2010; Tansel & Bircan, 2006; Azam, 2016; Sujatha, 2014). In light of this, The city of Kolkata is makes an interesting case as it has the highest number of students in private unaided schools (40.31%) and is one of the districts with a higher percentage of private tuition goers (81.6%) which indicates there is a demand for the ‘private’ as an alternative . In Kolkata, students from both the government and private schools opt for private tuition and the percentage is more or less the same (40% above each). The branded coaching centres are clustered around the city space along with various types of tutors (Majumdar, 2014). Kolkata is a fascinating site to understand the dynamics of choice in the market for tuition as it is the locus of all trading activities and is also a home to a number of prestigious higher educational institutions apart from its rich colonial history of producing *Bhadroloks*. It is an aspirational hub which attracts people from its neighbouring villages in search of jobs or better standard of living although it pushes

⁶ Accessed from <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/Oa4T5XSitV4uugtonxzjjL/25-million-compete-for-6000-govt-jobs-in-West-Bengal.html> on 2nd November, 2017.

the ‘surplus’ people towards its periphery. Also, the existence of various types of private schools ranging from international schools to low fee private schools for the poor and reputed Government schools is an urban reality. The district of Kolkata is spatially uneven as any urban metropolitan cities with well-off civilians dwelling in the core of the city and migrants being pushed at the periphery of the city. As the objective was to understand the informal education market and family strategies with regards to both formal and informal education, choosing a locality with people from diverse background as well as diverse schools was necessary. Kolkata provides many such localities where the sky rocketing buildings or apartments coexisted with the dingy slums in the same locality indicating that the dwellers are from diverse social class.

1.6 Chapter Scheme

The rest of the thesis is organised under the following chapters. A brief discussion of each chapter is provided below.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

This chapter brings out studies across various countries and in India and analyses relative weaknesses of each methods and theories in understanding both the demand and supply side of the market. It has been found that there exist some common elements that influence demand for private tuition but there are factors which are specific to some regions (e.g. culture, school related variation, policies of the country) which make the study more diverse and intriguing. The chapter points out methodological and theoretical shortcomings of the research conducted to understand the nature of the market especially to understand the supply side. Attempts to understand market has not been made, rather the studies focus on either the demand or supply side of the market. Also some debates within the literature remain unresolved of which one is regarding the purpose of private tuition as a remedial or enrichment strategy. These studies lack in theoretically contributing to understanding choice in the private tuition market. The gaps in the previous literature show relative negligence of the theoretical basis of the informal education market especially on how various actors with different interests coexist in the market.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides discussions on multiple theories on market in the discipline of economics and sociology and their relative strengths in understanding the market. Although dominant theories of the market fall under the domain of economics, theories of market in sociology and anthropology have much to offer in terms of understanding the structures of the market and the internal dynamics of the stakeholders in the market. These theories unfold the non-economic motives of the market which are hidden and embrace cultural aspects of decision making. As the research objectives revolve around the market dynamics of private tuition and parental choice making, market has been conceived in two ways: as an arena of pursuing interests (of both parents and providers) and as a platform for construction of choice by the parents. In this chapter, I discuss the possible linkages between various market networks, the prospects of new emerging markets and the tensions that these forms create leading to social movements.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The chapter lays out the methodology of the research objectives aligning it with theoretical basis of the study. It makes an attempt to situate the study under various paradigms which require understanding certain ontological and epistemological assumptions that will guide the methods to be followed. This chapter argues for a multifaceted investigation into the research problem as the practices and transactions in the tuition market are shady which require that various methods are adopted to get a sense of reality. As reality is multi-layered we often grapple with the question of how best to represent reality. Often, in discussing about reality there is a tendency to reduce the nature of reality into our knowledge about it which is questioned within the rubric of critical realism. In this study, I take critical realism as the philosophy of science that motivates my logic of inquiry. In doing so, I emphasise on the importance of social ontology as the starting point in this chapter as it has implications for building further arguments about how to approach reality particularly in a research problem which is sensitive and has a moral dimension to it. In such a case, one might get competing views of reality where different stakeholders tend to hide information on the issue of tuition. These dilemmas are addressed and partly resolved within a critical realist framework by adopting plurality of methods.

Chapter 5: Exploring the determinants of demand for Private Tuition: The Case of West Bengal

By employing NSS data (2014-15) on educational participation, the chapter examines the effect of household specific factors and child specific factors on the decision regarding tuition. In addition, I incorporate the supply side variation, i.e., the percentage of literate job seekers (taken as a proxy of unemployed people) in each district as an explanatory variable to examine if there is a presence of supply induced demand. I also develop a simple theoretical model to understand the role of household specific factors like income, parental education and institution specific factors like school fees and perceived quality of schools in the decision of tuition. The empirical result suggests that Government school students have greater probability of attending tuition in West Bengal as compared to students in the private aided and private unaided schools. On the supply side, it has been found that the presence of literate job seekers is more likely to increase the probability of sending a child to tuition indicating a supply side inducement to the demand for private tuition.

Chapter 6: Intra-household Gender disparity in Private Tuition: The Curious Case of West Bengal

The chapter focuses on the intra-household gender disparity in private tuition in West Bengal. Employing Engel curve framework and Hurdle model using household level data and individual data from NSS (2014-15), the chapter establishes that there is a significant gender bias in favour of girls for the age group 15-20. This is presumably the age where children face school leaving examination or prepare for college entrance examinations. One reason for investing in girl child at this age group could be that credentials become important at this stage to gain entry into the labour market in future. But the bias in favour of girls might be linked with the choice of school where girls are more likely to attend government schools. It has been observed that there is a significant bias in private school enrolment of girls suggesting that parents invest on tuition for girls at this level to compensate for the perceived loss of quality.

Chapter 7: Unravelling the Complexities of Choice in the Tuition Market: Qualitative Insights

In this chapter I bring out qualitative dimension of the choice problem that I developed in Chapter 5. Household specific factors which assumed importance in Chapter 5 are dealt with in a nuanced manner through primary data gathered from the field. Various aspects of decision making are explored by linking schools with families and how everyday negotiations take place which breed the 'culture' of private tuition. Constraints of choices, especially, informational constraint in the search process of choice revealed how competition among parents leads to the concealing information of private tuitions. Families belonging to different strata are taken up in two wards to show the hierarchy in the choice of private tuition in terms of the type of providers chosen. I bring out type of tutors, families and schools to show how differentiation in the schooling system is replicated in the private tuition market.

Chapter 8: Situating the Providers: Market dynamics

Chapter 8 focuses on market dynamics by showing various negotiations and collaborations that take place between various types of providers. Market dynamics in private tuition market is to be understood through tracing the networks as private tuition as a form of the 'shadow education' market is influenced by players located in other forms of the 'shadow education' market which shapes the practices of this market. In this context, I brought out the role of the intermediaries in this market to understand how they create certain meanings which influence the tutors. I also present market through the lens of social movement to show how conflicts arising in the market can lead to power struggle within the market for implementation of policies in the interest of certain groups.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In this chapter, I pull together all the findings and results of each of the chapters to conclude that this market is multi-faceted and one way of looking at this market as equating demand and supply reduces the role that social elements at play in the market. The sustenance of this market is through collaborations where actors are tied in interpersonal network and are not anonymous. But there are tensions within the market as intermediaries like Teacher Bureaus try to dictate markets by defining certain 'categories' like 'good' tutors. The nature of market is continuously changing with new

players trying to enter the market with innovative techniques. As new definitions emerge in the informal market, it is likely to change the functioning of the formal education sector.

CHAPTER 2: Review of Literature

2.1 Background

In this chapter, I situate the market for private tuition within the perspective of the shadow education. The issue of shadow education has been discussed extensively in many countries mostly with a comparative perspective (Bray, 1999; Bray, 2007; Bray & Lykins, 2012). While one can trace some commonalities in the factors that influence its demand, there are factors which are specific to some regions (e.g., culture, school related variation, policies of the country) which make the study more diverse and intriguing. The study gained attention in the 1990s through the work of Stevenson and Baker (1992) and thereafter the project was taken over by Mark Bray in 1999. His work brought to the fore that the phenomenon of private supplementary tutoring was no more an East Asian phenomenon. It is much visible worldwide and in variety of forms. There are some major issues that emerge in the literature centred on the demand for private tutoring. On one hand, researchers argue that competition and high stake public examination (Bray, 1999) is driving the demand for private tuition and on the other hand it has also been found that in some countries like Korea and Japan, in spite of some Government policies like high school equalisation policy in Korea, doing away with high school examination, the phenomenon seems to exist (Dierkes, 2008; Lee & Shouse, 2011). Is it merely the curriculum pressure or is it something to deal with anxiety or uneasiness of not taking private tuition (Lee & Shouse, 2011)? Also, the literature is inconclusive with regard to private tuition as a “remediation strategy” (Baker et al., 2001; Tseng, 2008; Safarzyńska, 2013) or “enrichment strategy” (Bray 1999; Bray and Kwok, 2003; Kim & Lee, 2010). There is also an underlying assumption about the poor functioning of government schools in developing countries (Safarzyńska, 2013) . This might not be true in the Indian context as private school students too avail private tuition and whether the apparent private school effect (i.e., private schools performing better than government schools) is the true effect of attending private schools or a private tutoring effect has not been investigated in most studies (Aslam and Atherton, 2014). Also, the quality of low fee private schools is no different from poor quality of schooling provided by state schools (Andrabi and Khwaja, 2002). Thus, we cannot assume that government school students only availing

private tuition any longer. These issues raised in the literature suggest that one needs to contextualise the market to understand the dynamics of decision making. These issues are to be dealt within the changing nature of education as it is increasingly being conceived as any other market. As tutoring is closely linked with the formal education system, changes in the formal education market are likely to change the meaning and functioning of the ‘shadow’ which in effect changes the ‘formal’.

This chapter draws on various studies to understand the market for shadow education- its nature, providers, characteristics of students and parents, drivers of demand and its implications. It brings out the comparative picture (as has been dealt with in most literatures) from various countries and then focuses on the studies in Indian context. In the present review, I have divided the sections into 3 parts. The first part focuses on the nature of the market, its consumers, its providers and determinants of demand⁷. The second strand focuses on the consequences (both positive and negative) of private tutoring. The third section will focus on the studies conducted in other countries and in India with an attempt to bring out the lacunae in the existing studies. The chapter will provide justification of the present study by considering the importance of local context and propose a reconceptualization of the ‘shadow education’ market in the context of West Bengal.

2.2 Situating private tuition market within the perspective of ‘shadow’ education

Shadow education is a metaphor roughly used in the literature to define private supplementary tutoring. This metaphor has been extensively employed to explain the dependence of tutoring activities on formal schooling. Stevenson and Baker (1992) defined shadow education as a “set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student’s chances of successfully moving through the allocation process” (p.1640). Their study emphasized on the relevance of shadow education in the preparation of university examinations. Bray (1999) broadened the meaning of ‘shadow’ by extending the definition to include school students under certain parameters- supplementation, privateness, academic subjects and level of education as follows:

⁷ The use of terms ‘consumers’ and ‘providers’ to define parents/ students and tutors respectively is adapted from Hartmann (2008) where the private tuition market is viewed as akin to the commodity market.

- a) Supplementation involves additional help taken in subjects that are already taught in schools.
- b) Privatness- This concept has different meanings. 'Privatness' sometimes entails to provisioning of the service by private entrepreneurs. Thus, the non-profit or philanthropic character of the mainstream schooling is missing in this form. It can also mean tutoring provided against a fee which lends it a character of 'private' good.

The 'private' character needs to be problematised further which has not been considered by Bray (1999). There are instances where a school teacher (public servant) engages in 'out of school' tuition which is done for private gain and is considered a corrupt activity. Thus, it is not the 'private entrepreneurs' who are the only providers of this service.

- c) Academic subjects particularly languages, mathematics and other subjects which are examinable and thus excluding subjects which are co-curricular.
- d) Levels that Bray (1999) includes are primary and secondary levels. It is said to be less vigorous in post-secondary and pre-primary level.

Bray's definition is limited to 'for profit tuition' and he used shadow education and supplementary education interchangeably (Davis, 2013). In doing so, he delimited the wider conceptualisation of supplementary tuition. Davies (2013) argued that supplementary education is a sociological concept that includes tuition that occurs in school setting and considers elements of family life.

The meaning of the term 'shadow' has changed in response to the evolving education system as well as due to the emergence of various forms within the market which are different in terms of structure, scale of operation, target clients, mode of delivery and the contents taught. Due to the preponderance of this market and high visibility of different and varied forms across the world, the use of the term 'shadow' to define these activities may be questioned, especially when it is threatening the formal education sector with its overwhelming presence. The growing scholarships on shadow education throw light on these emerging forms in the global context. The market which was characterized by informal home-based tutoring is rapidly changing towards a booming industry with tutoring franchises like Kumon, Oxford learning Centre, Sylvan and many more (Davies and Aurini, 2006; Castro and Guzman, 2014). These franchises do

not follow the school curriculum and develops curriculum that are more focused on long term gains such as reading abilities, speed readings, public speaking etc. (Aurini and Davies, 2004). The increasing relevance of these franchises which they claim as ‘learning centres’ not only poses threat on the education system but also on the traditional informal home-based tutoring which are dependent on formal education. These franchises attract ‘edupreneurs’ who are enterprising and are willing to invest in franchises (Davies and Aurini, 2006). On the other hand, there are other forms of the ‘shadow’ such as cram schools in East Asian countries which in its institutionalised form prepare students for university examinations (Russell, 1997; Kwok, 2004) but differ from the ‘learning centres’ in the contents taught as they follow the mainstream education but through the process of drilling exercises (Zeng, 1999). They are more like schools in their structure but assumes the role of supplementing the contents of the school, sometimes assisting students with skills not taught by schoolteachers (Kwok, 2004). In case of East Asian countries like Korea and Japan, the growth of these cram schools or *juku* (Japanese term for cram schools) is rooted in their culture (Rohlen, 1980; Kwok, 2004). For instance, it has long been a tradition towards inculcation of Confucian values of putting effort which have resulted in the widespread expansion of private tutoring.

While cram schools are popular in East Asian countries, coaching industry is a dominant form in the developing countries. The coaching centres are similar to cram schools as they are also ‘cramming centres’ for students preparing for high stake examinations. This variant of the ‘shadow’ has gained much prominence in India so much so that the city of Kota in Rajasthan is known for its coaching industry (Rao, 2017). One of the interesting aspects of these coaching centres is their independent curriculum in post-secondary level for preparing students for IIT- JEE and Medical entrances which in effect makes school curriculum almost redundant (Orberg, 2018; Punjabi, 2020). The branded coaching centres operate in a more ‘formal’ structure in terms of large classrooms with good infrastructure taking a more institutionalised structure vis-à-vis informal home-based tutoring. Orberg (2018) notes that the residential coaching centres as in Kota works differently from after school coaching centres and bring more complexities in the relationship between the ‘shadow’ and the ‘formal’ as students do not attend schools in the residential set up of coaching but are registered with what he calls “ghost” schools. In this context, formal education rather

becomes a 'shadow' of the coaching. In India, some of these branded coaching centres appear among the top most companies in the share market. It is thus more like a 'company' delivering services to the 'clients' as these coaching centres are listed under the Companies Act, 2013 in India.

Another form of 'shadow' education that coexist with other variants is the most common form, termed as private tuition in India, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Mauritius and Kenya (Foondun, 2002; Nath, 2008; Paviot, 2015; Zhang and Bray 2020). Various studies used private tuition and 'shadow education' interchangeably to define out of school paid tutoring (Smyth, 2008; 2009; Sujatha, 2014). Private tuition retains the character of the traditional meaning of the 'shadow' defined by Bray (1999) in the sense that it supplements the formal education system by providing assistance in the subjects taught in schools and for board exams (Punjabi, 2020). Private tuition is informal in nature as it is mostly home- based and hence the activities that take place in this market are shady and beyond the reach of government tax collector (Bray, 2011; 2009) and the exact size of the market is hard to determine. It is usually conducted in one-to-one basis or in groups by a tutor at a tutor's house or tutee's house or in tuition centres (Hartmann, 2008; Sujatha, 2014; Punjabi, 2020). Being informal in nature, it is mostly unregulated. This form of the 'shadow' gains legitimacy through a system of referrals, social networks and sometimes through advertisements (Hartmann, 2008; Kobhakidze, 2018; Majumdar, 2014). It is distinct from other forms of the 'shadow' as it is less organized or less structured than the mainstream (Bray et. al, 2015) and is more like cottage industries with small home- based outfits (Majumdar, 2017). The literature on private tutoring suggests that it is a 'hidden' market as it is in the interest of different stakeholders to conceal information about the market. For instance, students may not disclose the type of tutors they avail as it gives them advantage over others and the same holds for tutors as their income goes untaxed (Silova and Bray, 2006). Therefore, information asymmetry is often maintained by various stakeholders in the market. While defining the market for private tutoring, Byun and Baker (2015) contends that the out of school service is provided in exchange for a fee which is in contrast to the tutoring provided by family members without fees. This becomes one of the characteristics of defining a market. In Hartmann's (2008) study, private tuition market is found to have characteristics of a 'free' market where students are free to leave the market if they are not satisfied with the service. In such a case, education becomes a

commodity and students behave as “consumers” and teachers as “suppliers” of the commodity (Hartmann, 2008). At the outset, it appears that the market offers freedom to the “consumers” but this might not be true due to the existence of coercive elements where schoolteachers coerce students to avail private tuition (Majumdar, 2017; Kobhakhidze, 2018). Therefore, the elements in this market differ from any other commodity market which needs to be factored in while defining the market. The type of service provided in the market is diverse with some tutors focusing on the curriculum of the school board and others offer preparatory courses (Silova and Bray, 2006). As far as pedagogy is concerned, the tutoring activities are directed towards teaching for the test by providing study materials or examination tips starving the students of criticality (Bray, 2011; Majumdar, 2014).

As it is supplementary in nature, it is susceptible to changes in the formal education because of its close relation with the formal. However, Bhorkar and Bray (2018) documented that the supplementary nature of private tuition undergoes metamorphosis at a higher level of education i.e., after class 10, in which case, mainstream education loses its relevance. It is also worth mentioning that the demand for coaching increases at higher stages of education (Bhorkar and Bray, 2018) due to competition for gaining entry into top colleges or institutes. But private tuition continues to co-exist as some students enrolled in coaching centres also rely on private tutors for clarifying concepts (Punjabi, 2020) and hence supplements the other form i.e., coaching. While making a distinction between the traditional meaning of the ‘shadow’ and franchises, Aurini and Davies (2006) calls tutors as “moonlighters” who can exit or enter the market anytime with little or no investment. This fleeting nature of this market form lends it a unique character than other ‘organised’ forms. The tuition market is highly differentiated with various tutors- home tutors, tutors supplied by agencies, full time school teachers, university students who provide range of services (Majumdar, 2017). While explaining tutoring market in Georgia, Kobakhidze (2018) pointed out that price formation in this market is based on the identities of market actors i.e., the buyer, establishing that the market is embedded in social relations.

There are blurring boundaries between private tuition and tutorial centres as observed in Gupta’s (2021) study in India. Despite its difference with private tuition in terms of its formal structure, it conforms to the practices of the mainstream by teaching subjects

or curriculum prescribed by different boards, charging different fees depending on the curriculum. It is a legitimation strategy by diversifying the services and at the same time conforming to some practices of schools (Gupta, 2021).

The phenomenon of private tutoring has also changed with the advent of new technology i.e., with the inception of internet age which has led to a new paradigm as Ventura and Jang (2010) calls it. Online tutoring has seen spectacular growth as globalization has squeezed the physical boundaries between countries. Tutors from one destination is able to deliver lectures in another destination located in a different country which creates possibility of outsourcing and offshoring (Ventura and Jang, 2010). Online tutoring provides a broad range of clients as well as flexibility and reduce cost in terms of time and travel (Bray and Kobhakidze, 2014b). Therefore, the traditional mode of imparting lessons at homes or at tutee's house is not the only option for tutors with the emergence of technologies. However, as resources might not be available with individual tutors, companies offer them the platform to carry out tutoring activities as observed in Ventura and Jang's (2010) study on outsourcing tutoring services indicating growth of businesses around private tutoring. In such a case, the tutors lose their autonomy on the delivery of the service as they are dependent on the companies. Private tuition assumes a different character with the introduction of technology as mode of delivery, service conditions, class size, types of clients (in terms of nationalities) and geographical boundaries change. Therefore, the meaning of private tuition evolves depending on the changes happening at the macro level of which technology is one.

This flurry of various forms complicates the meaning of the 'shadow' because they exist together and their boundaries are porous. The distinction between each of these forms are missing in the literature as it envelops all these forms as 'shadow' which itself is a slippery term in the present context. It is important to be mindful of these differences because each of them has different implications on education as they operate in different ways. While some forms are far from being a 'shadow', others are closer to the meaning as they depend more on the mainstream education system. Private tuition is the most common form that is often talked about in the literature without much attention to the meaning of the term.

An attempt has been made in the literature to analyse the market from the perspective of Economic Sociology in the context of Georgia by Kobakhidze (2018) by focusing on private tutoring market through the prism of tutors. Although the study gave a new perspective to look at the market, it did not fulfil its promise as the focus was centred on one type of market actor i.e., the teacher-tutors and hence it undermined the possibility of other types of tutors and the role of the consumers in the market. The study collapsed the term 'shadow education' to mean private tutoring without differentiating between the variants of the 'shadow' in the context of Georgia. The possibility of separate markets which are interlinked within shadow education market got scanty attention in the literature. An analysis of the market requires a researcher to distinguish between different forms of the 'shadow' to ascertain the influence of each form on the mainstream as well as to establish the linkages between various parallel markets. This exercise is important if one wishes to understand the growing phenomenon of shadow education. This indicates a reconceptualization of the market to fit a particular context.

In certain contexts, the market is under the scanner of the government through regulation. In countries like Japan and Korea, the market for tutoring came under scrutiny and there were regulation measures taken to curb the practices. For instance, in Korea, the government banned private tuition in 1980s but the ban had to be repealed due to its ineffectiveness (Lee et. al, 2010). The Government has also eliminated high school entrance exams to reduce the burden of expenditure on private tuition on families which is about an average of 242 US dollars per month (Lee and Shouse, 2011). The ineffectiveness of such policies can be traced back to the fact that it is as much symbolic as instrumental (Lee and Shouse, 2011). Instrumental goal of education to get into the labour market is crisscrossed with the cultural aspect of private tutoring which renders a complex picture of the market that needs to be unpacked taking into account the educational changes happening in a particular setting.

In the next section and the section that follows, I focus on the literature on the demand side and the supply side of the market to understand what determines the dominance of private tuition.

2.3 Understanding the demand side of the market

Demand for private tuition can be analysed at different levels- individual, society, family, community and school which in short are micro factors. Macro factors include the education policy, cultural values and labour market signals. Dang and Rogers (2008) suggest that demand for private tutoring should take into account both the micro and macro factors. The empirical studies take demand for private tuition as an output in education production function measured in terms of private tutoring expenditure, whether the students avail private tuition or in terms of time spent in tutoring. An analysis of demand also requires one to understand the methods and approaches used in several studies and how far they have been successful in bringing out this social phenomenon at hand. Before discussing about the determinants of demand, it is important to identify what type of students require private tutoring.

2.3.1 Who chooses to opt for private tuition and why?

There is an ongoing debate in the literature on the type of students (high achievers or low achievers) who opt for tutoring. Stevenson and Baker (1992) showed close association between participation in shadow education and achievement in schooling, i.e., students who are already performing well in formal education system availed private tutoring. Bray (1999) argued that students who are high scorer attend private tutoring to maintain the competitive advantage. This has also been documented in other studies in China and Taiwan (Tseng, 1998; Bray and Kwok, 2003). In the context of Germany (Toyama- Bialke, 1998), Malta (Falzon and Busuttil, 1988) and Sri Lanka (Gunnawardena, 1994) similar observations were made where scoring higher in examination seems to be the driver of demand for such a service. According to Bray (2020), “shadow education is less of a support to those who are in real need of learning support that they cannot find at school and a lot more about maintaining competitive advantages within schools for students who are already successful and privileged” (p.26). Therefore, this branch of studies suggest that private tutoring is seen as an “enrichment strategy”.

Contrary to the above view, Baker et al. (2001) used TIMSS study based on 41 countries to conclude that there is a negative correlation between student’s achievement and private tuition, highlighting that shadow education has a remedial purpose in three

fourth of the countries. Therefore, shadow education is not necessarily an “enhancement strategy” guided by high stake examination. They separated the purpose of tutoring by regressing mathematics score on a binary variable indicating student’s time spent devoted to extra lessons. If the proportion of students who are low achievers in mathematics is greater than their high achieving counterparts, the author considered it as “remedial” as against “enrichment”. Similar trend has been found in the work of Ireson (2004), Aurini & Davies (2004) and Wolf (2002).

This issue of whether the purpose of tutoring is for “remedial” or for “enhancement” has caught considerable attention of the researchers recently. Bray and Kobakhidze (2014a) contended that the issue of researching shadow education is faced with methodological and conceptual challenges. Conceptually, the definition of private supplementary tutoring is different in different context. One of the difficulties of working with national level data like TIMSS or PISA is that they take the definition of shadow education arbitrarily and this might undermine the intensity of tutoring. Bray et al. (2014a) pointed out that the type of questions asked in TIMSS questionnaire on extra lessons “during the week” omit the intensity of tutoring because students take considerable variation exists with respect to term time or vacations. Also, in countries where out of school parallel institutions are not common and “extra lessons” are a part of school routine, this will create discrepancies in the result. For instance, Japan and Korea had cramming school in mid 1990s which are known as *juku* and *hakwon* respectively but in countries like Slovak Republic, these extra lessons are part of schools (Bray et al., 2014). The authors contended that Baker et al (2001) took the data at face value and their interpretation was arbitrary as the questionnaire in TIMSS (1995) did not ask “why the students take private tuition”. Thus, the judgment on whether the purpose of tutoring is “remedial” or for “enrichment” is problematic in this context.

The above debate on ‘who takes tutoring and why’ vehemently brings out how international data is incapable of bringing out the intensity of tutoring because the scale of comparison between the countries may not be same. As the phenomenon of shadow education carries different meanings in different context, the researchers need to be careful in designing the questionnaire. In light of this, there is a need to carry out a research in a particular context to see the motivations behind tutoring. Also, the dichotomy between ‘remedial’ and ‘enrichment’ breaks down when tutoring is a result

of ‘intensive parenting’ (Davies, 2004). “Intensive parenting”, according to Davies (2004), is a type of upbringing by parents who “place a great premium on education, value a cognitively stimulating environment for their children and closely monitor their children’s activities”. While Davies (2004) talked about “intensive parenting” in the context of Canada, he missed out on the ‘class’ aspect of parents who desire tutoring which is important because what “intensive parenting” suggests is a ‘concerted cultivation’ mainly seen among middle class parents (see Lareau, 2001).

In the context of Philippines, Castro and Guzman (2014), based on their qualitative study found three syndromes “lean on” “pass on” and “ride on” to characterise the private tuition market. Their study divided the students on the basis of need for tutoring. “Lean on” are for those who are low achieving, “pass on” for those who have busy parents and lack assistance in school work and “ride on” are those who are both low achieving and high achieving and whose parents can afford tutoring fee. This might not hold true in various other contexts where the market gives greater autonomy to the ‘reputed suppliers’ (big coaching centres) who choose students on the basis of their ‘ability’ (For instance, in India).⁸ In this case, “ride on” students will consist of only high achieving students.

The above discussion indicates that the purpose of availing tuition varies across different cultures and type of students seeking additional help cannot be simply demarcated as ‘high achieving’ and ‘low achieving’. A recent work on shadow education finds that countries with high stake examinations reveals larger dominance of private tutoring with students from high socio-economic status attend shadow education than their counterparts (Zwier et al., 2021). This may not always hold. In the context of South Korea, Lee and Shouse (2011) found that the students’ desire for prestige matriculation influences parents’ spending on shadow education which leads to students from low-income families spending a huge amount on private tuition. He asserts that opting for tuition is not for academic purpose but because of a general “feeling of uneasiness”. This is again related to tremendous peer pressure which again leads to higher demand for tutoring. But in North Europe private tutoring phenomenon is less pronounced because of the well-functioning schools which are able to meet the need of the students and the schools provide extra lessons for slow learners (Bray,

⁸ Information gathered through various websites of coaching centres in India.

2011). As evident from above discussion, it is inconclusive whether it is the culture of tuition or socioeconomic status or quality of schools that determines the choice of tuition by a parent.

While the demand for private tuition may be induced demand or ‘artificially generated demand’ (Sen, 2009), one also needs to demystify whether it is ‘supply induced’ as argued by Majumdar (2014) in the context of West Bengal, India. In various cases, the market flourishes because it provides the promise of better educational outcomes to its consumers and its providers take strategies to establish legitimation (Aurini, 2004). This issue will be developed in the succeeding sections to explain the dominance of this market.

2.3.2 Determinants of demand for tutoring

In this section, I focus on the factors determining the demand for private tuition under different contexts. Based on the literature, the factors can be categorized broadly into four groups as – institution specific, household specific, student specific and community specific.

School related factors

Literature suggests that institutions i.e., the type of schools (private or public) is a driver of demand for tutoring. Parents strategize in the education market where school choice and private tuition decisions are taken simultaneously depending on the quality of the school. In the context of Canada, Davies (2004) showed that parents who are dissatisfied with public schools, invest in private tutoring as they cannot afford expensive private schools and hence availing tuition is ‘school choice by default’. Researchers argue that decision to invest in private tuition is related to the parent’s perspectives about formal schooling (Power and Taylor, 2017). It is the quality of government schools that is generally questioned in various contexts mostly in developing countries (Glewwe & Kremer, 2006; Chaudhury et al.; 2006; Dang and Rogers, 2008; Banerji and Wadhwa, 2013; Davies, 2004; Baker et al. 2001; Kim and Lee, 2010; Kim, 2005; Safarzyńska, 2013) where there is high incidence of absenteeism of school teachers. But in the context of India Azam (2016) found that probability of private school goes attending private tuition is higher than government school goes implying there is some ambiguity about the relation between institution type and

demand for tutoring. Also, studies have not shown whether the difference in learning gap between government and private school (learning outcome is taken as a measure of quality) is due to true 'private school effect' as students from private schools also attend tuition (Aslam and Atherton, 2014). Also, the nature of market availed by students from different institutions should be brought under scrutiny to understand where the students land up in the continuum of providers. Ghosh and Bray (2020) documented in the context of West Bengal that schools beget private tutoring activities as schoolteachers become part of the market. This is also argued by Kobakhidze (2018) in the context of Georgia where schoolteachers as tutors create demand for private tuition. Since the decision with regard to private tuition is undertaken in the education market with heterogeneous providers, it is pertinent to dig deeper as to whether the market for private tuition is segmented on the basis of the type of schools.

Family related factors

The household factors are income, household size and parental education.

Household income- Affluent families can mostly avail private tuition and it is found to be significant in Bray (2015); Safarzyńska (2013); Stevenson and Baker (1992); Bray and Kwok (2003); Chu (2009); Kenayathulla (2012); Azam (2016); Kim & Lee (2004); Tansel and Bircan (2006); Dongre and Tewary (2015); Liu and Bray (2017); Assad & El Baldaway (2004). But Davies (2004) in his bivariate analysis found no significant difference in income between the parents who avail private tuition and those who do not.

Household Size- Large household size implies that investment on each children decreases. So, it is expected that with increase in household size, participation decision and expenditure decision may fall. Studies (Dang & Rogers, 2009; Castro & Guzman, 2014; Liu, 2012) have found negative relation between household size and private tuition decision and expenditure with the exception of Bray (2013) who found a positive relation between household size and decision to go for tuition implying that some forms of tuition are within the budget of large size household.

Parent's education- In many studies that used quantitative techniques, parental education emerged as a significant determinant of demand for tutoring. Some studies found that students' chances of receiving private tutoring increases if parents are more

educated (Bray and Kwok, 2003; Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Kim and Lee, 2010; Zhang, 2020; Liu and Bray, 2017). This can be attributed to parental expectation about their children's future. Southgate (2013) also pointed out the importance of family capital, of which one is parental education in determining participation of students in private tutoring. He found that out of the sample of 17 countries, 16 countries show positive significant relationship between parental education and private tutoring. It is interesting to note that mother's education is found to be significant in some studies (Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Kim and Lee, 2010) pointing to the fact that educated mothers are more involved in child's education what Donner (2008) found out in the context of middle class mothers in Kolkata.

Student Related factor- Is there a pro male bias?

It is almost a truism that in private investment, boys are favoured than girls within the household because labour market returns are different for male and female apart from the societal considerations that women are married off. Much of the literature documents gender bias in favour of a male child in private tutoring investment (Lee, 2004; Nath, 2008; Aslam and Atherton, 2014; Azam, 2016; Liu and Bray, 2017). However, in China, South Korea, Egypt and Ghana, parents invest more on girl child (Chu, 2009; Lui, 2011; Elbadwy et al., 2007; Montgomery et al., 2000). Mixed result on gender implies that it should be examined in a particular context. For instance, one child policy in China might mute the gender disparity. Sometimes, investment in education is not taken with the expectation of labour market returns but as marriage premium as found in Egypt where highly educated women found educated husbands (Elbadwy et al. 2007).

Community related factors

Community specific factors that are mostly dealt with in the literature include location of the household and peer effect. Studies show that urban sites attract more investments due to their locational advantage creating competitive environment such that students in urban areas are more likely to attend tutoring than their rural counterparts (Bray, 2009; Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Nath, 2008; Kim and Lee, 2010; Brehm and Silova, 2014; Azam, 2016). On the other hand, in countries like South Korea and China, peer

pressure is found to be a significant determinant of tutoring (Bray and Kwok, 2003; Kim, 2007).

2.4 Who are the players in the market and how do they strategize?

As argued earlier, there exists different forms of the ‘shadow education’ which makes the market highly differentiated with various providers. On one hand, there are informal tutors at the fringe of the market and on the other, there are ‘edupreneurs’ and franchises who have a niche of their own. Bray (1999), initially categorized tutors into two types - a) tutors who are employed in the mainstream as teachers and engage in tutoring outside of the mainstream and tutor their own students in the mainstream and receive additional payments b) tutors who are not part of the mainstream and do not bear responsibility for students otherwise. This form of tutoring is also divided between one who provides one-to-one tutoring (individual tutors) and one where tutors teach in large classrooms. They include university students, retired teachers, university professors and housewives (Bray, 1999; Majumdar, 2014; Bray and Kobakhidze, 2015). Tutors vary in terms of age, gender, location, fees charged, mode of teaching, training and qualification (Ghosh and Bray, 2020). They may be full time or part time tutors hired by an institution or they may be self-employed (Bray, 1999). There are also websites which provide information on tutors who are mainly self-employed to match customer’s preferences and help to identify tutors who would deliver lessons in tutee’s home against commissions (Bray, 2011).

In many countries, schoolteachers are part of the market and create demand for tutoring either through compulsion or persuasion (Bray, 2009; Dawson, 2009; Majumdar, 2014; Kobakhidze, 2018; Ghosh and Bray, 2020). Majumdar (2014) argued that the involvement of schoolteachers as tutors often result in a conflict between one’s official duty and private gain. Some studies also regard this practice as more prone to corruption as teachers charge fees for additional service (Bray, 2013; Majumdar, 2014). In some countries, teachers are found to coerce students into taking tuitions and inflate student’s marks in the examination by taking bribes (Klugman et al., 2001; Kobakhidze, 2018; Ghosh and Bray, 2020). In the context of West Bengal, Ghosh and Bray (2020) found that schoolteachers discriminated against students who did not receive tutoring from them by lowering their grades or by humiliating them in the class. These practices take the shape of corruption when teachers abuse public offices for private gains. However,

schoolteachers' involvement in private tutoring is context specific and complicated by several other motives as Kobakhidze (2014; 2018) pointed out in the context of Georgia which include economic conditions of the teachers in the country as well as non-economic motives of being a tutor. In Georgia, where private tutoring market is unregulated and teachers are paid lower salary, private tuition is not necessarily a corrupt activity (Kobakhidze, 2014). In the context of India, where teachers are prohibited from providing private tuition according to RTE (2009), their engagement in private tutoring can be cited as a corrupt activity. In private schools, the schoolteachers are found to run their tutorial centres as some schools restrict them from tutoring their own students which also go against the mandates of the RTE, 2009 (Gupta, 2021).

Apart from the financial motives of being in the tutoring market, schoolteachers often cite professionalism as the other reason for providing private tuition as tutoring makes them read more or hone their skills (Kobakhidze, 2014;2018). In Cambodia, Dawson (2010) found that poor salary of schoolteachers is responsible for their entry into the tutoring market. However, Kobakhidze (2018) found that some tutors believe that quality life is desirable and hence there is no notion of “enough salary” which implies that higher salary would not refrain them from providing tuitions. (p. 126). These variety of motivations are interesting as they bring new dimensions to the context of private tutoring which might help us to understand the supply dynamics and the growth of tutoring.

Gupta (2019), in the context of India showed that school teacher's involvement in tutorial centres make it a 'useful' educational space where teachers blend their professional ethics with their entrepreneurial skills. The involvement of schoolteachers as tutors in different spaces i.e., at tutor's home or at tutorial centres is more likely to increase the demand for tutoring and therefore, schools are often considered as breeding grounds for private tuition (Ghosh and Bray, 2020). The demand for schoolteachers as tutors in top coaching centres in India as Gupta (2021) documented, can be attributed to their 'insider view' about the education system such as evaluation, assessment etc. These studies which cite schoolteachers as part of the market often overlook the potential conflict that might arise in the market due to the presence of schoolteachers as salary earners vis-à-vis other tutors for whom the market is the only source of

survival. This remains an underexamined issue in the literature which can be explored to understand the viability of this market as a potential source of income and rent seeking.

In Taiwan and in Mainland China, particularly in Hong Kong, there is a huge demand for 'star tutors' who conduct classes in lecture halls and they appeal to the students with their styles and physical attributes going much beyond traditional form of tutoring (Wang and Bray, 2016). Yung and Yuan (2020) highlighted that these star tutors create an image of exam experts who are 'God like' because of their capability of predicting examination questions. Similar observations were made by Koh (2014) who found that tutorial centres in Hong Kong capitalize on the physical appearance of the tutors i.e., their fashion sense, body language to lure 'customers' and thereby turn them into a commodity.

In some cases, tutoring operates in huge enterprises which has led to the dramatic change of the market from being informal to what Majumdar (2014) calls 'organized informality' where even schoolteachers assume the identity of entrepreneurs (Gupta, 2019). Educational entrepreneurs, as pointed out by Aurini (2004), in the context of Canada are tutoring businesses or managers with a commercial interest in tutoring, who do not require training or teaching certificates but 'entrepreneurial' skills. Aurini and Davies (2004) argues that the other form of industry i.e., franchising is also visible in the form of 'learning centres' that give local tutors or businesses an opportunity to showcase themselves by delivering a 'brand name' in return for fees. Learning centres like Kumon, Sylvan learning, Oxford learning etc. gain legitimacy by reaching out to the customers from diverse needs- from preschool goes to students pursuing higher education (Aurini and Davies. 2004). These centres have opened their sites all over the world covering millions of students of different country origins. Aurini (2006) highlights that their wider acceptance is tied to the demand for individualized tutoring and they respond to the changed technical environment by adopting the template of being 'school like' and hiring attractive professionals. In the context of Australia, Briant et. al. (2020) found that the tutoring businesses use parent's testimonials as a marketing strategy to attract more customers by focusing on the success stories of the children. These recommendations are provided in the websites of the tutoring suppliers which

legitimizes the presence of the tutoring suppliers as well as turn the parents into consumers following logic of the market (Briant et. al., 2020).

As far as the motivations of the tutors are concerned, they vary in the shadow education market depending on whether they are mainstream teachers or not. For instance, Bray and Silova (2006) found that university students provide tutoring to secondary students and secondary students tutor primary students for pocket money (p. 29). Similar observations were found in the narratives of schoolteachers in Kobakhidze's (2018) study where the biographies of the schoolteachers were linked with their past history of being tutors when they were university students. Tutoring is a 'survival strategy' for many providers, especially for low salaried schoolteachers and for people searching for jobs. While financial gains are important reasons of providing private tuition, some studies point out that the flexibility in pedagogic approaches and autonomy in the informal tutoring market often entice individuals to tutor students (Popa, 2007; Bray, 2011). There is scope for innovations by bringing new technology or exploring new methods of teaching which is otherwise not possible in the formal schooling system (Bray, 2011). On the other hand, many housewives are taking up this profession as a part time job which is socially acceptable (Russell, 1997). Therefore, there are multiple motives at work in the shadow education market depending on the type of tutor and their backgrounds. The market offers different individuals an opportunity to look for avenues of income and it is the flexibility of the market that allows them potential ground of entry into the market. While it is true that this market attracts individuals from all backgrounds, market has its limits or boundaries set by the larger players which might restrict entry or survival of other players, especially with the introduction of new technology. The potentiality of the market to accommodate every individual as suppliers of tutoring is an unexplored area in the literature which needs deeper scrutiny.

As discussed above, the providers in this market are highly heterogeneous which segments the market on the basis of types of services offered by the providers. For instance, tutors who specialise in preparatory courses often serve a different client base from those who teach private tutoring lessons tied to school curriculum. The latter serves a diverse student population which includes improving grades, skill acquisition, preparing for school or university examinations etc. (Silova and Bray, 2006). On the other hand, we also find tutorial centres, coaching centres and learning centres that

serve different purposes from training students for high stake examinations to lifelong learning skills (Aurini and Davies, 2006; Punjabi, 2020; Gupta, 2021). These different services often create segmentation within the market and this in turn creates different customer base. In such a case, the strategies of the players in the market also differs. In Georgia, Kobakhidze (2018) found that schoolteachers employ various means to gain advantage over the competitors. These include direct confrontation with other teachers or indirectly discrediting other tutors in front of parents and students or acquiring certificates to prove that they are more worth than their competitors. In some cases, the teachers collaborate and gain tutees through referrals or word of mouth (Kobakhidze, 2018). In various contexts, advertisements are used on billboards, trees, school notice boards, school newsletters as a marketing tool to gain tutees (Silova and Bray, 2006; Davies, 2006; Majumdar, 2014; Doherty and Dooley, 2018). The tutors who are established or experienced in the field, are advised by the agencies to showcase it to the clients and those who are not qualified enough are guided to focus on their previous experiences (Holloway and Wilson, 2020). A lot of emphasis is given on the presence of the tutors on websites as a legitimization strategy where biographies of tutors, testimonials from parents act as marketing tools (Briant et. al., 2019; Holloway and Wilson, 2020; Yung and Yuan, 2020). Davies (2006) highlighted franchises use media like yellow pages, televisions, radio or sponsor sports or donate for carnivals (p. 126).

As the market is growing, different providers get innovative in their marketing skills which is what 'educational entrepreneurship' would entail. Different motivations and strategies of the tutors and tutoring businesses suggest that 'informality' has taken a new route and several players who are not necessarily tutors or teachers are investing in this field and gaining legitimacy. This tendency is further enhanced by demand side factors of individualised tutoring and heightened competition to excel in the race. The focus on the supply side of the market is growing until recently with the advent of technological innovation in the field of education. As many players co-exist in the market, there is a possibility of conflict as well as collaboration among the players which needs further exploration to ascertain the changing dynamics of the market and its implications on various stakeholders. At the same time, there is an urgency to understand the potentiality of the market for the players at the margin. These questions are important in the context of developing countries where informal market harbour the unemployed population and provide them with a source of livelihood. As the market

becomes an arena of profit venture for the corporates, there are informal tutors who are likely to be pushed at the periphery of the market. These possible interlinkages or interdependence is an unexplored area in the literature on private tutoring.

2.5 Some methodological and theoretical concerns

Studies on private tuition are conducted using various data sets- international data (TIMSS, PISA), national data and data gathered at the level of district or cities (local level). Table 2.1 categorise the previous studies by level of analysis. Most of the studies are done from a comparative perspective (Bray, 1999, 2009; Baker et al., 2001; Southgate, 2009) where cross sectional variation in the intensity, scale and cost of tutoring is observed. Although the broad scale data in these studies give us an overall trend of tutoring across various countries but the comparison becomes difficult because the definition of ‘shadow education’ is different in different context. As discussed earlier, out of school tuitions are institutionalised in countries like Japan, Korea and Hong Kong whereas in some countries like Latvia and Slovak Republic the extra lessons are learnt in schools (Bray et al., 2014). Studies done at the local level bring out variation of tutoring at the local level giving emphasis on the context (Davies, 2004; Zhang and Bray, 2017; Bray and Kwok, 2003; Bray, 2013; Safarzyńska, 2013). The problem with studies at the local level is that they are not generalisable and do not hold true in a wider scale. The studies using both national level data and cross country data mostly use econometric models to find the determinants of participation in tuition.

Table 2.1: Categorising the previous studies by level of analysis

<i>Comparative studies</i>
Baker et al. (2001), Southgate (2009), Wolf (2002), Safarzyńska (2013), Bray and Silova (2006), Bray (1999; 2009)
<i>National level studies</i>
Ireson and Rushforth (2014), Roy (2010), Dang and Rogers (2009), Tansel and Bircan (2006), Lakshmanasamy (2017)
<i>State level studies</i>
Sujatha (2014), Aslam and Atherton (2012; 2014)
<i>City level studies</i>
Bray and Kwok (2003), Bray et al. (2013), Davies (2004), Majumdar (2014), Zhang and Bray (2017), Castro and Guzman (2014), Steinberg (2011)

Most studies applied Logit and multivariate models. In some studies, Tobit model is also used (Tansel and Bircan, 2006). Few studies have applied Hurdle model over Tobit model (Bray et al., 2013; Azam, 2016) because of the advantages of Hurdle model in separating the decision to opt for tuition and expenditure to be incurred for tuition. The problem of choosing one model over the other is generally encountered when the data are truncated and “piles up” at some value but are continuous otherwise (Burke, 2009). It has been argued that the determinants influencing the decision to opt for tuition and the determinants of expenditure on tuition are separate because the decision for participation involves more psychological factors whereas the decision to spend is mainly economical (Bray et al., 2013). Thus, Hurdle model is deemed fit in such an analysis. Table 2.2 summarises the observed methods and models used in various studies. The variables that are commonly used as explanatory variables in many studies are household income, parental education and location (Dang and Rogers, 2008). Some variables determining private tuition participation is significant on certain regions while not in others owing to different models and data sets used and might also be due to the difference in culture and institutions of the countries. Studies in private tutoring are dominated by quantitative data except few studies (Castro and Guzman, 2014; Smyth, 2009; Davies, 2013; Hartman, 2008) which use qualitative data to understand demand for tutoring. While quantitative data gives a macro picture about the factors which are significant in determining the demand for tuition, it falls short in explaining the process through which these factors become important. There are a few studies which have used both quantitative and qualitative tools (Zhang and Bray, 2017; Bray and Kwok, 2003). One of the advantages of using mixed method approach in understanding demand is that quantitative methods alone fail to capture the perception of the stakeholders. It is also important to understand the market in a particular context to find out interaction of social, cultural and political aspect which can be done through field observations. A mixed method approach is thus recommended where the choice of the method/methods should depend on the research questions one seeks to answer (Herbert and Reis, 1999). Methodological concerns arise from our quest to search for social reality which is layered and complex. It is more so in the context of tutoring market because of its nature as different stakeholders have incentives to hide information about tutoring. In such a case one should begin with the question of social ontology to guide the methodology which is a missing link in the studies conducted so far to unravel reality.

Table 2.2: Method and Approaches used in previous studies

<i>Propensity Score Matching:</i> Smyth (2009)
<i>Logit Model:</i> Safarzyńska (2013), Davies (2004), Smyth (2009), Bray et al. (2013)
<i>Probit Model:</i> Montgomery et al. (2000), Choi (2018)
<i>Tobit Model:</i> Tansel and Bircan (2006), Kim and Lee (2010)
<i>Bivariate Analysis:</i> Safarzyńska (2013), Davies (2004)
<i>Ordered Logistic Regression:</i> Hamid et al. (2009)
<i>Hurdle Model:</i> Bray et al. (2013), Kim and Lee (2010), Azam (2016)
<i>Mixed Method:</i> Bray and Kwok (2003)
<i>Case Study and Ethnographic Methods:</i> Hartman (2008), Castro and Guzman (2014), Kwok (2010)

Theoretical basis of the literature

The literature on private tutoring is dominated by economic theories. Studies are mostly motivated by human capital theory where private tutoring is regarded as household's extra effort to increase human capital (Bray, 2009; Dang and Rogers, 2008; 2009; Bray and Kwok, 2003; Kim 2007; Choi and Choi, 2016; Bray et al., 2013). These studies consider the tight linkages between the labour market and education that drive the act of investment i.e., investment in resources is taken with the desire to secure better results in the examination that would translate into better future in terms of jobs (Bray et al., 2013; 2015). There is also an underlying assumption that households commonly undertake informal rate of return analysis while considering investment (Bray and Kwok, 2003). Kwan-Terry (1991) also considered economic returns that families can achieve from private tutoring in the context of Singapore. In all these above studies, determinants of demand are analysed assuming private tuition as an investment in human capital. However, Dang and Rogers (2008) caution us of employing human capital theory in cases where social productivity might not increase by an equivalent

amount as increase in student's future productivity. This is likely to happen if test scores are just signalling of credentialism in the labour market but do not ensure productive values (Dang and Rogers, 2008). In countries where there are high stake examinations for getting entry at university levels, one might encounter high incidence of tutoring at that level implying that students use private tuition as a signalling device. The literature does not provide us a theoretical basis to understand the non-economic motives behind this additional expenditure although it brings out variables like peer pressure as a determinant of private tuition (Bray, 2009; Kim, 2007). While there is much reason to believe that there is expenditure incurred which is discretionary but the motive of this expenditure may vary depending on social class position. As argued in the earlier sections, the issue of whether the purpose of tutoring is 'remedial' or 'enrichment' can be understood at a deeper level if we look at the question of the process of choice making by taking into account one's social background. In such a case, cultural reproduction theories which looks at education as a class strategy (Bourdieu, 1986; Ball, 1993) may be useful.

2.6 The Indian context

The scholarship on the phenomenon of private tutoring is growing in India but the issue of understanding the 'market' of private tuition remains elusive even though the usage of the term 'market' is in currency in the changing landscape of education in the neo liberal era. Not enough research has been conducted in India on the issue of tutoring although we have various anecdotal evidences in the newspapers on the incidence of tutoring. Most of the research are survey based (Banerji and Wadhwa, 2013; Sujatha, 2014; Aslam and Atherton, 2014; Sujatha and Rani, 2011) except Azam (2016) who used a nationally representative data (NSS) to find the factors responsible for the demand for private tuition. Azam's (2016) study gave an overall idea of the phenomenon of tutoring in India and how it has changed over decades by employing NSS data of various rounds. However, supply side influence in the decision of private tutoring remained underexamined. Recent studies on private tuition in India have paid attention to the supply side of the market where schoolteachers are found to influence the demand for private tuition not only within schools but in tutorial centres where they are recruited (Ghosh and Bray, 2020; Gupta, 2021). These findings throw light on the supply dynamics of the market. Gupta's (2021) study is based in Dehradun, India and

focused on the strategies of the tutorial centres to gain legitimacy by emulating certain characteristics of formal schooling. The relation between the formal schooling and the informal private tutoring market has also been considered in the work of Ghosh and Bray (2020) which examined the schools closely to understand the demand for private tuition in West Bengal as arising out of direct and indirect persuasion of schoolteachers. In both these studies, the dynamics of the market remained unexplored i.e., how the demand and supply elements come together and sustain the market. Also, how each of the players see other players and strategize in response to others in the market demands further exploration. These elements are likely to bolster emergence of various innovations and tactics in this market and transform it into a 'commodity market'. As discussed earlier, there are various players in the shadow education market. Some forms are more prevalent in some regions than the others. For instance, there is a high prevalence of coaching clusters in Kota, Rajasthan (Rao, 2017) whereas in West Bengal, there are informal private tutors scattered across various localities (Majumdar, 2014). As the market is transforming with what Aurini (2004) terms as 'educational entrepreneurship', there is a possibility of new players in the market which would pose threat to the existing players. These possibilities within the ambit of shadow education can be brought to light with deeper scrutiny as they have enormous impact on how education is conceived.

Contrary to the studies which find that private tuition is the preserve of the government school students due to poor quality of government schools (Dang and Rogers, 2008; Davies, 2004; Glewwe & Kremer, 2006; Chaudhury et al.; 2006; Baker et al.2001, Kim & Lee, 2010), Azam (2016) found that the probability of private school students going for private tuition is higher than government school students. Is the demand for private tuition a failure of school system as a whole to provide quality education? There is, therefore, a need to probe deeper into the demand for private tuition to understand parents' aspirations and also the nature of the providers that serve different institutions. The studies in India (Banerji and Wadhwa, 2013; Aslam and Atherton, 2012; 2014; Dongre, 2013) are mostly based in rural India whereas from the literature we found that tuition is more common in the urban areas. Sujatha and Rani (2011) conducted surveys in the states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh and found variation in rural and urban sites in terms of secondary students taking private tuition. Their study missed out on the nature of the market in the rural and the urban and also

there is no theoretical basis of why parents/ students decide to go for tuition and the motivation of different types of suppliers. The supply side presents us with an enigma. Biswal (1999) argues that low salaries of teachers and lack of monitoring system in developing countries are major reasons for the prevalence of private tuition. The idea that low salaries in developing countries is a reason to engage in private tuition by school teachers may be challenged in the Indian context. Drèze and Sen (2013) argued that the ratio of teacher's salary to per capita GDP is much higher in India (around 3) in 2009 as compared to countries like China, Indonesia and Japan (less than 1). Drèze and Sen (2013) write in the context of rising social distance between teachers and students due to high paid salary of regular school teachers:

“The relatively high salaries of schoolteachers have also had the effect of making the effect of school education immensely more expensive in a county with a large pool of people qualified to teach and eager to do so.” (p. 132).

This is indeed a matter to worry as there is expected to be a conflict of duty as a teacher and as a tutor (Majumdar, 2014). In West Bengal, Majumdar (2014) found different types of providers from school teachers to ‘star’ coaching centres with advertisements with the promise of quality tuition. None of the studies in the Indian context brings the family and the tutors in one frame to understand how the market is functioning- whether it is supply induced as Majumdar (2014) points out or whether it an ‘artificially generated demand’ or both.

2.7 Gaps in the literature

Studies on private tutoring have mainly focused on comparative perspectives from different countries (Bray, 2007; Bray & Kwok, 2003, Bray & Lykins, 2012) and have mostly paid attention on demand for tutoring. The studies conducted in several countries including India have mostly looked at the determinants of demand for tuition (Bray, 2015; Safarzyńska, 2011; Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Bray & Kwok 2003; Chu, 2009; Kenayathulla, 2012; Azam, 2016; Kim and Lee, 2004; Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Dongre and Tewary, 2014; Liu and Bray, 2017; Assad and El Baldaway, 2004) without delving deeper into the context of choice making by families. Few studies which have focused on the suppliers (Aurini, 2006; Aurini & Davies, 2004; Aurini and Quirke, 2011; Ghosh and Bray, 2020; Gupta, 2021), did not take the families into consideration.

The studies which have focused on the supply side (Aurini, 2006; Aurini, 2004; Aurini and Davies, 2004) assume that the demand for ‘customized environment’ has resulted in the growth of franchises in the context of Canada. In the Indian context in general and West Bengal in particular, this needs scrutiny because the market is differentiated with different players and franchises are not so visible. In order to understand market response, we need to bring both the families and the providers together.

The literature is inconclusive about the aspect of gender in the choice of tuition (Lee 2004; Liu and Bray, 2017; Aslam and Atherton, 2014; Nath 2008; Chu, 2009; Lui, 2012; Elbadwy et al.2007; Montgomery et al. 2000). In different settings, the result might change. Also, as we look at gender as a determinant of tutoring and find the effect of gender on the decision to take tuition, we might get flawed result about what is happening at the micro level. For instance, if girls participate more than boys, we might feel gender bias is gone. But if we look at the family level, it might happen that the girls’ expenditure on tuition may be less than boys. Therefore, it is important to consider intra-household decision making in order to understand whether the micro picture gets translated into macro reality. The literature misses out on this aspect. In other words, the focus on choice as a process would bring out the nuances of decision making, where gender is likely to emerge as an important issue of household investment in education. This requires consideration on methods i.e., going beyond the binary of the quantitative and qualitative methods such that there is confluence of methods to bring out reality as much as possible. Similarly, whether tutoring is for remedial or enrichment purpose (Bray, 2009; Baker et al., 2001; Wolf, 2002; Southgate, 2009) as debated in the literature (can be understood from a specific context. ‘Intensive parenting’ as pointed out by Davies (2004) can also be a reason for tutoring which depends on the social background of the student which again can be answered by looking at the context in which parents take decision.

There is an ambiguity in the literature on the type of institution and the incidence of private tutoring. As students from both Government and private schools opt for tutoring, it is important to look at the type of tuitions they avail which the literature overlooks. Also, these threads need to be aligned in a particular setting- urban or rural. As the supply side of the story is missed out by studies focusing on demand, it is important to choose a setting where supply side factors find prominence and also where

it does not to get variation in the nature of the market in two settings. The incidence of private tutoring is higher in the urban as documented by various studies in the context of South Korea, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Turkey, Kenya and India (Kim and Lee, 2010; Brehm and Silova, 2014; Nath, 2008; Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Buchmann, 2002; Azam, 2016). The competitive environment of the city is a driving force for the higher incidence of tutoring in the urban (Bray, 2009). Given these considerations, an urban site can be a good entry point to look at various providers and their everyday transactions in the market. As the literature gives scanty attention to the market dynamics, choosing an urban site can possibly bring about the interdependence, if any, between various providers.

Theoretically, human capital theory finds prominence in the literature. Human Capital theory although useful in explaining the motives behind tutoring, it fails to explain the nature of the market because human capital theory deals with investment decision of an individual who faces both the demand and supply. In order to bring the supply side, we need multiple theoretical frameworks to look at the market- the motives of parents and the providers and the networks in which they are embedded. In terms of methods, the studies are mostly quantitative in nature which misses out on the micro details of decision making. Such a complex phenomenon like tutoring cannot be understood with one type of tool. While quantitative data based on secondary data gives a macro picture about the factors which are significant in determining the demand for tuition, it falls short in explaining the process through which these factors become important or fails to capture the factors which are not quantifiable. This calls for ‘methodological pluralism’ to study the complexity of tuition choice. Therefore, both methodologically and theoretically, an exposition of the private tuition market is required to understand what elements or forces are driving the growth of the shadow education market.

2.8 Research Objectives and Research Questions

The following are the research objectives and research questions that run through the study.

1. *To examine the factors responsible for determining the decision and expenditure on tuition.*

a) What is the impact of household level factors (household income, occupation status, number of siblings, and education of household head), child level factors (age, gender, grade, and ability), institution type (government/private) and geographical factors (location, distance from school) on the decision to attend private tuition and spending on tuition?

b) Is there any pro male bias in the decision to attend tuition within the household? Is there any bias in expenditure within the household?

2. To examine how and why family decides to send their children to tuition in a particular locality.

a) How does social and family background influence student's access to tuition and the type of tutor they choose?

b) What kind of information parents use to reach out to the providers? How do they gain information from?

c) How is the decision with regard to tuition made within household? What is the role of gender, subject and choice of school in budget allocation?

3. To explore how the providers of the families gain legitimacy in the market

a) Who are the players in the market?

b) Why do various providers choose to become part of the market and how do they strategise to gain tutees, build reputation and survive in the market?

c) How do the providers in the private tuition market see themselves and their competitors/Collaborators?

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

This chapter highlights the theoretical basis of the study of the private tuition market drawn from the discipline of economics and sociology. Although dominant theories of the market fall under the domain of economics, theories from the perspective of sociology have much to offer in terms of understanding the structures of the market and the internal dynamics of the stakeholders in the market. These theories unfold the non-economic motives of the market agents which remains hidden and embrace cultural aspects in decision making. As the research objectives revolve around the market dynamics of private tuition and parental choice making, market has been conceived of in two ways: as an arena of pursuing interests (of both parents and providers) and as a platform for construction of choice⁹ by the parents. In this chapter, I discuss the possible linkages between various market networks, the prospects of new emerging markets under a ‘host market’ and the tensions that these forms create leading to social movements. Clearly, to ascertain the forces that lead to discontentment and even social movement which push for transformation within the market, there is an urgency to develop a theoretical framework aligning theories from the discipline of economics and sociology. Each of these theories has merits of its own and therefore for a holistic explanation of the nature of the market we need to develop a unifying framework. It is also to be noted that a market under consideration is an education market and differs from goods market in its characteristics (Hogan, 1999; Chattopadhyay, 2012). Institutional arrangements to impart education also differ from other manufacturing units. Therefore, a separate analysis of the informal education market i.e. the private tuition market- the characteristics of the agents, nature of tuition and different institutional set up has been discussed in this chapter. I begin by discussing market as discussed in the literature of neo classical economics and bring out its limitations in providing an understanding of the education market which is based on substantial interdependence among various actors in terms of reciprocity, trust and shared interest.

⁹ In latter chapters ‘choice’ as a concept is problematized under certain circumstances where the parents are compelled to take up certain decisions compulsorily in which case it is a case of ‘no choice’.

As one acknowledges that these attributes contribute towards building up relations within the market, we can no longer dissociate an individual from the society or the economy from the society. This invokes a particular stream of ideas or thoughts where market is not merely seen as a platform to equate demand or supply. Rather, markets are also matrices of power and social relations where there is a constant struggle coined as ‘market struggle’ by Weber (1978) to establish one rule over the other. This brings us to the domain of economic sociology to understand the dynamic character of the market.

I primarily focus on the theories of economic sociology, particularly the contributions made by Granovetter (1985), Fligstein (1996, 2001), Beckert (2002; 2003; 2009) and Abolafia (1998) to foreground my analysis. The major problem with understanding market from an economic sociology perspective is its tilted attention towards the supply side of the market. As market is also conceived as an arena of choice making, I borrow from Bourdieu (1986; 2005) and Hossler and Galagher (1987) model to understand how choice is socially structured. Before delving into the above theories, I bring out neo classical understanding of the market as the starting point and argue how the theories advanced by the economists are not sufficient to address the research questions.

3.2. Market: Economics perspective

Standard Economics textbook defines market as “the collection of buyers and sellers that, through their actual or potential interactions, determine price of the product or set of products (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 2013, p.7). This definition points out that the market is defined primarily in terms of interaction between *anonymous* buyers and sellers and the role of the market is centred on ‘price determination’ which has been criticized by institutional economists (Stigler, 1967; North 1977; Coase, 1988) and economic sociologists (Swedberg, 2003; Beckert, 2002; Fligstein, 1996; Lie, 1997). Before making a case against the limitation of economics in fully providing a theoretical basis for market and for education market in particular, one needs to pay attention as to how economists have conceptualized market from time to time.

Economics perspective of the market, however, dates back to the time of Adam Smith in his classic book of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. He conceived of a self-regulatory market which would allocate resources

efficiently through the mechanism of ‘invisible hand’. The inherent tendency of the economic man i.e. self-interest is considered to be the guiding principle in the operation of the market. Smith’s contention was that individuals guided by their self-interest would benefit the society as a whole. This idea has been taken forward in the first welfare theorem which formulates that any competitive equilibrium leads to Pareto efficient allocation of resources¹⁰, i.e., competitive market is central to an efficient allocation of resources. The assumption of competition in the market and self-interest propels exchange of goods as it is ‘natural’ for an individual to ‘truck, barter and exchange’ (Smith, 1776). The division of labour occupies a nodal position in one of his chapters in explaining exchange but is considered to be limited by the size of the market. Large markets will facilitate more division of labour than the smaller ones. The division of labour along with accumulation of capital in a competitive environment works in tandem in ensuring that the market functions properly. Capital accumulation results in the formation of new markets. In short, the nature of *homo economicus* and competition work together in increasing the wealth of the nation. This is possible when there is minimalist role of the State which ensures that there is liberty to invest or carry out exchange. Market and State are two opposing categories in Smith’s philosophy as he espoused that “Great nations are never impoverished by private, though they sometimes are by public prodigality and misconduct. The whole, or almost the whole public revenue, is in most countries employed in maintaining unproductive hands” (Smith [1776/1961, I, 363] c.f. Reisman, 1998). State is required for national defense, ensuring property rights and universal public education (Skousen, 2001).

Adam Smith’s conception of the market as an entity antagonistic to the State was attacked during the Great Depression where the State assumed a critical role in the functioning of the market based capitalist system. The centrality of the State in correcting market failure finds its place in Keynes’ *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936). The relation between the State and the market is far more complicated in the era of neoliberalism where one finds incorporation of market forces within the public sector which is loosely termed as ‘marketization’ (Birch and

¹⁰ Pareto efficiency is a condition where an individual cannot be made better off without worsening the other.

Siemiatycki, 2016) and instances of public private partnership. This trend is particularly visible in various sectors including education.

Adam Smith conceived of market as 'natural' and did not focus on different structures of the market (Swedberg, 2003). Smith (1776) described market in terms of carrying out exchange and division of labour focusing more on the role of the market, rather than defining it. But the idea of the market as 'marketplace' in the classical economics shifted to an abstract market as determining prices in the works of Marshall, Jevons and Walras (Swedberg, 2003). Instead of analysing different forms of the market or analysing diverse relations within it, there is an attempt to understand market exchange (Lie, 1997). The idea of a 'perfect' market was celebrated in the writings of the marginalists. In 1890, Marshall wrote, "The more nearly the perfect the market is the stronger is the tendency for the same price to be paid for the same time in all parts of the market." Clearly, the market described as 'perfect' is a perfectly competitive market. Another attribute of the perfect market is that of perfect knowledge between the sellers and the buyers as conceived by Jevons (Stigler, 1957).

This abstract concept of market further found its place in the neo classical tradition which in Hogan's (1999) term is 'the market abstracted from the social economy' (p.317) and in Lie's (1997) words 'a placeless market'. The neo classical economics glorifies the concept of 'efficiency' attainable in a competitive market. This requires a set of assumptions about the nature of the actors as well as the nature of market equilibrium. Hogan (1999) explains that the neo classical theory of the market is a theory of individual preferences as 'rational', where choices are a function of preferences. The choice formation in the market takes place independently, i.e., the actors behave independently and exchange take place until the gains from trade have been exhausted. The other assumptions of the market are perfect information about the price and quality of the product as well as product homogeneity. The attempt to generalize theoretically has led to the demise of distinction among markets which was intact in the classical theories of the market (Bowles, 1991). Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that proponents of the market who are in favour of introducing market in education from the 'efficiency' point of view are assuming a perfectly competitive market.

While the dominant theories of the market are the ones advanced by the neo classical economists for explaining efficiency, they came under attack by the economists who were interested in understanding various attributes of the market and market relations. Chamberlain (1933) criticized the assumption of product homogeneity and introduced product differentiation in a market which has characteristics of both monopoly and perfect competition. In monopolistic competition product differentiation occurs through advertisements, patents, etc. which resembles most of the markets today. However, the assumptions of perfect information and free entry remain the assumptions of the market. Firms compete with each other and there is no element of interdependency. The presence of strategic interaction which was missing in Chamberlain's model appeared in oligopoly market. Game theory models show such interdependencies between firms but they are limited as it takes relations between individuals as a result of efficient institutions instead of considering path dependency of institutions (Beckert, 2009).

Alternative theories of the market in economics have been proposed by new institutional economists who believe market as institutions (Coase, 1988; North, 1990). Coase (1988) argued that although economics claims to study market, market has assumed more 'shadowy role' than the firm (p.7). The criticism comes from the focus of neo classical economics on price determination rather than the market itself. According to Coase (1988), markets are social institutions which facilitate exchange. In a similar vein, North (1990) also brought about the role of institutions in market transaction and showed the evolutionary nature of the market. Their departure from the neo classical tradition is the introduction of transaction cost in the theory of firm and market. The institutional structure of the market is contingent upon such costs. According to Coase (1988), transaction costs are related to interaction of various agents in the market, gathering information and conducting negotiations among many other things. These costs would allow us to believe in a world where markets are constructed as opposed to the neo classical understanding that the market is given. The construction of market as institution would involve exploring 'the structural characteristics of informal constraints, formal rules, and enforcement and the way in which they evolve' (North, 1990, p. 35).

It is not only the formal or informal rules that constitute institutions, but it also involves the actors and the interest that they pursue (Nee, 2005). Therefore, behavioural assumptions of the actors play an important role in understanding institutions like market. Williamson (1975) complicates the idea of self-interest used in microeconomic theory with the notion of opportunism and bounded rationality. Opportunism is 'lack of candor or honesty' or 'self-interest seeking with guile' which render the market inefficient (Williamson, 1975, p.9). On the other hand, bounded rationality, a concept developed by Simon (1961) refers to the cognitive limitation of the individual which is a limit to their pursuit of rationality. These two tendencies create uncertainty leading to market failure. Clearly, the institutional approach differs from the neo classical approach in their assumption about human behaviour. We observe that there is an attempt within the discipline of economics to understand markets by analyzing tendencies of human behaviour.

Becker (1976) contended that economic approach is useful to understand all human behaviour. He argues that "...all human behaviour can be viewed as involving participants who maximize their utility from a stable set of preferences and accumulate an optimal amount of information and other inputs in a variety of markets"(Becker, 1976, p. 14). The optimization tool of economics has been used to understand a range of phenomenon like marriage, discrimination, crime and family. The assumption underlying optimization problem is that of a 'rational' individual who weighs his cost and benefit to reach efficient outcomes. But following Williamson's argument of bounded rationality and opportunism, this efficient outcome is hard to achieve. Therefore, the assumption about human beings as 'rational' has an impact on how resources are allocated or whether the desired outcome is obtained. This question is related to how preferences are formed within the market and how choices are made within the market. Choice formation which is an integral part of the functioning of market is dealt with in a later section in greater detail with reference to the education market.

While taking a tour of the development of the concept of market in the discipline of economics, one observes how market itself has received less attention in the neo classical tradition and how institutional economics came to the rescue to establish market as an institution questioning the very tenets on which such theories are based.

However, some shortcomings remain in trying to understand market for which sociological lens is necessary. Nee (2005) emphasizes on the importance of actors in the institutions and contends that institutional change involves realignment of interests, norms and power. Institutional economists have ignored the informal rules embedded in social relation (Nee, 2005). Although there are overlapping arguments posed by both sociologists and new institutional economics on the assumptions of neo classical economics about human behaviour, new institutional economists maintained the assumption of individuals as isolated. If institutions are social as North (1977) believes, the interpersonal relation between individuals embedded in the social fabric has the potential to transform the institution. While describing market as an institution, Bowles (1991) maintains that markets are not only economic but also political and cultural institutions in the sense that they have a definitive power structure. This implies that the transaction between actors have social and cultural underpinnings which necessitate ruling out the assumption of anonymity of actors. Institutional economics can provide us a framework to understand formal arrangements of various forms within the market whereas economic sociology can contribute towards understanding the informal rules in the market involving norms, trust and shared beliefs. This calls for a unifying framework where new institutional economics can go hand in hand in explaining market with economic sociology. This unifying framework is fundamental towards understanding market dynamics. According to Collin (1990), market dynamics are seen as engines of historical change and he viewed market as “social structures tend to expand over long periods of time so as to include more people or goods or relationships, and especially to become extended geographically”(p. 111). These changes in the market resulting from the constant flux of new actors, innovation, rules and information are difficult to grasp through one theoretical perspective. As far as capturing the dynamics of the market is concerned, economic sociology as a subfield of sociology has much to offer in terms of understanding social element of market construction. Focusing on the social dimension of the market is more relevant when the market under consideration is an education market as education does not only serve instrumental goal but is also embedded in culture.

3.3 Economic Sociology and the Market

Economic sociology is devoted towards understanding economic action through the prism of sociology by incorporating social dimension to such an action. According to Swedberg (2003), it involves amalgamating the analysis of economic interests with an analysis of social relations. As far as the analysis of market is concerned, sociologists look at the market through interpersonal relations between the buyers and sellers, social networks between the actors, societal and cultural norms that govern transactions and how identities are formed in the market which are symbolic in nature. Economic sociologists attacked the neo classical conception of the market on the grounds of delimiting the role of social, cultural and political contexts under which market operates as well as their conception of individuals as isolated or atomized. As economic sociology takes various standpoints to understand market, I draw on two major areas within economic sociology to understand market dynamics. The first area is concerned with the idea that markets can be seen as networks (Granovetter 1985, 1974). The second area focuses on the cultural dimension of the market. The cultural perspective of the market overlaps with economic anthropology in its focus and is influenced by the work of Bourdieu (2005) who views ‘market as field’. Other sociologists viz., Fligstein (1996, 2001), Beckert (2002, 2003, 2009), Abolafia (1998) have also worked on the cultural dimension of the market which is of particular interest in this study.

3.3.1 Market as networks

In this approach, the concept of embeddedness is central towards looking at economic action tied to social relations. Granovetter (1985) advanced his theory that individuals are embedded in the structure of social relations through the system of networks. According to Granovetter (1985), “networks of social relations penetrate irregularly and in different degrees in different sectors of economic life” (p. 491). Both human behaviour and institutions are interconnected through networks of relations. In this regard, new institutional economists are critiqued for not paying attention to the emergence of institutions as a result of legal, historical, social or political forces but for considering them as ‘efficient solution to economic problems’ (p.505). This is regarded as the *undersocialized* conception of institutions which does not allow the role of social structure in understanding how institutions have evolved. Contrary to this, Granovetter (1985) proposes a framework where personal relations and obligations would ensure

trust and discourage malfeasance in institutions apart from formal rules of the institutions. In other words, embeddedness of institutions would mean “the role of concrete personal relations and structures (or “networks”) of such relations in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance” (p.490). Personal networks work towards providing better information on reputation of an individual in any transaction rather than ‘generalized morality’ or organizational rules. Granovetter (1985) points out that such information is inexpensive, more accurate and detailed and provides incentives to the agents to remain trustworthy to carry out future transactions. The structure of such ties or network determine economic action and therefore opportunism or any other undesired behaviour can be explained on the basis of the degree or density of such networks.

Granovetter’s (1985) concept of embeddedness has often been taken forward by Zukin and Di Maggio (1990) in which they broadly defined the term to incorporate cognitive cultural, social and political aspects. They distinguished among four types of embeddedness of economic action- cognitive, cultural, structural and political. “Cognitive embeddedness” is related to the limitations posed by mental capacities towards an economic action. This is a constraint at the individual or organizational level which has its relation to the concept of ‘bounded rationality’ as discussed earlier. On the other hand, “cultural embeddedness” refers to shared customs and beliefs that shape economic strategies and goals. Zukin and Di Maggio (1990) pointed out dual impact of culture on economic institutions- “On one hand, it constitutes the structures in which economic self-interest is played out; on the other, it constrains the free play of market forces” (p.17).

“Structural embeddedness” emphasizes on the role of structure formed by social relations having an impact on the functioning of markets. This is similar to Granovetter’s (1985) theory of economic action explained through networks of social relations. The other type of embeddedness stresses on the influence of power struggle on economic decisions and institutions where the role of state and social classes assumes importance. This is termed as “political embeddedness”. Zukin and Di Maggio (1990) asserted as to why political embeddedness is critical in understanding economic decision as “the political context of economic action is made up of a complex web of interrelations and expectations” (p.20). The policies of the State shape the environment

under which economic agents carry out transaction. Recognizing different forms of embeddedness connect the micro decision making at the individual level with the macro structure while integrating political, economic and social structures.

3.3.2 Market from a cultural perspective

3.3.2.1 Market as field

The embeddedness perspective developed by Granovetter (1985) has been criticized by Bourdieu (2005) for focusing on direct interaction between individuals in economic institutions without considering the possibility of any change that can occur outside of such interaction. The concept of ‘field’ encompasses such possibilities and market is conceived of as a part of the field. The structure of the economic field is determined by the relations between different firms and the different types of capital (social, technological, symbolic, and financial) that they possess which are ‘strategic market assets’ and provide an agent with competitive advantage over the other. Economic field, therefore, not only shows the relations that are direct but also depict indirect relations among different agents through the distribution of capital and also through the “rules of the game”. The dominant firms are at an advantageous position in the field because they define the “rules of the game” and create an environment most congenial for them. Bourdieu (2005) contends that the regularities that are ingrained in the field provide the field with predictability which the agents acquire it with time. In other words, economic fields allow for calculative agency as well as strategic disposition and yet does not consider the process of price formation as ‘automatic, mechanical and instantaneous’ (p.77). Structure of power relations within the field determines prices in the market. The struggle within the field is a result of competition over acquiring gains from exchange and to alter the current state of “rules of the game” in the field with unequal distribution of capital. Bourdieu (2005) also points out that these changes within the field are also related to the relation the field shares with the exterior, i.e., the State. Competition prevails among the firms to gain access to the State and to modify rules in their favour. What we observe in Bourdieu’s analysis is an attempt to explain economic action from a structural perspective by advancing the concept of field. It necessarily brings out the cultural element by acknowledging that the definition inscribed in the market is amenable to change through struggle for profit. To understand action in a field, Bourdieu uses the concept of economic habitus which is “socialized

subjectivity, a historical transcendental, whose schemes of perception and appreciation (system of preferences, tastes etc.) are the product of collective and individual history” (p.84). It transcends the dichotomy of methodological individualism and methodological holism by embracing the interplay of both agency and structure. Individuals with different habitus interact in the field of which market is a part.

3.3.2.2 Market as Politics and Market as Cultures

In a similar vein, Fligstein (1996) also criticizes Granovetter (1985) for focusing only on social relations to understand transaction. He advances a ‘political cultural approach’ to incorporate the role of politics in the market processes related to internal firm power struggle and power struggle across firms to control markets. Fligstein’s (1996) framework is akin to Bourdieu’s (2005) in many ways. As in Bourdieu, Fligstein (1996) views market as similar to ‘organizational fields’ where firms interact with each other and engage in power dynamics. Dominant firms in Fligstein’s (1996) analysis try to create stable worlds similar to the “rules of the game” in Bourdieu (2005). Fligstein (1996) uses the metaphor of “market as politics” to understand “how social structures come into existence, produce stable worlds and are transformed” (p.657). Market is seen as a social construction and there are “rules” of market building. Fligstein refers to the plurality of market forms and rejects the idea of a single form in a modern capitalist society. He depicts the possibility of market creation and market crisis for which he uses the metaphor of ‘social movement’ to define action in markets. According to him, “economic worlds are social worlds; therefore, they operate according to principles like other social worlds” (p.657). The theoretical position that Fligstein (1996) subscribes to is a constructivist one in which he emphasizes on the indispensability of culture in the production of market institutions by referring to ‘local cultures’ of the market following Geertz (1983). If market worlds are considered social, property rights, governance structure, conceptions of control and rules of exchange are the preconditions for the market to exist. These are the institutions which provide basis for exchange, cooperation or control in the market. Fligstein (1996) defines each of the institutions as an on-going process; property rights are defined as social relations governing who can claim profit and governance structures are general rules of competition and cooperation and how firms should organize themselves. Fligstein (1996) points out that both laws and informal rules become part of governance

structures. The other two institutions- conception of control and rules of exchange define the cultural aspect of the market. Conception of control is an actor's understandings which shape his perception of how to act in a market and form meanings in their world and to control situations. In explaining conception of control, Fligstein (1996) refers to "local knowledge" (Geertz, 1980) which help the actors to orient action towards one another. This gives them an idea of who has an influence in the market and why.

Rules of exchange, on the other hand, set out the conditions of transaction and the actors who should carry out transaction. All these institutions play a role in defining market structure along with the State. State acts by enforcing rules related to property rights, governance structures and rules of exchange. The State also changes conception of control through its policies. Fligstein (1996) points out the existence of 'political contests over the content of laws, their applicability to given firms and markets' (p. 660). There are various instruments through which the State ensures the existence of stable markets- direct intervention and regulation. The primacy accorded to the State makes his theory of market distinct from Bourdieu (2005) although Bourdieu mentions about the connection an economic field has with the exterior i.e. State. Fligstein's argument is centred on State's direct and indirect involvement in changing the conditions of the market. For instance, in one of his propositions, he mentions that new markets are shaped by initial regulatory institutions because they engage in producing 'cultural templates' that has an impact on how to organize. Once these markets are formed there is a tendency to maintain stability in the market.

This brings us to the question as to how markets become unstable. Fligstein (1996; 2001) offers theoretical propositions about stable market worlds and what causes it to change. Instability arises from the attempt of the firms to outdo each other, i.e., compete with each other. Conception of control works towards constructing a social understanding whereby internal conflicts are resolved among the firms. But price competition cannot be contained in some markets in which case politics of the market and social organization attempts to create stability. Actors face 'murky worlds' which create possibilities of fuzzy outcomes, i.e., the actors are not able to decide on which outcome would yield the maximum profit. Fligstein (1996) contends that actors orient their action to construct stable worlds in such a situation. To avoid price competition,

there arises possibilities of cooperation by forming cartels, involving the State through regulation, integration and diversification. Integration involves merging with competitor firms which would help reduce competition. On the other hand, diversification would allow for profit venture in new markets via production of multiple products to increase the chances of survival. Fligstein (1996) argues that this process is cultural because conception of control is based on one's interpretation of the world based on experiences. They become an effective tool in creating 'stable worlds' or in Fligstein's (1996) words, "they become accepted or common knowledge only after they operate to produce stability for some firms. Such tactics and conceptions create cultural stories that can be used over and over again to justify an action or to produce a new one". (p. 660).

Market formation in his framework involves three phases, viz. emergence, stability and crisis. Fligstein (1996) argues that "market as politics" metaphor becomes relevant in such a scenario where politics arises due to different conditions of market stability. He defines "stable markets as a market in which the identities and hierarchy of firms (the incumbents and the challengers) are well known and a conception of control that guides actors who leads firms is shared" (p. 663). The role of politics revolves around 'reproducing the position of the advantageous groups' as Fligstein (1996) points out. At an initial stage of market creation, politics is similar to social movements in that each firm tries to establish their own conception of control and the powerful firms attempt to dictate their conception of control. As long as conception of control is maintained, there is stability in the market. Market is in crisis when it is prone to transformation which results from some firms trying to change the conception of control. This resembles social movement because there are possibilities of collusion with other incumbent firms to establish a new conception of control. The social movement metaphor is used for the emerging market because the conditions necessary for social movement is similar to that of firms trying to maintain stability. The success of a social movement involves "the size of the groups, their resources, the existence of political opportunity to act, state actors willing to negotiate grievances, and the ability to build a political coalition around a collective identity" (p.664). Similarly, these conditions are applicable for the firm who are trying to take advantage of the market.

'Market as cultures' developed by Abolafia (1998) also echoes the position of Fligstein (1996; 2001) that markets demonstrate power relations among actors and repeated interactions within the market create 'institutionalized rules' in the market. Abolafia (1998) highlights that market can be seen as cultures i.e. "loci of repeated interaction/transaction, markets exhibit their own distinct set of mutual understandings" (p.69). He points towards three approaches to understand market as cultures: constitutive rules and roles, local rationality, and the dynamics of power and change. Constitutive rules are both formal and informal rules that influence interest of the actors whereas constitutive roles involve creation of certain identities in the course of interaction of the actors within the market. This approach emphasizes on the notion of rationality at the community level or context based judgments. As in Fligstein (1996), Abolafia (1998) explains dynamics of change in the market as a result of an attempt by the actors to establish their set of rules which in Fligstein's (1996) words is the 'conception of control'.

3.3.3 The problem of coordination within the Market: Combining Embeddedness and Cultural Perspective

Beckert (2009) outlines how actors in the market with conflict of interest orient themselves. He argues that an explanation of market should address the question of 'order of markets'. That market is in constant flux and is dynamic in nature as discussed in Fligstein's (1996) framework. But unlike Fligstein (1996), Beckert (2009) succinctly explains reconfiguration of human action within the market by arguing that actors encounter 'coordination problems' viz. value problem, the problem of competition and the problem of cooperation. According to Beckert (2009), the coordination problem can be solved by forming 'stable expectations' of actors in the market and these micro level expectations form the basis of 'order of the markets' which is also a macro level solution to the coordination problems. Beckert (2009) maintain a middle path between the spectrum of embeddedness perspective of Granovetter (1985) and cultural perspective of Fligstein (2001) by considering that "market actors' expectations are formed by structural, institutional and cultural embeddedness of market exchange" (p. 247). Beckert (2009) deviates from Fligstein (1996; 2001) and Granovetter (1985) in his approach by acknowledging consumption decision or demand side through valuation and cooperation problem. He focuses on uncertainty to explain the dynamics

of the market and asserts that coordination problem in uncertain situation should be the focus of the sociology of market. In these situations, the role of macrostructures or what is termed as 'order of the market' becomes relevant.

The valuation problem is central towards understanding the demand side of the market which has received little attention in the economic sociology literature. Beckert (2009) contends that this is related to the formation of preferences but the presence of uncertainty renders difficulties in knowing the value of the commodity. The valuation problem becomes difficult when there are multiple and diverse goods in the market and the criteria to assess value should go through social and political convention as Beckert (2009) explains. The criteria for assessing value rest within the field. For instance, Beckert (2002) explains that within the field of art, artists gain recognition through influential members within the field. But at the same time there is contestation within the field to change the existing pattern of judgments. Beckert (2009) contends that "existing orders of valuation do not only provide order in the market but also have specific distributive outcomes which are contested" (p. 255). Uncertainty occurs when there is a struggle in the field to change these outcomes. This valuation problem can be solved by social convention wherein the mere possession of a particular good which carries 'status' reduces uncertainty. Beckert (2009) employs the notion of 'habitus' developed by Bourdieu (2005) to explain the valuation problem which is linked to the acquisition of cultural capital and which links consumption decision to social stratification. The role of the producers in contributing to the valuation problem is also pointed out by Beckert (2009), according to which the producers create an attachment of their goods through marketing strategies. The valuation problem is subjective in that the consumers attribute meanings to the objects driven by social convention as well as through marketing activities of the producers. But this problem will persist as innovations and new products create uncertainty in the market and pose challenges to the assumption of 'rational action'. Inherent in this analysis is the idea that Beckert (2003) maintains i.e. "actors are *intentionally rational*-meaning actors do want to enhance their welfare" (p.773) but the uncertainty associated with the market might not allow for choosing the optimal strategies. This analysis is relevant for analyzing the demand side of the market for private tuition which I develop later in this chapter.

Apart from the valuation problem, Beckert (2009) identifies problem of competition and cooperation problem. Beckert (2009) argues that competition threatens profit and hence firms adopt strategies to protect themselves from uncertainty as profit seeking is threatened. This argument is in line with Fligstein (1996) where firms form cartel, adopt product differentiation, take first mover advantage etc. to earn profits and maintain stability. Market dynamics unfold because the firms face challenges of competition (Beckert, 2009). Beckert (2009) points out that the order of the market does not only depend on ‘stable worlds’ as Fligstein (2001) conceived, but also on the conditions of social legitimacy which helps in the functioning of markets. But the operation of the market is thwarted when social and political power exercised in the market creates inequality of extreme form resulting in political struggles. Beckert (2009) warns us of the possibility of a tension between economic logic and social logic with respect to inequality in the market and emphasizes on the usefulness of the concept of embeddedness in explaining the same as follows:

“The embeddedness of markets draws strongly on the struggles between economic and social logics in society; markets are as much political arenas as they are economic realms”. (p. 259)

The other type of coordination problem, i.e., the problem of cooperation arises as a result of market exchanges which are based on incomplete contract and incomplete knowledge (Beckert, 2009). Beckert (2009) argues that stable market relations occur when the buyer is convinced of not being exploited. It requires for the sellers to gain confidence of the buyers which can be achieved through networks of social relations building trust as Beckert (2009) argued referring to the work of Granovetter (1985). Repeated transactions based on trust helps in information dissemination through networks inducing cooperation among actors.

Beckert’s (2009) analysis of the coordination problems opens up explanation for the dynamics of the market. By referring to Schumpeter’s (1934, 1991) notion of ‘creative destruction’, Beckert (2009) explains how innovation causes uncertainty and keeps capitalist economies in flux where value of the product gets replaced. Producers attempt to change the perspective of the consumers on the value of the product and consumers in an attempt to appear ‘distinct’ from others attach meanings to the product. At the same time producers orient their action towards each other and attempt to create

‘stable expectations’ and carry out innovation which causes change in the market and in the macrostructure governing the market.

Market dynamics can therefore be best understood by acknowledging the position that market is not a fixed category and that meanings ascribed in the market by various actors is susceptible to change due to uncertainty present in the market.

3.4 Market for Shadow education-An Economic Sociology perspective

The theories discussed above can be applied in the context of education market and the market for shadow in particular with some modifications to fit the present analysis. This section is devoted towards forming a framework for shadow education market by focusing on the nature of the market: the agents involved, type of competition, nature of the service/good, state policies. The different vantage points through which economic sociology looks at the market provides a broad framework to understand the dynamics of the market. The idea of the market discussed earlier, was based on goods in general and not education as a ‘good’ in particular. But the nature of the good renders uniqueness to the market. In the context of policy making in education, Chattopadhyay (2012) points out “if education as a good (truly speaking, a service) is different from a typical commodity and an educational institution is different from a firm as a manufacturing unit, we need to examine critically the applicability of market principles...” (p. 188). At the same time, the increasing manifestation of various market forms in the domain of education complicates the way education is conceived making it appear as any other market. It is pertinent to identify these market forms and their emergence to inform policy making.

Education market has been conceived as distinct from other goods market because of the social and cultural implications of education and hence the market for education is “socially structured process of economic exchange” in the words of Marginson (2004, p.177). Education does not only serve economic needs (instrumental role) but also serves to maintain or create positions in the society apart from its broader goal of instilling values of citizenship. Therefore, in an education market, demand for education cannot be considered similar to the demand for any other consumption goods. Adnett and Davies (2002) define education as an ‘experience good’ in which the quality of the good is revealed after the students and parents have experienced the service

provided by schools. The intrinsic characteristic of a pupil is likely to yield different outcomes for the same effort provided by the teachers. Since the return to education is not immediate, the choice made in education is regarded as an investment choice. By the same token, Marginson (1995) suggests that education generates positional advantage in the society in terms of credentials, which he coins as 'positional goods' and further suggests that they are mostly investment goods. But the claim by some sociologists (Bowe, Ball and Geertz, 1994) highlights consumption aspects of education where education is constructed as a product in the postmodern education market. The departure from the neo classical view of the market arises from information asymmetry about the quality of the service that leads to market failure. This leads to moral hazard problem on the part of the provider. For instance, the effort exerted by the teacher in school is unobservable and can be a potential source of moral hazard problem. As far as investment in education is concerned, micro decisions by individual can lead to a different social outcome (Majumder, 1983) creating a mismatch in the labour market.

All markets in education do not have similar characteristics or do not operate in a similar fashion. A range of new markets are emerging in education which are distinctively different from each other in their nature, operation and mode of exchange. In other words, the emergence of an informal market that has surfaced in various forms in the domain of education poses challenges in the conceptual analysis of the market. Broadly speaking, informal markets in education vary in certain characteristics from the formal education market and at the same time various forms within the informal market also differ in their operation. The pedagogic practices are different in the informal market i.e., informal markets are more examination centric. They are mostly unregulated except in some contexts where certain laws exist that makes a segment of the market under regulatory norms (e.g. in India where schoolteachers are prohibited as tutors as per RTE, 2009). In the literature, these informal education markets are termed as 'shadow education'. It is so termed because its existence depends on the formal schooling market. Private tuition is one form of the shadow education market among others. By private tuition, I mean supplementary education service provided to the students outside formal schooling against fees. This takes the form of home tuitions (conducted at the tutor's house or tutee's house or at a space rented out for this specific purpose). As argued in Chapter 2, the shadow education market is not a monolithic one;

rather there are various forms coexisting with home based tuitions and sometimes they may overlap with each other in different contexts. The other forms of the shadow that one can identify are coaching centres (both low end and high end), intermediaries in the market (tutor's bureaus) which I refer to as 'shadow of the shadow' and online tutoring services and other educational franchises. Understanding market dynamics would require analyzing one particular form in relation to the other forms under the umbrella term 'shadow'. It is at this juncture that my analysis of the market differs from other studies conducted so far. I focus on the differentiated character of the shadow education market and attempt to develop a framework to bring out the emergence of various forms which are coterminous. Clearly, in order to understand the evolution of market forms, particularly private tuition and its relation with other market forms, one has to go beyond the conventional analysis of the market in economics. In such a case, the market can be conceived to be embedded in networks of relations drawing from Granovetter (1985). I elaborate on the different characteristic features of the market and how theoretical insights from economic sociology can aid in our understanding of the market.

Informality: The term 'informality' gained prominence in the writings of Keith Hart (1973, 1985) to explain the rise of self-employed and casual workers in the labour market in the context of Kenya. Later on, it found its usage as "economic activities that take place outside the framework of official institutions" (Hart, 1985; p. 54). Hart (1985) points out the difference between formal and informal in terms of regularities, reproducibility and predictability. Informal is not recognizable, unpredictable and irregular because it does not have a fixed 'form' and hence unstable. In the education market, we therefore observe various forms of the 'shadow' which are interlocking in nature. Private tuition market, which is one such form, represents this type of instability as there is no specific establishments or institutions that govern the process of transaction and for many private tutors, the occupation is a make shift option. The other characteristic of informality is the existence of unemployed persons unable to get absorbed in the formal labour market who constitute a chunk of suppliers in the market. One of the constructions of the dualism of formal and informal that Hart (1985) hints at is the 'negation of the formal' through activities like tax evasion or backdoor activities. This again corroborates with Bray's (2011) description that the activities of the market often escapes the tax collectors. As this market is informal and less

structured and often posing problem to assess the exact size of the market as Bray (2011) points out, one can employ embeddedness perspective forwarded by Granovetter (1985) and Zukin and Di Maggio (1990) to discern how information on such markets are disseminated. The network of social relations may play a role in such markets apart from various other marketing strategies adopted by the providers in the market. Also, the other way in which informational constraints can be tackled is through various intermediaries in the market which help in the construction of the market through providing information to the parents (consumers).

Following Bourdieu (2005) one may argue that within the 'field' of informality, various market forms emerge that define a structure of relations particular to the field. For instance, the growth of this informal education sector can be attributed to the symbiotic relations between these forms where competition and cooperation both co-exist. In this regard, one may also bring out the relation that the informal has with the formal education market for its sustenance. Private tuition is one 'field' whose existence depends on the formal education market in terms of its curriculum and supply of schoolteachers as tutors. On the other hand, there is existence of "bottom up informalization" (Thomas, 2001) where branded coaching centres as FITJEE, Aakash, Pathfinder etc. run parallel to the formal education market and prepare students for high stake examinations which is not based on school curriculum. Majumdar (2014) describes coaching centres as 'organised informality' which operates outside regulatory norms but has managed to gain legitimacy through marketing techniques. Although many coaching centres that are mushrooming in the city spaces are seemingly unregulated, there are branded coaching centres which come under Indian Company Act (2013). These coaching centres take the organizational forms within the shadow education market in the sense that they function like any other firms and call themselves as 'edupreneurs' (Aurini, 2004). It is at this point that one can find difficulty in distinguishing formal from the informal as informality has traces of formal structures.

It would be interesting to employ theoretical perspectives from economic sociology to identify how informal and formal rules of the market govern the actors of the 'field'. As some of the market forms are institutionalized, a tendency of the institutions to look alike and follow 'rules of the game' as established by the dominant ones. These 'rules of the game' is expected to be more unsettled and susceptible to change in an informal

market than a formal one because of lack of State vigilance or enforcement of rules or regulation. The elusive nature of the market would mean that there are rapid transformations within the market which in familiar and unfamiliar ways change the educational landscape before we can grasp the changes.

The interface of Regulation:

The market for shadow education in Indian context is not entirely unregulated. Regulation has been introduced in the market specific to certain activities. Right to Education Act (2009) in section 28E of Article 21 prohibits schoolteachers to engage in private tutoring activities. At the same time, coaching centres with a high turnover rate and share capital fall under Companies Act (2013) acting like any other company. On the other hand, tuitions provided by other tutors, operation of intermediaries, market for test materials which are mostly unorganized do not fall under regulatory norms. Therefore, the role of the government is selective as far as shadow education market is concerned. This form of regulation in the market has rendered complexity in the education market wherein incorporation of coaching centres as companies would mean education has already been conceived as a commodity and can be considered as a business venture. Policies with regards to the market have also been different across states in terms of its intensity and scale of operation in a particular state. Recently, a PIL has been filed in the Supreme Court for regulation of coaching centres and setting certain standards.¹¹

There are unregulated spaces which are sources of black money generating a rent seeking economy with no production of knowledge. To understand the intermeshing zones of regulated and unregulated spaces, one has to focus on ‘political embeddedness’ of the market which governs the action of the agents in the ‘field’ extending the relation of the field to what Bourdieu (2005) calls the exterior i.e. the State. These spaces are also prone to power struggle over the acquisition of capital. One might also argue that these spaces are contested spaces where for one group the accumulation of capital would lead to struggle for sustenance for others. This is similar to what Marginson (1995) argues- “market forms relationships of power, in that some people and social groups gain and others lose” (p. 295). In other words, unorganized part of the market

¹¹ <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/petition-filed-in-supreme-court-seeking-direction-to-regulate-coaching-institutes/article27285831.ece>

also constitutes unemployed youth and other vulnerable sections of the society whose source of income is private tuitions. The increasing pursuit for brands on the part of the consumers poses a threat for them. Another source of threat ensues from non-enforceability of regulatory norms. This takes the form of social movement where various actors organize around enforceability of regulation. In West Bengal, the formation of West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association is an example of such movements against schoolteachers who engage in private tuitions. This movement can also be understood through the framework of economic sociology developed by Fligstein (1996) in which social movements represent crisis in the market and disrupts stability.

Legal illegal interface- Somewhat related to this concept of regulation and informality is the duality of legality and illegality in the market. As the market is informal in nature and most of the activities escape the eyes, stakeholders navigate the zones of legality and illegality. Informal markets are often considered to be source of illegality because it is said to involve “economic actions that bypass the costs and excluded from the protection of laws and administrative rules” (Portes and Haller, 2010, p.134). This proposition poses a question whether informal markets are always illegal. Informality increases the possibility of illegality by its very nature similar to the idea of black economy where tax evasion is one part of the story. Similarly, in the context of shadow education market, private tutors who earn money equivalent to taxable income have a tendency to conceal their income by bypassing laws. At the same time there are various players in the shadow market who are outside regulatory norms. Beckert and Dewey (2017) reminds us of the distinction between “illegal markets and illegal practices” in this context. Illegal markets are characterized by production, consumption and selling of products which are not legal whereas illegal practices might happen through flouting rules through manipulation by agents within the legal framework (Beckert and Dewey, 2017). Often, the legal and illegal aspects within a market are entwined in such a manner that it is difficult to identify an activity as illegal. Such confusions arise in the shadow education market because of the engagement of various stakeholders who have completely different motives of participating in the market. For instance, in an economy where unemployment is high and State fails to provide job opportunities, informal occupations are often sources of earnings of which private tutoring is one. It is also difficult to assess whether a person engaged in private tutoring earns an amount

equivalent to taxable income due to lack of information that characterizes informal market. At the same time, tutors who earn equivalent to taxable income and evade taxes and hence engage in illegal practice. Therefore, there are overlapping zones of legality and illegality which are hard to demarcate. Beckert and Dewey (2017) pointed towards a type of illegality where production, consumption and the exchange of the products fall under legal zone but actors violate regulatory norms at any stage of production, consumption or exchange. This type characterizes those arenas of the shadow market which comes under regulation: schoolteachers as tutors under RTE (2009) and coaching centres under Companies Act (2013). State has a crucial role to play in this market through enforcement of rules. It is thus expected that state officials might engage in corrupt practices by forming a 'nexus' with some of the actors in the market for personal gain. The loopholes in the regulatory framework can be used in one's advantage by influencing the State leading to political contestation which can be linked with Fligstein's (1996) metaphor of 'market as politics'.

Hierarchy in the market: The market is necessarily hierarchical both from the supply side as well as from the demand side because of the presence of different types of providers, who differ in terms of regulatory norms, size of the business, their degree of association with the formal education market and the type of study materials they provide. In the same market, one observes reputed schoolteachers, coaching centres (both branded and low end) along with university students, housewives and tutors who seek entry into formal schools. The different resources that they possess (both financial and symbolic capital) are the sources of hierarchy in the market. The hierarchy maintained in this economic field through different positioning of the providers crisscross with the social hierarchy of parents as consumers. The creation of value in the market for education goes through layers of assessment of which one is competition for status especially when market produces diverse goods. Marginsion (2004) in the context of higher education argues "hierarchy in all its aspects- social order and inequality, domination and subordination, deprivations and waste- is both necessary to the status competition and produced by it" (p.186). Similar trends are visible in the shadow market where branded coaching centres are the most sought after. But society favours the 'haves' and the 'haves-not's settle for the less owing to lack of resources. It is also possible that reputed providers adopt screening mechanism to select more promising students who in the words of Winston (1999) 'supply high quality inputs'

which will help build their reputation. This process of selection both from the ends of parents and providers go through what Beckett (2009) describes as co-ordination problem- valuation, competition and cooperation in the market. While competition and cooperation are the coordination problems associated with the supply side, valuation problem focuses on the consumers and their assessment of quality of the ‘product’.

3.5 Exploring Choice within the Market

Human capital theory can shed some light on the decision with regard to private tutoring as long as education is seen as an investment. Investment models fall short in explaining the nature of the market or the nature of demand or whether parents are responding to certain logic and a perception of the situation (Drury, 1993). There are deviations from rational choice behaviour and such deviations arise because parents and students exhibit behavioural tendencies such as imperfect optimization and bounded self-control which lead private educational choice below socially optimal level (Congdon, Kling and Mullainathan, 2012). There are informational constraints, risk and uncertainty in the education market which blurs the decision making process. Human’s bounded rationality and the serious opportunity cost of considering every option lead parents to consider some smaller set (Bell, 2009). Bounded rationality is the term coined by Herbert Simon (1972) who incorporated subjective element in the decision making (self-perception of the decision maker) by demarcating it from objective rationality. Constraints on the decision making process such as i.e. incomplete information, a lack of self-confidence, or low expectation lead to what Simon calls ‘satisficing’ as opposed to maximizing (Wells and Crain, 1992). This concept is relevant in the domain of educational choice which is dominated by uncertainty of future returns, expectation and informational constraints. Although Behavioral Economics have gained from exchanges with the discipline of psychology, it has taken a backseat in explaining how social structures or institutions might affect decision making. The complexity of choice in education needs one to consider the context in which it is situated because decision making in education is closely connected to the culture and societal norms in which the individual makes decision. This might explain why private tutoring is so deep seated in East Asian countries than in North America. Preferences are no more exogenous as assumed in rational choice model; rather social interaction involves perceptions and beliefs which via their impact on motivations and attitudes shape economic preferences

(Leaver, 2016). Endogenous preferences would then mean that preferences are formed within the market and not outside it (Hogan, 1999) and that social structures and institutions thickly structure individual understandings, preferences, aspirations and expectations and these in turn shape the particular choices individuals make from among the ensemble of choices they face (Hogan, 1999).

Another assumption that is often made in the rational choice theory (also in human capital theory) is that preferences are similar across all groups of people. This has invited criticism from a group of sociologists who contend that a rational educational choice for a low income student who is constrained by few opportunities for social mobility is probably not a rational choice for an upper class students, whose parents can afford the most expensive colleges and whose primary responsibility is to secure the necessary educational credential to maintain his social status (Wells and Crain, 1992). Similar logic would apply in the context of private tuition market which is segregated in nature. Given these considerations, a human capital approach to understand the complexity of choice tends to be insufficient in explaining behaviour which does not conform to the rational calculus of cost and benefit. In order to understand the process of choice, one needs to delve deeper into the meanings people ascribe to a particular action because an extra effort in the form of additional spending might unfold as a symbol of social status and prestige rather than mere investment in future returns. The methodological individualism that places the rational individual at the centre is an abstraction from reality at times where decisions are sometimes taken in a group or in collective effort. For instance, the decision of opting for private tuition by a student might be influenced by societal pressure of competition or the anxiety of not being a part of the competitive race.

This brings us to the importance of social context in understanding human behaviour. The relevance of human capital theory works as long as education is seen as an investment by an atomized individual guided by rational behaviour. Sen (1997) contended that “we must go beyond the notion of human capital, after acknowledging its relevance and reach. The broadening that is needed is additional and cumulative, rather than being an alternative to the “human capital” approach”.

While part of the research questions can be answered from the perspective of human capital theory as long as we treat it as investment (and it make sense as the spending

outside the formal education system is discretionary), questions pertaining to how choices are formed or how different classes perceive the purpose of tutoring or how the market is thriving cannot be answered by human capital theory. Also, if we are to think how societal pressure is changing economic outcomes and how market outcomes have social implication, we need to broaden the scope of human capital theory. The extra expenditure incurred or the investment in human capital will be facilitated by resources other than income, say networks. Much emphasis on the agency (as given in the rational choice theory) might dilute the importance of structural constraints which shape the individual decision making as mentioned in the sections above. As the study seeks to explore the ways in which the market of tutoring is functioning or thriving, there is a need to go beyond human capital theory which will help us understand what Hogan (1999) would argue “about the way markets themselves shape preferences and choice”. Thus investment in human capital has to be understood in conjunction with other resources like social and cultural capital which play a role in shaping investment decisions. Granovetter (1985) asserted: “...the behaviour and institutions to be analysed are so constrained by ongoing social relations that to construe them as independent is a grievous misunderstanding” (p.482)

This study therefore embraces the idea that choices in education are a result of negotiations and bargaining within the families as well as a result of one’s status in a segregated social reality. In understanding educational choices, family plays a critical role. Therefore, the demand side of the market focuses on the decision making of a family.

An exploration of family decision making- theoretical framework

A separate approach beyond human capital theory will help us understand why different socioeconomic groups may make their choice of tuitions differently or why the purpose of tuition might vary across families (whether a remediation or an enrichment strategy). Multiple theoretical perspectives are required to understand the dynamics of choice and the way the market functions by linking families and their providers. In India and in other developing countries, family is the decision making unit in case of education because of the poor collateral that investment in human capital provides (Banerjee, 2004). A theoretical assessment of the role of the family will help us unpack the motivation and aspiration of parents across different class. The families differ in terms

of ‘market capacities’ which take the form of capital, income, wealth, labour market skills, educational credentials, cultural capital, information, habitus, social cognition and social capital (Giddens, 1974; Coleman,1990; c.f Hogan, 1999). Thus individuals enter the market with some bundle of market capacities derived from the families, schools and neighborhood (Hogan, 1999). Hence the resources that are used to construct the choice set are not equal (Bell, 2009).

In order to understand the process of choice making with regard to private tuition by families, Hossler and Gallagher’s (1987) model can be extended by incorporating Bourdieu’s concept of social, cultural capital and habitus. Hossler and Gallagher (1987) developed a theoretical framework to understand how students choose post-secondary institutions. Although the model has been developed in the context of student’s college choice, it is modified in the context of private tuition choice. They identified three stages in the choice process– predisposition, search and choice. Predisposition is the stage when parents consider whether to opt for tuition or continue tuition (in case the student opted for tuition in past years). In the search stage, the students gather information about the providers and in the third stage the students decide on which tuition to attend. In the choice phase, parents give reason why they opted for a particular tuition. These insights from various perspectives will render a contextualized explanation of choice of tutoring. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus will help in explaining ‘predisposition stage’ whereas the ‘search stage’ will involve resources in the form of network and trust which constitutes social capital. The final stage i.e. the ‘choice stage’ is the result of the interaction between the different forms of capital and a person’s own habitus. The interaction of various stages can be shown as follows:

Stages	Influential factors		Student Outcomes
	Individual /family	Organizational	
Predisposition (1 st phase)	- Student characteristics -family backgrounds (Habitus)	- providers’ characteristics	tuition options/other options
Search (2nd phase)	Parents’ search activities (Social capital as networks)	-providers search for students	a choice set
Choice (3rd Phase)	choice set	- Providers’ selection mechanism	choice

Adapted from Hossler and Gallagher (1987) with some modification

The conceptual framework proposed here draws on the notion of habitus along with the concept of capital advanced by Bourdieu (1986; 2005) to deepen the understanding of the complex choice of tutoring. As discussed earlier, Bourdieu (2005) presents us an interesting framework to understand market within economic field with varying distribution of capital. Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between three forms of capital-economic, social and cultural capital to bring out how practices among different social classes yield different educational outcomes. Economic capital is defined in terms of material assets in the form of money or property rights. Social capital is defined in terms of networks or connections of an individual based on mutual acquaintance. Cultural capital, on the other hand is more symbolic in nature which Bourdieu (1986) divided into three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. In the embodied state, cultural capital manifests in the person's disposition, taste etc. In its objectified form, cultural capital takes the form of material objects which is a manifestation of the embodied cultural capital. Lastly, institutionalised form of cultural capital is in terms of academic credentials or qualifications which take the form of certificates or degrees. Understanding the role of capital alone will not suffice to provide an explanation of how these capitals are activated unless we take the notion of habitus developed earlier. In the context of private tuition market, it is important to see how individuals with varying capital use these resources at various stages of choice making to reproduce educational advantage. The Hossler and Gallagher model (1987) along with Bourdieu's (1986, 2005) theory of capital and habitus opens up avenues to explore choice within a situated context and bring out interplay of agency and structure.

The necessity of devising a unifying framework arises from the nature of the private tuition market where actors have a tendency to function covertly and their intentions are not clear. In order to deconstruct the black box of human motives, one needs a holistic approach where relative importance of one theory over the other emerges to explain a particular context. In the words of Marginson (2004), "no single eye can observe the whole of social life, no single discipline or sector analysis captures all..." Therefore, in order to make a meaningful sense of social phenomenon, one needs to transcend disciplinary boundary. The theories presented in this chapter is expected to provide us with a broader scope to analyse the market and relations between various market forms.

CHAPTER 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the methodological underpinnings of the research objectives that are stated in the previous chapter. It makes an attempt to situate the study under various paradigms which require understanding certain ontological and epistemological assumptions that will guide the methods to be followed. This chapter argues for a multifaceted investigation into the research problem as the practices and transactions in the private tuition market are shady which requires adoption of various methods to get a sense of reality. As reality is multi-layered, we often grapple with the question of how best to capture reality. Often, in discussing about reality there is a tendency to reduce the nature of reality into our knowledge about it which is questioned within the rubric of critical realism. Therefore, ontology, which deals with the nature of reality is the starting point in this chapter as it has implications for building further arguments about how to approach reality particularly in a research problem which is sensitive and is imbued with moral dimensions.¹² In such a case, one might get competing views of reality where different stakeholders tend to hide information on the issue of private tuition. These dilemmas are addressed and partly resolved within a critical realist framework which motivates my logic of inquiry.

I also focus on the potential of econometrics as a technique to answer some of the research questions asked in the previous chapter. For instance, the research question “what determines whether a student attends private tuition or not” is addressed through Probit Model to be discussed later. Although Critical Realism has developed as a critique of mainstream economic methods (econometrics being one of them) being deductive, I made an attempt to reconcile these two perspectives in this study by highlighting the importance of Econometrics as a powerful tool which can complement various other methods advanced by a critical realist perspective. This demands understanding what aspect of Econometrics can shed light on our understanding of the phenomenon at hand and where does it fail. A section is devoted to deal with

¹² Providing private tuition is considered to be a corrupt practice by the schoolteachers according to Section 28E, RTE Act, 2009.

Econometric method deployed in this study using secondary data source NSS (64th and 71st Rounds). As the secondary data does not provide sufficient insights to most of the research questions being asked, this necessitated collecting data from the field sites which is discussed in detail and covers a substantial part of this chapter. I have attempted to bridge the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy that is often raised by the competing paradigms viz. positivism and constructivism.

The next section spells out the philosophical position that is commensurate with the research objectives. It then argues for pluralism of methods with critical realism as the ontological base. Section 4.2 justifies the use of multiple methods to unravel the complex phenomenon of tuition within a particular context. Section 4.3 and Section 4.4 provides a description of secondary data followed by limitations of the secondary data and the method of econometrics. Section 4.5 is devoted towards suitable research design carried out in the study which is followed by data collection tools and mode of enquiry as well as the description of the field site. It touches upon the complexities in the field site and the sensitive nature of the problem and also lays bare the importance of building trust in a research problem as this. The last three sections discuss about sampling, data analysis and operational definitions used in the study.

4.2 Critical Realism as the philosophical stance

Any truth seeking exercise starts with understanding the nature of reality which, in other words, corresponds to the question of ontology. Any knowledge claims should start with ontology i.e. how social reality looks like. In this section, I argue why critical realism is the most suitable framework to foreground the study and where other ontological assumptions are failing to adhere to the research objectives at hand. We argue the need for separately dealing with each of the assumptions ontology, epistemology before arriving at methodology which is motivated by philosophy of science. Waring (2012) considers ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods and ‘building blocks’ of research. Thus in carrying out inquiry, one should have these building blocks in mind.

The moot question of bringing in ontology is also related to critical realism, i.e., ontology is not reducible to epistemology which Bhaskar (1998) termed as ‘epistemic fallacy’. There is a disparity between the nature of reality and our claims

of reality (knowledge of reality). This means we cannot fully grasp reality because our knowledge of reality is limited. Making sense of reality is important towards prescribing any policy. This is the starting point of critical realism which is discussed at length as follows.

4.2.1 Ontological Assumptions

How do we understand social reality to make knowledge claims? This answer has been provided by Bhaskar Roy (1975) in *The Realist Theory of Science* who propounded critical realism and developed a position within philosophy called ‘transcendental realism’, which recognizes the presence of enduring structures and mechanisms underlying the observable events as against scientific realism which celebrates empiricism. The mechanisms are sometimes not observable but they exist and thus not captured at the empirical level. Thus critical realism is a critique of realism by transcending the empirical level (Danermark et al., 2002). This is where ontology appears by differentiating the nature of reality (being) from our knowledge about reality. It surfaced from the paradigm war between positivism and constructivism. The approach of looking at reality differed between the two paradigms which led to the qualitative quantitative divide. Positivism, the ontology of which is realism, claims that reality can be known through scientific experiments (Fletcher, 2017) and there is an effort to establish law like tendencies or empirical regularity. The object of inquiry and the researcher is considered to be independent entities such that there is no influence on each other from either side (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This amounts to an objective view of reality. On the other hand, constructivism assumes reality as socially constructed and considers that objective view of reality is not possible as the subject and the object of inquiry are inseparable. Critical Realism considers both the approaches as “superficial, unrealistic and anthropocentric” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009: 16). However, it retains the elements of both positivism and constructivism by looking at empirical regularities as its entry point but do not take these regularities as capable of prediction (Dow, 2003). On the other hand, by not completely adhering to the reality as being ‘objective’ as in positivism, it makes room for human experiences and hence has traces of constructive paradigm in it. Therefore, the question that immediately strikes us is whether human cognitive abilities or experiences can get hold of reality. The answer has been provided by Bhaskar (1975) through his concept of

transcendental realism which distinguishes the real from the empirical. To borrow from Dow (2003),

“The reality exists at different levels. Transcendental realism suggests that there are three: the actual which we experience directly, the empirical which is an attempt to measure the actual and the real, to which we do not have direct access. It is at the level of the real that causal mechanisms operate; it is the purpose of realist science to uncover them. But we can only access the real at the empirical and actual levels; science focuses particularly on the empirical as a means of systematising knowledge of the actual” (p.21).

As quoted above, at the empirical level the knowledge generation might not correspond to the real level but in order to understand the status quo, open system ontology is assumed. The social world therefore is stratified. Lawson (1997) considers the economy as an open system i.e. constant conjunction between events is not possible. In other words, there are generative mechanisms and there are possibilities of similar events brought by complex causal relations which are dynamic in nature (Morgan, 2016). An economy is taken to be the integral part of the society and hence multifaceted in character.

Having discussed critical realist ontology, I now make an attempt to engage with the research objectives and situate my work in the context of critical realism. As my focus is on unravelling the complex nature of the market in general and private tuition market in particular, critical realism provides the leverage to move beyond the traditional neo classical analysis of the market where preferences are taken to be exogenous and uniform. A large part of the activities in the private tuition market remains hidden and therefore simply relying on representative secondary data would not reflect how the players strategize and if there is potential of the market in creating opportunities for unemployed youth and more importantly the tendency of not revealing practice of tuition by school teachers. If reality is so elusive especially in the context of the ‘shadow informal market’, it is difficult to capture every aspect of it. This fleeting reality is then addressed within this framework which calls for the presence of unobserved powers or potential within the social system which shows its presence at some point of time and sometimes absent at other point in time. For instance, in the tuition market, certain activities like selling of notes, suggestion papers and mock tests become very prominent

during examination as compared to other times. These mechanisms can only be recognized through open system ontology¹³. Apart from the underlying mechanisms which become central to the investigation, critical realism in economics emphasizes on the importance of agency and structure as analytically distinct (Morgan, 2016). Mainstream economics is blind to the issue of structure agency dichotomy on the grounds that the individual decisions are independent of the structure within which he operates. One of the ways critical realism brings structure and agency together into the picture as opposed to the neo classical ‘methodological individualism’ is by prescribing that individual is embedded in society and there are unintended actions by the individual which transforms or reproduces social structure. But at the same time these structures influence individual action which Lawson (1997) termed as ‘situated rationality’. This interrelation between structure and agency and the tension between the two is evident in analysing the market for tuition where choices formed in the market are informed by structure- institutions being one of them and at the same time the agency exercised by the individuals bring about changes in the existing structure of institutions. This mutual dependence of both agency and structure helps to explain the reproduction and transformation of both agency and structure (Davis, 2004) which the critical realist project allows by considering the individual as embedded. The same logic runs in the theoretical framework adopted in the study where some insights from institutional economics are taken up.

More importantly, ontology should align with the theoretical framework considered in a study. Critical realism ontology is in tandem with the theoretical framework of new economic sociology that is taken up to understand the market structure. Economic sociology which attempts to explain market from a sociological perspective has its origin in the writings of Granovetter (1985) who contended that ‘economic actions are embedded in structures of social relations’ (p. 481). The buyers and sellers in the market are not always anonymous and in a networked economy the market is also embedded in the society. Critical realism augments the analysis of new economic sociology by bringing impersonal relation as well within the social structure which are linked with macro social distribution of resources- material, discursive and authoritative (Lewis,

¹³ An open system ontology is the one where there is no event regularity as propounded by Bhaskar (1989) and later on by Lawson (1997) . It considers possibility of an event caused by various causal mechanisms which interact with one another and thus constant conjunction of two events- where one causes the other is ruled out.

2004). In this study, the market for private tuition is one such market where various actors in the market are connected through networks. The actors in the market may or may not have personal relations but by acknowledging the scope for personal relation besides impersonal relation, we are making an attempt to get nearer to the reality. For instance, mainstream education has linkages with this informal market and this broader structure consists of both personal and impersonal relations between the actors who are tutors, teachers and tutoring agencies.

Critical realism, therefore, remains the guiding ontology in my analysis as it takes the economy as open and hence 'real' by allowing the possibilities of social and institutional transformation which can better explain the phenomenon of private tuition and the nature of the market today.

4.2.2 Epistemological Assumptions

The epistemological questions centre around how we understand reality, which depends on our knowledge of reality. In other words, epistemology is concerned with the means of creating knowledge. It focuses on the nature and forms of knowledge (Cohen et. al., 2007, p.7). In critical realism, the question of ontology is treated separately from the question of epistemology because the latter has limitations in understanding the 'real' but both of them are linked in the sense that ontology determines epistemology. Our knowledge construction also depends on the nature of the subject matter (Dow, 2003). For instance, if reality is taken to be 'closed', our knowledge claims will be predictive as in our econometric framework. In the positivist paradigm, the truth is objective and the researcher takes the role of an observer. However, the issue of researcher as simply an observer is refuted by the constructivists. As critical realism differentiates between the real and the empirical, absolute knowledge of the truth is not possible and therefore knowledge is always fallible. Fallibility arises because of the social positioning of the researcher as we observe the world from a particular geographical, cultural and epistemological position (Scott, 2010). The best way then is to construct knowledge that will best approach reality. As absolute knowledge is not possible under this framework, we can only get a probabilistic way of unfolding truth (Baronov, 2004). The epistemological position in this research is guided by the research questions and the theoretical approach in the study. The first research objective where I aim to find the deterministic pattern of tuition

participation and expenditure takes reality as objective whereas the latter research objectives which attempt to understand choice of parents and the motivation of the providers in the market requires that the researcher becomes part of the process to understand the ‘causal powers of the event’ as the focus of critical realists. Our knowledge construction therefore cannot be objective in this case because to gain insights into the processes of decision making, researcher has to immerse herself. Also, open system ontology allows such possibilities of knowledge construction. But as some knowledge is closer to reality than other knowledge (Fletcher, 2017), we need to be mindful of what theories we choose.

4.2.3 Methodological Issues

Methodological questions are concerned with how one can go about finding what one believes can be known (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). It is the logic of choosing suitable methods to answer research questions. There is a research perspective that shapes how the research process is understood and how different methods are used (Morgan, 2016, p.28). One can use more than one method or simply stick to one method to uncover the social reality depending on the research objectives. If the research perspective is such that we are looking for universal law and general patterns and take the reality as objective, quantitative methods are used. This approach is termed as nomothetic. On the other hand, if empirical reality is to be understood with all its complexity and diversity, an idiographic approach is taken (Danermark et. al., 2002, p. 3). This means that the idiographic approach attempts to trace the uniqueness of particular cases through experiences of the individual (Cohen et. al., 2007). On the question of methodology, critical realism puts forth pluralism in methods which is in sync with the idea of the open system. Lawson (2003) contends that ‘critical realism can accommodate and a priori does not rule out any of, a range of phenomenal and thus is quite consistent with its support for methodological pluralism’ (p.179). As the real world is viewed as complex interaction between various factors, a single method will not suffice to give us an understanding of reality. Thus, while descriptive statistics will give us some regularities, some specific cases will give us why such regularities exist or do not exist in other cases. There is a word of caution here. Methodological pluralism does not mean we can take any mix of methods to understand the research problem. It also calls for methodological consistency (Dow, 2003). But for some research

questions, some methods are superior to others. Some of the research questions asked in this study looks for certain trends or ‘demi-regularities’¹⁴ and hence I used quantitative method to understand the pattern. For instance, the first research objective was to find the determinants of private tuition in West Bengal. As the secondary data is representative, generalization of the findings is possible. On the other hand, some of the research questions which seek to unfold ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the process of decision making and motivations of the providerers are understood through ethnographic techniques- interviews, participant observations, field observations and document analysis. The aim of the qualitative tools is not to generalize the findings but to make the understanding richer with context and corroborate it with quantitative findings. The mapping of research questions with tools of data collection is shown in Table 4.1.

Apart from being complementary to quantitative methods, qualitative methods has its own merit especially in the context of an issue like private tuition where various blurred boundaries exist between operations of different players in the market. Unless one immerses oneself in the context under study, such insights are likely to be overlooked. Mainstream economics does not accommodate the use of such methodology in search of generalizability of results with a representative sample. It misses out on the subtleties that bring out stability in the market and other moral dimensions which might not get reflected in quantitative outcomes. It is more important not to lose sight of the fact that the market under scrutiny in this research is an education market and there are moral dimensions attached to education. These dimensions are not observable unless a view from inside is taken. In the context of the present work, there are various interest groups in the market with varied motives whose activities are shaped by the broader political, social and institutional norms. These processes are not ahistoric and have cultural roots in them which press upon the importance of bringing context into the picture. For instance, West Bengal has a history of teachers’ politics¹⁵ where teachers’ union has been very prompt in deciding on educational matters and other salary related matters. This has also increased the bargaining powers of the teachers over the years. Also, abolition of English at a primary level in the 1980s also raised demand for tuition (Roy,

¹⁴ Concept used by Tony Lawson (1997) to refer to partial event regularities which are ‘less than universal’.

¹⁵ This can be found in the writings of Bhattacharya (2001), Chatterjee (2004) where schoolteachers were found to be active in left politics and a part of civic community.

2014). All these factors gave specificity to the study of the market and its evolution. These also emerged from the interviews with various stakeholders (parents and tutors) through the imageries they drew of their ideal schoolteachers. Each context carries meanings which need to be understood as one can expect to find the notion of tuitions varying from one setting to the other. In this sense, I borrow methods from anthropology which bring us closer to people and their experiences. One such method is participant observation which I will discuss later in detail in this chapter.

Also, ‘unobserved heterogeneity’¹⁶ that is an integral part of econometric exercise when dealing with social aspect is also taken care of through qualitative tools. This unobserved heterogeneity is mainly aspirations of parents, their belief systems, motivation etc. which is hidden in the error term. Data gathered from qualitative methods will also offer us intuition behind the phenomenon. Also, due to illegal zones or hiddenness of the activities associated with the practice of tuition, this market is an interesting locus for using ethnographic tools such as participant observations and field observations. Before going into the phases of research, description of secondary data is provided with limitations of the data and the techniques in the next section.

4.3 Description of Secondary data and estimation strategy

4.3.1 Secondary data sources

The secondary data sets the stage for further enquiry into the research problem as we observe a significant percentage of school students (79.2%) attending private tuition in West Bengal from the secondary data. NSS is the most widely used nationally representative data source which provides information on employment, consumption and social services like education and health. As compared to other nationally representative data sources like IHDS (Institute of Human Development Survey), which also contains information on private tuition, NSS is more appealing because it gave the researcher a scope to compare more than two decades of data on private tuition. IHDS, on the other hand, contains data only for two years 2004-05 and 2011-12 which does not serve my purpose to locate changes in participation and expenditure on tuition which have occurred over a long span of time. Also, for West Bengal, the number of

¹⁶ Unobserved heterogeneity arises when an important variable is in the error term and this results in correlation between an explanatory variable and error violating the classical assumption. This causes endogeneity.

households surveyed for the year 2005 in IHDS is 2435 which is less than NSS various rounds (to be discussed later) implying that NSS has smaller sampling error due to larger sample size. This justifies using NSS as a suitable data source for the present study.

National Sample Survey Organization (NSS) data of four rounds, i.e., 42nd (1986-87), 52nd Round (1995-96), 64th Round (2007-08) and 71st Round (2014) has been used to understand the pattern of participation and expenditure in private tuition in West Bengal over a period of 20 years. These surveys focused on “Participation and Expenditure in Education” in India. It is a nationally representative data set which contains information about socioeconomic background of the households i.e. sex, age, caste, religion, number of members in household, average monthly consumption expenditure etc. It also collects information about current enrolment status and level of education of each members of the household. Although there remains some definitional issues across the round, the information on private tuition and expenditure on tuition in the two rounds enable us to look at the decadal change of private tuition across institutions, gender, age, religion and various social categories. The rounds focus specifically on education and contain information on scholarships provided for gaining education (both in the form of cash and books or stationaries), agency providing the benefit and other school specific information like school fees, examination fees, books and stationaries, uniform, transport fees, lodging expenses and boarding expenses. These expenditures are calculated for students enrolled in the current academic year. The Rounds also have data on students who were enrolled at one point of time but had to discontinue studies and the reasons for discontinuation. As compared to 42nd and 52nd Round, 64th Round and 71st Round provide information on vocational education as well. Each of the successive rounds proceeded with some modifications of the previous rounds maintaining the same sampling strategy. In the 71st Round, government and local bodies were merged as government institution was grouped separately in previous rounds. Also, some of the expenditure components are merged together into one component as in case of monthly consumption expenditure of household. In the previous rounds, private tuition/coaching appeared in the expenditure part whereas in the 71st Round private coaching appeared as a separate question. The additional question on ‘the reason for taking private coaching’ captures how the latest round incorporates private coaching as an important component, highlighting the importance of coaching in the present

education system. It is noteworthy that the schedule of 64th and 71st Round merged private tuition under the umbrella term of ‘private coaching’ whereas in 42nd and 52nd Rounds private tuition appeared as a category separate from private coaching. This is perhaps because of the overlapping zones within which different forms of the shadow education market operate¹⁷. Nevertheless, I use the term private tuition broadly to mean both coaching and tuition in the secondary data analysis.

For my analysis, I focus on the school going children up to higher secondary level, for which I consider the age group 5 to 20 years keeping in mind the possibility that some proportion of students in India are retained in the same class which might result in over-aged children enrolled in lower grades. Thus, I include students of 20 years of age to account for over age children in higher secondary level.¹⁸

In the 64th Round, the number of households surveyed was 100581 in India whereas in West Bengal, the number is 7020 with 4407 rural households and 2613 urban households. The 71st Round covered 65926 households in India and 5020 in West Bengal. The number of households in rural West Bengal is 2592 and urban West Bengal is 2428.

Sampling strategy that NSSO adopted was a two stage stratified sampling where census villages and urban blocks were selected as the first stage unit (FSU) and in the second stage, households were selected (Ultimate stage units). In the first stage, villages were selected by probability proportional to population size with replacement (PPSWR) whereas the sample blocks were selected by simple random sampling without replacement. Both are drawn as two independent sub samples. For the 64th Round, sampling strategy has remained the same as in other rounds with few modifications on the type of questions asked. In the 71st Round, 2011 Census was used to locate census villages which were selected in the first stage. There is an intermediate stage in case of large FSUs where two hamlet groups or sub blocks are selected from each rural or urban area. In all the rounds, the sampling strategy followed is the same which make them

¹⁷ This aspect is captured through primary data in the latter part of the study and how the cost structure of these forms varies.

¹⁸ We show in our later chapter that around 42% children at the age of 20 are enrolled at the higher secondary level in 72nd Round in West Bengal.

comparable. For all the rounds, survey weights are provided, which is used in the analysis of data.

Additionally, 68th Round (2011-12) NSS survey on employment unemployment is used to incorporate the supply side in Chapter 8. This survey collects information on the activity of each member in the household to understand labour force participation and unemployment scenario in the country. It provides information on various indicators of labour force across age, gender, social group, religion, education level, industry and occupation. A rotational panel sampling is used for the urban area for two year duration where the same households are visited four times. This also follows a multistage stratified sampling similar to other rounds. As my focus is mainly on the supply of tuition, I extracted data for members within the household who are engaged in various tutoring services. Specifically, the number of tutors in each districts of West Bengal has been calculated. Employment status in the NSS is termed as activity status where a reference period is taken to trace a person's activity- both economic and non-economic. The activity status of a person where reference period of last 365 days are taken preceding the date of survey is the usual activity status. On the other hand, if the economic activity of the individual is 30 days or more, it is taken to be subsidiary economic activity status. It is noteworthy that 68th Round differentiates between coaching and home tuition where coaching is taken to be establishment/house where a person tutors and home based tuition is considered to be the case where the tutor goes to deliver service in tutee's house. It is the place of tuition which differentiates a coaching from home tuition. Therefore, a person who tutors at his/ her house is not considered a tutor but running a coaching class according to NSS. This person engaged in tutoring at his/her house is considered 'self-employed' and a person going to the tutee's house is considered to be under 'wage earners/employees' in NSS. Therefore, the NIC (2008) 5 digit code is different in the two cases. For the coaching teacher, the NIC code is 85491 whereas for the tutor it is 97006¹⁹. We identify six cases in the sample- a) persons with usual principal activity as home tutor and subsidiary economic status as any other occupation except coaching b) principal activity status as any other

¹⁹ NIC stands for National Industrial Classification Code published by Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation under Annual Survey of Industries. The code for academic tutoring services is 85491. NIC code 9700 includes 'activities of households as employers of domestic personnel' like cook, maid, gardeners, tutors etc. NSS further subdivides the code into 8 categories under 97th division and tutor is given the code 97006.

occupation except coaching and subsidiary as home tutor c) Principal activity as coaching and subsidiary activity as home tutor d) principal activity as home tutor and subsidiary as coaching e) principal activity as coaching and subsidiary activity as any other occupation except home tutor f) principal activity as any other occupation except home tutor and subsidiary occupation as coaching teacher. Using the information provided on different types of suppliers, one can look at descriptive statistics of how the tutors vary across class, caste, gender and region. This is discussed in Chapter 8 where supply side of the tuition market assumes importance.

For the regression analysis in Chapter 5, I also construct a new variable i.e. percentage of literate job seekers per thousand student population in each district which provides us with the supply variable for our analysis. The data on percentage of literate job seekers is obtained from Census, 2011. This is matched with NSS 71st Round to understand determinants of demand for tuition. I develop regression model for the 71st Round while the other round is used to understand the changes in the pattern of participation and expenditure of private tuition across caste, income class, gender and regions (rural/urban) over a decade.

4.3.2 Econometric Techniques

The first research objective, i.e., to examine the factors determining participation and expenditure decision of private tuition in West Bengal is analyzed with the help of various methods of Econometrics. The specific questions for the econometric analysis are as follows a) what is the impact of household level factors (household income, occupation status, number of siblings, and education of household head), child level factors (age, gender, grade, and ability), institution type (government/private) and geographical factors (location, distance from school) on the decision to attend private tuition and spending on tuition?

b) What is the impact of supply side factors (percentage of literate job seekers) on the decision of tuition?

c) Is there any pro male bias in the decision to attend tuition within the household?

The first two questions are merged into one equation as demand side factors and supply side factors in decision making. The variables are provided in detail in Chapter 5 and

Chapter 6. These specific questions are being addressed through Hurdle Model which is a two part model taking into the account the decision of participation and spending separately. The third research question is addressed through Engel curve framework developed by Deaton (1997). As this framework suffers from some limitations (to be discussed later), I also use Hurdle Model to understand gender disparity within household.

The methods are briefly described in this section and are taken up further in detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

- a) Hurdle Model: It is a two part model which assumes that a household takes the decision of participation in tuition and expenditure on tuition independently. The problem confronting the decision maker, i.e., the parents in this case is whether or not to send the child to tuition. This decision is governed by utility maximization process which is unobservable and it depends on a number of explanatory variables. In this case, we have two tiers of decisions- the first tier is whether or not to send a children to tuition which is a binary choice model. Probit model is employed for the first decision problem. The dependent variable for the participation decision is D_i which takes the value 1 when a child goes to tuition and takes the value zero when he does not. The second tier is the expenditure decision, i.e., how the same explanatory variables taken in the first tier of decision would affect how much to spend on tuition. For the second tier, I apply ordinary least square where the dependent variable is log monthly private tuition expenditure and this is conditional on the participation decision. The explanatory variables are household specific factors (household income, occupation status, number of siblings, and education of household head), child level factors (age, gender, grade, and ability), institution type (government/private), geographical factors (location, distance from school) and supply side factors (percentage of literate job seekers). Tobit Model is often employed in case of censored observation (i.e. some households with positive expenditure) but it fails to capture two different processes of participation and expenditure as it takes only one equation for two separate processes. Hurdle model is an improvement over Tobit model which justifies using Hurdle model for the present study.

I use the same model to understand intra household decision making with respect to gender (research question c). The primary variable of interest in this case is the age gender composition of the household. The reference age group is male in the age group 0-5 in the household. For the Hurdle model, the outcome variable in the participation decision is a binary variable which takes the value 0 if share of tuition expenditure is zero and takes the value 1 if share of tuition expenditure is positive. The independent variables are household specific variables which include demographic variables, occupational variables and economic variables which are the control variables in our analysis (discussed in detail in Chapter 6).

- b) Engel Curve Framework- Deaton's (1997) Working- Lesser Engel framework is used by incorporating household's demographic characteristics and age gender category. The assumption is that there is a linear relationship between share of private tuition to total household consumption expenditure and log per capita household consumption expenditure. This method is used to find out gender disparity within the household using household level data. This method shows the effect of an additional member (boy or girl) in a given age category on the share of tuition expenditure. This takes the households with positive expenditure and zero expenditure in one equation (Kingdon, 2005) unlike Hurdle Model discussed above. The detailed explanation of this framework is taken up in Chapter 6.

4.4 Limitations of secondary data and Econometrics as a method

While NSS remains the most reliable secondary data source for this analysis, it suffers from various pitfalls due to which satisfactory explanation of the research questions is hard to obtain. As the main focus of the research is to understand the market dynamics and the decision making space of the parents, a mere knowledge of expenditure on private tuition from NSS data will not suffice. As stated earlier, the schedule contains information on private tuition expenditure in the two rounds (64th and 71st) with an additional question of 'purpose of taking private coaching' in the 71st Round. The purposes are clubbed into 3 broad categories viz., augmenting basic education, preparation for exam for getting job and preparation for admission to institutes or courses. Sometimes, the purposes are overlapping. For instance, augmenting basic

education is a broad and generic reason which is likely to overlap with the preparation for getting admission to institutes or for that matter getting into a job. It is, thus, not unlikely that a large number of sample households would choose ‘augmenting basic education’ as the reason which also means preparing for admission to institutes or jobs²⁰. Also, as there are various forms of ‘shadow’ with varying degree of cost structure and establishments, it is difficult to understand whether private coaching subsumes all the categories or variants of the ‘shadow’. Although, 71st Round is an improvement over other Rounds in terms of the additional questions on private coaching, it falls short in providing more detailed accounts of different types of ‘shadow’ and the amount spent on different subjects as we might expect hierarchy in the science subjects as compared to social science subjects because the former is expected to be more instrumental in getting jobs. At the same time, there is paucity of data to understand the intensity of tuition where more than two tutors might exist for one subject. Choice in the private tuition market is guided by various factors which are related to family values, market signals, anxiety of being left behind, larger social and institutional structures which cannot be merely captured by the reasons cited in the NSS schedule. One also needs to keep in mind that NSS collects data on various aspects of education where private coaching appears as one aspect. Therefore, we cannot expect that the secondary data will provide complete understanding of the prevalence of private tuition in West Bengal.

Although the demand side of the market, i.e., student’s background can be captured through secondary data, it is hard to capture supply side elements like coercion by schoolteachers for tuitions (if any), different players in the market and their functioning. 68th Round (Employment unemployment survey) has been extracted for the purpose of getting some information about the tutors in West Bengal. The information on the supply side of the market is also not sufficient from the 68th Round data because there is likely to be under report of private tuition as a practice by schoolteachers because of the RTE Act, 2009.

Besides the problem with secondary data, Econometrics as a method also has shortcomings due to its failure to capture ‘unobserved’ elements which are mostly

²⁰ In fact I found that 90% of parents cited ‘augmenting basic education’ as a reason for private coaching in India.

treated as elements in the error term. Sometimes I took proxies of these unobserved elements which are always questionable. The problem of endogeneity²¹ arises while dealing with social phenomenon as various aspects of a phenomenon are related to one another. For instance, the likelihood of attending tuition depends on aspiration of parents which is unobserved but correlated with other observed co-variables such as type of schools (private) which leads to endogeneity bias because the ‘unobserved’ aspiration of parents also has an influence on the probability of attending tuition²². This leads to inconsistent estimator. In the cross section data, this problem can be solved by taking an instrumental variable. An instrument is taken such that it is correlated with the explanatory variable but uncorrelated with the error term, i.e., a variable which is correlated with school choice but is independent of aspiration of parents. There is a whole range of instruments and hence it is difficult to say which one is better than the other. Rather, I try to understand aspiration in its own right, i.e., not as a mere variable in an econometric framework but as a concept which emerges as people speak about themselves and how they see the future for their children.

In order to understand the interrelation between different variables we use interaction terms. For instance, how income class and caste can influence attending tuition can be captured through an interaction of income and caste. But this can be done up to a certain extent where only two or three variables can be shown as an interaction term whereas in reality there are numerous factors which are interconnected in ample ways. It is not possible to show interaction of these variables together on the private tuition participation decision .

Another issue that needs to be mentioned is the issue of simultaneity arising from including demand specific factors and supply factors in the same equation. Conceptually, this is not an issue in the present study because the demand side variables are at the individual level whereas the supply side variable (i.e. tutors per thousand student population) is at the district level. Thus the probability of a child going to tuition

²¹ Endogeneity in Econometrics typically means that the error term and an explanatory variable are correlated. This happens when an important variable is omitted in the model, in case of measurement error and in case of simultaneity bias (when two or more independent variables are jointly determined with the dependent variable).

²² In a panel data, this problem is solved by fixed effect model which eliminates unobserved elements across cross sections through mean deviation. As NSS is a cross sectional data, this is not possible in our case.

might depend on the number of tutors at the district level but the supply of tutor is not expected to depend on the individual level data, i.e., a child going to tuition. Also, supply of tutors appears as a macro variable while considering the decision problem of the household. But incorporating participation of a child in the supply equation will be problematic as the unit here is the individual and the demand side is captured by a binary variable. The first equation is the demand equation which has all the household specific and child specific variables along with the supply variable. The second equation, i.e., with supply side as the dependent variable, if we incorporate the probability of child going to tuition, the two units become different because supply is at the aggregate level.

Econometrics makes certain assumptions about the nature of human tendencies, which conforms to *homo economicus*, where an agent is considered to be atomistic, individualistic and above all a rational agent maximizing his utility. There is a tendency to treat these characteristics as universal and then draw general propositions based on this. However, in the changing social context with rapid transformations in institutions and market structures, individual decision space changes as he is socially and culturally embedded. These aspects are undermined in an econometric framework because of *a priori* assumption of the agent as atomistic and isolated from the society. Also, the understanding of the world as objective set of facts limit it to a closed system ontology²³ which is based on deterministic relation between interrelated variables. It considers the effect of one variable on the other, holding everything else constant whereas in reality everything else influences a particular variable at the same time. Various methods that econometrics use, for instance, ordinary least square method, maximum likelihood method is an optimization procedure which focus on the selected variables assuming other variables remain constant (Martins, 2016). Therefore, Econometrics as a technique has partial relevance if one has to get a holistic understanding of social reality²⁴.

The question that concerns us is how far econometrics is able to provide us with a true macro picture with the assumptions that it makes. Despite the issues that have been

²³ Tony Lawson's (1997) definition of closed system is constant conjunction of two events i.e. 'if event X then event Y'.

²⁴ Social reality as defined by Lawson(2003) "domain of all phenomena whose existence depends at least in part on us."

raised above, econometrics is capable of providing us a macro picture by making some predictions about causation. There are various forms of econometric models with varying assumptions which indicate that the field itself is going through debates within itself. In my study, for instance, we assumed away linearity assumption by incorporating probability. A binary outcome variable is considered, for which Probit Model is used, where maximum likelihood method of estimation is employed. In addition to this, I use Hurdle Model which also considers how decisions on tuition go through two stages- the first is at the psychological level and the second is more economic. For instance, in the context of gender bias, a parent may be willing to send a female child to tuition and hence 'female' as an explanatory variable is not robust at the first stage but at the second stage where we look at expenditure on tuition, we might find there is gender bias. This is because at the second stage a parent is faced with practical difficulties where we might detect gender bias. This gets captured through two part models which are surely an improvement over Ordinary least squares. In other words, econometrics is also making attempts in approximating reality by developing itself. This means econometrics has concerned itself with ontological matters (Downward, 2003).

There are challenges of employing econometrics as a technique when critical realism is taken as the philosophical base because of the difference in the ways the two approaches view reality and their understanding of human nature. The ontological position as espoused by critical realism developed as a criticism of econometrics because of the assumptions that the latter makes about the world as closed system which, simply put, means identifying regularities of event of the form 'if event x, then y' pertaining to a deductive approach. On the other hand, critical realism claims that reality does not have such closures and event regularity is far from reality as it takes the system as open where various events are interrelated as reality is evolving and changing. I adhere to a more pragmatic approach of reconciling the two, keeping in mind that econometrics has its merit in providing us with a general pattern but it should be open for further verification as it downplays the importance of unobserved entities- which, in my case, is the supply side dynamics of the market, institutional transformation, motivation of the providers and aspiration of parents, culture of competition, class difference in the choice of tuition and organized movements around tuition. The tension between the two approaches can be resolved if we deploy econometrics being aware of the concerns raised by critical

realist proponents. This said, econometrics is a good starting point for the present work in establishing causal relationships between the variables. It is as if an exercise where we would like to observe what is the effect of x on y when other things remain constant. Since we know there are unobserved mechanisms and transformations and events are causally related, we employ critical realism to understand these events. In a critical realist framework, it is important because some regularities, more specifically ‘demi-regularities’ offered by econometrics will further be verified using various other methods. This study is therefore an exercise to allow for flexibility in using Econometrics along with other methods to understand the underlying mechanisms. To borrow from Downward (2016),

“Methods of analysis like regression could codify more general behaviour which may then be linked to insights from a plurality of methods of analysis like interviews, focus groups, participant observation, and documentary analysis that are, perhaps, more suitable for suggesting the actual processes that cause events to happen. Collectively the shared insights might provide a basis for investigating the production and relative generality of events that can then form the basis of theoretical evaluation and policy discussion” (p. 217).

The methodology is thus motivated along this line of argument where we seek a synergy between various methods which are complementary to each other in explaining the phenomenon. For instance, the research question on tracing the motivation of different tutors in the market is to be understood by a method which should be qualitative in nature. One of the problems of mainstream economic methodology as pointed out by Walters and Young (2003) is that “it tends to regard econometric evidence as decisive rather than simply a particular and specialised form of support” (p.60). This concern is taken into account in this study by recognizing that the econometric models do not completely explain the occurrence of events.

Interestingly, Lawson (1997) points out the importance of summary statistics which he considers to be a part of econometrics. The dichotomy between estimation and inference comes out sharply in his criticism of econometrics. In order to use econometrics in a critical realist framework, Downward and Mearman (2002) suggests that this duality needs to be broken. An attempt has been made to incorporate both descriptive analysis and regression in the study to establish the relative importance of

both in unfolding the issue of private tuition. Descriptive statistics is used to find certain patterns or tendencies will guide us further to undertake our enquiry of as to how and why these patterns exist. For instance, we observe on an average government school students spend less on private tuition than private school students from the descriptive statistics across all the years which prompted us to look at the type of tuition availed by students of these two types of schools and their curriculum in the later stage of qualitative data collection.

The rationale for using multiple methods in the present context is therefore driven by a heterodox approach because relying on one method or establishing the supremacy of one over the other will breed new orthodoxy, which clearly, is not the philosophical premise of critical realism. In the next section and the sections that follow, I discuss my primary data in detail and how I gained entry into the field which involved building trust with tutor and parents.

4.5 Gaining entry into the field

This section is based on the field work carried out at different phases in different sites in the district of North 24 Parganas and Kolkata. These two districts were initially chosen as both the districts have higher percentage of children going to tuition. According to NSS data (2014-15), the percentage of school children attending tuition is 84.3 % and 81.6%. in North 24 Parganas and Kolkata respectively. Although, initially some suburban areas of North 24 Parganas was chosen for pilot study, the latter part of the fieldwork was confined to two wards of Kolkata to get a sense of the local market dynamics. As the study primarily aims to capture market dynamics, a shift from the suburban areas to the urban was made because of the widest range of tuition providers in Kolkata and also the variation in terms of quality of schools with different managements. Getting consents of the parents on the issue of private tuition was a challenge in the urban as the parents are well informed about the regulation which prohibits school teachers from providing tuition. Apart from the parents, the schoolteachers also refrained from answering questions related to the issue of private tuition. Therefore, various strategies were adopted to gain access to different stakeholders and building trusts which will be dealt with in this section.

4.5.1 Choosing multiple sites in the urban

As the market is informal in nature, it was initially difficult to select regions where the practice of private tuition is more intense. Various forms of the 'shadow' are widespread in all parts of the state depending on the clientele base, i.e., affordability of the parents. For instance, it is a common observation that most of the premier coaching institutes which have their roots in the city of Kota in Rajasthan are located in the urban i.e., mostly in Kolkata²⁵, with their branches now spreading in the small towns of other districts. These coaching centres, charging high tuition fees, are located in those urban areas where they can get clients. Also, due to well connectedness of the cities, they become suitable sites to attract students from the surrounding suburban areas. Thus, cities act as a conduit connecting 'clients' from different areas with the providers in the market.

The rationale for choosing the urban is driven by the fact that the variation in the type of providers of 'shadow education' was not observed in the suburban areas. Madhyamgram and New Barrackpore in the district of North 24 Parganas were initially chosen purposively for the pilot survey. The parents either send their children to home tutors or school teachers although some coaching centres are seen to be mushrooming in those areas. The suburban areas are initially chosen because of their proximity to the city of Kolkata which will help us to locate if there are parents aspiring to send their children to tuitions in Kolkata. This exercise of choosing the suburban initially will then provide us some grounds of choosing Kolkata as an interesting site for market dynamics. Some of the parents (mostly mothers) in these areas commute with their children to the city for better tuitions as they feel that the best 'English medium' tutors are available in Kolkata. The parents in these areas who send their children to local tutors or schoolteachers often complain of their inability to send their children to the best tutors in Kolkata either because of lack of time/ longer commute time or because of the fees that the best tutors in Kolkata charge. The rhetoric that good tutors are not available in the suburb, besides the lack of variation in the supply side of tuitions in these areas, gave me an impetus to shift my focus on the urban sites. Therefore, this initial pilot survey in the suburban areas revealed that the best way to unravel market dynamics of private tuition is to look for an area with maximum possible variation in

²⁵ Information gathered through various websites of renowned coaching centres.

terms of clients, tutors and schools. This entailed choosing sites with diversity in terms of schools (government, private aided and private unaided), tutors and households from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds.

A multi-sited approach has been embraced for answering the research questions, probing into the legitimacy of the provider and the process of choice making of parents. In the context of ethnography, Marcus (1995) questioned the conventional approach of single site ethnography as being unable to capture “the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space” (p. 96). The basic argument that is offered by this approach is that- in order to account for the changing political economy and increasing globalization, one should extend attention to more than one site. It connects different sites which otherwise seem disconnected by acknowledging the narratives of the world system²⁶. As Marcus (1995) pointed out ‘just as this mode investigates and ethnographically constructs lifeworlds of variously situated subjects, it also ethnographically constructs aspects of the system through associations and connections it suggests among sites’ (p. 96). In the domain of educational research, multi-site ethnography has the potential to lay bare contemporary educational events by following multiple locales as some objects travel across multiple sites (Pierides, 2010). Educational research can move beyond the confines of bounded category of schools, classrooms into unfamiliar spaces and people in a multi-sited ethnography with a focus on narrating ‘how things came to be’ instead of describing ‘what is inside people’s heads’ (Pierides, 2010, p.196). This also follows from our understanding of space which is not merely physical but also constructed through one’s situatedness. Robertson’s (2010) understanding that ‘spaces are social relations stretched out’ can be extended to our analysis. For this study, multi-sited field study makes it feasible to consider the networks and associations that are not site specific. For instance, a tutor from the suburban area of Dumdum in North twenty four Parganas is part of the market (tutorial centres/coaching) situated in posh localities of South Kolkata. Parents located in the suburban areas are also part of the market when they send their children to schools and tuitions in the posh locality. Practice of tutoring takes place at different spaces: at tutor’s house, at tutee’s house and also at coaching centres which render a complex meaning

²⁶ The concept of world system was developed by Wallerstein (1974) to explain world economy which is integrated and is capitalist in its form and which is not bounded by a single political structure and markets are the basic institutions.

to the practice of tuition wherein the space gets diffused. This becomes more complex within the city as networks are often dense with various types of providers who establish connections with themselves for getting clients. Also, as our broader theoretical framework embraces economic sociology perspective where markets are understood through networks, choosing multiple sites enables us to locate the networks by moving to and fro from one site to the other. In the present study, the larger discourse of competition and unemployment which are macro in nature binds the local contexts together in a common thread. Thus, through micro processes functioning at different sites one can find the larger narrative of the emergence of this market. Some of the movements that are organized by the tutors in different parts of West Bengal that influence the way a market functions necessitated an approach that would transcend the boundary of a single site. Capturing these movements around the practice of tutoring is not possible by locating the study at one site because these movements has histories and therefore the district which gave birth to 'Private Tutors' Welfare Association' has led the movement more strongly at contemporary times than any other districts which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Multi-sited approach is also consistent with our ontological position of critical realism which allows us to go beyond the boundary of a single site and allows for plurality and diverse possibilities by making the researcher more reflexive. Davies (2008) calls for 'reflexive ethnography' which recognizes that 'there is a social world independent of our knowledge of it and an epistemology that argues that it is knowable' (p. 17). Critical realism emphasizes on the underlying mechanisms causing an event. Reflexiveness allows us to take into account the understanding that some observations do not meet the eye.

In general, ethnographic methods like field observations and participant observation have been found to be useful in the present project because it allows the researcher to become part of the market where various hidden corrupt activities take place. Sometimes, the personal interviews did not reflect the presence of such activities in which case some of the questions asked were avoided by the respondents saying "it is personal". For instance, in some cases when asked about the fees charged from students, the tutors refused to reveal information. On the other hand, parents were reluctant to reveal enough information on the practice of tutoring. In some cases, some parents

underreported the expenditure incurred on private tuition as well as number of tutors provided for a particular subject. In such a case, students were asked about their expenditure on tuition. This behavioural pattern rendered more complexities to my understanding of the market and in grasping reality. Ethnographic methods like field observations and participant observations provided a richer and a deeper lens to assess the market and its instruments. In the Indian context, private tuition or coaching has been understood through surveys (Sujatha, 2014; Azam, 2016) which miss out everyday practices and nuances of decision making and the hidden elements of the market. This study therefore fills the gap in methodology in the existing literature on India by incorporating the idea of 'plurality of methods' one of which is employing ethnographic tools. As there are limitations of the data collected in the field, I looked at various documents including class notes and tuition notes and pamphlets to substantiate the findings from the observations and interviews.

4.5.2 Phases of Research

The fieldwork spanned over a period of 1 year 3 months in various phases starting from mid-January 2018 till May, 2019. I have divided the phases of the fieldwork broadly into three. The first phase, which lasted for two months from January to March, was a pilot survey to understand the nature of the market taking suburban areas of North 24 Parganas. The second phase, from August 2018 to mid-November 2018 and the third phase from January 2019 to May, 2019 were the main phases where substantial data was collected.

First Phase: During the first phase, questionnaires for parents and students were administered to gather perceptions of parents on tuitions and how they make choices on tuitions. A total of 15 parents and 15 students from different socioeconomic backgrounds were interviewed. Snowball sampling was followed (to be discussed later) to interview parents and students during this phase. The information on the tutors was also gathered from students and parents during this phase and five tutors were interviewed before making the questionnaire for tutors. The interviews were mainly unstructured and focused on the motivations of tutoring. This helped me in administering a semi structured questionnaire for different types of providers at a later stage of my fieldwork. This phase was devoted to gather some experiences of the field before collecting data. The informal conversations with parents, students and tutors

gave me a sense of how the market functions in the locality. Interviews suggested that they see the market as booming in the city of Kolkata with reputed schoolteachers, 'branded' coaching centres and tutors from good English medium schools. The lack of 'good' tutors in these areas was felt by the parents whose children go to private English medium schools. This is largely because it is only recently that private English medium schools in these areas had been set up. So, the people who had earlier received education from government schools in these areas are not considered well versed with the English medium curriculum. This aspect ran in various informal conversations with the parents. Even the tutors interviewed showed dissatisfaction with the fees they charge in these areas and complain that the parents do not want to pay more as compared to parents in Kolkata. Therefore, space emerged as an important category in the initial pilot survey which guided the rationale for choosing some pockets of Kolkata where the practice of private tuition is intense.

During this phase several state education reports (West Bengal School Education Reports) were also analyzed to get information about the functioning of government schools and existing rules of the State with respect to education. Some of the research questions which were posed prior to the pilot were modified in accordance with the context. For instance, the presence of West Bengal Private Tutors' Association operating in various districts of West Bengal was also taken into account as a part of research question. There are various social networking sites through which this movement is organized. I have closely followed the pamphlets of this organization during this phase.

This phase therefore acted as a trial method before collecting the data. As I was looking for diversity in the sample in terms of tutors, parents and schools, the suburban areas failed to meet the criteria. This phase, however, was important in terms of gaining more information on what parents really want and how tutors perceive themselves which helped in improvising the questionnaires.

Second Phase: During this phase, two wards from Kolkata were selected, keeping in mind the diversity of various types of the 'shadow' market (branded coaching centres, home tuitions, schoolteachers as providers of private tuition). The description of the wards is provided in the next section. The wards are chosen such that there is demographic variation in the locality, i.e., people from all socioeconomic backgrounds

are found in that locality. Also, there is a diverse range of schools in these wards ranging from private aided to private unaided to government schools and hence we have a varied clientele base. One of the schools hit the news headlines for producing the topper of West Bengal board examinations at the 10th level. On the other hand, some government schools in the same area are seen to have attracted students only from the poorer background and are not performing well enough. Private schools in the same area are also top notch well reputed schools one of which are run by Christian missionary and some other are branded as ‘international schools’ attracting parents with International Baccalaureate program distinct from other English medium schools with Indian Examination Board. Having chosen these sites, I visited different schools in those areas to gain access to parents, students and teachers. During this phase, Government schools in Kolkata usually conduct midterm examination which gave me an opportunity to know more about the different types of tutors and providers in those areas as during examination the intensity of tuition increases. All the schools (both Government and Private) in those areas refused to grant permission to interview parents and students as they were uncomfortable with the topic of the research. This challenge was not faced earlier in the suburban areas where I conducted my pilot survey which also reflected anxiety in the urban regarding the practice of private tuition. It was, therefore, necessary for me to become part of the market so that parents and tutors open up about the practice of private tuition. Therefore, during this phase, I registered myself as a tutor with a Teachers Bureau (tutoring agency) as they call it. There are many Teachers Bureaus operating at various parts of Kolkata which advertise in some of the local newspapers of West Bengal and they ostensibly provide ‘clients’ to the tutors in return for a commission. One of the popular bureaus which most of the tutors and parents recommended was chosen to get myself enrolled as a tutor. Later, the owner of the Teachers Bureau facilitated the process of fieldwork by providing me respondents who are his clients (both tutors and parents). It is then through snowball sampling that some of the interviews were taken at the third phase. This phase also reflected that there exist some networks between different tutors and tutoring agencies. A total of 20 tutors and 5 parents were interviewed during this phase.

Parallel to interviewing tutors and parents, field observations continued in different schools during lunch breaks and after schools. It was mostly from mothers of school children that most of the information was gathered, sometimes as a passive listener or

sometimes actively engaging in a conversation with them. The narratives are provided in latter chapters. At the same time, I made frequent visits to two coaching centres (one has a brand name and the other is a new one) located in the same areas to understand private coaching in relation to private tuition as tutors were also part of the coaching. It was important to take note of the coaching in the analysis because some parents interviewed send their children to both coaching centres and private tuitions. This indicates how there is an overlap between different forms of the tutoring activities. At the same time, I traced children who come from other areas to get their education to the schools in these areas. The purpose of carrying it out is to observe how they negotiate between two spaces- one in which they have schools and their area where they attend private tuitions and how one form becomes more relevant than the other as they face time constraint. These school children are part of the school education market in select wards and are 'clients' of the informal tuition market in the areas where they reside. Following them to a different space altogether gave a new insight as to how some providers take locational advantage over the others in terms of charging higher fees within Kolkata.

Third phase: This phase was the most important part of the field work in terms of gaining firsthand experience of dealing with students. While the second phase was mainly based on interviews to understand different stakeholders, this phase was devoted to unravel the implication of the choice after parents choose tutors. From the interviews conducted in the second phase, it was difficult to understand if there is any segmentation/discrimination in the market based on the socioeconomic profile of the students. Reputed tutors, who are interviewed in the second phase, did not show any apathy to tutor students from lower socioeconomic background. It was therefore necessary to get an insider view into the market through the method of participant observation. I chose a particular ward (Ward A) among the wards to tutor students from different socioeconomic background so that I get a sense of the curriculum and the type of tutors the students avail. Earlier in the second phase, it was the fees charged by different tutors which roughly implied that the market is segmented. To get myself accustomed with the curriculum and different types of tutors that students engage with, I started tutoring four students- 3 from lower economic background with parents having education upto primary level and 1 from a high income family with educated parents. Out of these four, three were from a low fee English medium school run by a Christian

missionary and the other is from a reputed English medium school. The four students dwell in the same locality of which three stay in slums and the other in a housing complex diagonally opposite to the slum. Interestingly, out of the four students tutored, three of them were retained in the same class after the declaration of annual examination result held in March, 2019. Tutoring these students gave further direction to the study of the private tuition market because this gave me a sense of how quality of tuition varies as well as the importance of home environment which facilitate learning. As I tutored these students, they freely revealed the kind of problems they face in tuitions and in schools about which they were not vocal initially. This also gave me an opportunity to analyse class notes in school with the tuition notes.

Besides participant observation, I got closely associated with one coaching centre where I went very often to interview students and parents. Prior to the board examination, this coaching centre arranges for a parent teacher meeting where the owner discusses about the day to day problems they face with the tutees especially their lackadaisical attitude towards studies. On one such occasion, I was allowed to make classroom observations where separate subject teachers in the coaching centre interacted with the parents. This coaching is mainly for low income parents whom the coaching owner identifies as 'din ane din khay' which means parents with no savings at all. I also got access to another coaching centre for classroom observations which threw some light on the teaching activities of the teachers in the 'not so reputed' coaching classes.

Also, during this phase I interviewed another Teachers bureau as I could sense competition between teachers Bureaus as well. This emerged from the interview with the owner of a pioneer Teachers Bureau who reiterated the mushrooming of other tutoring agencies in the city looking at the profit prospects of such a business. In this phase, I interviewed 11 more tutors, 26 parents and 25 students. I also had discussions with a group of mothers (three) whose children are from a reputed Christian missionary school and are preparing for 10th standard board examination. During the same phase, I contacted the city secretary of the West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association who readily agreed to be interviewed and on many occasions invited me to attend their meetings and inaugurations of various units within the city and its outskirts. It is through

him that I interviewed some members of the association to understand their motive and struggle and their everyday negotiation with state officials.

During the time of my stay in Ward A of the city, I got acquainted with one more coaching centre owner who allowed me classroom observations in his coaching. This further helped me in understanding the pedagogy of the coaching centre and classroom interactions. Classroom observations in school would have been more useful in comparing coaching with school, but due to school's refusal because of the sensitivity of the issue, I was bound to confine myself to observations within coaching. One of the reputed coaching centres allowed me entry only to interview parents but in the course of interviews, I took notes of various activities within the coaching and day to day interaction of the officials with parents and students.

Therefore, initial phases were multisite sampling to understand the diverse range of tutors and differences in the tuition fee structure in different areas. The latter part of the research was focusing on a neighbourhood in particular to understand the local dynamics of the market.

4.5.3 Description of the field sites

Although the district of Kolkata is the centre of the study due to reasons pertaining to the diverse clientele, I also visited places at the outskirts of Kolkata which falls under the district of North 24 Parganas to attend meetings of West Bengal Private Tutor's Welfare Association. In this section, the description of the localities of Kolkata is provided as these are where the field observations are mainly concentrated.

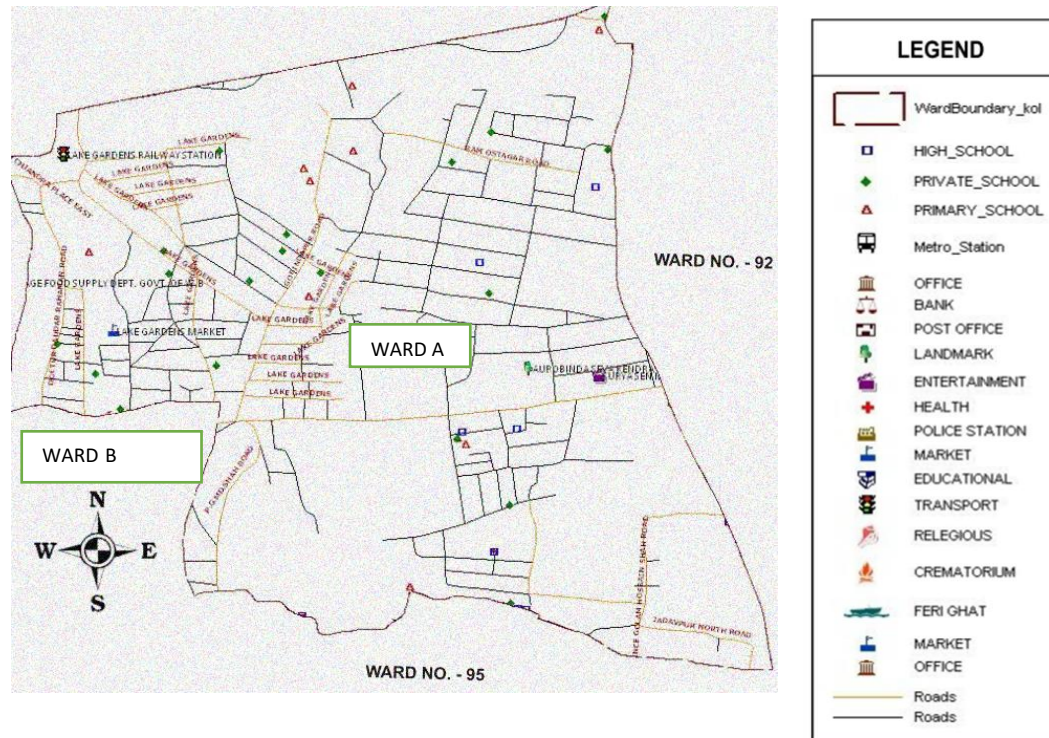
The field sites are chosen such that there is diversity in terms of socioeconomic parameters i.e. localities with maximum variation in demographic characteristics from slum dwellers to upper middle class households, types of schools on the basis of management, occupation status, caste and religion. As the analysis is focused on the informal education market, the first step towards choosing localities started by looking at the formal schools which are the source of the demand for private tuitions. Therefore, I began by looking at the DISE (District Information System of Education) data for the year 2017 to understand how schools are distributed across different boroughs of Kolkata. There are 15 boroughs in Kolkata where each borough consists of wards. According to the DISE data, borough no. 10 has the highest number of schools and has

a wide spectrum of schools with different managements, i.e., schools run by missionaries, private aided schools, private unaided schools, madrasahs, government schools, private aided and private unaided schools of different examination boards. Within borough no. 10, I have purposively chosen two contagious wards, Ward A and Ward B, with a diverse range of schools and presence of some reputed coaching centres. The schools- both government and private are of good repute and have hit the newspapers for producing the topper in board examinations. Also, their close proximity to a University in Kolkata ensures that a lot of university students are potential suppliers of tuitions. The presence of this university also gave important insights while doing fieldwork as parents staying around these areas are ostensibly more informed and concerned about education as they (mostly mothers) spend most of the time outside the university campus waiting for their children and listening to the discussion of university students. On many occasions, parents are found interacting with the university students about higher studies and preparations to score better. At the initial phase of the fieldwork, I have stayed in one of these wards (Ward A) adjacent to a girls' school for five months and observed interaction between school authorities, parents and their everyday conversations about schools and tutors. The other ward was taken because many students from Ward A would go to Ward B for private tuitions and coaching classes as Ward B also had reputed schoolteachers as tutors in coaching centres. This justifies choosing multiple sites as parents and tutors both moved out of their own localities in search of better opportunities. One of the interesting observations about the sites are the signboards hanging on the trees, walls of schools and gates of majority of houses as one pass through the lanes. One can find cluster of coaching centres in each lane especially in Ward B which has many reputed schools and a University.

The map of showing Ward A and Ward B is shown in Figure 4.1. Ward A and Ward B come under KMC (Kolkata Municipal Corporation) under borough 10. According to Census 2011 data, Ward A has population equal to 44364 with 11871 numbers of households whereas Ward B has population of 27469 with 7121 numbers of households. As far as demographic composition of the wards is concerned, 4% of SC population is present in Ward A and 5.27% of SC population is in Ward B (District Census Book Kolkata, 2011). Literacy rate in both the wards is more than 85% for both male and female. Figure 4.1 shows that Ward A has all the facilities that the city offers in terms of amenities like hospitals, schools, metros, offices, railway stations and police

station. As far as schools are concerned, both these wards have government sponsored schools (both primary and higher secondary), private aided schools (including missionary schools), private unaided schools (including international schools).

Figure 4.1 Map of select wards in Kolkata



Source: Sarva Shiksha Mission, Kolkata

4.5.4 Mapping the chosen wards- Population and Sample

The multisited field work has the benefit of exposing the researcher to a diverse possibilities in terms of the clientele base as well as providers. The neighbourhoods formed the posh localities of Kolkata with a rich colonial history as one can witness British architecture in many parts of the locality dating back to the 1800s. The original residents are the Bengali Hindus of different castes - Brahmin, Baidya, Kayastha, Subarnabanik and Namasudras. In terms of caste and class, the neighbourhoods have a mixed and heterogeneous population. The elite *Bhadralok Babus* are also part of the neighbourhoods, who took pride in their ancestors and their way of education. Some of their ancestors are migrants from East Bengal (Bangladesh) and have settled in the locality for many years. On the other hand, there has also been an influx of migrants

from other Indian states (mostly Bihar and Orissa) in these areas which have led to the overcrowding of slums in these neighbourhoods or *paras*. As far as the class of people are concerned, the wards consist of middle class and working class population dwelling in the same locality, yet segregated by different *paras*. There are specific *paras*, viz., ‘das para’ or ‘muchi para’ which house the working class population as well as the households belonging to the backward castes. On the other hand, there is a ‘banerjee para’ which is an area inhabited by mostly Bengali middle class. The recent developments in the housing market which is a characteristic feature of urbanization, has attracted people from other states to settle in these wards. This has changed the demographic composition of the wards as ‘non-Bengali’ or Hindi speaking community has settled in cooperative housing societies or housing complexes. However, only the affluent class was able to become part of the residential complex as the price of the newly built flats are exorbitantly high due to locational advantage of this place with good physical and social infrastructure. It is interesting to note that these areas have witnessed growth of housing societies for three decades where the old cooperative housing societies are mostly inhabited by the middle class people. The recent development of new housing complexes have transformed the schooling market as these localities have seen expansion of private schooling market to cater to the needs of the heterogeneous population. Some of the respondents in their late 50s informed that the government schools in these areas were very popular among the middle class parents few decades ago as the students in these schools would bring ‘star marks’. With the setting up of private English medium schools, the government schools are no longer in demand. A part of the demand for private English medium school in these localities can be attributed to the settling down of people from other states who work in the IT sector of the city. However, the government schools in these localities struggle to maintain their performance by colluding with the coaching centres. Therefore, the market for private tuition or coaching is segregated on the basis of medium of instruction and curriculum in schools.

As far as the occupational pattern of the people are concerned, the wards consist of residents engaged in occupation ranging from white collar jobs to casual, menial jobs. The slums adjacent to the apartments are suppliers of maids who work in various apartments and housing societies. While women work as maids, the husbands are engaged in construction work, vendoring fruits and vegetables, pulling rickshaws,

driving autos etc. In some households, the elder brother or sister commit themselves to private tutoring after passing class 10 board examination to support the family. On the other hand, there are families where the elder brothers support the family by working in food delivery platforms like Swiggy or Zomato. These families coexist with families who reside in apartments and are engaged in high professional occupation category such as scientists, doctors, engineers, officers and managers in various government and private offices. Interestingly, there are also individuals who solely depend on private tuition as a source of livelihood. Middle class housewives are also found to be engaged in tutoring children in the localities.

Respondents were selected through a mix of snowball sampling and opportunistic sampling as gaining trust is a major issue in this market. Snowball sampling is mainly effective in probing research questions where respondents have tendencies to conceal information due to various obligations. In this particular study, as information on tutoring is mostly suppressed by both the parents and the tutors, snowball sampling is followed helped in gaining information about private tuitions. It worked through a system of referrals. One of the problems that I experienced in collecting data through snowball sampling was that parents with same social background were being interviewed as the system of referrals followed a particular social network, say network of middle class parents. In order to avoid selecting parents with similar backgrounds, I visited the slums in the selected areas to gain information from parents from underprivileged background. Various attempts have been made to reduce the bias in the sample in order to maintain *maximum variation*. This is also called *maximum variation sampling* (Coe, 2012). This is done to order to get a diverse range of respondents in the sample so that diverse experiences can be accounted for. In view of the research questions, it is important to remain open to diverse possibilities as choice of tuition is expected to differ across groups. The characteristics of the respondents are provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Profile of the Parents

Types of respondents	Education level of the Head/Tutor	Occupation of the Head/Other occupation of tutor		Monthly expenditure (Rs.)		Gender	Caste	Total
Parents	Below primary-4	High professionals/large business-	13	6000-10,000-	6	Female-18 Male-13	General-24 OBC-1 SC-6	31
	Secondary-4			11,000-20,000-	7			
				21,000-30,000-	4			
				30,000 above-	14			
	Higher Secondary-1	Low Professionals -Business	7					
Graduate-13	Routine non manual clerical / petty business	6						
Post-Graduation and above-9	Manual class	5						

In addition to the parents, students were also interviewed belonging to the above households. The target students are students enrolled in class 9 and class 10. However, as intrahousehold family dynamics is one of the research questions, data was also collected for siblings studying in schools so as to compare expenditures incurred within the household. The detailed analysis is brought out in Chapter 7. Before conducting interviews, 113 questionnaires have been collected from two of the select wards (Ward A and Ward B) through snowball sampling where students were asked to fill the questionnaires (provided in Appendix 4) containing information on private tuition expenditure and information on various aspects of family such as household assets, number of family members, type of schools of siblings etc. 56 students were selected from various schools in Ward A and the other 57 students were selected from various schools of Ward B through the method of snowball sampling. Parents of these students were contacted after getting relevant information from the questionnaires. Out of 113 pool of students, 31 parents expressed their interest to be interviewed. As personal interviews have limitations in bringing out various biased practices within the households, field observations and participant observations were carried out simultaneously. Participant observation involved tutoring 3 students to get a sense of their curriculum and household dynamics.

Table 4.2 Profile of the Students

Gender	Type of school	School Board	Region	Total
Male- 53	Private unaided school- 70	I.C.S.E.-40	Ward A- 56	113
Female- 60	Government sponsored school- 13	C.B.S.E.-60	Ward B- 57	
	Privated aided (Christian Missionary school)- 10	W.B.S.E.-13		

The selection of tutors was carried out through a system of referrals through recommendations of the parents. In some cases, tutors were directly contacted after gathering information from pamphlets and billboards. These included tutors teaching in their own houses, rented houses, tutees' houses, within school premises and coaching centres. Although the focus was on private tutors, it has been observed that these tutors have multiple identities i.e., a tutor tutoring at home is also a teacher at a coaching centre. Therefore, their narratives also comprised of their experiences of being in the coaching centres. 4 coaching centres were also frequently visited for the purpose of gathering information on students and tutors. A total of 30 tutors were interviewed. A detailed profile of the tutors is provided in Table A8.1 of Appendix 8. Apart from the tutors, I contacted two tutoring agencies and interviewed the founders of these agencies. 5 of the tutors interviewed were connected to these agencies. The age range of the tutors is between 18 to 65 involving undergraduate students to retired teachers or professionals. Out of the 30 tutors, 16 are female and the rest are male tutors. 5 of the tutors are schoolteachers. As Ward A and Ward B are hotspots of tutoring activities, many tutors from suburban areas commute through local trains to tutor students in search of greater monetary gains. As far as interviewing these tutors are concerned, tracing their localities was also imperative to understand their context. Therefore, my fieldwork was not confined to these chosen wards but also involved visiting other sites which involved attending meeting with WBPTWA, an association of tutors. The profile of the tutors and other providers is depicted in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Profile of the Tutors/ Providers in the Market

Type of respondents	Gender	Age	Type of tutor/Other occupation	Education level (as reported)	School Board	Total
Tutors	Female-18 Male- 12	18-65	1.Schoolteachers-5 2.Coaching centre owner-2 3. Home tutor- 19 4. Tutee’s house- 9 5.Within school- 1 6.Tutor at coaching centre- 10 7. Online tutor-1 8. Student tutor- 3	Below graduate-2 Graduate-10 Post Graduate-10 Post Graduate with B.Ed.-7 Post graduate and above-1	I.C.S.E.- 15 Both I.C.S.E and C.B.S.E.- 16 W.B.S.E- 9	30
Schoolteacher	Female	55	---	Post Graduate	I.C.S.E	1
Teacher Bureaus	Male owner- 1 Female owner- 2	45 40	Works as agencies/ intermediaries	Post Graduate Graduate		2
President of WBPTWA	Male	50	Home tutor	Post Graduate	W.B.S.E.	1

4.6 Methods

A combination of methods has been employed for this study. While semi structured interviews with the respondents remained a dominant method, other methods like document analysis (newspapers, State reports, websites and pamphlets), participant observations, field observations and case studies have also been used. Most of the data are collected outside tuition centres, coaching centres and schools where parents, mostly mothers, wait for hours.

4.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were semi structured and open ended which encouraged respondents to speak their minds and helped me obtain additional information. Semi structured interviews provide ample freedom and at the same time it ensures that all the relevant themes are dealt with and all the information are collected (Bryman, 2012; p.270). Also, flexibility allows the respondents to share their perspective which is a *sine qua non* of

my research. It was through open ended and semi structured interviews, that I got some interesting insights. The respondents were first asked to share their experiences on their schooling and the education system in general. This is done in order to make them comfortable before delving into the main topic. It also involved asking them questions on their place of birth or family histories. After a certain level of comfort is achieved, the respondents were asked questions specific to the research questions following my interview guide. The set of topics to be discussed were maintained in the interview guide. However, as the interviews were open ended, some topics which are relevant for the research but not mentioned in the interview guide were considered. These questions emerged from the ongoing discussions with the respondents.

An effort was made to elicit information on their experiences as much as possible. However, in case of tutors my personal experiences as a tutor helped in gaining insider information on the practice of tutoring. This helped in creating space for further dialogues. Sometimes, I would share my story as a tutor which spurred more conversations on the issue of tutoring especially on the motive of tuition. As many parents were uncomfortable in revealing information on private tutoring, questions were initially framed on schooling experiences. In various cases, private tuition and schooling came together in their conversations. This helped me to ask specific questions on private tuition. The information on private tuition was easy to obtain from mothers than fathers as one of the fathers' remarked 'private tuition is the department of my wife'. This is because the mothers are found collecting information on tutors and spending time talking about tutors outside the school premises. Most of the interviews were conducted after ensuring the presence of mothers. Each of the family was visited more than once to make myself familiar to the extent that they reveal more information. It involved sitting with the mothers outside the schools and interviewing them. However, the parents were more comfortable in sharing their experiences in their houses than outside the schools fearing that other parents would know about the name of the tutor or coaching centre where his/ her child goes. There is every attempt to hide information on tutors from others to maintain exclusivity. On some occasions, parents underreported private tuition expenditure or the number of tutors availed. The questionnaire of the students administered before the qualitative interviews helped in identifying this behaviour. For instance, I asked one of the parents, "how many tutors tutor your daughter?". The reply was, "one tutor in each subject". However, the

questionnaire that the daughter filled up earlier mentioned two tutors in Mathematics. In such a case, I framed the question as “ Why do you think some parents send their children to two tutors in one subject?”. Understanding parents is one of the challenges encountered during interviews. Therefore, some interviews were also conducted with the students. But the presence of the parents interfered with their freedom of expression in many instances. Some of the interviews with the students were conducted outside school after the class. The interviews lasted for one and a half hour to two hours for each respondent.

I have recorded the interviews and also made notes in my field diary. In some cases, the respondents were not comfortable being recorded. In such a case, I took field notes based on my observations. Tape recordings are often cited as a useful tool besides taking notes because it gives the researcher the scope to listen intensely and take part in the conversation. Also, recordings can be used at a later point to find more meaning out of the recorded sentences. It was particularly useful when some pauses in the sentences of the respondents reflected uneasiness in answering questions. It is important not only to focus on what people say but also how they say about their experiences. The recordings helped in unfolding the hidden aspects when listened carefully.

Tape recordings were initially transcribed in Bengali language to maintain originality of the statement. As some of the texts are not relevant for the purpose of the research, I had to filter some sentences or quotations from the transcriptions that are specific to the research questions. At this stage, I translated the transcriptions in English. I tallied the transcriptions with the field notes to cross check the notes taken. Each of the transcription took 6 to 8 hours a day. After transcribing all the interviews, I began the analysis process.

4.6.2 Document Analysis

Documents are a powerful source of gathering information, especially, in the context of shadow education because it involves the least intervention of the researcher as compared to interviews. Documents of different forms, such as, policy documents (RTE, 2009 and state policies on education), newspapers, advertisements, pamphlets distributed by suppliers, websites of teacher bureaus/tutors and notice boards of schools are analysed to gather more insights into the phenomenon of tutoring. Class notes are

obtained from the students and pamphlets are found from various agents hired to distribute outside the schools at the beginning of new session. Various local newspapers were found to cover the plight of unemployed youth and the functioning of the organization WBPTWA. Apart from newspapers, I also looked for several discussions on tutoring in a social media platform, such as Facebook. This is how I came across the the organization called WBPTWA. On the other hand, the pamphlets distributed outside the schools helped me get an understanding of the players in the local private tuition market. The initial phase of research was mainly devoted to collecting these documents.

Some agencies or teacher bureaus also advertise in various newspapers. Therefore, newspapers also remained an important source of information on providers. On the other hand, pamphlets provided more insights on the strategies used to lure the 'customers'. For instance, the pamphlets feature few sentences on the success stories or the promises on accurate suggestions before the examination. This aided in building the questionnaires for different providers at a later stage.

Policy documents, especially, the education policies of the state revealed the perverse presence of tutoring by schoolteachers which necessitated formulation of laws. The policy documents are in the public domain and are accessible from the websites of the state education board. The information on rules and teachers' salaries are obtained from these documents.

Websites are also considered to be documents which are a vital source of information (Bryman, 2012). In various cases, the providers do not reveal information on any specific preference for particular school boards. Apart from the marketing strategies that are reflected in the websites of popular tutors and teacher bureaus, the websites revealed preferences on the type of clients and boards. A closer examination of the websites of teacher bureaus exposed their preferences on the type of tutors and clients. It produced contradictory evidence as opposed to the narratives of the teacher bureaus. For instance, the owner of a teacher bureau maintained that she does not discriminate in choosing clients. However, her website mentions, 'only English medium students can enrol'. The testimonials written on the websites also rendered an idea about the type of tutors parents seek for their children. For the purpose of understanding the strategies and preferences of the teacher bureaus, I selected websites of 5 different teacher bureaus and analysed the contents of the websites by breaking them into specific codes. These

categories include ‘target clients’, ‘roles assumed’, ‘terms and conditions’ and ‘service type’.

Other visual documents include images of classrooms of tutors and walls outside schools. These visual documents carry meanings associated with teaching and learning process outside schools. Classrooms of tutors depict testimonials of students about the tutor including the names of students who achieved success in high stake examinations like IIT entrance examination and West Bengal Joint entrance examination.

On the other hand, classnotes rendered a sense of teaching and learning within the classroom which was otherwise not accessible. As the topic of research appeared sensitive to various Principals of schools, permission to enter the school campus was restricted. In such a case, class notes gave an overview of what happens inside the schools. This involved looking at various study materials provided by schools, whether the notebooks are properly checked etc.

4.6.3 Case study

During the process of collecting data on the tutors, I came across some tutoring agencies who have an immense influence in the construction of image of a ‘good tutor’ in the market. In the initial phase, my focus was solely on the tutors who spoke about tutoring agencies and their role in eliciting information on the tutees. Some of the teacher bureaus have well designed websites which initially gave information on the teacher bureaus. However, the recent developments of the bureaus and their popularity among the parents and tutors necessitated an investigation into the history of these agencies in the context of Kolkata. The changing dynamics of the market and the constant entry of new players can be partially attributed to these agencies. Therefore, to get an all round understanding of the players in the market as spelled out in the third research objective, I began looking deeper into their functioning. In tandem with the theoretical perspective of the study which emphasizes on the possibility of the market being constructed, I employed case study method to understand how teacher bureaus help in market construction. According to Mc. Tavish and Loether (2002), “Case study research may lead to new perspectives on old theoretical issues, the discovery of new phenomena, and the development of new concepts and theoretical perspectives”(p.182). In my study, the research questions specific to the third research objective revolved around

‘how the players strategize’, for which a case study is a suitable approach. The focus is on the processes or the evolution of these forms of the market through the perspective of the teacher bureaus.

I have chosen two teacher bureaus as cases to understand why they chose the profession, how they function and how they perceive the market. Therefore, the unit of analysis is the teacher bureau. These teacher bureaus are selected due to their popularity as they have been operating for at least two decades. Interestingly, they illuminated how the market is changing into newer forms to fit the preferences of the customers. These two cases were corroborated with the website analysis of 4 other teacher bureaus to find a pattern in what they narrated. As compared to the website analysis, case study of the teacher bureaus rendered more in depth understanding of the strategies they use as they were interviewed and observed over a span of time.

4.6.4 Field observations

Observations provide a first hand experience of the phenomenon as compared to the interviews which depends on another individual’s account of the phenomenon (Merriam, 2009). This method is indispensable in a research topic dealing with hidden activities. As pointed out earlier, there is a tendency to conceal information on the phenomenon of tutoring as well as resistances from various stakeholders. Observations remained one of the tools throughout the fieldwork phase to uncover how things came to be and why there is uneasiness with the phenomenon of private tutoring. People often interact naturally in an environment where they feel they are not judged or observed. Interviews are often tricky as people tend to give strategic answers. Observations in research is more systematic than our everyday observations of any phenomenon (Angrosino, 2007; Merriam, 2009). In my study, I sometimes assumed the role of a ‘complete observer’, which, according to Angrosino (2007) implies that the observer is unnoticed from the settings under study. I extracted substantial information on private tutors under this technique. Initially, my identity of a researcher obstructed the process of observation in certain settings. This occurred mostly with the mothers outside schools who would often discuss about tutors of their children but my presence as a researcher would stop them from discussing about private tuition. This is because most of the parents send their children to schoolteachers who are prohibited from tutoring students. As it repeatedly happened in some settings, I adopted the strategy of not

revealing my identity as a researcher. This strategy proved successful as I gathered many field notes on the type of tutors they avail, popular tutors in the area, learning process inside the schools, interaction between parents and schoolteachers outside schools, how parents interact with themselves, their anxiety about their wards' success, interaction of parents and students after schools and tuitions etc. However, under certain settings, my role shifted from being a 'complete observer' to an 'insider' following the strategy of opportunism. The role of an 'insider' emerged from the urgency of knowing the tutors which would mean being one of them. This involved registering myself with a popular teacher bureau and attending meetings of WBPTWA including being a member on their Facebook page. This is termed as 'peripheral membership' (Angrosino, 2007) where the researcher observe people closely and people trust the researcher as one of them. This technique proved useful in unfolding the perspective of tutors and their movement for recognition. On the other hand, registering as a tutor helped me in understanding the terms and conditions of the tutoring agencies in Kolkata. These techniques of observations on the basis of varying degree of involvement with the object of study complemented the other methods and in formulating the questionnaire. As observation is systematic in research, there are some guiding questions which govern what to observe. These questions, however, differed depending on the object and setting under study- whether classroom settings, outside schools or tuition centres. Some of the guiding questions while observing the parents outside schools were:

1. What are the major characteristics of the parents/ settings?
2. What is so specific about certain settings?
3. What is the role of the parents and why do they gather in the same area?
4. What are their key actions?
5. What are the topics of conversation? Does it involve my research topic?
6. Are their certain group of parents who communicate more freely than others?
(This is particularly to understand whether information on tutors become restricted within the group).
7. Do the parents interact with schoolteachers outside school? What is the nature of conversation between them?
8. Is my presence affecting the setting?

Some additional questions guide the observations outside tuition centres, such as:

1. How many times a parent interacts with the tutors?
2. Do the parents observe what is being taught in the tuition classes? How does it affect the tutor?
3. Do the parents talk about schools with the tutor?
4. What is the role of the student and the tutor?

Apart from these settings, I attended few meetings of the tutors' organization in various locations within West Bengal and a parent teacher meeting conducted by a tuition centre. This involved looking closely into the demands of the organization as well as the parents.

I audio recorded the meetings with the permission of the authorities and got their consent to observe the meetings.

4.6.5 Participant Observation

This constituted a small segment of the extensive field work conducted in the selected areas. Participant observation is a technique mostly employed by anthropologists to understand the culture of a setting where the observer becomes participant. In this study, the goal was to achieve a first hand experience of being a tutor and looking into the curriculum, class notes and everyday transactions within households. As stated in the earlier section, 4 students were tutored for the purpose of collecting information on the school processes. 3 students belonged to a low fee private school staying in slums while one student studies at one of the reputed schools in Kolkata dwelling in the same locality (Ward A). All the three students were repeating the same class as they failed in the last examination. The purpose of selecting these students is also to find out as to why they could not pass despite having private tutors. It is where the role of cultural capital emerged as an important element to success. The most challenging task is to get involved with the students so that they feel free to share their experiences on schooling and tutors. This was a reflexive journey into the social reality which was very complex with interlocking elements. The parents would freely talk about their expectations and aspirations about their child. It is at this stage that I came across the obstacles that parents face in searching 'good' tutors for their children which helped me in developing

an idea on the process of choice making. I maintained a diary on the everyday interaction I had with the parents and the students as a tutor and took account of the field notes.

4.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis and data collection went hand in hand in my study. The technique of data analysis differs depending on whether the method is qualitative or quantitative. For the secondary data (NSS 68th Round, 64th Round and 71st Round), data is analysed through STATA software. NSS data was used to understand descriptive statistics and run regression.

In case of primary data collection which are majorly qualitative data, the first step towards data analysis is managing the data. As discussed in the previous section, several methods have been used to collect data which required a systematic management of data. The field notes based on observations were tallied with the interviews and an attempt was made to find patterns. All the audio recorded files were transcribed in Bengali followed by arranging them in themes in English language.

Data analysis was done by classifying the data into specific themes which is often called thematic analysis. It involved coding the transcription. These coded texts are then analysed across various interviews. I have observed that there is a general pattern in the information I have collected. The next step was interpreting the codes and then comparing them. For instance, different structure of schools and management was one code. An inductive technique is used after transcribing the interviews. This involved looking at answers for a particular question in the interviews and trying to find patterns in the responses. These patterns became themes which were coded as “Reasons for tutoring”, “who is a good tutor?” etc This is an iterative process which involved going back to the research questions and linking the codes with them and the pre existing theories. The process of data analysis and data collection is not a linear process and hence it involved going back to the theories, field to make sense of the outcomes found in the data analysis. It also involved a search for causal powers and underlying mechanisms causing an event as postulated in a critical realist paradigm. The focus was to find themes or categories that indicate the mechanisms that brought about the legitimacy of the market among various stakeholders. I looked for ‘demi regularities’ i.e., a pattern which is law like. For instance, under the theme ‘reason for tutoring’,

majority of the parents stated ‘schools not sufficient’ for their children. After finding some demi-regularities in certain themes, I made an attempt to understand the broader political and social framework within which the ‘choices’ are made. For instance, the motivation of tutors is associated with the macro aspects such as unemployment scenario in West Bengal as well as the culture of private tuition. On tracing the problem of unemployment and its relation with private tutoring further, I found the existence of private tutors’ organization which is specific to the state of West Bengal. This process is often referred to as ‘retroduction’ which teases out the conditions of causal mechanisms of an event by going back to theories analyzing them in the present context under the assumption that theories can be fallible. . The mapping of research questions with data analysis is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Mapping Research Questions with data and analysis

Research Objectives	Research Questions	Tools of data collection	Method of analysis
1. To examine the factors responsible for determining the decision and expenditure on tuition.	Research Question 1 What is the impact of household level factors (household income, occupation status, number of siblings, and education of household head), child level factors (age, gender, grade, and ability), institution type (government/private) and geographical factors (location, distance from school) on the decision to attend private tuition and spending on tuition?	Secondary data- NSS 71 st Round (2014-15) i.e. participation and expenditure on education	Descriptive statistics and inferential analysis (Hurdle Model) using STATA software
	Research Question 2 Is there any pro male bias in the decision to attend tuition within the household? Is there any bias in expenditure within the household?	Secondary data NSS 71 st Round (2014-15)	Descriptive statistics and Inferential analysis where age gender categories are constructed to detect gender bias.
<u>Research Objective 2</u> To examine how and why family decides to send their children to tuition in a particular locality.	Research Question 1 How does social and family background influence student’s access to tuition and the type of tutor they choose?	Semi structured interviews with open ended questions. Interviews with parents. Field observations, participant observation.	Thematic analysis- categorizing data

	Research Question 2 What kind of information parents use to reach out to the providers? How do they gain information from?	In depth interviews with parents, field observations, participant observation	Thematic analysis-categorizing data
	Research Question 3 How is the decision with regard to tuition made within household? What is the role of gender, subject and choice of school in budget allocation?	Semi structured interviews with parents, field observations, participant observation.	Thematic analysis-categorizing data

Research Objectives	Research Questions	Tools of data collection	Method of analysis
<u>Research Objective 3</u> To explore how the providers gain legitimacy in the market	Research Question 1 Who are the players in the market?	Advertisements through newspapers, leaflets, brochures, websites and semi structured interviews with parents, tutors and schoolteachers. Case studies of tutoring agencies. Secondary data- NSS 68 th Round (Employment Unemployment survey) - Data on tutors and coaching teachers extracted.	Document Analysis, Thematic analysis-categorizing and codin data. Descriptive statistics showing different types of tutors across class, caste, gender and region
	Research Question 2 Why do the providers choose to become part of the market and how do they strategize to gain tutees, build reputation and survive in the market?	Advertisements through newspapers, leaflets, brochures, websites and semi structured interviews with parents, tutors in different set up (both home based and coaching) and also tutoring agencies, Field observations, Participant observation.	Document Analysis, Thematic analysis-categorizing data
	Research Question 3 How do the providers see themselves and their competitors/Collaborators?	Semi structured interviews with tutors with open ended questions, participant observation, and field observation, case studies	Thematic analysis-categorizing data.

4.8 Building trust and trustworthiness of findings

In an informal market where activities are hidden and shady, the entry point of a researcher is mired in a number of difficulties. There are various gatekeepers in the market which made it difficult to extract information on this market. Schoolteachers

who are privately tutoring students for personal gains often persuade guardians not to disclose information about their activities. There is a nexus between parents and schoolteachers based on a system of trust that schoolteachers will help children to pass with good marks as they know the examination pattern. Sometimes, this nexus sustains because of the fear that a child might fail in school if not sent to schoolteachers for private tuitions. These factors make it difficult for a third party (researcher) to enter into the sphere of trust-fear relationship. One might also argue that the city makes it all the more difficult to extract information because parents are more informed in the city about the existing State policies or RTE (2009) prohibiting schoolteachers from providing private tuitions²⁷. Besides, there were also resistances from School Principals to conduct survey on students on the topic of private tuitions. One of the Principals of private schools, who initially agreed to carry on survey in his school, later reconsidered his decision saying, 'it is a touchy and sensitive issue. My parents won't like it.' At various stages of conducting the fieldwork, these resistances were observed from various stakeholders. The busy schedule of the city life also became a major constraint in gaining access as parents, students and tutors were occupied round the clock with private tuitions. Overcoming these constraints in the field was a time consuming process as building trust requires time.

As the issues dealt with are sensitive due to various social and political underpinnings of the market, of which one is the movement of West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association, collecting information was all the more challenging. A lot of organized movements surround the tuition market as a large section of unemployed people are depended on the market as a source of income. The providers have conflicting interests in the market and it was imperative to understand what tactics would make them speak. My association with this association (WBPTWA) has been fruitful as most of the members divulged information considering that this would facilitate their movement. Looking at the market in this way involved looking at various symbolic practices or localized culture of the market and this is closely linked with the theoretical framework. A market is both political and social and it works through a balance between

²⁷ As I interacted with parents in semi urban and rural areas, this contrasting picture of the city surfaced more clearly.

competition and collaboration. Knowing this ‘culture of the market’ also necessitated that the researcher becomes part of the culture.

Sometimes, it involved enrolling with tutor agencies to understand how they work and sustain themselves in the market to being a part of the celebrations that happen within the coaching centres. There are also underreporting of number of tuitions that a child takes because that might render a feeling that the child is not good at studies. In that case, it deemed fit to interview the students as well. It was initially difficult to become part of the market because of resistances from both the parents and schoolteachers. Participant observation became a strategy to see how many tutors a student goes to and what is being taught in tuitions.

My own association as a private tutor at one point of time helped me to gain confidence of the tutors after I shared my own experiences with them. Sometimes, some of the questions posed came naturally from my own personal experience as a student as well. It was more a reflexive exercise as I experienced how schoolteachers cajole students to take tuitions from them by lowering marks in the examination. The supply side of the story of the market where parents bargain with tutors who are inexperienced was once part of my ‘lived experience’ as a tutor. Therefore, my own reflections as a tutor also helped in breaking the ice and eased the process.

As far as trustworthiness of the findings are concerned, prolonged association with various stakeholders for more than a year in the fieldwork phase helped me in crosschecking the findings. Also, triangulation of data was made possible by the use of mixed methods. For instance, while interviewing parents, I have simultaneously conducted interviews with students on key aspects of tutoring such as fees charged by tutors, number of tutors etc. At the same time, field observations on everyday interaction outside schools and tuition centres/coaching also helped me in gaining confidence on the findings. On many occasions, private tuition was unreported and the fees charged is underreported, which made it extremely difficult to establish credibility. For instance, a schoolteacher interviewed in the initial phase of the research stated that he does not tutor students although he is part of a coaching centre as well as home tutor students. This information was gathered through field observations and interviews with parents of the same school. This was possible as I eventually gained some trust of parents and students residing in the locality. In various cases, the quantitative findings using NSS

data also converged with qualitative data. For instance, while analyzing gender as a category in private tuition market, the findings of the descriptive analysis suggest pro female bias in private tuition investment. This also emerged from the discussion with the parents with girl children. Therefore, methodological pluralism leads to triangulation and ensures validity of the findings as it provides means to get overlapping themes.

4.9 Operational definitions

Social class- Social class is usually defined in terms of income level, consumption expenditure and ownership of consumer durables, sectoral and occupational composition of the workforce (Sridharan, 2004; Despande, 2003). Beteille (2007) defines class on the basis of “property, wealth, occupation, income and education” (p. 945). In this study, the respondents are divided into middle class and working class on the basis of income, household assets, level of education and occupation category. The problem with defining a class is mainly limited due to data unavailability (Sridharan, 2004). Defining or segregating various factions within the middle class is a difficult task because of the fluid character of the middle class. While data on income, occupation, education and household assets are available from different sources, classes cannot be defined fully in terms of these parameters because possession of symbolic capital or cultural capital that varies across class is not easy to capture. Therefore, an assessment of class, especially compartmentalisation of middle class is also done through my own assessment of the parents’ language competencies (especially English) or soft skills, their practices, their family histories as I interacted with them on various occasions. Following are the indicators on the basis of which class is defined as an analytical tool for the study:

Income as an indicator: As far as income as a category is concerned, Sridharan (2004) used Market Information Survey of households (MISH) data (1998-99) by NCAER. Initially, MISH data divided the population into five income groups arbitrarily, which is further grouped as elite middle class, expanded middle class and broadest middle class by Sridharan (2004). For this study, I have taken initial categorization of income group of MISH data (1998-99) - high income (above Rs.1, 40,000), upper middle income (Rs.1,05,001–Rs.1, 40,000), middle income (Rs.70, 0001-105000), lower middle income ((Rs.35, 001–Rs.70, 000) and lower income (up to Rs.35, 000). Annual income

is considered in this case. This income groups are then adjusted with CPI of 2018-19 to obtain new income group. In order to check whether the CPI adjusted income group is consistent with West Bengal, I have taken average per capita income (State NSDP) and matched the figure with that of the range obtained through MISH data. It has been found that monthly per capita income of West Bengal which is Rs.5498 (CSO estimate) is equivalent to Rs.21993 for a family of four members and fall under the category of middle-middle income group (Rs.18967 – Rs.28449) which is consistent with our categorization. Based on income as a category, I have identified three middle class factions and working class as follows on the basis of monthly income:

- a) Upper middle class – High income group (monthly income above Rs.37931)
- b) Middle-middle class- Middle income group (Rs.18967- Rs.28499) and Upper middle income group (Rs.28450-Rs.37931).
- c) Lower middle class- Lower middle income group (Rs.9484 –Rs.18996)
- d) Working class- Low income group (Below Rs.9483)

Occupation as an indicator: Occupation is often used as an indicator to define class (Golthorpe, 1980; Kumar et al., 2002; Vaid, 2012) on the grounds that income data are not always available and schema based on occupation class is more reliable to show social stratification (Connelly et al., 2016). The NES 2004 occupation classification is based on 11 class schema which is collapsed into 5 schemas in Vaid's (2012) study. Drawing from Vaid (2012), I collapse the occupation class into three main categories: Professional Class²⁸ (High professionals, low professionals and Routine non manual clerical class), Business class²⁹ (large business and petty business) and Manual class³⁰ (Routine non manual service, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled classes). The demarcation among the occupation class is not hierarchical under this scheme. We might find High professionals and

²⁸ High Professionals according to NES classification (2004) include scientists, engineers, administrators, officers including Class I employees, elected officials (state and central) and managers. Low Professionals are administrators and officials including Class II employees, elected officials, technicians and supervisors.

Routine non manual clerical includes services like sales executive, sales person, and Class III and Class IV employees (support staffs and office assistants).

²⁹ Business class is divided into two: Large business has at least one or two employees whereas petty business includes unauthorized stalls or shops.

³⁰ Routine non manual services include services like that of washer men, maids and other personnel. Skilled manual workers are electricians, mechanics etc. and semi-skilled, unskilled include masons, construction workers, sweepers etc.

large business class at the same level. In fact, in this study, the upper middle class comprises of high professionals and large business and lower middle class comprises of petty business and routine non manual clerical class. This is shown in Table 4.5.

Education level: Education level of parents is also considered to be important in understanding one's class position. This is because education level can be considered roughly as 'cultural capital' as defined by Boudieu (1986) to understand social reproduction. In view of this, I have divided education level into five groups: illiterate or below upper primary (grade 8), secondary (passed grade 10 examination), higher secondary (passed grade 11 examination), graduation (passed Bachelor's degree) and post graduate and above (completed Master's degree or above).

Table 4.5 Social Class Characteristics

	Monthly Income (Rs.)	Occupation (both parents)	Education Level	Household Assets ³¹
Upper Middle class	above Rs.37931	-High Professionals, -Large Business	-Post-Graduate or above -Graduate	LED TV, Refrigerator, AC, Car, laptop/ desktop (or both)
Middle-middle class	Rs.18967- Rs.37931	-Low Professionals -Business	- Post Graduate and above -Graduate	TV, Refrigerator, AC, Car/ Scooter, Desktop/laptop
Lower middle class	Rs.9484 –Rs.18996	-Routine non manual clerical - Petty Business	-Graduate -Higher Secondary - Secondary	TV, Refrigerator, Bicycle, scooter
Working Class	Below Rs.9483	-Manual class -Petty Business	-Illiterate -Below Upper primary	TV, bicycle

Household assets- In case of unavailability of income data owing to resistance from parents to share such information, household assets are considered. As far as household assets are concerned, I have demarcated the classes on the basis of possession of luxury assets like refrigerator, air conditioner, computer, laptop and car.³² This indicator

³¹ It is an arbitrary categorization based on the sample of households in field sites i.e. Kolkata.

³² Krishna and Bajpai (2015) considers household assets as an important indicator of looking at various classes. For instance, the upper middle class in their study were those who possess cars and the lower middle class possess motor cycles.

helped in segregating the middle class factions as well as helped in comparing working class with middle class. For instance, in our study, those having air conditioner, car, laptop, LED TV are considered to be upper middle class.

Caste- Caste is defined as used in Government official records i.e. as General Caste, Other Backward Caste (OBC), Scheduled Caste (SC), and Scheduled Tribes (ST).

The social class characteristics defined above is not a rigid one but will help in understanding how various factors overlap with each other to define class.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presents the philosophical basis of research methodology and how the philosophical stance of critical realism that celebrates the idea of plurality of methods guides the research project. In doing so, I present the tensions between critical realism and econometrics as a tool and argue that both can go hand in hand in the study. Secondary data (NSS various rounds) and its limitations paved way for the use of primary data to bring out nuances that are missed out in the secondary data. The importance of multi-sited approach to capture maximum variation in the sample has been discussed along with the issue of trust that creates challenges in conducting fieldwork. The research questions are then mapped with data analysis and various methods. The use of various methods is likely to increase reliability of data especially in a study where people conceal information and transactions are informal in nature. Critical realism, as it propounds mixing of methods to make sense of complex reality also advocates that theories are fallible and hence it creates ground for alternative theories. The use of mixed methods aided in the quest for underlying mechanisms and causal powers which are mediated by structure and agency dichotomy. To sum up, the process of collecting and analysing data is a reflexive journey. It involves personal judgement about a particular phenomenon which is embedded in the fabric of the society of which the researcher is a part. While the personal experiences helped in making more sense of the phenomenon, there is a constant struggle while depicting reality bereft of personal biases. However, the use of multiple methods negates such biases to some extent.

CHAPTER 5: Exploring the Determinants of Demand for Private Tuition in West Bengal

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to analyse the determinants of demand for private tuition by delving into the household's choice of private tuition which is a component of educational expenditure. As presented earlier, West Bengal makes an interesting case to understand choice of private tuition as it has a high percentage of school students availing private tuition (more than 85%) which is more than the Indian average of 25.9%. It has the highest proportion of private tuition goes at the secondary and higher secondary level (90.5%) among all the states and has the second highest percentage of students (79.2%) going to tuition after Tripura (82.3%) according to NSS (2014-15). The percentage of students attending tuition from different institution type is as follows: 79.45% from government schools, 82.36% from private aided and 72.40 % from private unaided schools. This implies that students attend tuition irrespective of the management type. Another interesting aspect of West Bengal is the existence of the policy banning tuition of government school teachers which existed much before RTE (2009) came into effect. All these point to the fact that private tuition is pervasive in this state.

Before tracing the reasons for the high incidence of tutoring, it is important to examine the factors that facilitate demand for tuition. Therefore identifying characteristics of the households who demand tuition and understanding the macro factors like state policies and unemployment scenario in the state will throw light on the pervasiveness of the tutoring phenomenon. Some studies suggest poor quality of government schools (Glewwe and Kremer, 2006; Chaudhury et al.; 2006) and poor pay of teachers who look for additional income (Biswal, 1999) as reasons for rising dependence on private tuition. Contrary to this, studies in Indian context found that students from private schools also go for private tuition (Aslam and Atherton, 2012; Banerji and Wadhwa, 2013; Azam, 2016) which questions the assumption that low quality of government schools is the sole reason of private tuition. The tremendous pressure to perform better in high stake examination at higher stages of schooling has led students to remain

absent in schools while attending coaching classes. The coaching industry in Kota is a testimony to the rising demand for coaching where students who are trained for IIT and Medical entrance examinations do not attend schools (Ørberg, 2018). Shadow education system completely overshadows the mainstream education system. To understand the extent of this form of privatization, there is a need to begin with exploring the demand side of the market and household's decision making. This is because the expansion of this market or any form of privatization is partly attributed to the aspirations of the parents who invest outside schools to remain in the ensuing 'rat race'. Various studies on India (Sujatha, 2014; Aslam and Atherton, 2012; Banerji and Wadhwa, 2013) which have focused on the determinants of demand for private tuition are based on survey data except Azam (2016) who employed a large scale data (NSS) to analyse determinants of demand.

This provides the reader a general starting point to understand the determinants of demand in India. But it focuses mostly on the micro factors i.e. the household specific and child specific characteristics but in many cases tuition can have a supply side story with supply induced demand as in West Bengal (Majumdar, 2014). As NSS data is a unit level household data, supply specific variables cannot be incorporated in the model using NSS data. To control for the supply side influence on the decision of private tuition, I have used a proxy variable i.e. percentage of literate job seekers from Census data, 2011. This acts as a macro variable indicating if the presence of educated unemployed youth has an impact on the decision regarding tuition and expenditure on this activity. This is an improvement over other studies which do not take supply side into account while understanding determinants of demand. The chapter employs Hurdle Model (Cragg, 1971) to separate the decision of participation from the decision of how much to spend on tuition. Since there is a possibility of non-random selection of sample of households who spend positive amount on tuition, we use Heckman selection (see, Heckman, 1979) as a robustness check to examine if the result changes due to sample selection bias.

The findings of this chapter are as follows. It has been found that per capita household monthly consumption expenditure (proxy for monthly income) is an important determinant in both the participation decision of tuition and expenditure decision. The probability of tutoring increases with stages of schooling of the child. We do not find

evidence of gender bias for tuition in West Bengal. However, at the elementary level, gender bias is detected in favour of girls contradicting studies (Kingdon, 2005; Azam and Kingdon, 2013, Sahoo, 2017) which documents gender bias in favour of boys in educational investment in India. This departure from the literature makes it an interesting case to analyse the question of gender in detail in terms of intra-household decision making (Chapter 6). Another striking observation is that vernacular medium students are more likely to attend private tuition than English medium students indicating the dominance of English as a subject for attending tuition. On the other hand, at the elementary level, students from Government schools are more likely to attend tuition than their private counterparts which is contrary to what Azam (2016) found in the context of India. What is to be noticed in these observations is that Government schools are mostly vernacular medium schools (mostly Bengali medium) and thus there is a tendency to perceive that quality of these schools as not up to the mark. As parents equate quality with medium of instruction in school³³, it is likely that more students from Government school attend tuition. This also implies that government school goes attend tuition at an early age i.e. at the elementary level. As cost of education is high in private schools as compared to government schools, parents who send their wards to private schools usually avoid private tuition as an additional expenditure at the elementary level. This gets reflected in the significant difference in participation decision of private tuition between government school students and private school students at the elementary level. For the government school goers, it is a strategy of private public mix. As far as the supply side influence is concerned, an increase in the percentage of literate job seekers increases the probability of attending private tuition at the elementary level but decreases the expenditure on private tuition. This is obvious as number of educated unemployed increases the availability of prospective tutors resulting in surplus tutors which pushes down the tuition fees charged. These findings point out that private tuition is deeply embedded in the society and the problem of unemployment in Bengal will further reinforce this phenomenon apart from the sense of heightened competition.

This chapter, therefore, aims to provide description of various determinants and analyse their impact on decision making thereby setting the basis for further analysis

³³ This rhetoric has been found in qualitative studies on low fee private schools and studies on school choice. See Nambissan and Stephen (2011) for detail.

in latter chapters. The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 5.2 describes the variables and shows broad patterns of household specific, region specific and child specific variables. Four time periods (1986-84, 1995-96, 2007-08, and 2014-15) are taken spanning two decades to trace the trajectory of the variables in terms of participation and expenditure. Section 5.3 discusses the data, empirical strategy and results of the models showing rural and urban differences as well as differences with respect to stages of schooling.

5.2 Incidence of Private tuition in West Bengal- A descriptive analysis

5.2.1 Participation across class, caste, gender and region

As mentioned earlier, West Bengal features as one of the states with high incidence of the phenomenon of private tutoring. Table 5.1 shows a comparative picture of India and West Bengal in terms of participation in private tuition from the year 1986-87 to 2014-15. A yawning difference in the percentage of participation between India and West Bengal across several rounds of the data hints at the overwhelming presence of private tuition in West Bengal vis-à-vis India. The difference in participation has widened over the years if one compares the percentage in various years. While in India, the percentage of tutees in school education has increased from 15.27% in 1986-87 to 26.74% in 2014-15, in West Bengal the figures are 43.91% in 1986-87 and 79.17% in 2014-15. This indicates a huge jump in the percentage of tutees in West Bengal in three decades.

Table 5.1: Percentage of school students (up to higher secondary level) attending private tuition

	1986-87	1995-96	2007-08	2014-15
West Bengal	43.91	54.61	71.54	79.17
India	15.27	17.73	18.68	26.74

The pattern of participation and expenditure varies within the state in terms of socioeconomic status, region, stages of schooling and gender. Although the overall percentage of private tuition goes is 79.17 per cent in West Bengal, there is regional variation (district wise) within the state. In 2014-15, the districts of Nadia and Bardhaman show more than 90 percent of students attending private tuition whereas Uttar Dinajpur and Bankura show less than 65% students attending private tuition. In

Kolkata, the percentage of tutees is 81.6% out of which 41.24% are from government schools and 40.31% are from private unaided schools. None of the districts has equal percentage of private tuition goes from both types of institutions. The city of Kolkata therefore emerges as an interesting case to understand the linkages between types of school and different types of private tuition to understand market segmentation arising from different curricula or types of institutions.

Table 5.2 depicts the pattern of participation across various school types, stages of schooling and gender in rural and urban areas separately. A closer look at the table suggests that there is a regional difference across all the categories where the phenomenon is more prominent in the urban than in the rural across all the rounds.

Table 5.2: Participation in private tuition across various categories in Rural and Urban from 1986-87 to 2014-15

	Rural				Urban			
	1986-87	1995-96	2007-08	2014-15	1986-87	1995-96	2007-08	2014-15
School type								
<i>Government</i>	35.20	44.21	68.51	76.61	51.59	66.09	84.28	90.40
<i>Private:</i>								
<i>Aided</i>	...	60.51	91.22	81.08	...	78.67	84.60	83.28
<i>Unaided</i>	50.11	55.75	64.84	69.65	56.52	67.42	70.01	74.31
Grade								
<i>Primary</i>	29.57	35.56	53.44	63.90	45.26	60.79	70.66	78.30
<i>Upper Primary</i>	49.89	65.59	81.12	85.34	54.27	75.90	86.14	91.27
<i>Secondary</i>	60.70	80.65	94.19	88.98	68.89	87.20	93.18	92.90
<i>Higher Secondary</i>	61.91	77.40	95.31	85.70	60.39	88.10	97.00	93.31
Gender								
<i>Male</i>	42.15	51.09	69.71	78.30	55.98	73.80	80.85	87.07
<i>Female</i>	35.37	44.61	68.35	74.78	52.01	67.61	83.05	87.11

Source: Author's calculation from NSS 1986-87, 1995-96, 2007-08 and 2014-15

The table shows that there is a temporal, institutional and regional dimension of participation rate in private tuition. In the initial years, i.e. 1986-87 and 1995-96, the percentage of tutees from government school was less than 50% whereas the percentage of tutees from private unaided school was more than 50 percent in the rural. This indicates two possibilities- a) quality of private school is poor b) Those who are rich (highest quintile) are sending their children to private tuition and private school. While conclusive evidence on the quality deterioration of government school is not available, I focus on the second reason. For this, one needs to check which income

class is sending their children in private school. The richest 40% income class in the rural send their children mostly to private schools (Q4=26.93%, Q5= 28.08%). On the contrary, the percentage of students from the richest income quintile is less in government school (18.11%) in 1986-87. In the rural, we also find that the percentage of tuition goers increases as quintile class increases. In 1986-87, the percentage of tuition goers from the richest income class is 55.24%. We may conclude that the higher percentage of tuition goers are the richest 40% who are enrolled in private schools and that gets manifested in the form of higher percentage of private tuition goers from private schools.

Howevr, the sudden spurt in the percentage of tutees in government school is observed in 2007-08 which supersedes the percentage of tutees in private schools. This might be due to parental aspiration or fall in the quality of government schools or availability of low end private tutors/coaching in the rural areas. Government schools registered a rise of tuition goers from 35.20% to 76.61% from 1986-87 to 2014-15. On the other hand, private school students' reliance on private tuition has increased gradually from 50.11% in 1986-87 to 69.65% in 2014-15 in the rural.

The urban experience has been quite different in terms of reliance of students in private tuition. In 1986-87 and 1995-96, percentage of tutees from government school and private school was more or less similar indicating private tuition market was accessible for students of both type of schools. But similar to rural trend, one observes that the reversal of pattern happens in 2007-08 in which the percentage of tutees is higher (84.28%) in government schools than in private schools (70.01%). Various factors may attribute to the observed pattern. There is a rhetoric that quality of government schools is deteriorating and at the same time parental aspiration is rising which is documented in various studies in the form of demand for the 'private'. The flight of the middle class from government schools is cited as one of the reasons for government school deterioration because of 'lack of voice' in the schools. On the other hand, average course fee in the private school has risen over the years due to which some parents whose children are in private schools might find it difficult to provide private tuitions.

Although the percentage of tutees from government school is higher than private schools, one should not lose sight of the percentage of tutees from private school which

is quite substantial (74.31%). This highlights another possibility of market segmentation based on school type which can be observed from expenditure pattern in terms of school type. This is shown in Figure A.5.5 (Appendix 5).

Table 5.2 also shows the percentage of tutees by stages of schooling. Across the years (1986-87 to 2014-15), the percentage of primary school students attending private tuition has increased both in the rural and in the urban. This trend is visible across all grades or stages of schooling. The percentage of students attending tuition increases at higher stages of schooling as at the higher stages of schooling, students face board examinations or high stake examinations. What is alarming about the context of Urban West Bengal is 90% student relying on private tuition at the upper primary grade as well. This hints at the preponderance of private tuition in the lives of students at an early age and this certainly raises questions on the purpose of tutoring at an early age.

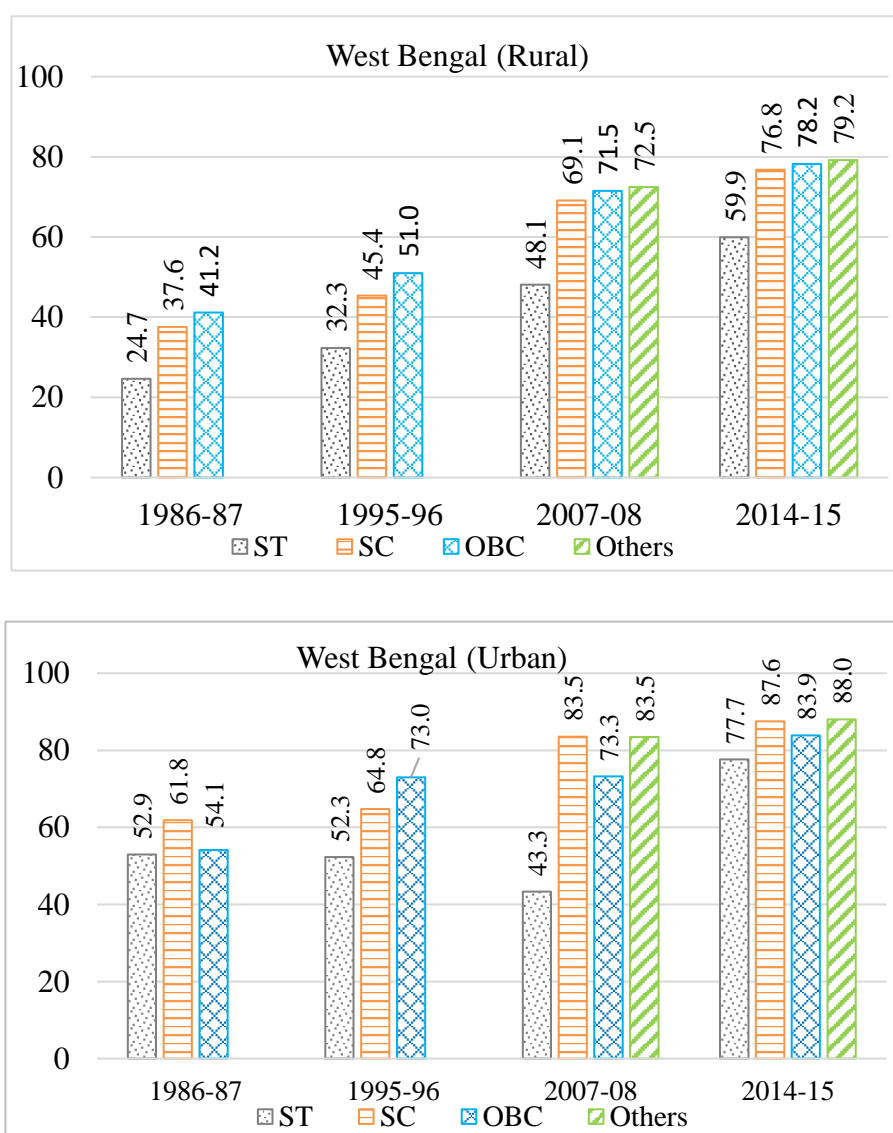
A comparison between male and female students shows that there is a difference between male and female participation in favour of male students. The difference is higher in the rural than in the urban but the difference has become less in the year 2014-15. In the urban, in 2014-15, the percentage of female students (87.11%) attending tuition is slightly higher than the percentage of male students (87.07%). This is in contrast with various studies in the Indian context which documents gender inequality in favour of male children in educational investments. In the context of urban West Bengal, informal private investment on girl children can be due to factors related to school choice, preference for single sex schools, home schooling and issues related to family size. This aspect of choice is dealt with in Chapter 6 in detail.

The other social dimension that merits attention is the aspect of social group or caste. Figure 5.1 shows percentage of students availing private tuition from different social groups- SC, ST, OBC and Others (Forward Caste).

The caste difference in the investment pattern in private tuition is more in the rural than in the urban although the difference has lessened over the years. An interesting observation is that scheduled caste students' participation in the private tuition market in the urban is quite substantial. Participation alone does not mean that these backward castes are able to access quality service in the market. The quality of the service that they get from a segmented market is an issue that needs to be examined. The expenditure pattern, however, sheds some light on the type of private tuition that a

student avails. If the average expenditure on private tuition is less among the deprived castes, it indicates that they are availing low end services. In 2014-15, the average expenditure on private tuition by an SC household in an academic year is Rs.2686 whereas the average expenditure by a Forward caste household is Rs.3588 hinting at the possibility of availing low quality service by the former.

Figure 5.1: Percentage of students attending tuition by different Social Groups in Rural and Urban West Bengal

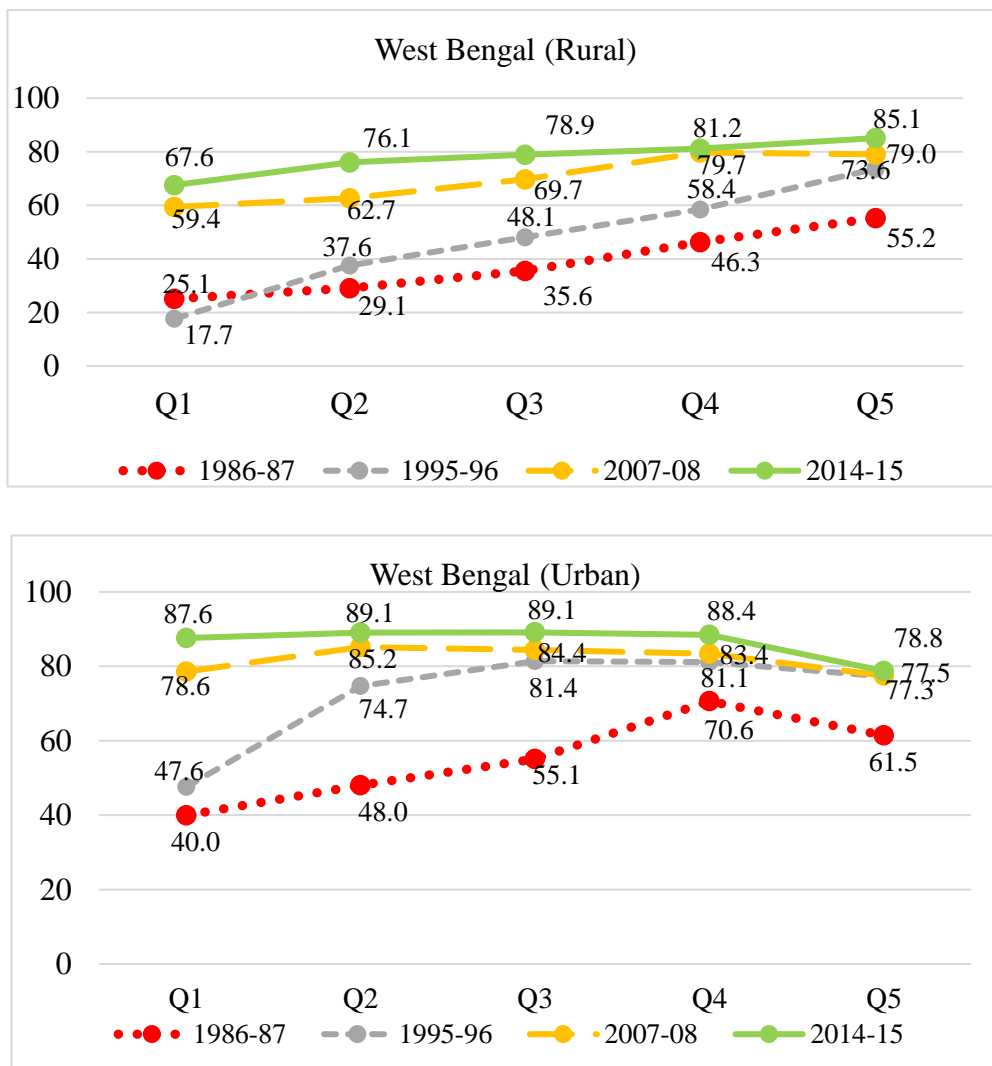


Source: Author's calculation from NSS 1986-87, 1995-96, 2007-08 and 2014-15

Another prism through which one can look at the market is through 'ability to pay'. For this purpose, monthly per capita consumption expenditure is divided into 5 quintiles which are termed as income class in this study. Figure 5.2 shows the percentage of tutees across different income class from 1986-87 to 2014-15 in rural

and urban West Bengal. It tells two different stories of rural and urban West Bengal. In the rural, the percentage of tutees increases as one goes up the ladder of income class and this is visible across all the years pointing out that affordability plays an important role in participation. However, in recent years i.e. in 2014-15, the percentage of students from lower income quintiles have shown increase in participation. At the same time, one observes that in 2014-15, there is narrowing down of the difference in participation rate across different quintiles implying that lower income groups are also investing in private tuition in the rural. This might be due to increase in supply of low end private tutors, parental aspiration and deteriorating quality of schools in the rural.

Figure 5.2: Percentage of students attending private tuition by different income class (Quintile) in rural and urban West Bengal



Author's calculation from NSS 1986-87, 1995-96, 2007-08 and 2014-15

In the urban, the flattening of the line is found in the year 2007-08 and 2014-15 i.e. participation across all quintile classes started much earlier in the urban than in the rural. An anomaly in case of the urban which is quite striking is the decreased participation of the richest quintile (Q5) as compared to Q4 in the initial years (1986-87 and 1995-96) which goes further down in 2007-08 and 2014-15 in comparison to other quintile classes.

The surge in participation in the private tuition market from lower quintile groups over the years may be attributed to the differentiated nature of the market from low end to high end private tuition which is more visible in the urban than in the rural. This is discussed in detail in the next section with the help of expenditure data on private tuition. The drop in the percentage of tutees from the richest quintile can be understood in light of the heterogeneous private schooling market where elite private schools co-exist with the low fee private schools. In a bid to appear distinct from others, the richest income class might have invested in better schooling with private tuition facilities within school. For instance, in some elite schools in Kolkata, private tuition facilities are provided within school (Appendix 7) and hence the course fee includes such facilities. Therefore, choices about attending private tuitions intersect with school choice.

5.2.2 The question of access and choice

In this section, the focus is centred on the question of access in terms of expenditure on private tuition. This is to be contextualised in terms of segmentation in the private tuition market where one can trace how expenditure on private tuition varies between various socioeconomic categories. Table 5.3 presented below reports expenditure on private tuition by different income classes to shed light on the segregation in this market. As discussed earlier, the difference in participation rate in this market has reduced over the years but the expenditure pattern shows variation in spending pattern where students from lowest income quintile spends less as compared to the students in the highest quintile. The difference is higher in the urban than in the rural indicating that the urban tuition market is highly differentiated. One peculiar aspect of the urban tuition market is the decreased participation rate of the highest quintile group in recent years (Figure 5.2). To discern this sudden drop in the percentage of students from the top 20 per cent income group, the context of school choice is taken into account.

School education market is differentiated with different types of private schools that cater to the need of diverse clients which is captured in terms of variation in course fees. Table 5.3 provides a glimpse into the differentiated school education market as well as private tuition market. We observe a huge jump in the course fee from quintile 4 to quintile 5 in the urban implying that the richest 20 per cent of the income group send their children to elite private schools (average course fee Rs.13200). On the other hand, for the corresponding income groups the difference in private tuition expenditure is not huge. Therefore, one can argue that the highest quintile group are availing elite private schools which might provide additional remedial classes due to which there is a drop in the percentage of students going to tuition from this group.

Table 5.3: Per child median expenditure on school and private tuition in current academic year by Quintile, 2014

	RURAL				URBAN			
	<i>Course Fee(Rs.)</i>	<i>Private Tuition Fee(Rs.)</i>	<i>R1*</i>	<i>R2**</i>	<i>Course Fee</i>	<i>Private Tuition Fee(Rs.)</i>	<i>R1*</i>	<i>R2**</i>
<i>Q1</i>	113	1100	54.9	4.4	230	2000	63.3	5.1
<i>Q2</i>	130	1440	55.6	4.2	305	3000	63.5	5.0
<i>Q3</i>	200	1600	55.4	3.6	500	3600	55.2	5.0
<i>Q4</i>	210	1800	55.6	3.3	800	6000	56.1	6.7
<i>Q5</i>	317	3000	53.6	3.9	13200	7800	31.6	4.0

*R1 - Tuition Expenditure as % Education Expenditure,

**R2 – Tuition Expenditure as % of Annual Household Consumption Expenditure

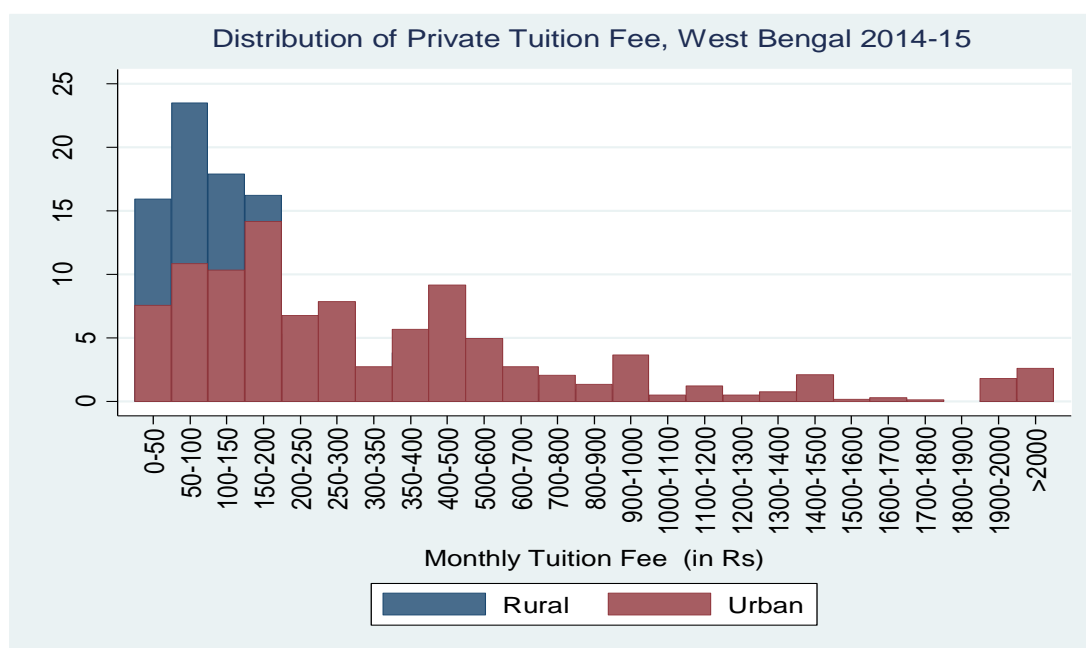
Source: Author's calculation from NSS (2014-15)

The additional expenditure on private tuition is a burden for the households especially for the low income group which is evident from the ratio of tuition expenditure to household consumption expenditure (R2). This ratio is higher for the lower income group (Q1 and Q2) than the middle and high income groups (Q3, Q4 and Q5) in rural West Bengal hinting at the higher expenditure burden for the poorer households. In the

urban, except for the quintile class Q4, the burden is higher for the low income households (Q1 and Q2).

An interesting observation that surfaces from the data points at the ubiquitous presence of private tuition reflected by the ratio of tuition expenditure to total education expenditure. Across all the categories and in both the regions, more than 50 per cent of education expenditure is on private tuition. The figures are higher for the low income group implying relative importance of private tuition vis-à-vis other expenditures on education for these households. In the urban, we find this additional expenditure pinches the poor harder as they spend more than 60 per cent of total education expenditure on private tuition. It is thus clear that children from the lower quintiles are able to afford private tuition but the highly differentiated nature of the private tuition market poses question on the quality and type of tutoring service.

Figure 5.3: Distribution of private tuition fee (2014-15) in West Bengal



Source: Author's calculation from NSS 2014-15

Figure 5.3 plots the differentiated nature of the private tuition market in the rural and in the urban by depicting the distribution of private tuition fee. One can find that the urban is more differentiated than the rural as there are various clusters at the lower end, middle and at the high end in the urban indicating various ranges of private tuition fee. In the rural, however, the clustering is visible in the lower fee range. This observation can also be backed by coefficient of variation in private tuition fee for both the regions.

The coefficient of variation for the urban is 1.53 which is higher than rural (1.30) indicating that the urban market is more differentiated. This is one of the reasons as to why participation in private tuition is almost equal across all the quintile groups in the urban. Private tuition market thus provides a range of tutoring options with different tuition fees such that the poorest of the population can afford some form of tuition at a low cost. Nonetheless, this remains as a burden for the households as reflected by the ratio of private tuition expenditure to total household expenditure.

5.3 Determinants of private tuition

The descriptive statistics based on various household specific and child specific variables provided a basis of further analysis. This section investigates the determinants of choice of private tuition in school education for those households who incur positive expenditure on tuition. I used NSS data 71st Round (2014-15) to examine the effects of household specific factors, child specific factors and supply side variation³⁴ on the decision regarding whether to incur positive expenditure and how much to spend on tuition conditional on positive expenditure on tuition. It has been considered that the family is the decision making unit as expenditure on education at the school level is incurred by the parents after negotiations among the members of the family (will be discussed in Chapter 7). Significant differences between families who send their children to private tuition vis-à-vis those who do not may be observed if we look at some household specific and child specific variables. Table 5.4 depicts mean differences between some variables under the category of ‘private tuition goers’ and ‘non goers’.

The table reports major differences (in terms of mean value and percentage) in variables like household monthly consumption expenditure, course fee, type of school and medium of instruction between tuition goers and non goers. One observes that private tuition goers have a higher monthly consumption expenditure than non goers. Some of these variables appear as important determinants in our regression models among others.

³⁴ Supply side variation refers to variation in the number of literate job seekers in each district of West Bengal which is taken as a proxy for the supply of tutors calculated from Census 2011.

Table 5.4: Comparison between students who attend private tuition and who do not

Variables	Private tuition Goers	Non Goers
Household monthly consumption expenditure (Rs.)	6985.46	6449.92
Household size	5.12	5.41
Age of schooling going children	12.00	10.10
Course fee (Rs.)	1293.30	2422.12
Students from Government schools	79.45*	20.55*
Students from Private unaided schools	72.40*	27.60*
Students repeating same grade as last year	81.93*	78.28*
Medium of Instruction: Bengali	80.46*	19.54*
Medium of Instruction: English	65.58*	34.42*

*Percentage reported

The description of the data source, empirical strategy and interpretation of results are provided in this section.

5.3.1 Data

NSS 71st Round (2014-15) is a cross sectional data set based on educational participation and expenditure in India. It contains information at the individual level about currently enrolled children within a household and different heads of educational expenditure on each child within a household for the age group 5-29 years. It also collects information on household's monthly consumption expenditure, occupation of the household head, religion, social group, household size and possession of assets like computer and access to internet. It has information on discontinuation of school going children with reasons for their dropping out of school.

A sample of 36479 rural households and 29447 urban households were taken for the year 2014- 15 for India. For West Bengal, the number of households surveyed is 2592 in rural areas and 2428 in urban areas with a total household surveyed equal to 5020. In West Bengal, the number of male between the age group 5-29 is 135113 in rural and 50962 in the urban. Number of females for the same age group is 133144 in rural and 49259 for the urban. For this study, I considered a sub sample of this sample as we include children up to higher secondary level of schooling who are currently enrolled in school and this brings down the number of household to 4936.

The data breaks down educational expenditure of each child in a household into

various components- course fees, transportation fees, books and stationaries, uniforms and private coaching. It also contains information on fee waiver and the amount of scholarship received. The survey divides institutions into four types- private aided, private unaided, government schools and not known. As the category “not known” represents a small proportion (0.55%) of the sample, we exclude this category when considering school choice. The summary statistics of the data are given in Table A.5.1 in the Appendix gives us a descriptive analysis of each of the variables used in the paper.

The outcome variable that is used in the participation decision of the Hurdle model is a binary outcome i.e. whether a child goes to private tuition or not which takes the value 1 for “yes” and 0 for “no”. The dependent variable for the expenditure decision is logarithm of tuition expenditure which is calculated from NSS data on private tuition expenditure. Among the household specific factors, monthly per capita household consumption expenditure is taken as a proxy for income. I have constructed the variable logarithm of per capita household expenditure to capture the impact of income on private tuition decision and expenditure. Religious category is grouped into four i.e. Hindu (reference category), Muslim, Christian and Others (Buddhist, Jains, Zoroastrians and others). Social group in NSS is grouped into four: Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), Other Backward Caste (OBC) and Other caste (which we term as forward caste and is the reference category). From the same data, we group the Occupation status of the household into regular wage/salary earner (reference category), self- employed and casual labour and others. Education of the household head has been categorized into below graduate (reference category), graduate and post graduate and above. A variable ‘female head’ has been constructed to capture if gender of the household head has any impact on decision making and expenditure on education drawing from the literature on the role of gender in education (Thomas, 1990, Duflo, 2003) . Other household specific variables are distance between home and school and the location of the household (rural and urban).

Among the child specific factors, I constructed age categories as 0-5, 6-10, 11-14, 15-20. Stages of schooling are constructed from the data as follows- primary (base category), upper primary, secondary (including diploma in secondary) and higher secondary (including diploma in higher secondary). Gender of the child and number

of siblings (school going) are other child specific variables included in the models.

School specific variables include medium of instruction in school and type of school. For the medium of instruction, I took the base category as English medium against non- English medium schools. Type of school is divided on the basis of management- government, private aided and private unaided.

Census data (2011) is used to capture supply side of the market. From this data set, I calculated the percentage of literate job seekers in each district which is divided by the percentage of school going children in each districts of West Bengal. This variable is taken as a proxy variable as it is assumed that educated job seekers are the potential suppliers of private tuition. This is presented further in Chapter 8 from NSS 68th (2011-12) data.

5.3.2 Empirical Strategy

The data contains households with positive tuition expenditure and zero expenditure. In various studies (Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Huy, 2012), Tobit model is used to for censored data to find the determinants of expenditure on tuition. It takes the decision to participate in tuition and how much to spend together as one decision and focuses only on the expenditure decision as the outcome. By taking these two decisions as one, we might fail to reflect at which stage some explanatory variables become important. Kingdon (2005) argued in the context of gender disparity in education that by averaging two separate decisions, gender bias might not be detected even if it exists in one channel. In order to understand two different processes, Tobit model is not suitable. The impact of the same explanatory variables may differ in these two processes. As the representative household faces two different tiers of choice problem, I employed Hurdle Model which has been developed to overcome the limitation of the Tobit model. It separates the decision of participation in tuition from the decision of how much to spend on tuition.³⁵

The first problem or the hurdle confronting the decision maker i.e. the parents in this

³⁵ OLS model will not be appropriate in this case as the sample contains students who spend zero on tuition and thus taking students with positive expenditure and zero expenditure on tuition will result in downward bias due to the presence of zeros.

case is about the choice decision i.e. whether or not to send the child to tuition. This decision is governed by the utility maximization process which is unobservable to the econometrician. Instead what is observed is the final decision of whether the child is being sent to the tuition or not. Let D_i^* is the latent decision process involving utility maximization, it is the incremental utility from opting to tuition. When the incremental utility, D_i^* , is positive then tuition is opted for the i^{th} child, otherwise not. The binary outcome D_i is the indicator variable for participation in private tuition, $D_i=1$ when the i^{th} child goes for tuition (i.e. when $D_i^*>0$) and $D_i=0$ if the i^{th} child does not opt for tuition (i.e. when $D_i^*<0$). The decision to attend tuition or not (participation decision) not only depends on economic factors but also on social and demographic factors including the perception of tuition in the society and involves expectation of the parents or aspirational aspect which is more psychological (Liu and Bray, 2017).

The second hurdle is how much to spend on tuition conditional on the initial decision of participation which is determined by the same set of variables as in the participation decision.³⁶ Similar to the choice decision, expenditure decision involves a latent process, denoted by the latent (unobserved) variable say y_i^* and the observed variable, y_i , which is the tuition expenditure spend on the i^{th} child. When the i^{th} child participates in private tuition (i.e. $D_i = 1$) then the positive amount of expenditure is being spent on private tuition (i.e. $y_i > 0$) and when the child does not opt for tuition (i.e. $D_i = 0$) then zero expenditure (i.e. $y_i = 0$) is observed to be spent on private tuition.

Therefore, we have the following two equations.

The participation equation

$$D_i^* = \beta'X_i + u_i \quad (5.1)$$

And

$$D_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } D_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } D_i^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \quad (5.2)$$

³⁶ In certain cases the two part model takes the form of a Heckman model where there is an exclusion restriction such that some variables are said to affect participation decision but not expenditure decision.

Expenditure equation

$$y_i^* = \gamma'X_i + v_i \quad (5.3)$$

And

$$y_i = \begin{cases} y_i^* > 0 & \text{if } D_i = 1 \\ 0 & \text{if } D_i = 0 \end{cases} \quad (5.4)$$

x_i

= {household specific factors, child specific factors, school specific variable, supply side variation}

The dependent variable in equation (5.4) takes the logarithmic form in our model. We take the assumption that the error terms u_i and v_i in the two equations are independent and identically distributed normally with zero mean and variance one. In the above equations, X_i is the control vector explaining both private tuition participation and the expenditure decision. Based on the literature in India (Azam, 2016) and studies outside India (Bray, 2009; Liu and Bray, 2017, Dang and Rogers, 2008), we take some of the explanatory variables discussed in the preceding section. I made one improvement over other studies on tuition by adding supply side (percentage of literate job seekers) among other determinants of private tuition.

Dang and Rogers (2008) suggests that the factors influencing tutoring can be grouped as micro factors and macro factors. Among the micro variables, the household specific factors are household monthly consumption expenditure, occupation status of the household, religion, gender of household head, education level of the household head, caste of the household, number of siblings of the child in the household. Child specific factors are age category of the child, level of current education, sex, medium of instruction in school, type of institution (private unaided, private aided and government) where a student studies. Demographic variables include location of the household (urban or rural) and distance from school. Among the macro factors, I introduced the state of educated unemployment in each district from the Census (2011) data to account for the supply of tutors. According to 68th Round NSS data (2011) on employment and unemployment, it has been found that a percentage of tutors whose ‘subsidiary activity’ is tutoring are categorized as unemployed in the ‘principal activity’. This accounts for 11.8% of tutors who take private tuition as ‘subsidiary activity’. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that educated unemployed persons are more likely to provide tuition for earning income. But this corresponds to

one type of tutor in the segmented tutoring market with different types of tutor. Introducing this variable will help us understand if there is a supply side inducement in the prevalence of tutoring in West Bengal. This supply side variation is expected to offer us insights to the problem of unemployment in West Bengal which has an impact on tuition choices. District heterogeneity is not controlled for in the models with supply side variation as we want to capture supply variation (unemployment) across districts. I have introduced separate models where district dummies are controlled but supply side is not introduced.

One might expect the presence of selection bias in the sample of households with positive expenditure because these households are not randomly selected from population. Thus, in the second stage in the two part model, one can have selection bias. The two parts of the model then becomes dependent through the error terms i.e. the error terms are correlated. In such a case, an exclusion restriction is taken such that a variable is chosen which can generate significant variation in the selection equation but does not affect the outcome equation directly. I performed robustness check with Heckman model with the same variables as in Hurdle model and calculate the inverse Mill's ratio which will confirm whether there is selection bias or not. Besides Heckman model, I also used LPM as robustness check for the Probit models.

5.3.3 Empirical Results and Discussions

In order to analyse the effect of each of the factors on the decision to attend private tuition, I employed several models. These factors which influence participation decision also affect the decision of how much to spend on private tuition. Table 5.5 shows the Hurdle estimates for overall West Bengal (All), Rural and Urban West Bengal. Model (1) to Model (6) focus on the demand specific variables particularly socioeconomic and child specific variables. Model (7) and Model (8) highlight the impact of an increase in the percentage of literate job seekers on the demand for private tuition.

Table 5.6 presents Hurdle model with stages of schooling- elementary level and secondary plus higher secondary level. The purpose is to gauge how the same variables influence the decision and expenditure at two different levels. For instance, at the elementary stage, distance of school from home might not appear as important as in

the secondary and higher secondary level as time taken to commute might dampen the demand for tutoring. Also, expenditure on private tuition is likely to vary in these two stages. All these possibilities are captured in Table 5.6.

For the Probit model, I reported average marginal effect which gives us the average of the change in the probability of going for tuition to one unit change in one of the explanatory variables, holding other variables constant. Robust standard errors are reported within parenthesis along with the marginal effects for Probit Models and regression coefficients for Expenditure Models. Table A5.7 and Table A5.8 show LPM and Heckman results with the same explanatory variables for robustness check.

Household specific factors

Socioeconomic profile of the household is captured by explanatory variables like log of per capita household consumption expenditure (proxy for income), Occupation status of the household, gender of the household head, education level of the household head, religion and social group (caste). It is observed that per capita household consumption expenditure emerges as an important factor in both the participation and expenditure decision in all the models. This result corroborates with other studies on tuition in India (Azam, 2016) and abroad (Dang and Rogers, 2008; Liu and Bray, 2017; Bray 2010; Tansel and Bircan, 2006; Kim and Lee, 2010). Economic status is an important determinant in tuition participation decision and expenditure decision. A 1% increase in per capita household consumption expenditure significantly increases the probability of sending a child to tuition increases by 4.1, 12.3 and 8.7 percentage points in urban West Bengal, rural West Bengal and overall West Bengal respectively (at 1% level). We observe that the marginal effect associated with rural West Bengal is larger than the urban implying that the effect of economic status is more in the rural. The effect of income is greater in the expenditure decision implying that the more difficulties are faced at the expenditure stage for parents with low income. We find that a 1% increase in per capita household consumption expenditure significantly increases tuition expenditure by 45.1% in overall West Bengal, 46.9% in urban West Bengal and 38.9% in rural West Bengal holding other variables constant. It is interesting to observe that income influences participation and expenditure decision differently. While in the participation decision, the marginal effect for the urban is lower, the coefficient for the expenditure is higher in the expenditure decision for the

urban than in the rural. It means once the decision is taken to attend private tuition in the urban, spending on tuition is more which is obvious given the highly differentiated nature of the market. The coefficient of income also reflects income elasticity of tuition expenditure as both the dependent and independent variables are in logarithmic form. Income elasticity for private tuition is positive and is less than one in all the models suggesting that in West Bengal, it is a necessary good i.e. it is unavoidable. This finding is similar to Azam's (2016) observations for India where he found income elasticity equal to 0.36. Elasticity for West Bengal is higher than India implying that it is more of a necessity in West Bengal than in India. If tuition is a necessity for the household and income is an important determinant of tuition, we can conclude that tuition becomes a burden for the poor. The separate models with different stages of schooling (elementary and above elementary level) show that the elasticity is higher at the post elementary level i.e. 0.62 than at the elementary level i.e. 0.57 (Table 5.6). This might be because of the curriculum pressure at the higher stage of schooling which necessitates that for the same income level of the household more is to be spent on tuition. Also, post elementary level, students are most likely to prepare for major board examination which increases demand for tuition. Bray (2010) has argued that tutoring is more evident during the period of major examinations.

Occupation of the household does not have any impact on the participation decision. But the bias is detected in favour of salaried households as compared to self-employed and casual labour in the expenditure models. One can observe that self-employed person spends significantly 19 percentage points less than salaried or regular wage earners in the rural. This might be because occupational structure in the rural is such that self-employed in the rural are mostly from agriculture whose source of income is uncertain. In the urban, however, we do not find any significant difference between regular or salary earners and self-employed. This indicates that the same occupation status varies between rural and the urban. On the other hand, casual labour and others have less probability of attending private tuition as well as spending on private tuition as compared to the regular wage and salary earners. It is interesting to note that occupational hierarchy in investment is mostly seen with the households with children at the elementary as compared to households with children at the post elementary level. There is a significant difference between regular wage earners and casual labour in the spending decision i.e. households with occupation status as casual labour spend 13.3%

less than regular wage and salary earners at the elementary level. At the post elementary level, the same households spend 11.9 per cent less than regular wage and salaried individuals. The difference between two occupation statuses shrinks at the post elementary level because this stage is a crucial juncture involving board examination and hence households with not so stable income also become part of this investment spree as others.

The effect of the gender of the household head as a determinant of tuition participation and expenditure has also been analysed. Various studies (Simmons and Emanuelle, 2007; Duflo, 2003; Thomas, 1990) suggest that women are more altruistic in the distribution of resources. I incorporated this variable to find out if decision making ability in the form of headship in the family increases tuition participation or decision of the child. Interestingly, if the head is a female than a male, expenditure on private tuition increases significantly by 12.3 percentage points in overall West Bengal and by 23.3 percentage points in urban West Bengal (Table 5.5). This observation goes in line with the above literature where female head distributes more resources for child's education as compared to a male. But this seems to be significant and hence limited till the elementary level with expenditure on tuition being increased by 19.4 percentage points if the household head is a female (Table 5.6). At the post elementary level, there is no impact of gender of the household head on expenditure decision. The plausible reason is that at the post elementary level, private tuition becomes more unavoidable due to imminent board examination so that irrespective of what the gender of the household head is, children are sent to private tuition.

Children belonging to backward social groups have less likelihood of going to tuition and spending on tuition than household belonging to forward social group. In urban West Bengal, Scheduled Caste children are 4.8 percentage points less likely to attend tuition than the forward caste children (at 1% level of significance) and spend 15.7 per cent less than the forward caste (at 1 % level of significance). The difference in expenditure between SC and forward caste is more in the urban than in overall West Bengal (Table 5.5). Scheduled Tribe children are 43.2 percentage points less likely to attend tuition in West Bengal and spend 14.2 percentage points less than the forward caste. They are 13.6 % points less likely to attend tuition in the urban and 9.8% points less likely to attend tuition in the rural. Thus the discrimination seems more

pronounced in the urban than in the rural. Social backwardness thus remains an impediment towards investment in tuition holding all the variables constant. At the elementary level, an SC student spends significantly 7.9 percentage points less than a forward caste student but at the secondary level, caste of the student has no effect on private tuition decision. For the ST category students, the discrimination is more at the secondary stage than at the elementary stage as the probability of the ST attending tuition is significantly 15% points less at the secondary level and 12.7% points less at the elementary level as compared to the forward caste. At the post elementary level, discrimination between forward caste and ST students is captured at the expenditure decision where a ST student spends 27.6% less than a forward caste student. Interestingly for the OBC, private tuition expenditure increases significantly by 15.2 percentage points at the secondary level as compared to the forward caste (Table 5.6). This might be because of the fact that secondary and higher secondary stage marks the beginning of one's preparation for labour market where more investment becomes necessary to come out of the trap of social stigma for the backward caste.

Religion of the household also has an influence in the choice of tuition. It plays a role in the expenditure decision holding other variables constant. As compared to a Hindu household (base category), a child in a Muslim household significantly spends 31.2% less in the urban West Bengal and 12% less in the rural (Table 5.5). At the elementary level, the Muslim household spends significantly 22.7% less than the Hindu household and at the secondary level the figure is 15.8% (Table 5.6). Clearly, the gap decreases at the secondary level for this religious group because of the importance of board examination at the end of secondary and higher secondary level. At the post elementary level, however, Christian students are more likely to attend tuition (by 11.2 percentage points) than Hindu students.

Lastly, among the household specific factors, education of the household head also plays a crucial role in the decision on tuition. With higher educational qualification of the household head, the probability of going to tuition decreases. A Graduate head's probability of sending a child is less than a below graduate household head. In the urban, the probability of a graduate head sending a child to tuition is 9.4 percentage points less than a below graduate head. This level of qualification appears to have no effect in the rural. However, the expenditure decision picks up the bias both in the

urban and in the rural. A graduate household head spends 14.3% (35.1%) more than a below graduate head in the urban (rural). For a Post Graduate head, the chances of sending the child to tuition is 23.1 percentage points less as compared to head whose qualification is below graduate. There is a regional dimension with respect to this variable. In the urban, a post graduate head is 15.8 percentage points less likely to send children to tuition whereas in the rural, the figure stands at 28.3 percentage points. The importance of private tuition therefore wanes out with increase in household head's education and this effect is more in the rural.

Conditional on the participation decision, expenditure increases with qualification of the head. A graduate head spends 22 percentage points more than a below graduate head whereas a post graduate head spends 32.4 percentage points more than a below graduate head (Table 5.5). It appears that the need for extra help in the form of tuition decreases with education of the head because an educated head might look after their children. But if the need is felt i.e. conditional on participation, the more educated head spend more implying that they are able to sort out reputed tutors with high quality as they are more aware about the value of education being educated.

At the elementary stage, a graduate head has lower probability of sending the child to private tuition (20.5 percentage points) as compared to a head whose education level is below graduate. Although more educated parents are less likely to send their children to private tuition, expenditure incurred on private tuition is higher for them. At the elementary level (post elementary level), a graduate head spends 21.9% (17.4%) more than a below graduate head. Similar trend is visible with a post graduate household head who spends 33.7% more on private tuition than a below graduate head at the post elementary level. The reason is that at later years of schooling i.e. at the secondary level and beyond, parents usually do not wish to compromise with the quality of tutors. Assuming that more educated household head is able to differentiate between different quality services; he is more likely to spend more in tuition. At the secondary level, the expenditure on tuition significantly increases with increase in educational qualification of the head.

Child Specific Factors

Numbers of siblings who are currently studying in school seem to play a role in the decision regarding private tuition. It is expected that with the increase in number of siblings, the chances of each child's enrolment in private tuition decreases as per capita resources within the household falls with the addition of a member. In rural West Bengal, the effect is stronger than overall West Bengal as the probability of attending private tuition decreases by 2.5 percentage points in the rural as compared to 1.8 percentage points in West Bengal. In urban West Bengal, there is no impact of this variable at any stage of the model which might be because the urban tuition market is more differentiated than the rural such that various forms of tutoring services are available from low end to high end. This implies that with increase in the number of siblings, low end private tuition becomes one option. At the elementary level, increase in the number of siblings decreases the probability of attending tuition by 3.1 percentage points. The impact of this variable is absent in the post elementary level. One can avoid sending a child to private tuition at the elementary level as one more sibling is added because the need for tuition is not pressing as high stake examinations do not influence the decision at this stage.

Medium of instruction at school as a variable show the hegemony of English language in the decision making of parents with regard to private tuition. As non-English medium students are more likely to take private tuition, this points out that there is a demand for English tuitions by students which inflates the possibility of them attending tuition than their counterparts. In the urban, an English medium student is 10.9 percentage points less likely to attend private tuition but spend 31.5% more than non-English medium students. The higher spending by English medium students imply that they avail better quality tutors or access the high end of the providers. In the rural, an English medium student is 23.5% less likely to attend tuition than a non-English medium student and there is no significant difference between the two categories in terms of expenditure which might be because rural market is less differentiated than the urban (Figure 5.3). Bengali medium or vernacular medium students have more probability of attending tuition in West Bengal as a result of policy experiments done earlier where English as a language was abolished at the primary level in 1983. This has resulted in anxiety among the people who think English is a gateway to get jobs. Roy (2010) has found that parents supplemented learning of

English with private tuition after the policy experiment. English is also considered to be a marker of status and quality in various studies (Nambissan et.al 2011; Lall, 2000; Tooley et. al, 2007) and hence tuition might be one strategy by parents to compensate for the perceived loss. While probability of participation in tuition is less for English medium students, their parents spend more on tuition conditional on participation. This might be because of the fee difference between the type of tutors who tutor English medium students and vernacular medium students as English medium students spend more than vernacular medium students on an average.³⁷ We also observe differences in participation and expenditure at two different stages of schooling- elementary and post elementary between English medium students and non-English medium students. At the post elementary level, English medium students have less probability of attending tuition i.e. by 19.5 percentage points than a vernacular medium student and this figure is less at the elementary level (11.2 percentage points) (Table 5.6). This suggests that the supplementation of learning occurs mostly at the secondary and higher secondary level than at the elementary level because of preparation before board examination as discussed earlier. If one closely observes spending decision at the elementary and post elementary level, one finds that at the elementary level, English medium students spend 32.8% more than non-English medium students indicating that they avail better tutoring services but this difference is not observed at the post elementary level as private tuition becomes indispensable due to board examinations.

Among other important determinants, difference in the type of institution has an impact on the decision regarding private tuition as shown in Table 5.5. As compared to a child enrolled in government school (base category), a child in a private unaided school significantly spends 13.7% (34.2%) more in the urban (rural). At the post elementary stage, a child who studies in a private aided school has significantly 12.5 percentage points less probability of going to tuition than a child in government school (Table 5.5). These observations stand in contrast with Azam (2016) found in Indian context that students from private schools are most likely to attend tuition. This elucidates the importance of context. In West Bengal with a large number of students

³⁷ Average expenditure on private tuition in West Bengal for school children by medium of instruction is as follows English medium - Rs 8003.318, Bengali medium - Rs. 2976.15, Other medium - Rs 2749.57.

in Government schools (more than 80 %) and a few percentages of students in private unaided schools (4.93%), it is possible that government school and private tuition is a cost effective strategy for most parents and this kind of “public private mix” seems to be more favourable for them. This is similar to what Davies (2004) has found in the context of Canada. There is also a supply side story. With few numbers of private unaided schools in West Bengal, private tuition might act as a hidden demand for the “private”. But it is interesting to note that children enrolled in private unaided schools spend 13.9% more in private tuition than children in government schools.

Significant difference in gender in private tuition decision is not found in the any of the models presented in Table 5.5. However, Table 5.6 shows female children are more likely (by 3.5 percentage points) to attend private tuition at the elementary stage than their male counterparts. This is an interesting finding as it stands in contrast with the general perception that a girl child is discriminated in terms of private education due to social and cultural norms governing decision making. The descriptive statistics on gender also suggests that the difference between male and female with respect to tuition is not stark. Instead at the secondary level, female tuition goers (92.69%) are more than male (87.06%) according to NSS 2014-15. This observation lays the foundation for the next chapter where the issue of gender in private tuition is analysed further.

Table 5.5: Hurdle model of demand for private tuition up to higher secondary level

Dependent variable: Attend tuition=1, not attend tuition=0 for Probit; Expenditure decision- log tuition expenditure								
Independent Variable	(Model1) Probit Urban	(Model2) Expenditure Urban	(Model 3) Probit Rural	(Model 4) Expenditure Rural	(Model 5) Probit All	(Model 6) Expenditure All	(Model 7) Probit (with supply)	(Model 8) Expenditure (with Supply)
Log per capita household expenditure	0.041** (0.018)	0.469*** (0.043)	0.123*** (0.022)	0.389*** (0.040)	0.087*** (0.014)	0.451*** (0.029)	0.093*** (0.014)	0.544*** (0.028)
Distance (>5km)	-0.012 (0.024)	0.087 (0.060)	-0.122*** (0.037)	0.018 (0.055)	-0.070*** (0.023)	0.047 (0.041)	-0.053** (0.022)	0.026 (0.042)
Female head	0.015 (0.024)	0.233*** (0.048)	0.038 (0.031)	0.016 (0.054)	0.023 (0.020)	0.123*** (0.037)	0.023 (0.021)	0.150*** (0.038)
Number of siblings	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.033* (0.018)	-0.025*** (0.008)	0.002 (0.014)	-0.018*** (0.005)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.015 (0.011)
Medium of instruction: English	-0.109*** (0.028)	0.315*** (0.066)	-0.235*** (0.042)	0.075 (0.108)	-0.174*** (0.024)	0.244*** (0.055)	-0.173*** (0.024)	0.212*** (0.055)
Muslim	0.014 (0.022)	-0.312*** (0.048)	-0.001 (0.021)	-0.120*** (0.036)	-0.003 (0.015)	-0.216*** (0.028)	0.004 (0.015)	-0.195*** (0.028)
Christian	-0.045 (0.086)	-0.414 (0.387)	0.091 (0.070)	-0.176 (0.149)	0.058 (0.056)	-0.319** (0.126)	0.001 (0.069)	-0.223* (0.126)
Others	-0.081 (0.077)	-0.236 (0.243)	-0.117 (0.128)	-0.168 (0.247)	-0.113 (0.081)	-0.160 (0.168)	-0.088 (0.077)	-0.169 (0.165)
Self employed	-0.008 (0.018)	-0.006 (0.040)	-0.023 (0.029)	-0.190*** (0.050)	-0.011 (0.016)	-0.080*** (0.031)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.074** (0.031)
Casual labour and others	-0.041* (0.023)	-0.131*** (0.049)	-0.049* (0.030)	-0.236*** (0.051)	-0.037** (0.018)	-0.135*** (0.034)	-0.037** (0.018)	-0.115*** (0.034)
Scheduled Caste	-0.048** (0.021)	-0.157*** (0.045)	0.000 (0.022)	-0.005 (0.037)	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.087*** (0.029)	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.075*** (0.028)
Other Backward Caste	-0.026 (0.024)	0.035 (0.057)	0.000 (0.021)	0.045 (0.040)	-0.010 (0.016)	0.033 (0.033)	-0.011 (0.016)	0.027 (0.032)

Scheduled Tribe	-0.136*** (0.043)	0.134 (0.119)	-0.098*** (0.037)	-0.105 (0.069)	-0.125*** (0.031)	-0.098* (0.059)	-0.130*** (0.030)	-0.171*** (0.060)
Education of Head: Graduate	-0.094*** (0.023)	0.143** (0.064)	0.025 (0.053)	0.351*** (0.090)	-0.098*** (0.028)	0.220*** (0.053)	-0.109*** (0.029)	0.189*** (0.054)
Education of Head: Post Graduate and above	-0.158*** (0.042)	0.140 (0.102)	-0.283** (0.113)	0.658** (0.279)	-0.231*** (0.058)	0.324*** (0.108)	-0.259*** (0.060)	0.267** (0.110)
Type of school: Private Aided	-0.043 (0.029)	0.060 (0.065)	-0.074 (0.052)	-0.133 (0.136)	-0.056* (0.030)	0.007 (0.060)	-0.044 (0.029)	0.021 (0.061)
Type of school: Private unaided	-0.034 (0.029)	0.137** (0.067)	-0.078* (0.046)	0.342*** (0.085)	-0.034 (0.026)	0.208*** (0.053)	-0.040 (0.027)	0.262*** (0.052)
Gender of the child: female	-0.009 (0.015)	0.043 (0.032)	0.016 (0.015)	-0.007 (0.026)	0.005 (0.011)	0.018 (0.021)	0.007 (0.011)	0.003 (0.021)
Upper primary grade	0.077** (0.032)	0.285*** (0.069)	0.198*** (0.032)	0.314*** (0.058)	0.160*** (0.025)	0.301*** (0.045)	0.165*** (0.025)	0.279*** (0.046)
Secondary grade	0.168*** (0.044)	0.658*** (0.085)	0.261*** (0.037)	0.620*** (0.074)	0.224*** (0.028)	0.654*** (0.056)	0.230*** (0.028)	0.635*** (0.058)
Higher secondary grade	0.173*** (0.049)	0.817*** (0.102)	0.222*** (0.046)	0.869*** (0.087)	0.202*** (0.033)	0.863*** (0.067)	0.211*** (0.033)	0.845*** (0.069)
Rural					-0.048*** (0.014)	-0.189*** (0.025)	-0.112*** (0.015)	-0.184*** (0.029)
Age group: 11-14	0.020 (0.032)	0.200*** (0.070)	-0.004 (0.027)	0.025 (0.058)	0.006 (0.020)	0.101** (0.045)	0.001 (0.020)	0.114** (0.046)
Age group: 15-20	-0.100** (0.045)	0.210** (0.090)	-0.073* (0.044)	0.095 (0.076)	-0.090*** (0.033)	0.118** (0.058)	-0.100*** (0.033)	0.119** (0.060)
Age group: 0-5	-0.061 (0.048)	-0.302*** (0.105)	-0.158*** (0.056)	-0.168 (0.127)	-0.105*** (0.039)	-0.208** (0.082)	-0.117*** (0.040)	-0.241*** (0.080)
Percentage of literate job seekers							0.008 (0.002)	-0.008* (0.004)

Constant		4.358*** (0.337)		4.692*** (0.323)		4.355*** (0.233)	0.008*** (0.002)	3.977*** (0.243)
Observations	2,013	1,710	2,835	2,144	4,848	3,854	4,848	3,854
R-squared		0.555		0.424		0.539		0.516
district dummy	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	---	---

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Average marginal effect reported for Probit

As a student moves up the stage of schooling, demand for private tuition increases. The increase can be attributed to high stake examinations at the higher stages of schooling where scoring better marks becomes important as academic credential. As compared to the primary level (base category), students at the upper primary level have significantly more probability of attending tuition i.e. by 16 percentage points in West Bengal, 7.7 percentage points in urban West Bengal and 19.8 percentage points in rural West Bengal. At the secondary level, the probability significantly increases by 22.4 percentage points in West Bengal, 16.8 percentage points in urban West Bengal and 26.1 percentage points in rural West Bengal. At the higher secondary level it is still higher at 20.2 percentage points for overall West Bengal, 17.3 (22.2) percentage points in urban (rural) West Bengal. These observations suggest that an additional help becomes necessary as a child passes on to various stages of schooling with higher coefficients at the higher stages of schooling. Expenditure on tuition also follows the same pattern. As compared to the primary level, parents significantly spend more at the upper primary level by 28.5 % (31.4%), at the secondary level by 65.8% (62%) and by 81.7% (86.9%) at the higher secondary level in the urban (rural). This corroborates with other findings (Azam 2016; Assaad and El-Badawy, 2004) in tuition where students spend more in private tuition at higher stages of schooling due to impending high stake examination.

Age group of children also emerges as another child specific factor in determining whether a child goes to private tuition. As compared to the base category (5-10 years age group, children belonging to 11-14 years of age spend 20 per cent more in private tuition. At the higher age group i.e. 15-20 years, spending on the child is 21 per cent more but the students in the same age group are 10 percentage points less likely to avail private tuition. On the other hand, at the lower age group 0-5 years, parents spend 30.2 per cent less on children. This suggests that at an early age the chances of availing private tuition are less due to less curriculum overload. But we also observe that at higher age group 15-20 years, a student is less likely to attend private tuition indicating that after a certain point the importance of private tuition subsides which might be due to quality of education at higher stages. However, those who avail private tuition in the age group 15-20 years spend more on private tuition. This means at higher stages, cost of tutoring is high as education becomes more specialized.

Demographic Factors

Location is found to be an important determinant of demand for tuition as we see there is significant regional difference in decision making of private tuition. A rural household is 4.8 percentage points (1% level of significance) less likely to send children to tuition than an urban household and spends significantly 18.9 per cent less than an urban household (Table 5.5). This follows from the literature that most of the tutorial centres are concentrated in the urban. Apart from the supply side dimension, urban site is an aspirational hub where demand for better services becomes an integral part of urban culture. Separating the models into rural and urban shows how the same variables reflect different impact on private tuition in different regions.

The other factor illuminating the importance of location is distance from the school. If the distance from school increases we expect that children find it difficult to attend tuition as the opportunity cost of time of commuting increases with distance. If distance from school is above 5 km as compared to distance within 1km (base category), the probability of a child attending private tuition decreases significantly by 7 percentage points in West Bengal and 12.2 percentage points in rural West Bengal. Distance does not seem to have any impact in the urban due to availability of better transportation facilities. At the elementary level, with increase in the distance (above 5 km), the expenditure on private tuition increases by 12.9 per cent whereas at the post elementary level, we do not find any impact of distance on expenditure decision (Table 5.6).

Supply Side variation

Model 8 in Table 5.5 captures supply side factor along with the demand specific variables. As discussed earlier, one type of tutor has been considered to capture the supply side of tuition market i.e. the unemployed youth. Percentage of literate job seekers is taken as a proxy for supply of tutors. Percentage of job seekers decreases expenditure on private tuition as availability of more tutors decreases the charge of tutors. At the elementary level, increase in the percentage of job seekers increase the probability of attending private tuition by 1.5 percentage points but spending decreases by 1.2 per cent indicating that supply of tutors is an important determinant in the private tuition participation and expenditure decision. In the context of West Bengal,

supply side dynamics plays a major role in influencing decision making in private tuition owing to high rate of unemployment (discussed further in Chapter 8).

5.3.4 Robustness Check

I performed robustness check with LPM and Heckman model. One of the shortcomings of the Probit model is the presence of heteroskedasticity as it is estimated by maximum likelihood estimator. LPM is employed to find out if the findings are consistent as LPM gives more consistent estimates. It has been observed that LPM gives us the significance of same explanatory variables as in Probit model of Table 5.5 and Table 5.6. As discussed in a previous section, two part of the model might be correlated through error terms due to selection bias arising from non-random selection of households who make positive expenditure on tuition. Therefore, Heckman model is used which shows that for each of the model, Mill's ratio is significant. Significance of Mill's ratio suggests that there is sample selection bias. But due to lack of suitable exclusion restriction variable I consider Hurdle model. We find that the results of the Heckman model and Hurdle model are similar (Table A5.7, A5.8 and A5.9 in the Appendix).

Table 5.6: Hurdle model of demand for private tuition at elementary and post elementary stages

VARIABLES	Dependent variable: Attend tuition=1, not attend tuition=0 for Probit: Expenditure decision- log tuition expenditure			
	Probit Elementary	Expenditure Elementary	Probit Post Elementary	Expenditure Post elementary
Log per capita household expenditure	0.069*** (0.019)	0.568*** (0.037)	0.103*** (0.019)	0.624*** (0.043)
Distance (>5km)	-0.016 (0.035)	0.129** (0.061)	-0.081*** (0.025)	0.028 (0.058)
Femalehead	-0.012 (0.026)	0.194*** (0.046)	-0.045 (0.034)	-0.039 (0.075)
Number of siblings	-0.031*** (0.007)	-0.001 (0.013)	0.008 (0.008)	0.005 (0.019)
Medium of instruction:				
English	-0.112*** (0.035)	0.328*** (0.068)	-0.195*** (0.026)	0.044 (0.090)
Muslim	0.003 (0.019)	-0.227*** (0.034)	-0.002 (0.023)	-0.158*** (0.054)
Christian	-0.076 (0.100)	-0.146 (0.189)	0.112** (0.046)	-0.068 (0.166)
Others	-0.352*** (0.105)	-0.123 (0.295)		0.015 (0.189)
Self-employed	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.078** (0.040)	0.014 (0.022)	-0.056 (0.051)
Casual labours and others	-0.037 (0.023)	-0.133*** (0.044)	0.011 (0.025)	-0.119** (0.059)
SC	-0.014 (0.020)	-0.079** (0.036)	-0.041* (0.022)	-0.047 (0.048)
OBC	-0.006 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.041)	-0.034 (0.023)	0.152*** (0.057)
ST	-0.127*** (0.037)	-0.100 (0.075)	-0.150*** (0.051)	-0.276*** (0.106)
Education of Head: Graduate	-0.205*** (0.042)	0.219*** (0.081)	0.016 (0.029)	0.174** (0.072)
Education of Head: Post Graduate	-0.410*** (0.080)	0.287 (0.204)	-0.010 (0.064)	0.337** (0.131)
Type of school: private aided	0.035 (0.037)	0.018 (0.078)	-0.125*** (0.043)	-0.055 (0.096)
Type of school: private unaided	-0.000 (0.033)	0.139** (0.060)	-0.155*** (0.044)	0.169* (0.095)
Gender of the child: female	0.035** (0.014)	-0.020 (0.026)	-0.029* (0.016)	0.035 (0.039)
Rural	-0.153*** (0.018)	-0.099*** (0.036)	-0.023 (0.022)	-0.271*** (0.052)
Percentage of literate job seekers	0.015*** (0.003)	-0.012** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.008 (0.008)
Constant		4.040*** (0.309)		4.208*** (0.405)
Observations	3,251	2,479	1,661	1,406
R-squared		0.364		0.385

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Average marginal effect reported for Prob

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter makes an attempt to understand the determinant of tuition in West Bengal and sets the stage for further analysis. Besides household specific factors and child specific factors, it incorporates a macro variable into the model to control for supply side variation in tuition decision. The findings suggest importance of household specific variables like household income, education of the household head, caste and religion in the decision of tuition. Gender of the child does not play a role in the decision regarding tuition in rural and urban West Bengal. However, an interesting observation emerges at the elementary level where the probability of a girl child attending private tuition is more than a boy child suggesting gender bias in favour of girls. We find that Government school students are more likely to attend private tuition than the private aided and private unaided school in West Bengal suggesting that there is a perceived belief that quality of government schools are not good enough and this needs to be compensated for with private tuition. The importance of English also emerges as an important determinant in private tuition decision. Vernacular medium students are more likely to attend private tuition than English medium students. As most of the government schools in Bengal are vernacular medium or mostly Bengali medium, one might expect that they make an additional effort to improve learning in English. Focusing on the supply side factors i.e. linking educated unemployment with tuition decision, I found some interesting observations. Percentage of educated job seekers who might act as prospective tutors increase the probability of sending a child to private tuition indicating that supply of tutors have an influence in decision making. On the other hand, it also indicates that tutoring can serve as an option to earn money in face of unemployment. A large pool of unemployed youth would mean that fees charged by each tutor would plummet in face of competition. It has been found that with an increase in the percentage of literate job seekers, there is a fall in expenditure incurred by the parents. However, this is one side of the story; as the market is differentiated one might find many types of tutors with various and hence variation in the fees that they charge (discussed in Chapter 8). By focusing on socioeconomic factors as well as supply side factors, this chapter therefore provides a foundation for interrogating deeper into the structure of the market which is socially stratified in terms of access.

Chapter 5 Appendix

Figure A5.1: Percentage of students taking tuition by Per Capita Income Quintile (Monthly) (2014-15)

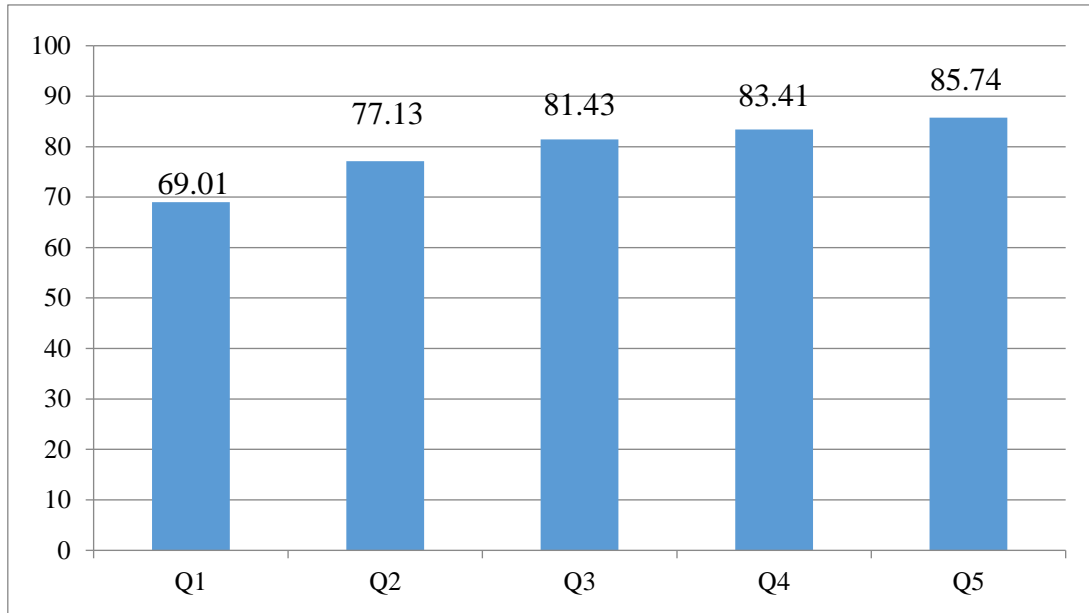


Figure A5.2: Percentage of students taking private tuition by occupation status (2014-15)

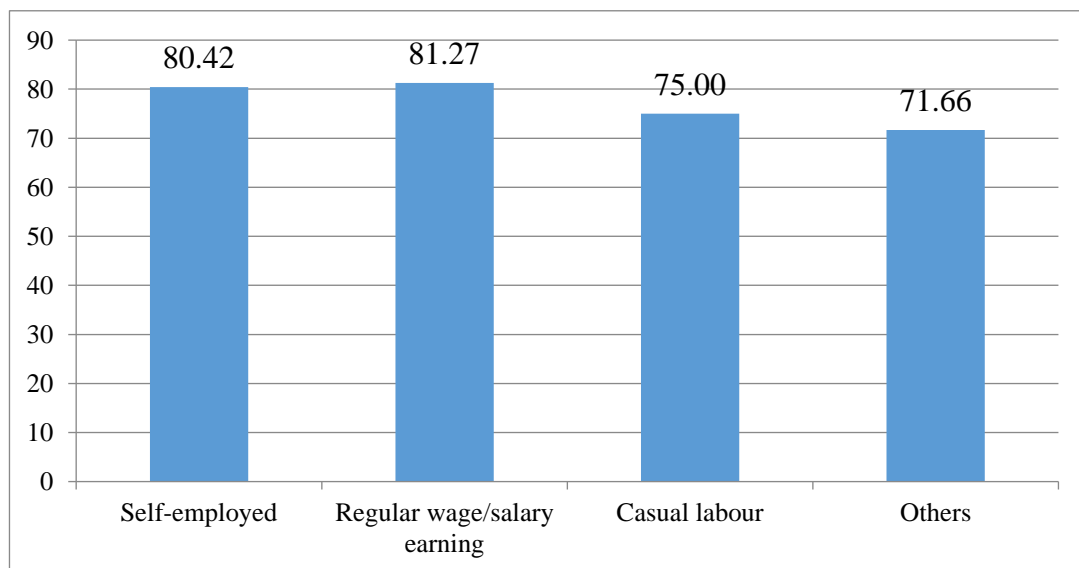


Figure A5.3: Percentage of students taking private tuition by Institution type (2014-15)

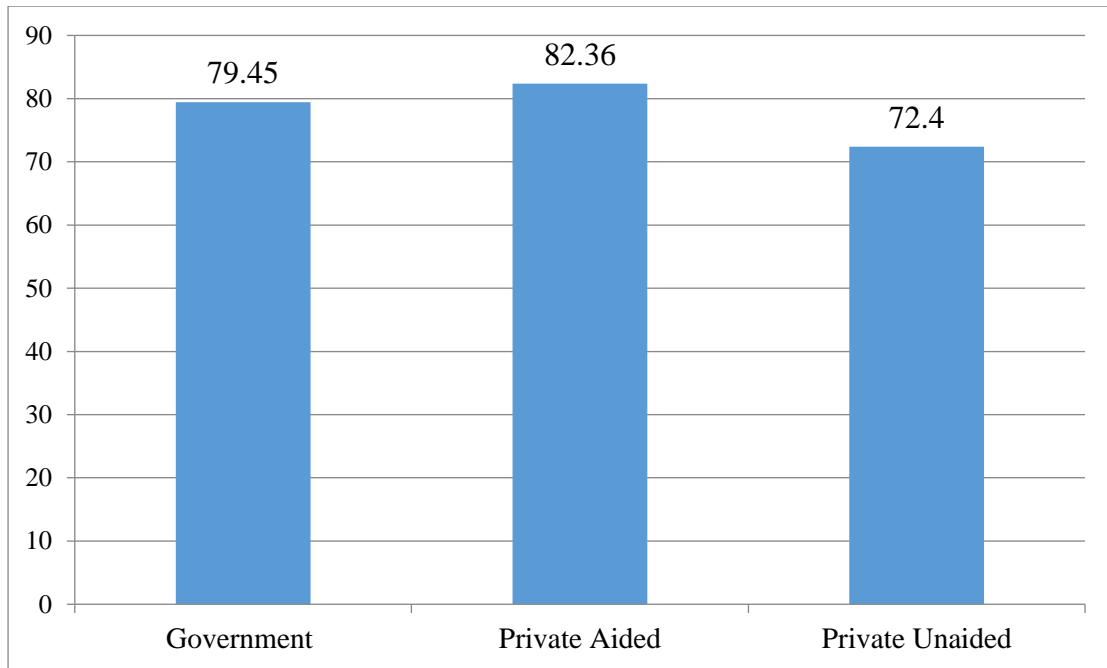


Figure A5.4: Percentage of students taking private tuition by Gender (2014-15)

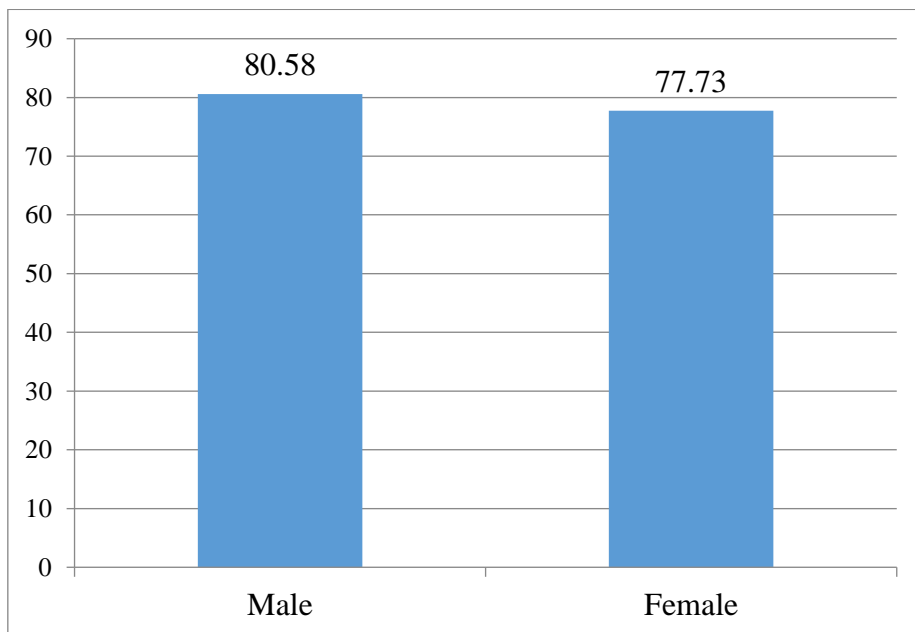


Figure A5.5: Annual private tuition expenditure by institution type

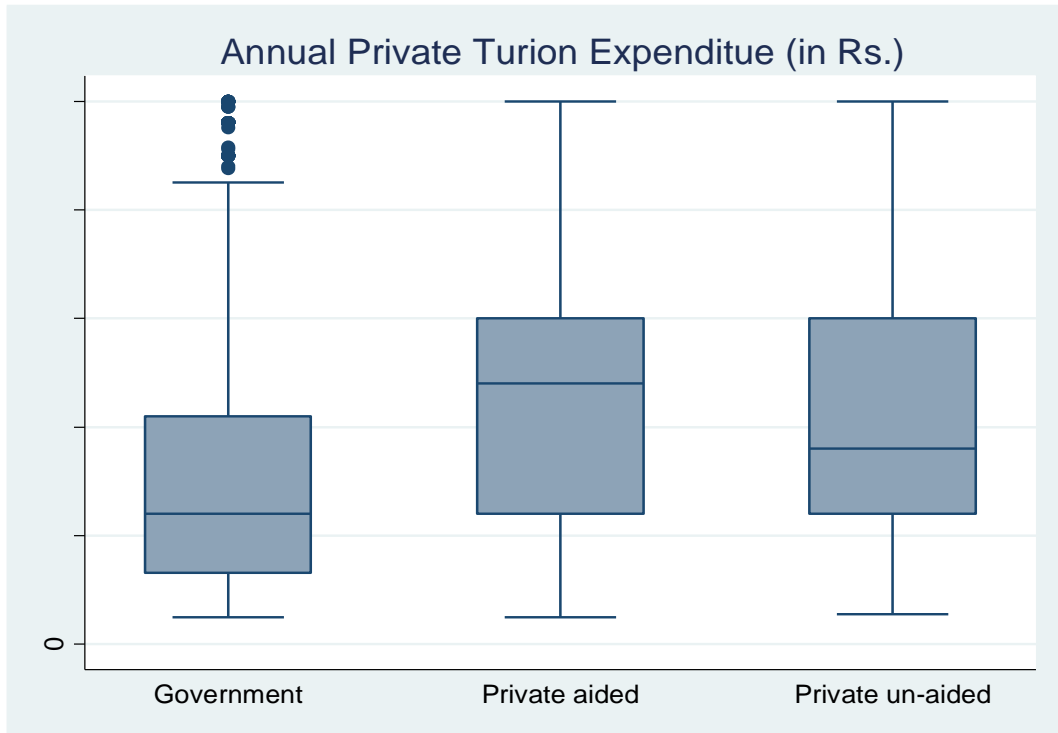


Table A5.6: Definitions of Variables and Summary Statistics

Explanatory Variable	Definition	Mean/ percentage
Log of per capita consumption expenditure	in (Rs.) calculated from household's usual consumption monthly expenditure	7.32 (0.61)
Female Headed Household	Male Head* =0	90.62%
	Female Head= 1	9.38%
Social group	Forward Caste/ Other caste* = 0	55.63%
	SC=1	24.23%
	OBC=2	14.57%
	ST=3	5.56%
Sector	Urban*=0	47.31%
	Rural= 1	52.69%
Gender	Male* =0,	51.09%
	Female= 1	48.91%
Number of siblings	Children who are in primary stage or above	1.45 (1.11)
Age category	Age group:5-10= code 0*	8.60%
	11-14= code 1	8.09%
	15-20= code 2	12.93%
	0-5= code 3	6.99%
	Above 20= code 4	63.39%
Medium of instruction	Non English/ Vernacular= 0*	77.99%
	English= 1	22.01%
Distance to nearest school	Distance≤ 5km= 0	22.44%
	Distance> 5km= 1	77.56%
Level of current attendance	Primary*=0	38.37%
	Upper primary= 1	27.67%
	Secondary +diploma at secondary level= 2	19.94%
	Higher secondary + diploma at higher secondary=3	14.02%
Institution type	Government= 0	79.11%
	Private aided= 1	7.70%
	Private unaided= 2	13.19%
Occupation Status	Regular wage earners/ salary earners	23.09%
	Self- employed	46.13%
	Casual labour and others	30.78%
Education of household head	Below Graduate	88.14%
	Graduate	9.76%
	Post graduate and above	2.10%
Religion of the household	Hindu	72.67%
	Muslim	25.99%
	Christian	0.72%
	Others	0.63%
Dependent Variable	Attend tuition= 1	74.14%
	Not attend tuition= 0	25.86%
	Log private tuition expenditure	8.05 (0.56)

Base category is represented by *

Standard deviation in parenthesis

Table A5.7: LPM (Robustness Check)

VARIABLES	(1) LPM All	(2) LPM Urban	(3) LPM Rural	(4) LPM Elementary	(5) LPM Post Elementary	(6) LPM with supply side
Log per capita household expenditure	0.089*** (0.015)	0.043** (0.020)	0.129*** (0.023)	0.099*** (0.020)	0.117*** (0.020)	0.088*** (0.015)
Distance (>5km)	-0.065*** (0.022)	-0.001 (0.028)	-0.115*** (0.033)	-0.017 (0.034)	-0.107*** (0.027)	-0.064*** (0.022)
Female head	0.020 (0.020)	0.013 (0.026)	0.040 (0.032)	0.003 (0.025)	0.052 (0.034)	0.021 (0.020)
Number of siblings	-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.025*** (0.008)	-0.020*** (0.008)	0.015 (0.009)	-0.018*** (0.006)
Medium of instruction: English	-0.192*** (0.029)	-0.126*** (0.036)	-0.285*** (0.054)	-0.110*** (0.037)	-0.280*** (0.042)	-0.191*** (0.029)
Muslim	0.001 (0.015)	0.015 (0.022)	0.002 (0.021)	-0.027 (0.019)	0.010 (0.022)	0.004 (0.015)
Christian	0.044 (0.092)	-0.138 (0.134)	0.103 (0.117)	-0.087 (0.127)	0.254** (0.114)	0.042 (0.093)
Others	-0.143 (0.089)	-0.130 (0.119)	-0.153 (0.139)	-0.403*** (0.102)	0.369*** (0.076)	-0.143 (0.089)
Self-employed	-0.003 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.018)	-0.031 (0.029)	-0.014 (0.020)	0.011 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.015)
Casual labour and Others	-0.027 (0.017)	-0.034 (0.024)	-0.054* (0.030)	-0.050** (0.022)	0.013 (0.025)	-0.026 (0.017)
SC	-0.017 (0.015)	-0.039* (0.021)	0.000 (0.021)	-0.014 (0.020)	-0.032 (0.022)	-0.015 (0.015)
OBC	-0.003 (0.016)	-0.018 (0.026)	0.004 (0.022)	0.000 (0.021)	-0.036 (0.026)	-0.004 (0.016)
ST	-0.123*** (0.032)	-0.152** (0.062)	-0.099*** (0.038)	-0.117*** (0.038)	-0.160*** (0.055)	-0.123*** (0.032)
Education of Head: Graduate	-0.079*** (0.024)	-0.104*** (0.029)	0.008 (0.044)	-0.160*** (0.038)	0.029 (0.030)	-0.078*** (0.024)
Education of Head: Post Graduate	-0.198***	-0.199***	-0.250**	-0.372***	0.028	-0.199***

Type of school: Private Aided	(0.056) -0.049*	(0.066) -0.042	(0.114) -0.069	(0.094) 0.004	(0.071) -0.138***	(0.056) -0.049*
Type of School: Private unaided	(0.028) -0.028	(0.034) -0.035	(0.050) -0.071	(0.036) -0.037	(0.044) -0.152***	(0.028) -0.027
Gender of the child: Female	(0.030) 0.008	(0.036) -0.008	(0.052) 0.020	(0.034) 0.030**	(0.049) -0.035**	(0.030) 0.008
Upper primary grade	(0.011) 0.150***	(0.016) 0.073**	(0.015) 0.194***	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.011) 0.150***
Secondary grade	(0.023) 0.198***	(0.036) 0.131***	(0.031) 0.247***			(0.023) 0.198***
Higher Secondary grade	(0.027) 0.167***	(0.040) 0.138***	(0.038) 0.198***			(0.027) 0.168***
Rural	(0.033) -0.048***	(0.048)	(0.046)			(0.033) -0.085***
Age group: 11-14	(0.013) 0.009					(0.021) 0.009
Age group: 15-20	(0.023) -0.050*	0.026 -0.062	-0.003 -0.047			(0.023) -0.051*
Age group: 0-5	(0.029) -0.141***	(0.043) -0.094	(0.040) -0.195***			(0.029) -0.142***
	(0.050)	(0.077)	(0.063)			(0.050)
Percentage of literate job seekers						0.011** (0.005)
Constant	0.195 (0.123)	0.572*** (0.164)	-0.131 (0.184)	0.172 (0.164)	0.060 (0.172)	-0.015 (0.156)
Observations	4,848	2,013	2,835	3,251	1,671	4,848
R-squared	0.139	0.096	0.176	0.106	0.218	0.140
district dummy	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5.8: Heckman Model (Robustness Check)

Dependent variable: Attend tuition=1, not attend tuition=0 for Probit; Expenditure decision- log tuition expenditure								
Variable	Probit Rural	Expenditure Rural	Probit Urban	Expenditure Urban	Probit All	Expenditure All	Probit with supply	Expenditure with supply
Log per capita household expenditure	0.527***	0.460***	0.172**	0.589***	0.362***	0.604***	0.375***	0.604***
	(0.078)	(0.076)	(0.080)	(0.132)	(0.054)	(0.067)	(0.054)	(0.067)
Distance (>5km)	-0.396***	-0.038	0.029	0.120	-0.187**	-0.031	-0.202**	-0.032
	(0.111)	(0.075)	(0.118)	(0.159)	(0.079)	(0.073)	(0.079)	(0.072)
Number of siblings	-0.121***	-0.016	-0.049	-0.064	-0.091***	-0.057**	0.085***	-0.053**
	(0.027)	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.049)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Medium of instruction: English	-0.904***	-0.090	-0.527***	-0.076	-0.716***	-0.096	0.694***	-0.081
	(0.141)	(0.175)	(0.120)	(0.293)	(0.089)	(0.134)	(0.090)	(0.129)
Muslim	-0.036	-0.123***	0.006	-0.299**	-0.038	-0.225***	0.015	-0.197***
	(0.073)	(0.037)	(0.103)	(0.131)	(0.058)	(0.049)	(0.060)	(0.049)
Christian	0.084	-0.171	-0.326	-0.648	-0.030	-0.380	0.006	-0.364
	(0.283)	(0.167)	(0.656)	(1.025)	(0.254)	(0.258)	(0.254)	(0.253)
Others	-0.311	-0.239	-0.381	-0.530	-0.359	-0.362	-0.318	-0.344
	(0.347)	(0.249)	(0.375)	(0.624)	(0.252)	(0.274)	(0.253)	(0.269)
Self-employed	-0.134	-0.210***	-0.066	-0.037	-0.088	-0.099*	-0.077	-0.095*
	(0.109)	(0.053)	(0.085)	(0.108)	(0.065)	(0.051)	(0.065)	(0.051)
Casual labour and Others	-0.178	-0.263***	-0.206*	-0.244	-0.157**	-0.188***	-0.150**	-0.186***
	(0.111)	(0.057)	(0.111)	(0.157)	(0.072)	(0.060)	(0.072)	(0.059)
SC	-0.042	-0.010	-0.228**	-0.284**	-0.116*	-0.129**	-0.100	-0.119**
	(0.079)	(0.038)	(0.097)	(0.144)	(0.061)	(0.051)	(0.061)	(0.050)
OBC	0.009	0.047	-0.079	-0.003	-0.021	0.027	-0.047	0.016
	(0.079)	(0.038)	(0.114)	(0.148)	(0.064)	(0.054)	(0.064)	(0.053)
ST	-0.424***	-0.172**	-0.555***	-0.258	-0.458***	-0.327***	0.465***	-0.327***
	(0.116)	(0.087)	(0.196)	(0.379)	(0.097)	(0.115)	(0.097)	(0.114)
Education of Head: Graduate	0.030	0.353***	-0.465***	-0.165	-0.405***	0.057	0.397***	0.064
	(0.208)	(0.085)	(0.110)	(0.242)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.090)

Education of Head: Post Graduate	-0.987***	0.521**	-0.767***	-0.415	-0.846***	-0.031	0.849***	-0.028
	(0.358)	(0.231)	(0.213)	(0.472)	(0.180)	(0.202)	(0.181)	(0.199)
Type of school: Private aided	-0.168	-0.153*	-0.197	-0.062	-0.177*	-0.065	-0.168	-0.061
	(0.176)	(0.091)	(0.131)	(0.194)	(0.103)	(0.091)	(0.103)	(0.089)
Private unaided	-0.238*	0.299***	-0.192	0.016	-0.164*	0.135	-0.156*	0.140
	(0.133)	(0.089)	(0.125)	(0.194)	(0.090)	(0.087)	(0.090)	(0.085)
Gender of the child: Female	0.071	0.005	-0.037	0.023	0.033	0.034	0.030	0.033
	(0.055)	(0.029)	(0.073)	(0.092)	(0.044)	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.036)
Upper primary grade	0.699***	0.421***	0.370**	0.523**	0.584***	0.569***	0.590***	0.565***
	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.146)	(0.238)	(0.088)	(0.110)	(0.089)	(0.108)
Secondary grade	0.982***	0.754***	0.837***	1.100***	0.922***	1.019***	0.931***	1.016***
	(0.155)	(0.140)	(0.206)	(0.356)	(0.123)	(0.145)	(0.123)	(0.142)
Higher secondary grade	0.804***	0.981***	0.862***	1.284***	0.809***	1.188***	0.816***	1.184***
	(0.184)	(0.131)	(0.237)	(0.400)	(0.143)	(0.150)	(0.144)	(0.147)
Rural					-0.343***	-0.324***	0.467***	-0.434***
					(0.053)	(0.060)	(0.064)	(0.090)
Age group: 11-14	-0.027	0.020	0.070	0.243	0.005	0.105	0.003	0.105
	(0.109)	(0.053)	(0.145)	(0.192)	(0.086)	(0.074)	(0.087)	(0.073)
Age group: 15-20	-0.276*	0.064	-0.537**	-0.038	-0.376***	0.002	0.382***	0.003
	(0.161)	(0.077)	(0.214)	(0.294)	(0.127)	(0.106)	(0.128)	(0.104)
Age group: 0-5	-0.590***	-0.288*	-0.284	-0.580	-0.452***	-0.496***	0.441***	-0.489***
	(0.167)	(0.157)	(0.215)	(0.384)	(0.130)	(0.164)	(0.130)	(0.161)
Percentage of literate job seekers							0.030***	0.031*
							(0.009)	(0.017)
Constant	-2.757***	4.098***	0.114	2.855**	-1.291***	2.963***	2.068***	2.319***
	(0.573)	(0.642)	(0.606)	(1.164)	(0.411)	(0.573)	(0.467)	(0.718)
Observations	2,835	2,835	2,013	2,013	4,848	4,848	4,848	4,848
District dummy	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5.9: Heckman Model by stages of schooling (Robustness Check)

Variable	Probit Elementary	Expenditure Elementary	Probit Secondary+ Higher Secondary	Expenditure Secondary + Higher Secondary
Log per capita household expenditure	0.320***	0.821***	0.553***	0.638***
	(0.064)	(0.292)	(0.096)	(0.071)
Distance (>5km)	0.037	0.202	-0.382***	-0.044
	(0.116)	(0.230)	(0.104)	(0.072)
Number of siblings	-0.097***	-0.115	0.043	0.015
	(0.023)	(0.096)	(0.042)	(0.021)
Medium of instruction: English	-0.461***	-0.179	-1.006***	-0.144
	(0.118)	(0.440)	(0.125)	(0.146)
Muslim	-0.095	-0.344**	0.031	-0.158***
	(0.066)	(0.149)	(0.115)	(0.057)
Christian	-0.421	-0.983	0.893**	0.019
	(0.316)	(0.954)	(0.436)	(0.234)
Others	-1.066***	-1.676	6.984	0.357
	(0.318)	(1.431)	(0.000)	(0.309)
Self-employed	-0.102	-0.168	0.071	-0.047
	(0.078)	(0.157)	(0.110)	(0.053)
Casual labour and Others	-0.171**	-0.317	0.049	-0.134**
	(0.084)	(0.201)	(0.131)	(0.063)
SC	-0.075	-0.175	-0.201*	-0.084
	(0.071)	(0.147)	(0.110)	(0.055)
OBC	0.029	0.007	-0.197*	0.128**
	(0.074)	(0.148)	(0.118)	(0.063)
ST	-0.363***	-0.518	-0.669***	-0.294**

	(0.113)	(0.406)	(0.177)	(0.130)
Education of Head: Graduate	-0.653***	-0.480	0.082	0.220***
	(0.116)	(0.592)	(0.153)	(0.073)
Education of Head: Post Graduate	-1.279***	-1.290	-0.069	0.405***
	(0.239)	(1.314)	(0.284)	(0.147)
Type of school: Private aided	0.019	0.026	-0.547***	-0.183*
	(0.135)	(0.250)	(0.152)	(0.106)
Private unaided	-0.165	-0.108	-0.646***	-0.004
	(0.112)	(0.270)	(0.138)	(0.116)
Gender of the child: Female	0.109**	0.117	-0.157*	0.023
	(0.050)	(0.133)	(0.085)	(0.042)
	-0.858*	1.563	-2.379***	3.782***
Constant	(0.484)	(2.366)	(0.758)	(0.571)
Observations	3,251	3,251	1,671	1,671
District dummy	yes	yes	yes	yes

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p

CHAPTER 6: Intra-household Gender disparity in Private Tuition: The Curious Case of West Bengal

6.1 Introduction

Gender discrimination in educational choices is one of the crucial issues that developing countries are experiencing. In India, studies have documented that there is a gender bias against girls in private school enrolment and educational expenditure (Kingdon 2005; Azam & Kingdon, 2013; Sahoo, 2017). Such a disparity arises from the fact that the returns to education in the form of wages do not accrue to the girl's family as the society is patrilocal. Also, girls mostly get engaged in household chores and taking care of their siblings if the household size is large which prevents them from going to school and it is not surprising as girls end up in households with many siblings due to son preference (Jensen, 2002). In countries where existing social norms do not favour girls, it is not unlikely that girls would be discriminated in private education where cost of education is high. Expenditure on private tuition is an additional expenditure incurred outside schooling and hence private tuition investment is more likely to be incurred for a boy child than a girl child. However, in the context of West Bengal, participation of girls in private tuition is marginally higher, at 87.11% as against boys at 87.07% in the urban as discussed in Chapter 5. Interestingly, female children are found to have 3.5 percentage points more probability of attending private tuition at the elementary level than their male counterparts (Chapter 5).

On the other hand, a greater percentage of girls (92.69%) attending private tuition than boys (87.06%) at the secondary level (NSS 2014-15) also presents a puzzle. It seems paradoxical that in spite of private tuition being a private investment i.e., over and above investment in formal schooling, girls are not discriminated against in the tuition market. This prompts us to ask how decisions are taken at the household level. Is the overall picture of bias in favour of girls mean that girls are not discriminated within the household? This calls for looking at the intra-household decision making where gender of the child is likely to play a major role.

In West Bengal, with more girls attending government schools at the secondary level, it would not be an exaggeration to say that private tuition market opens up an avenue for discrimination in the formal education market.³⁸ There emerges a possibility that the choice of tuition is linked with the type of school such that for a girl child, a parent can send a child to a government school where cost of education is low and concurrently send her to tuition. It is also important to make an attempt to explain why an extra investment outside the formal education market is made for girls at the secondary level. Donner's (2008) anthropological study on the educated middle class mothers point towards the fact that education is important for girls for the project of making committed mothers who would contribute to child rearing by aiding in their children's education. Hence, investment in girls' education might be towards getting educated husbands who earn more income. The other possibility of investing in tuition could be towards gaining credentials at the secondary level. At this level, it becomes necessary to get an extra help in the form of tuition because of board examination which decides a child's future prospects. Private tuition market provides us an opportunity to trace the broad patterns governing decisions of women in the household. Studies have documented gender bias in private tuition market favouring boys in educational investment (Lee, 2004; Aslam and Atherton, 2014; Nath, 2008). However, in China, South Korea, Egypt and Ghana, parents invest more on girl child (Liu and Bray, 2017; Elbadwy et al. 2007; Montgomery et al. 2000). Mixed result on gender implies that it should be examined in a particular context. To my knowledge, studies on intra-household decision making have not considered the role of private tuition in decision making and this is the first attempt to understand the above phenomenon. This study assumes importance in the emerging context of privatization in India where private tuition is another form of the 'private' alternative.

This chapter employs various econometric methods to detect gender bias within the family using a nationally representative data set NSS (2014-15) for different age groups viz. 0-5, 6-10, 11-14 and 15-20.³⁹ Although 0-5 age group does not constitute school

³⁸ There is a perceived quality difference between government schools and private schools with the latter thought to be superior in terms of quality education. Thus sending the girl child in government school with no fees or small fees and then compensating the loss of quality with private tuition can be a strategy of the parents.

³⁹ I include the age group 18-20 in the sample because in West Bengal there is close to 50% students in the sample who are over age for school education.

going children but it is included to consider the possibility of preschool training for which private tutors are needed. At first, I use Engel framework with household level data for children going to school and for household having at least one child within the age group 0 to 20. As the Engel framework suffers from the problem of including those households with zero tuition expenditure, I employ conditional ordinary least square methods to filter households who incur private tuition expenditure. Second, the paper employs Hurdle Model to detect gender bias separately at the decision stage and the expenditure stage. At a later stage, the paper uses individual data for different age groups and employs Linear Probability Model and Hurdle Model to detect gender bias in private tuition. I also make an attempt to find out whether there exists gender bias in schooling decision using Probit Model and LPM which can help us explain possible linkages between school choice and private tuition decision. This consideration is taken into account as resources diverted towards private schooling in search of better quality is likely to reduce investment in private tuition since the cost of private education is higher.

6.2 Data and Methodology

In this chapter, 71st Round unit level data of NSS (2014-15) is employed to understand the current context of intra-household disparity in West Bengal. This is a cross sectional data set based on educational participation and expenditure in India. It contains information at the individual level about currently enrolled children within a household and different heads of educational expenditure on each child within a household for the age group 5-29 years. It also collects information on household's monthly consumption expenditure, occupation of the household head, religion, social group, household size and possession of assets like computer and access to internet. It has information on discontinuation of school going children with reasons for their dropping out of school. A sample of 36479 rural households and 29447 urban households were taken for the year 2014-15 for India. For West Bengal, the number of households surveyed is 2592 in rural areas and 2428 in urban areas with a total household surveyed equal to 5020. In West Bengal, the number of male between the age group 5-29 is 135113 in rural and 50962 in the urban. Number of females for the same age group is 133144 in rural and 49259 for the urban. For our study, we take a sub sample of this sample as we include children up to 20 years who are currently enrolled in school and household with at least

one child between 1-20 years age. It brings the number of households surveyed to 2522 for West Bengal.

The data breaks down educational expenditure of each child in a household into various components- course fees, transportation fees, books and stationaries, uniforms and private coaching. It also contains information on fee waiver and the amount of scholarship received. The survey divides institutions into four types- private aided, private unaided, government schools and not known. As the category 'not known' represents a small proportion (0.55%) of the sample, we exclude this category when considering school choice.

Table 6.1 shows summary statistics of the variables considered for this chapter.

6.2.1 Engel Framework

In order to understand gender disparity in private tuition expenditure, I use Deaton's (1997) Working- Lesser Engel equation by incorporating household's demographic characteristics and age-gender category. Following Deaton (1997), I assume that the share of private tuition to total household consumption expenditure and logarithm of per capita household consumption expenditure has a linear relationship. Engel framework is applied when one attempts to find gender disparity within the household using household level data. This method traces out the effect of an additional member (boy or girl) in a given age category on the share of tuition expenditure. This takes households with positive expenditure and zero expenditure in one equation (Kingdon, 2005).

In this study, the household is divided into 5 age categories 0-5, 6-10, 11-14, 15-20 and 20 above, where the categories of interest are ages of school going children of the age group 6-10, 11-14 and 15-20. In each of the categories of age, one can see differences in expenditure between male and female.

Table 6.1: Summary Statistics for Share of tuition expenditure and Other Independent Variables

	West Bengal	Rural West Bengal	Urban West Bengal
Budget Share of tuition	0.37 (0.30)	0.37 (0.29)	0.38 (0.30)
Log of household monthly per capita expenditure (lnMPCE)	7.32 (0.62)	7.07 (0.44)	7.65 (0.68)
Square of log of household monthly per capita expenditure(Ln(MPCE))	53.97 (9.42)	50.31 (6.42)	58.99 (10.51)
Log household size	1.51 (0.35)	1.52(0.31)	1.49 (0.39)
Female head (dummy)	0.08 (0.28)	0.73 (0.26)	0.09 (0.29)
Household head age	46.44(12.17)	45.08 (11.81)	48.28 (12.41)
Square of household's head	2304.41(1230.92)	2172.28(1175.18)	2485.18(1282.03)
Caste			
<i>Forward Caste*</i>	0.54 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)	0.65 (0.48)
<i>OBC</i>	0.14 (0.35)	0.16 (0.37)	0.11 (0.32)
<i>Scheduled Tribe</i>	0.63 (0.24)	0.09 (0.28)	0.33 (0.18)
<i>Scheduled Caste</i>	0.25 (0.43)	0.29 (0.45)	0.21 (0.41)
Religion			
<i>Hindu*</i>	0.72 (0.45)	0.65 (0.48)	0.81 (0.40)
<i>Muslim</i>	0.27 (0.44)	0.33 (0.47)	0.18 (0.38)
<i>Christian</i>	0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.07)
<i>Others</i>	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.09)	0.11 (0.11)
Education of household head			
<i>Below Graduate (till HS)*</i>	0.88 (0.32)	0.97 (0.18)	0.76 (0.42)
<i>Graduate</i>	0.01 (0.30)	0.03 (0.16)	0.20 (0.40)
<i>Above Graduate</i>	0.02 (0.14)	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.20)
Sector			
<i>Urban*</i>	0.42 (0.49)		
<i>Rural</i>	0.58 (0.49)		
Household Occupation			
<i>Regular wage/salary earner*</i>	0.11 (0.32)	0.09 (0.29)	0.14 (0.35)
<i>Self-employed agriculture</i>	0.29 (0.45)	0.23 (0.42)	0.38 (0.48)
<i>Self-employed non agriculture</i>	0.33 (0.47)	0.25 (0.44)	0.43 (0.50)
<i>Casual labour and Others</i>	0.27 (0.44)	0.43 (0.50)	0.05 (0.21)
Gender-age share			
<i>Proportion of male 0-5*</i>	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)
<i>Proportion of male 6-10</i>	0.07 (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)	0.06 (0.11)
<i>Proportion of male 11-14</i>	0.05 (0.10)	0.06 (0.11)	0.04 (0.10)
<i>Proportion of male 15-20</i>	0.08 (0.14)	0.07 (0.13)	0.08 (0.14)
<i>Proportion of male above 20</i>	0.28 (0.11)	0.28 (0.11)	0.30 (0.11)
<i>Proportion of female 0-5</i>	0.03 (0.08)	0.04 (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)
<i>Proportion of female 6-10</i>	0.06 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)	0.05 (0.10)
<i>Proportion of female 11-14</i>	0.04 (0.10)	0.05 (0.10)	0.04 (0.09)
<i>Proportion of female 15-20</i>	0.05 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)	0.06 (0.12)
<i>Proportion of female above 20</i>	0.29 (0.10)	0.28 (0.10)	0.31 (0.11)
No. of Observations	2522	1457	1065

Benchmark categories are represented by *
The figures in the parentheses are standard errors

If T_i is the share of private tuition expenditure to total household expenditure of the i^{th} household, then the Working Engel demand equation is as follows:

$$T_i = \alpha + \beta \log \frac{x_i}{n_i} + \gamma \log(n_i) + \sum_{j=1}^{J-1} \theta_j \left(\frac{n_{ji}}{n_i} \right) + \pi z_i + \epsilon_i$$

x_i/n_i represents per capita household expenditure. Following Wongmonta and Glewwe (2017), I add a square of logarithm of household expenditure per capita. Household size is represented by n_i which may have an impact on the share of tuition. The primary variable of interest is n_{ji}/n_i which is the proportion of girls and boys within the i^{th} household belonging to each j th age category. If θ_j is positive, it means that the effect of age gender composition on share of tuition expenditure is positive. z_i is the household characteristics which include caste, religion, education of the household head, household head's age and square of household head's age, gender of household head and location of the household and ϵ_i is the error term of the equation. The focus of the paper is to detect whether $\theta_{jm} = \theta_{jf}$ i.e. within each age category if there is any significant difference in expenditure on private tuition between male and female. This is done by using F test.

Table 6.2 shows the OLS result of Engel curve. I present three models- for overall West Bengal, Urban West Bengal and Rural West Bengal. I have taken households having one child or more in the age group 0 to 20 assuming that the school children will fall within this group. Also, the logic of including 0-5 age group is that there is presence of preschools or preparatory schools which enrolls students falling under this category.

There are various issues of using Engel Framework for detecting gender bias. Censoring of data where a large proportion of parents not incurring private tuition expenditure might lead to biased estimates as pointed out by Deaton (1997). The Engel framework averages two channels through which gender bias can work in schooling decision as Kingdon (2005) suggests. Gender bias can either occur in the participation decision or in the expenditure decision and considering them as one might wipe out gender bias even though it exists in any of the two stages. It might happen that more girls who are going to tuition at the secondary level are discriminated in terms of lower expenditure on tuition. Thus averaging the two channels might show that girls are favoured when

they are not. This will not yield a clear picture of reality. To capture the two channels through which gender discrimination occurs, I use Hurdle Model which was developed by Cragg (1971) which will be discussed in the next section.

6.2.2 Hurdle Model

It is a two part model which assumes that a household takes the decision of participation in tuition and expenditure on tuition independently.⁴⁰ The problem confronting the decision maker i.e., the parents in this case is whether or not to send the child to tuition. For this, we assume that D^* is the latent decision process to opt for tuition. The binary outcome D in the latent decision process D^* indicate whether the child goes to a private tuition or not. $D=1$ when the child goes to tuition, $D=0$ if the child does not.⁴¹ This is the first hurdle of investing in private tuition. Second, I make the assumption that the decision to attend tuition has utility, which is unobservable and it depends on a number of explanatory variables. The second hurdle is how much to spend on private tuition, given that decision to participate has been taken. Therefore, we have the following equations.

The participation equation

$$D^* = \beta'x + u \quad (6.1)$$

Expenditure equation

$$E^* = \gamma'z + v \quad (6.2)$$

E^* is the latent variable for expenditure decision where E is the observed dependent variable i.e. share of tuition expenditure to total household expenditure. Both D^* and E^* are unobservable but D and E are observable. x and z are the vectors of explanatory variables for the equation (6.1) and expenditure equation i.e., (6.2) respectively and u and v are error terms of the two equations respectively which are normally distributed with mean zero and variance 1.

⁴⁰ The model assumes that the error term in the participation equation is independent of the error term in the expenditure equation conditional on the values of independent variables.

⁴¹ For the Hurdle model using household data, we take positive budget share of tuition as participation in tuition.

$$D_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } D^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } D^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \quad (6.3)$$

$$E_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } D^* > 0 \text{ and } E^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{Otherwise} \end{cases} \quad (6.4)$$

As D^* follows log normal distribution, for the first equation we can use probit to obtain estimates of β . And for the second equation which is conditional on $D^* > 0$, we can run ordinary least square because E^* follows classical linear model (Azam and Kingdon, 2013).

I use Hurdle model for both the household level data and the individual data. In the following analysis, I estimate three models with household level data. These include Unconditional OLS (Engel framework), Conditional OLS (with positive share of tuition expenditure) and Hurdle model (Probit combined with Conditional OLS). In these three models dependent variable is taken as the share of tuition expenditure to total household expenditure. With the individual level data, I fit three models viz. Hurdle Model, Unconditional OLS and LPM for each of the age group 6-10, 11-14, 15-20. The dependent variable for the Hurdle model in the participation equation is ‘whether the child goes to private tuition or not’. For the expenditure decision, conditional OLS is employed where share of private tuition to total education expenditure is considered as the dependent variable. The independent variables remain unchanged for both the household level analysis and individual level analysis.

6.3 Results and Discussions

As discussed in the last section, household specific variables, such as, household income, household size, characteristics of the head such as age, gender and education are considered important variables in the decision making. The ratio of male and female to total household members in different age groups are the primary variable of interest to trace if there is any gender bias in any of the age groups. This section presents the results separately for the household level data and the individual level data. For the individual data, I have considered an additional variable ‘female’ for each age group.

6.3.1 Analysis of household level data

In the Engel framework, household's income has a positive correlation with the share of private tuition expenditure to total household expenditure in both rural and urban West Bengal. Also, β is positive and significant and greater than one which implies that the elasticity of tuition is greater than one and hence it is a luxury in rural West Bengal. In other words, as income increases, expenditure on private tuition increases more in the rural than in the urban. After a certain level of income, the relation between income and share of tuition expenditure becomes negative implying that it becomes a necessity in both rural and urban West Bengal. This is given by the slope of square of log household consumption expenditure which is negative and significant (Table 6.2).

For West Bengal, Forward Caste/Other Caste households are more likely to spend more on tuition than SC, ST and OBC and it is significant for the category Scheduled Tribes, which is a backward category in India. Tuition share decreases with education of the head and is significant for education level of the head. This indicates that for a higher educated parent, the role of private tuition is not significant. The other demographic variable i.e., religion has no effect on the share of tuition. θ is positive for all age gender composition except for female at the age group 0- 5, which means that at the school going age which starts at 6, budget share on tuition increases for both male and female indicating that parents value tuition at the school going age.

This section presents separate models for the urban and the rural West Bengal with the same variables. In the urban, if the household head's education is up to graduate level, the share of tuition decreases which suggests that a graduate household head with cultural capital can take care of the child's studies. This effect is not visible in rural West Bengal. In the rural, if the head is female, then share of tuition to total expenditure significantly increases. This is in line with the studies suggesting female headed households allocate more resources in future investments like health and education (Thomas, 1993; Rubalcava et. al., 2009; Bose-Duker et. al.,2020). θ is positive and significant for both the gender for the age group 6-10, 11-14, 15-20 which implies that the share of tuition increases with an additional member within the above age group as compared to the benchmark category male with the age group 0 to 5. In the age group 11-14, there is a positive significant expenditure on both male and female, i.e. adding a

male or a female child in the age group 11-14 increases the share of tuition expenditure in the urban. Similarly, for the age group 15-20, an addition of a male or a female member of this age group increases budget share of tuition in both the rural and the urban. It is observed that the share is the highest for the age group 11-14 for both male and female in both rural and urban areas. This is possibly because at this age group students prepare for school leaving examination where resources are mostly devoted for private tuition. As my primary interest is to find the gender difference in the allocation of resources in tuition for each of the age category, I have calculated F statistic showing differences between the coefficient of male and female in each age category. F statistic is significant for the age group 15-20 in both urban and rural West Bengal, suggesting that more resources are allocated to female than male for the same age group. This implies girls are more favoured than boys for this age group in the private tuition market. This result gives us a contrasting picture in the sense that private investment of this kind which is discretionary in nature is likely to be in favour of boys as boys are considered to be old age support in the Indian society. In order to explain the above findings, we need to ascertain the broader context within which such decisions are taken. I analyse whether discrimination in the formal education market against girls with regards to school choice played a role in gender disparity in favour of girls in the tuition market to compensate for the perceived loss in quality. This is discussed in a later section.

As Engel Curve framework suffers from various problems, of which one is that it also considers those households who do not incur positive expenditure on tuition. To correct this problem, I employ Conditional OLS by taking those households with positive private tuition expenditure. Conditional OLS result is shown in Table 6.2 along with Engel estimation. It shows that the direction of coefficients for this model is similar to Engel framework. In the Conditional OLS model, gender bias in favour of girls is also present in the age group 15-20. The F statistic for the difference in share of tuition between male and female is higher in the conditional OLS than in the Engel framework suggesting that the gender bias in favour of girls is stronger in this model. This is because we take only households who incur positive expenditure on tuition.

Table 6.2. Engel Curve estimates

Dependent Variable: Share of Private Tuition to Total Household Expenditure						
Independent Variable	Model 1: All		Model 2: Urban		Model 3: Rural	
	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS
Log of household expenditure per capita	0.676*** (0.156)	0.581*** (0.170)	0.596*** (0.213)	0.418* (0.244)	1.265*** (0.306)	1.260*** (0.306)
Log household expenditure] ²	-0.047*** (0.010)	-0.041*** (0.011)	-0.041*** (0.014)	-0.029* (0.016)	-0.090*** (0.021)	-0.090*** (0.021)
Log(household size)	0.025 (0.022)	0.003 (0.022)	0.008 (0.033)	-0.010 (0.034)	0.016 (0.031)	0.014 (0.031)
Social Group						
Scheduled Caste	0.002 (0.016)	0.001 (0.016)	-0.019 (0.025)	-0.023 (0.025)	0.012 (0.022)	0.012 (0.022)
Other Backward Caste	-0.018 (0.018)	-0.018 (0.018)	-0.023 (0.031)	-0.028 (0.031)	-0.018 (0.023)	-0.016 (0.023)
Scheduled Tribe	-0.116*** (0.027)	-0.120*** (0.027)	-0.108* (0.057)	-0.128** (0.060)	-0.100*** (0.032)	-0.100*** (0.033)
Education of Head:						
Graduate	-0.063*** (0.024)	-0.063*** (0.024)	-0.092*** (0.027)	-0.092*** (0.027)	0.055 (0.054)	0.056 (0.054)
Post Graduate	-0.069 (0.047)	-0.072 (0.047)	-0.090* (0.051)	-0.088* (0.051)	-0.100 (0.131)	-0.101 (0.132)
Religion:						
Muslim	-0.031* (0.016)	-0.031* (0.016)	0.002 (0.026)	0.003 (0.025)	-0.042* (0.022)	-0.041* (0.022)
Christian	0.066 (0.069)	0.071 (0.069)	0.047 (0.084)	0.051 (0.083)	0.100 (0.090)	0.101 (0.090)
Others	0.013 (0.075)	-0.001 (0.074)	0.075 (0.114)	0.068 (0.110)	-0.104 (0.085)	-0.104 (0.085)
Female Head	0.040 (0.026)	0.039 (0.026)	0.029 (0.038)	0.022 (0.038)	0.061* (0.036)	0.060* (0.036)
Household head's age	0.003 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)
[Household's head's age] ²	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Household's Occupation:						
Self-employed in agriculture	-0.006 (0.021)	-0.004 (0.021)	0.028 (0.031)	0.015 (0.031)	-0.016 (0.030)	-0.017 (0.030)
Self-employed in non agriculture	0.000 (0.021)	0.005 (0.021)	0.033 (0.029)	0.022 (0.030)	-0.008 (0.030)	-0.008 (0.030)
Casual labour and others	-0.043** (0.022)	-0.034 (0.022)	-0.088 (0.058)	-0.151*** (0.056)	-0.040 (0.029)	-0.039 (0.029)

Table 6.2 continued

Dependent Variable: Share of Private Tuition to Total Household Expenditure						
Independent Variable	Model 1: All		Model 2: Urban		Model 3: Rural	
	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS
Rural	-0.007 (0.015)	-0.016 (0.015)				
<i>Age-sex composition</i>						
<i>Male 6-10</i>	0.214*** (0.080)	0.242*** (0.081)	0.145 (0.131)	0.102 (0.126)	0.307*** (0.102)	0.307*** (0.102)
<i>Male 11-14</i>	0.654*** (0.085)	0.692*** (0.085)	0.722*** (0.142)	0.624*** (0.141)	0.685*** (0.107)	0.688*** (0.107)
<i>Male 15-20</i>	0.240*** (0.079)	0.303*** (0.081)	0.250* (0.136)	0.157 (0.127)	0.374*** (0.104)	0.380*** (0.104)
<i>Male 20 above</i>	0.111 (0.090)	0.114 (0.090)	0.042 (0.142)	0.002 (0.143)	0.118 (0.119)	0.132 (0.119)
<i>Female 0-5</i>	-0.014 (0.085)	-0.004 (0.084)	-0.088 (0.142)	-0.113 (0.144)	0.035 (0.107)	0.036 (0.107)
<i>Female 6-10</i>	0.225*** (0.084)	0.237*** (0.083)	0.187 (0.142)	0.146 (0.143)	0.298*** (0.105)	0.299*** (0.106)
<i>Female 11-14</i>	0.642*** (0.088)	0.660*** (0.088)	0.666*** (0.147)	0.617*** (0.147)	0.642*** (0.109)	0.646*** (0.110)
<i>Female 15-20</i>	0.482*** (0.086)	0.565*** (0.086)	0.523*** (0.139)	0.391*** (0.134)	0.603*** (0.110)	0.620*** (0.110)
<i>Female 20 above</i>	0.187** (0.088)	0.156* (0.088)	0.124 (0.135)	0.135 (0.136)	0.196* (0.118)	0.190 (0.118)
Constant	-2.425*** (0.592)	-1.845*** (0.654)	-1.131 (0.959)	-2.130** (0.827)	-4.271*** (1.124)	-4.226*** (1.125)
District Dummy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,522	2,508	1,052	1,065	1,457	1,456
R-squared	0.114	0.116	0.136	0.140	0.132	0.133
<i>F statistic showing difference in gender</i>						
Age group 6-10	0.13	0.01	0.18	0.15	0.01	0.01
Age group 11-14	0.02	0.15	0.00	0.17	0.19	0.18
Age Group 15-20	11.58***	12.67***	5.42**	5.55**	5.75**	6.32***

Robust standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Another problem with Engel framework as discussed earlier is its inability to capture two different processes that leads to expenditure on private tuition. The decision to participate i.e., to attend tuition and spending on tuition conditional on the participation decision are two separate decisions which can be explained by Hurdle Model. The Hurdle Model for the household level data (Table 6.3) shows that income is an important determinant in the participation decision both in the rural and the urban but

does not affect the decision of how much to spend. With the increase in income, a rural household is more likely to attend private tuition than its urban counterparts. In West Bengal as a whole, participation decision and expenditure decisions are influenced by income. The effect of household size on share of tuition is not uniform across each stage and across rural and urban West Bengal. Participation decision is positively related with household size implying that larger households are willing to send children to tuition. But the practical difficulty is faced at the expenditure level where increase in household size is significantly negatively related to the expenditure on private tuition.

Scheduled Tribe households are less likely to attend tuition and spend less as compared to Other caste (forward caste) in West Bengal. In urban West Bengal, ST households are more likely to participate in private tuition but do not significantly differ from Other caste towards contributing to private tuition expenditure to total household expenditure. In rural West Bengal, being ST household decreases expenditure by 8.2 percentage points than being a Other caste holding other factors constant. The social differentiation on the basis of religion also gets reflected in the decision with regards to private tuition as the share of private tuition expenditure decreases by 4.2 percentage points for a Muslim as compared to the base category Hindu in West Bengal. In rural West Bengal, the figure amounts to 4.9 percentage points for Muslims.

Household head's gender is a significant contributor in the decision to invest in private tuition. If a household head is female, the probability of participation increases in the private tuition market (Probit model in Table 6.3) by 8.2 percentage points in overall West Bengal and by 11.5 percentage points in the urban. This is because of the altruistic aspect of female heads towards allocation of resources which is documented in various studies as discussed earlier. For casual labour and others, share of private tuition decreases by 4.4 percentage points and by 7.2 percentage points as compared to regular wage or salary earners in overall West Bengal and in rural West Bengal respectively. This is more likely because the occupation status of regular wage and salary earner is more stable than casual labourers who are engaged in seasonal work.

Table 6.3: Hurdle Model with Household data

Dependent Variable: Share of Private Tuition to Total Household Expenditure						
Independent Variable	Model 1: All		Model 2: Urban		Model 3: Rural	
	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS
Constant	-22.930*** (3.070)	2.475*** (0.798)	-16.34*** (3.922)	2.049* (1.181)	-38.722*** (6.000)	2.261 (1.521)
Log(per capita household expenditure)	5.616*** (0.804)	-0.435** (0.209)	3.920*** (1.013)	-0.290 (0.301)	10.118*** (1.644)	-3.370 (0.414)
[Log(per capita household expenditure)] ²	-0.361*** (0.053)	0.023* (0.014)	-0.248*** (0.065)	0.014 (0.02)	-0.674*** (0.114)	0.018 (0.028)
Log(household size)	0.594*** (0.118)	-0.103*** (0.021)	0.553*** (0.178)	-0.119*** (0.033)	0.674*** (0.168)	-0.097*** (0.03)
Social Group:						
<i>Scheduled Caste</i>	0.007 (0.082)	-0.001 (0.015)	-0.046 (0.127)	-0.023 (0.023)	0.043 (0.112)	0.013 (0.02)
<i>Other Backward Caste</i>	-0.084 (0.09)	-0.007 (0.017)	-0.145 (0.157)	-0.006 (0.026)	-0.094 (0.115)	-0.001 (0.022)
<i>Scheduled Tribe</i>	0.371*** (0.133)	-0.082*** (0.025)	-0.713*** (0.260)	-0.032 (0.057)	-0.12 (0.165)	-0.082*** (0.028)
Education of Head:						
<i>Graduate</i>	-0.493*** (0.108)	0.019 (0.024)	-0.600*** (0.126)	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.133 (0.249)	0.101** (0.048)
<i>Post Graduate</i>	-0.466** (0.212)	-0.005 (0.052)	-0.493** (0.242)	-0.04 (0.053)	-1.105** (0.482)	0.171 (0.218)
Religion:						
<i>Muslim</i>	-0.002 (0.085)	-0.041*** (0.015)	0.061 (0.142)	-0.015 (0.023)	-0.008 (0.114)	-0.049** (0.020)
<i>Christian</i>	0.174 (0.336)	0.034 (-0.07)	0.212 (0.538)	-0.052 (0.121)	0.19 (0.415)	0.097 (0.086)
<i>Others</i>	-0.364 (0.309)	0.084 (0.078)	-0.197 (0.458)	0.132 (0.105)	-0.696 (0.466)	-0.008 (0.093)
Female Head	0.282** (0.12)	-0.011 (0.024)	0.402** (0.167)	-0.052 (0.034)	0.203 (0.177)	0.03 (0.035)
Household head's age	0.008 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.012 (0.025)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.151 (0.027)	-0.003 (0.005)
[Household's head's age] ²	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)

Table 6.3 continued

Dependent Variable: Share of Private Tuition to Total Household Expenditure						
Independent Variable	Model 1: All		Model 2: Urban		Model 3: Rural	
	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	Conditional OLS
<i>Household's Occupation:</i>						
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	-0.006 (0.021)	0.004 (0.019)	-0.039 (0.156)	0.043 (0.029)	0.078 (0.151)	-0.028 (0.027)
<i>Self-employed in non agriculture</i>	0.053 (0.104)	0.003 (0.018)	0.057 (0.152)	0.033 (0.027)	0.092 (0.153)	-0.021 (0.028)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	-0.02 90.109)	-0.044** (0.02)	-0.366 (0.257)	-0.049 (0.053)	0.088 (0.143)	-0.072*** (0.026)
<i>Age-sex composition</i>						
<i>Male 6-10</i>	0.518 (0.455)	0.245*** (0.767)	0.365 (0.757)	0.06 (0.123)	0.783 (0.576)	0.336*** (0.100)
<i>Male 11-14</i>	2.381*** (0.487)	0.521*** (0.079)	2.099*** (0.798)	0.528*** (0.129)	2.734*** (0.619)	0.508*** (0.104)
<i>Male 15-20</i>	-0.189 (0.424)	0.460*** (0.078)	-0.56 (0.692)	0.413*** (0.129)	0.334 (0.556)	0.495*** (0.103)
<i>Male 20 above</i>	-0.084 (0.487)	0.172** (0.085)	-0.263 (0.769)	0.037 (0.136)	0.046 (0.658)	0.213* (0.114)
<i>Female 0-5</i>	-0.424 (0.476)	0.067 (0.082)	-1.079 (0.779)	0.161 (0.129)	0.644 (0.656)	0.191 (0.117)
<i>Female 6-10</i>	0.444 (0.47)	0.273*** (0.082)	0.644 (0.809)	0.127 (0.139)	0.661 (0.593)	0.347*** (0.107)
<i>Female 11-14</i>	1.878*** (0.485)	0.555*** (0.082)	1.494* (0.819)	0.542*** (0.136)	2.097*** (0.614)	0.564*** (0.105)
<i>Female 15-20</i>	0.786* (0.445)	0.596*** (0.08)	0.318 (0.714)	0.555*** (0.133)	1.455** (0.598)	0.612*** (0.105)
<i>Female 20 above</i>	0.251 (0.477)	0.205*** (0.084)	-0.118 (0.737)	0.004 (0.129)	0.644 (0.656)	0.191 (0.117)
Rural	0.026 (0.796)	-0.022* (0.014)				
Observations	2522	1914	1054	808	1457	1106
R-squared	0.13	0.13	0.16	0.16	0.13	0.15
<i>P values showing difference in gender</i>						
Age group 6-10	0.83	0.67	0.83	0.52	0.78	0.89
Age group 11-14	0.25	0.62	0.25	0.91	0.25	0.50
Age Group 15-20	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.01	0.19
Age Group 20 above	0.43	0.68	0.43	0.25	0.36	0.85

Robust standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

As education of the household head increases beyond higher secondary, the probability of attending private tuition decreases in the urban. This might be because highly educated head of the household is able to take care of child's education. But once the first hurdle of whether to attend tuition or not is overcome, the share of tuition expenditure increases by 10.1 percentage points in the rural for the graduate head than for the household head whose qualification is below graduate.

My primary variable of interest, i.e., the ratio of male and female in each age category in three different models with household data shows similar picture. As compared to the base category of ratio of male in the age category 0-5, it has been found that an addition of male in 6-10, 11-14, and 15-20 is positively significant either on the decision to participate or in the decision regarding how much to spend. This model is an improvement over the Engel framework and conditional OLS as it detects the stage at which decision is taken. For instance, for the age group 6-10, an addition of male increases share of tuition expenditure by 24.5 percentage points in overall West Bengal and 33.6 percentage points as compared to the base category male in the age group 0-5 but this does not affect participation decision. On the other hand, an addition of both male and female in the age group 11-14 significantly increases participation and share of tuition expenditure than the base category male 0-5 in all the models presented in Table 3. For the age group 15-20, share of tuition significantly increases in both urban and rural West Bengal with an addition of a male member. For the same age group, an addition of a female has significant and positive impact in both participation and expenditure decision. I made an attempt to understand if there is significant gender gap at each age group across household. I found the result similar to the Engel Curve framework and Conditional OLS which report gender bias in favour of girls for the age group 15-20. Both in the participation decision and expenditure decision, there is significant positive difference between male and female as reported by p values in overall West Bengal where the coefficient for female is more than male. On the other hand, the bias is observed in the participation decision (Probit Model) for both rural and urban implying that the bias that Engel framework captures in expenditure is mainly at the first hurdle i.e. in participation. As noted earlier, the Engel Curve takes the two different processes together concluding that bias occurs at how much to spend. The plausible explanation for the bias in favour of girls at this age group is the fact that at this age group, high stake examinations draw nearer due to which parents invest more

children in the form of tuition. But the bias in investment in tuition can be explained by the perceived loss of quality experienced by students in Government schools.⁴² As girls in West Bengal mostly attend Government schools, they are more likely to attend tuition or have more share of tuition expenditure in their favour than boys to compensate for the loss of perceived quality. Also, investing at this stage becomes important to gain credentials either for labour market or for marriage market. For instance, Himaz (2010) in Sri Lankan context argued that parents invest more in girls' education to get better husbands for them.

6.3.2 Analysis of individual data

With individual data, I perform similar exercise to find out at which stage the bias occurs or if there is a reverse bias in favour of boys in private tuition. For this purpose, I run three models for each age group 6-10, 11-14, 15-20 with a female dummy in each model. I employ Hurdle model for each of the age categories. I observed that for the age group 6-10, 11-14 and 15-20, logarithm of per capita household expenditure is significant in both the stages of decision making i.e., both participation and expenditure decision. In the age group 6-10 (Table 6.4), as income increases by 100 percent, probability of attending private tuition increases by 1.81 percentage points and share of tuition increases by 73.4 units. The non-linearity is obtained by taking square of the above variable and one finds that further 100% increase in square of log of per capita household expenditure decreases share of tuition expenditure by 6.1 units. This means after a certain level of income, share of tuition expenditure falls.

⁴² There is a rhetoric of lack of quality in Government School vis-à-vis private schools. Also, various studies documented that Private schools perform better than government schools (Kingdon, 1996; Muralidharan and Kremer, 2008).

Table 6.4: Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 6-10**(Individual data)**

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Log(per capita household expenditure)	0.906*** (0.208)	0.421** (0.185)	1.089*** (0.191)	1.214*** (0.251)
[Log(per capita household expenditure)] ²	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.033*** (0.013)	-0.074*** (0.013)	-0.076*** (0.017)
Log(household size)	-0.053 (0.045)	-0.055*** (0.017)	-0.053** (0.023)	-0.019 (0.033)
Education of Head:				
<i>Graduate</i>	-0.028 (0.079)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.019 (0.029)	-0.041 (0.035)
<i>Post Graduate</i>	-0.020 (0.023)	-0.038 (0.066)	-0.034 (0.067)	-0.025 (0.069)
Religion:				
<i>Muslim</i>	-0.115 (0.159)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.022)
<i>Christian</i>	-0.086 (0.128)	-0.195*** (0.044)	-0.190** (0.077)	-0.202 (0.205)
<i>Others</i>	0.008 (0.029)	-0.078* (0.048)	-0.116 (0.072)	-0.113 (0.158)
Female Head	-0.018 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.016)	0.003 (0.024)	0.008 (0.031)
Female	0.000 (0.005)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.016)
Household head's age	-0.022 (0.021)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
[Household's head's age] ²	-0.014 (0.028)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.000 (0.006)
Rural	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.020* (0.012)	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.016 (0.020)
Household's Occupation:				
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	-0.023 (0.029)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.022)	-0.019 (0.029)
<i>Self-employed in non agriculture</i>	0.906*** (0.208)	-0.026 (0.016)	-0.027 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.028)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.017 (0.017)	-0.030 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.032)

Table 6.4 continued

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Constant	-17.137*** (4.081)	-0.773 (0.686)	-3.506*** (0.701)	-3.894*** (0.939)
Observations	1,647	1,430	1,647	1,647
R-squared		0.123	0.100	0.079
District dummy	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Average Marginal values reported for the Probit model
 Robust standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The probability of attending tuition decreases by 13.2 percentage points as household size increases. Similar result is observed for the age group 11-14 (Table 6.5). This is because per capita resources decrease with increase in household size. Education of the head affects both the decision to participate and spending on tuition for the age group 6-10. If the education of the head is above graduate, it decreases the probability of participation by 31.4 percentage points and share of tuition expenditure by 5.1 percentage points as compared with household head below graduate. This observation is similar to our results with household data. This it confirms that educated head with cultural capital is capable of contributing to child’s learning.

Religion and occupation status also determine participation and expenditure decision. A Christian household is less likely to participate in tuition than Hindu household by 60.1 percentage points and less likely to increase share of tuition expenditure by 24.7 percentage points. Self-employed in agriculture is less likely to participate than regular wage earner by 10.9 percentage points but self-employed in non-agriculture is more likely (by 181 percentage points) to attend private tuition. For both age groups 6-10 and 11-14, we do not find any significant role of gender in participation or expenditure in tuition (Table 6.4 and Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 11-14 (Individual data)

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Log(per capita household expenditure)	0.906*** (0.208)	0.421** (0.185)	1.089*** (0.191)	1.214*** (0.251)
[Log(per capita household expenditure)] ²	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.033*** (0.013)	-0.074*** (0.013)	-0.076*** (0.017)
Log(household size)	-0.053 (0.045)	-0.055*** (0.017)	-0.053** (0.023)	-0.019 (0.033)
Education of Head:				
<i>Graduate</i>	-0.028 (0.079)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.019 (0.029)	-0.041 (0.035)
<i>Post Graduate</i>	-0.020 (0.023)	-0.038 (0.066)	-0.034 (0.067)	-0.025 (0.069)
Religion:				
<i>Muslim</i>	-0.115 (0.159)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.022)
<i>Christian</i>	-0.086 (0.128)	-0.195*** (0.044)	-0.190** (0.077)	-0.202 (0.205)
<i>Others</i>	0.008 (0.029)	-0.078* (0.048)	-0.116 (0.072)	-0.113 (0.158)
Female Head	-0.018 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.016)	0.003 (0.024)	0.008 (0.031)
Female	0.000 (0.005)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.016)
Household head's age	-0.022 (0.021)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
[Household's head's age] ²	-0.014 (0.028)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.000 (0.006)
Rural	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.020* (0.012)	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.016 (0.020)
Household's Occupation:				
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	-0.023 (0.029)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.022)	-0.019 (0.029)
<i>Self-employed in non agriculture</i>	0.906*** (0.208)	-0.026 (0.016)	-0.027 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.028)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.017 (0.017)	-0.030 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.032)

Table 5 continued

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Constant	-17.137*** (4.081)	-0.773 (0.686)	-3.506*** (0.701)	-3.894*** (0.939)
Observations	1,647	1,430	1,647	1,647
R-squared		0.123	0.100	0.079
District dummy	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Average Marginal values reported for the Probit model
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

As gender bias is found at the age group 15-20 with the household level data (Table 6.6), I lay emphasis on this age group with the individual data. With 100% increase in per capita household expenditure, the probability of attending tuition increases by 94.8 percentage points and is significant at 1 % level whereas expenditure increases by 35.3 units. The effect of income is dampened as income increases (given by square of log per capita household expenditure) by 2.7 percentage points in expenditure decision but the probability of participation increases by 7.8 percentage points. This implies that the effect of the same variable is different at different stages. The role of income decreases as income increases further when faced with the decision of how much to spend which is more of an economic decision than the first hurdle of whether or not to participate. At this age group, Muslim and other minorities (Buddhists, Sikhs and Jain) households are more likely to send children by 19.8 % points and 9 % points respectively as compared to Hindus. Female headed household increases the probability of attending tuition by 8.9 percentage points than male households implying that female heads are more altruistic in the allocation of resources.

Table 6.6: Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 15-20 (Individual data)

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Log(per capita household expenditure)	0.948*** (0.261)	0.353* (0.189)	0.773*** (0.182)	1.162*** (0.296)
[Log(per capita household expenditure)] ²	0.078** (0.034)	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.055*** (0.012)	-0.079*** (0.020)
Log(household size)	-0.049 (0.032)	-0.026 (0.020)	0.0287 (0.023)	0.086** (0.035)
Education of Head:				
<i>Graduate</i>	-0.050 (0.058)	-0.003 (0.021)	-0.030 (0.023)	-0.045 (0.035)
<i>Post Graduate and above</i>	0.043 (0.026)	-0.0564 (0.039)	-0.071* (0.039)	-0.046 (0.064)
Religion:				
<i>Muslim</i>	0.198*** (0.041)	-0.012 (0.015)	0.012 (0.018)	0.035 (0.027)
<i>Christian</i>	0.067 (0.090)	-0.107*** (0.037)	0.041 (0.047)	0.273*** (0.084)
<i>Others</i>	0.090** (0.039)	-0.069 (0.056)	-0.013 (0.061)	0.089 (0.120)
Female Head	0.089*** (0.018)	0.002 (0.022)	0.050* (0.026)	0.087** (0.039)
Female	0.008 (0.006)	0.023** (0.010)	0.065*** (0.013)	0.089*** (0.019)
Household head's age	-0.019 (0.023)	2.18e-05 (3.94e-05)	-4.15e-05 (3.87e-05)	-0.000* (6.25e-05)
[Household's head's age] ²	0.077** (0.034)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.001 (0.007)
Rural	0.057* (0.034)	-0.037*** (0.013)	-0.036** (0.016)	-0.018 (0.023)
Household's Occupation:				
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	0.081** (0.036)	0.008 (0.017)	0.041* (0.022)	0.076** (0.034)
<i>Self-employed in non agriculture</i>	0.948*** (0.261)	-0.011 (0.017)	0.015 (0.021)	0.056* (0.033)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	0.078** (0.034)	-0.019 (0.018)	0.022 (0.024)	0.082** (0.037)

Table 6.6 continued

Independent Variables	DEP VAR: Attend Private Tuition=1, not attend=0	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total education expenditure	DEP VAR: Share of tuition to total expenditure	DEP VAR: Attend private tuition=1, Not attend=0
	Probit	Conditional OLS	Unconditional OLS	LPM
Constant		-0.522 (0.722)	-2.618*** (0.697)	-4.208*** (1.131)
Observations	1,884	1,466	1,884	1,884
R-squared		0.098	0.109	0.084
District dummy	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Average Marginal values reported for the Probit model
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

As household head gets older, the probability of attending tuition increases by 7.7 percentage points. It is interesting to note that at this age group a rural household is more likely to participate in tuition by 5.7 percentage points whereas share of tuition expenditure decreases by 3.7 percentage points for rural household than an urban household. Once again, I find difference in the impact of the same variable on two different decisions. In this case, a rural household may be willing to participate in tuition but the practical economic constraint may not permit such decisions. Occupation status of the household too influences the decision to participate in tuition but not the expenditure decision. It has been found that as compared to regular wage earner, self-employed in both agriculture and non agriculture have more probability to send children to private tuition for this age group.

Similar to the observations with the household level data, we find that share of tuition expenditure increases in favour of female as compared to male by 2.3 percentage points. All the models point towards gender bias in private tuition expenditure in favour of girls for the age group 15-20. One of the reasons as cited above is related to the choice of school. If girls end up in Government schools of poor quality, they are more likely to attend private tuition at a later age when important school leaving examinations draw near. This augmentation of education might result in more girls going for tuition. In the next section we make an attempt to establish whether girls have higher probability of attending government schools than boys for the age group 6-20 and 15-20 in order to support our argument.

Table 6.7: Estimation for choice of school for the age group 6-20 and 15-20

Dependent Variable: Private school=1 and Government school=2				
	Age group 6-20		Age group 15-20	
	LPM	Probit	LPM	Probit
Log(per capita household expenditure)	0.173*** (0.016)	0.130*** (0.013)	0.160*** (0.026)	0.130*** (0.022)
Log(household size)	0.068*** (0.020)	0.039** (0.018)	0.070* (0.038)	0.048 (0.034)
Education of Head:				
<i>Graduate</i>	0.115*** (0.026)	0.068*** (0.020)	0.044 (0.042)	0.025 (0.032)
<i>Post Graduate and above</i>	0.169*** (0.053)	0.094** (0.043)	0.222** (0.100)	0.138 (0.085)
Religion:				
<i>Muslim</i>	-0.009 (0.013)	0.002 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.026)
<i>Christian</i>	0.166** (0.079)	0.191** (0.081)	0.005 (0.098)	0.007 (0.099)
<i>Others</i>	0.125* (0.074)	0.112 (0.070)	0.169 (0.174)	0.154 (0.156)
Female Head	-0.028 (0.018)	-0.023 (0.018)	-0.010 (0.039)	-0.015 (0.038)
Female	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.104*** (0.019)	-0.109*** (0.018)
Household head's age	0.001* (0.001)	0.001** (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Rural	-0.030** (0.014)	-0.028** (0.013)	0.033 (0.024)	0.030 (0.022)
Household's Occupation:				
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	0.037** (0.017)	0.022 (0.015)	0.011 (0.034)	0.016 (0.033)
<i>Self-employed in non agriculture</i>	0.068*** (0.016)	0.052*** (0.015)	0.028 (0.032)	0.028 (0.032)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	0.030* (0.017)	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.020 (0.035)	-0.026 (0.034)
Constant	-0.855*** (0.141)		-0.752*** (0.242)	
Observations	4,744	4,744	1,347	1,347
R-squared	0.263		0.224	
District dummy	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Average Marginal values reported for the Probit model

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

6.3.3 Is there discrimination against girls in choice of school?

In Table 6.7, I present two models with households having at least one child studying in school with individual data. In the first model, which is for the age group 6-20, I perform both Probit and LPM regression. School choice is denoted by a binary variable where attending private school takes the value 1 and attending government school takes the value 2. Table 6.7 shows that the household specific factors like log of per capita household expenditure as a proxy of income, household size, education of the head, religion and occupation status all play a significant role in choice of school for the age group 6-20. My primary variable of interest i.e. female dummy has a negative sign which implies that female has less probability of attending private schools by 3.2 percentage points than male for the age group 6-20. While girls are favoured in tuition expenditure for the age group 15-20, we find girls are discriminated against boys in the same age group in the choice of schools. They are less likely to attend private schools by 10.4 percentage points than boys in the same age group. As argued in the previous section, we find that girls are discriminated against boys in the school market. This might lead to compensation in the form of tuition at this age group.

6.3.4 Robustness Check

As gender bias is detected for the age group 15-20, I focus on this particular age group to ensure validity of the models used. Heckman two stage model is employed to detect gender bias, if any, for the age group 15-20 as a robustness check. The Heckman model shows similar outcomes of gender bias in favour of girl child in the age group 15-20. Apart from the issue of detection of gender bias, the model is useful to trace selection bias. There is a possibility of selection bias in the sample as we take households only with positive expenditure and the selection might not be random in the expenditure stage. This will lead to incidental truncation problem where the second stage i.e. expenditure decision will suffer from selection bias. In this case the error terms of participation decision and expenditure decision are correlated. The inverse Mill's ratio, which tests the suitability of Heckman model comes out to be significant at 10% level of significance (Table A6.5). This implies that the error terms are correlated. However, in case of unavailability of suitable instrumental variable in the exclusion restriction, Hurdle model is considered.

I also perform LPM and Unconditional OLS separately to check whether the primary variable of interest changes with change in the structure of model for the individual level data (Table 6.6) . For the primary variable of interest i.e. gender in each of the age group, we find that all the models entail similar results shown by Table 6.4 to Table 6.7. On the other hand, working with individual data in comparison with household level data ensures robustness of result for gender across different age categories.

6.4 Conclusion

The focus of the chapter is on the anomaly of the private tuition market where more girls are favoured than boys contrary to the studies that documented discrimination against girls in private education. I employ various methods using household data and individual data to find out discrimination at various age groups. Engel Curve framework for the household level data shows that discrimination in favour of girls occurs at the age group 15-20. I further employ Hurdle model both with individual data and household data to find the same result. One of the possible reasons for such a finding is the decision with regard to the choice of school where parents try to overcome the perceived loss of quality in poor government schools (where mostly girls go) with investment in private tuition at the secondary and higher secondary level. The age group 15-20 mostly comprise of students between secondary and higher secondary level in West Bengal. To support this argument, I estimated a separate model of school choice where the binary outcome is private versus government school choice. Interestingly, for the same age group, there is discrimination against girls in private school enrollment. Another possible reason for investing in private tuition for girls is to increase credentials as it might help them enter the labour market. But with female literate labour force participation at 18% (Census, 2011) in West Bengal, there might be a different motive of gaining education which is related to marriage market concern where educated women get educated husbands. The findings in this paper thus bring out these possibilities in the context of West Bengal and suggest a new avenue for understanding the motives for girls' education in West Bengal.

Appendix 6

Table A6.1: Distribution of student across different institution type by gender up to higher secondary (in percentage)

Institution Type \ Gender	Male	Female
Government	87.21	89.52
Private Aided	4.63	4.05
Private Unaided	7.83	5.94
Not known	0.32	0.49

Source: Own calculation from NSS, 2014-15

Table A6.2: Percentage of students taking private tuition by stages of schooling

Stages of Schooling \ Gender	Male	Female
Primary	87.21	89.52
Upper primary	4.63	4.05
Secondary	7.83	5.94
Higher Secondary	0.32	0.49

Source: Own calculation from NSS, 2014-15

Table A6.3: Difference in participation of male and female in private tuition

Age Category \ Gender (years)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Participation gap (%)
0-5	48.10	38.07	10.03
6-10	73.76	65.99	7.77**
11-14	87.26	85.27	1.99*
15-20	84.80	87.93	-3.13***

Significant at 1% - ***, at 5% - ** and 10% - *

Table A6.4: Average Marginal Effect of Probit Model using household level data)

Dependent Variable: Share of tuition to total household expenditure			
Independent Variables	Probit All	Probit Urban	Probit Rural
Log(per capita household expenditure)	1.522*** (0.213)	1.028*** (0.261)	2.711*** (0.428)
[Log(per capita household expenditure)] ²	-0.098*** (0.014)	-0.065*** (0.017)	-0.181*** (0.030)
Log(household size)	0.161*** (0.032)	0.145*** (0.046)	0.181*** (0.045)
Education of Head:			
<i>Graduate</i>	-0.150*** (0.036)	-0.177*** (0.040)	-0.037 (0.072)
<i>Post Graduate and above</i>	-0.141** (0.070)	-0.141* (0.077)	-0.359** (0.162)
Religion:			
<i>Muslim</i>	-0.001 (0.023)	0.016 (0.036)	-0.002 (0.031)
<i>Christian</i>	0.044 (0.081)	0.052 (0.123)	0.048 (0.097)
<i>Others</i>	-0.103 (0.100)	-0.055 (0.135)	-0.218 (0.160)
Female Head	0.082** (0.037)	0.115** (0.051)	0.057 (0.052)
Household head's age	0.002 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.007)
[Household's head's age] ²	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Rural	0.007 (0.022)		
Household's Occupation:			
<i>Self-employed in agriculture</i>	-0.002 (0.029)	-0.010 (0.042)	0.021 (0.042)
<i>Self-employed in non-agriculture</i>	0.014 (0.028)	0.015 (0.040)	0.025 (0.042)
<i>Casual labour and others</i>	-0.006 (0.030)	-0.107 (0.079)	0.024 (0.040)

Table A6.4 continued.

Dependent Variable: Share of tuition to total household expenditure			
Independent Variables	Probit All	Probit Urban	Probit Rural
Age-sex composition			
<i>Male 6-10</i>	0.140 (0.123)	0.096 (0.199)	0.210 (0.154)
<i>Male 11-14</i>	0.645*** (0.130)	0.550*** (0.207)	0.733*** (0.164)
<i>Male 15-20</i>	-0.051 (0.115)	-0.147 (0.181)	0.090 (0.149)
<i>Male 20 above</i>	-0.023 (0.132)	-0.069 (0.202)	0.012 (0.176)
<i>Female 0-5</i>	0.120 (0.127)	0.169 (0.212)	0.177 (0.159)
<i>Female 6-10</i>	0.509*** (0.131)	0.392* (0.214)	0.562*** (0.163)
<i>Female 11-14</i>	0.213* (0.121)	0.083 (0.187)	0.390** (0.159)
<i>Female 15-20</i>	-0.115 (0.129)	-0.283 (0.204)	-0.021 (0.163)
<i>Female 20 above</i>	0.068 (0.129)	-0.031 (0.193)	0.173 (0.176)
Observations	2,522	1,054	1,457
District dummy	YES	YES	YES

Note: Average Marginal values reported for the Probit model

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A6.5: Participation and expenditure decision in tuition for the age group 15-20 using Heckman Model

Independent Variables	Dependent variable- Attend private tuition =1, do not attend=0	Share of tuition to total expenditure
	Heckman participation	Heckman Expenditure
Log(per capita household expenditure)	2.308** (1.039)	-1.638 (1.032)
Log expenditure square	-0.140** (0.068)	0.085 (0.067)
Log household size	0.444*** (0.123)	-0.321** (0.126)
Graduate household head	-0.138 (0.114)	0.359*** (0.095)
Post Graduate household head	-0.175 (0.191)	0.559*** (0.166)
Muslim	0.116 (0.107)	-0.133* (0.078)
Christian	1.427** (0.568)	-0.559 (0.388)
Others	0.465 (0.407)	-0.679** (0.332)
Female Head	-0.296** (0.129)	0.121 (0.120)
Female	0.228*** (0.073)	-0.090 (0.068)
Household head age square	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Household head age	0.015 (0.023)	-0.027 (0.020)
Self-employed agriculture	0.355*** (0.122)	-0.290** (0.114)
Self-employed non agriculture	0.324*** (0.120)	-0.280** (0.109)
Casual labour and others	0.328** (0.134)	-0.316*** (0.120)
Rural	-0.038 (0.089)	-0.272*** (0.066)
Private aided	-0.977*** (0.115)	0.257 (0.240)
Private Unaided	-1.260*** (0.107)	0.497 (0.338)
Not known	-0.884** (0.389)	0.438 (0.420)
Constant	-9.665** (4.030)	11.065*** (4.273)
Observations	1,884	1,884
district dummy	yes	Yes
Inverse Mill's ratio-	0.093*	

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

CHAPTER 7: Unravelling the Complexities of Choice in the Tuition Market: Qualitative Insights

7.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the processes of choice making by parents in the shadow education market. I use the term ‘shadow’ broadly to refer to various forms of the informal teaching activities in the education market ranging from private tutoring to coaching as argued earlier in this thesis. This distinction drawn among various forms becomes clearer when we try to discern the pattern of preferences based on the ‘degree of customization’ of the service provided. For instance, preference for coaching is driven by more customized need as coaching provides study materials and test papers for high stake examination which a private tutor at home will not be able to offer (unless he is associated with a coaching centre). Similarly, a parent might prefer both private tuition and coaching before board examination citing different reasons for the two; tutors are meant for paying individual attention to the students while coaching’s immediate goal is to prepare students for examination. As parents mediate between various informal spaces that are coterminous, they develop a mix of strategies depending on the perceived outcome that each of the variants of shadow education market would entail. Therefore, even if participation in the shadow market is in effect a ‘TINA’ (there is no alternative) condition as Majumdar (2017) describes it, various alternatives emerges once a parent enters the market depending on the ‘market capacities’ of the parents. The alternatives however remain restricted to the privileged section while for the underprivileged the decisions are more compelling. The decisions take place at different layers starting from negotiations at the family level (where gender, birth order, expectation about a child play an important role) to gathering information of the tutors to forming a choice set⁴³ based on the information. Interestingly, the choice set involves different types of providers and at the terminal stage of choice making, a parent would choose more than one type of provider depending on the subjects taught and proximity of examination and social status. These

⁴³ Bell (2009) defines the choice set in the context of school choice which she referred to as

micro decisions are also influenced by culture⁴⁴, education policies of the state and forces of globalization. In the subsequent sections that follow in this chapter, I present the tension between traditional images of a local tutor and a ‘modern’ tutor which are mainly based on how ‘presentable’ a tutor appears. This is to be linked with the changing nature of the market where there is an inherent tendency of the market to break traditional forms of tutoring (home tuition) into more sophisticated and modern forms of coaching centres to keep pace with the global trends of the service. Examining the nuances of choice making i.e., tracing the path through which resources at the familial level get transmitted into choice in the market bear traces of one’s background. This involves digging deeper into the family history which Drury (1993) refers to as ‘family folklore’ as an exercise to make sense of the goals of education of each families. The practice of sending children to tuition therefore requires a closer examination into families’ education history, family structure (nuclear or joint), education policies of the State, changing school education market and globalization. The purpose of tutoring is expected to be different across and within families which the chapter seeks to bring out. It is based on 31 in depth interviews⁴⁵ with parents who agreed to be interviewed from a pool of 113 parents.

The present chapter needs to be understood in relation to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 which bring out the quantitative dimension of choice. We dealt with the determinants of choice in Chapter 4. While the quantitative exercise helped us to identify broad patterns of decision making, it failed to provide us insights into the process that brought about the outcomes. For instance, income, parental education, gender, types of school emerged as important determinants of private tuition choice. But how these different factors interact to form a decision and how these vary from one family to the other is not captured in the quantitative analysis. There are certain elements of coercion from the tutor’s end which leave the parents with no choice (Majumdar, 2014). In such a case, it is important to resort to in depth interviews or some other qualitative methods. Also, unobservable elements like parental aspiration or their belief system which has their own historicity could not find their places in the discussion in our earlier chapters. Such a trend will find its explanation in the stories or ‘folklores’ of the families and how they

⁴⁴ By culture I mean the culture of tutoring in West Bengal.

⁴⁵ Profile of the respondents is provided in the Appendix 7.

perceive education differently for their children within the same household. Gender becomes an important category to examine how the purpose of tuition or education varies between a boy and a girl and how this is also shaped by the position of the household in the social ladder. Apart from gender, assessment of the family about the child also determines his chances of being sent to the private tuition.

This chapter is divided into five sections. In the first section, I introduce manifold aspects of schooling in Kolkata in terms of types of management, medium of instruction, examination boards and school fees. Based on my data, I map families belonging to different strata with the schools in the localities chosen. In the same section, I bring out type of tutors, families and schools to show how differentiation in the schooling system is replicated in the private tuition market. In the second section, I bring out the process of decision making among different families based on their social class and caste position and their migration histories. The last section deals with intra-household decision making focusing on gender of the child.

7.2 Schooling in Kolkata

The school education system in West Bengal has been segmented on the basis of type of management, medium of instruction and amount of school fees (Majumdar and Mooij, 2011) and schools are hierarchically placed on the basis of “clientele, resources, accessibility and degree of informality” (Majumdar and Mooij 2011, p. 31). While clear cut division exists on the basis of private school versus government school in common parlance, “private” as well as the “government” categories are heterogeneous. In her study on school choice in the city of Kolkata, Buser De (2017) observed how two government schools in the same locality stood in stark contrast with each other in terms of social background of the students, cultural resources and social network of parents. One of her findings indicates that a substantial portion of middle class students are enrolled in the reputed government schools while the not-so-reputed government school catered to the poor section of the society. In a similar vein, Majumdar (2017) argues how stratification in schools on the basis of class background is more pronounced in Kolkata than spatial exclusion.

The total number of schools in the district is 2808 (DISE, 2017-18) of all types of management taken together. Schools in Kolkata are governed by various management

bodies which include local municipalities (Kolkata Municipality Corporation), State government (department of education and the directorate of education), Central Government (e.g. Kendriya Vidyalayas) and private bodies which include NGOs and religious institutions. The government schools are also funded by SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan) of the Central Government. Government schools differ in terms of management and can be grouped as fully government schools (managed by KMC), government sponsored schools and corporation schools. In government sponsored schools committees nominated by the Government are the managing authorities. These schools receive funds from the School education department apart from the funds disbursed through various schemes like Mid-day meal scheme, SSA funds and RMSA funds. Government schools provide incentives (both monetary and non-monetary) to the students which include mid- day meal, free uniforms, books and stationaries, scholarships for SC, ST students (Shikshasree) and scholarships for girl students between 13 to 18 years of age (Kanyashree). These incentives (except Kanyasree) are targeted to increase enrolment of children in schools under the flagship programme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

Private schools in Kolkata have witnessed a surge in recent years. But state run schools are still dominant and constitute a sizeable portion of schools in Kolkata. In 2002-03, the percentage of private schools to total schools stood at 22.62 and it increased to 23.32 in 2017-18 (DISE, school report cards of year 2002-03 and 2017-18). Government schools under the Department of school education are 61.72 percent of total schools in 2017-18 which is higher as compared to private schools in the city (DISE, 2017-18). Private unaided schools are grouped into recognized and unrecognized depending on the recognition by the government or certain examination boards. There are 44 unrecognized schools which constitute 6.72% of private schools (DISE, 2017-18). Despite the dominance of government schools in terms of the number, the enrolment of students in the private schools has increased over the years and is almost equal to the enrolment in government schools. According to NSS 71st Round (2014-15), Kolkata has 41.24 percentage of schoolchildren in government schools, 18.45% of students in private aided schools and 40.31% students in private unaided schools.

Tuition fees of some of the top private schools range from 5000 to 7000 INR per month at the secondary level and session fees range from 12000 to 19500⁴⁶ which is equivalent to or more than the earnings of the working class. Although low fee private schools are not very visible in Kolkata, there are some private schools run by missionaries and NGOs which are affordable to the working class population.⁴⁷ They charge fees in the range of 500 to 700 per month depending on the stage of schooling.

The number of primary schools in Kolkata is 1809 which is much higher than the number of schools with Upper Primary, secondary and higher secondary sections within the same premises which are 466 in total (DISE, 2017-18). Therefore, there is an increased competition to get into secondary schools after primary level as the number of secondary schools is much less as compared to the average primary enrolment per school (Majumdar and Mukherjee, 2020).

As far as stages of schooling are concerned, the school system is divided into four stages: primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary. Class 1-4 is the primary section which is funded by District Primary school council and KMC (Kolkata Municipal Corporations). Upper primary stage is from class 5 to class 8 whereas secondary stage is 9-10 grades. Secondary education in West Bengal is from class 5 to 10 (merging upper primary and secondary together). Higher secondary education comprises of class 11-12. The government schools in Kolkata under Department of education have a unique feature: till primary level, majority of schools are co-educational while secondary education onwards the schools are mostly single sex (i.e. separate schools for boys and girls). In some schools, primary section and secondary sections are integrated i.e. the same school runs primary section in the morning and secondary in the afternoon. Within this dual structure, primary section is co-ed while the secondary section is single-sex i.e. either for boys or girls. The number of schools which provides co-education at the upper primary as well as at the secondary level stands at 31 in Kolkata which is far less as compared to the number of schools which are only for girls or for boys at the same level of schooling (DISE, 2017-18). Girls' schools starting from upper primary level till secondary level are 127 in number and girls' schools with higher secondary level are 102 in number (DISE, 2017-18). This

⁴⁶ Information on fee structure gathered from websites of different private schools in Kolkata

⁴⁷ Some of the respondents of this study are enrolled in those schools.

numbers reveal that there is a dearth of co-ed schools at the secondary level in government run schools. On the other hand, English medium private schools (both private aided and private unaided) for girls is 31 which is again very less as compared to the number of government schools for girls. In short, if families were to choose for girls schools, they have less option for English medium private schools and more option for government schools. This aspect of schooling has implication in the decision making for girls which will be discussed later in the last section on intra-household decision making.

Schools are affiliated to various boards. State government schools are affiliated to West Bengal Board of Primary Education (for classes 1 to IV), West Bengal Board of Secondary Education (for classes V to X) and West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education (for classes XI and XII). Kendriya Vidyalayas are affiliated to the Central Board of School Education, Delhi. Madrasah schools in Kolkata are affiliated to West Bengal board of Madrasah Education. Private schools in Kolkata are affiliated to either state boards or I.C.S.E. CBSE or international boards. The curriculum for different boards and the pattern of examination and timing of examination vary depending on the board. For instance, annual examination in West Bengal board is held in the month of December whereas annual examination for other boards is held in the month of February.⁴⁸

Kolkata has also witnessed recent surge in pre-primary schools such as KIDZEE. These institutes prepare children to get into good schools for their primary level. The exact number of these preschools is not available but there is a growing market for such schools as parents in the higher strata in the class location aspire for the best schools in the city⁴⁹.

7.3 Schools, Families and Private Tuition

Students in the city mediate between the interlocking space of schools and its shadow as a result of the choices made by their parents. As private tuition becomes the extension of schools in their everyday lives, the demarcation between the two gets obscured in their perception of education. In order to make sense of the outcome of the choices

⁴⁸ Data gathered from school websites and through interaction with students.

⁴⁹ Information gathered through informal discussions with parents and tutors.

made (from both the ends of the parents and their wards), one needs to look at the intersection of school, family and shadow for which a separate analysis of each categories in the context of Kolkata is necessary. The context within which choice of private tuition is made is linked with schools and family structure. Each of these institutions legitimizes the existence of the private tuition in various ways.

7.3.1 Private Tuition: A product of School

The metaphor 'shadow' is used in the literature to describe tutoring activities as mimicking the school or born out of the school. In this section, I re-examine the features of the shadow in the context of Kolkata and show how schools (both private and government) take direct and indirect routes to promote tutoring activities. This also highlights the experiences of parents with schools which paves way for the practice of private tuition in myriad ways.

7.3.1.1 'Manufacturing' excellence through collaboration

The top government schools in Kolkata which are reputed for 'manufacturing' toppers in the city are often part of the rat race to maintain their standards. Rothschild and White (1995) outlined in the context of higher education that customers (students) are inputs in the profit maximizing function of the college. In the context of school, one can borrow from their theory and argue that students are inputs of the school which they use to build reputation. In their (schools') attempt to maximize their 'prestige' they create pressure to gain academic excellence. My field visit to one of the schools conducted mock tests for the terminal students of class 10th and 12th standard by collaborating with a reputed coaching brand in the city named Pathfinder. The timetable for the mock test hung on the notice board of the school before board examination which is shown in Appendix 7. The students informed that these schools charge a separate fee for these mock tests. The amount varies from one school to the other and ranges from 1500 INR to 2000 INR per mock test. There is a heightened 'local' competition among the schools which are transmitted to the students and parents to score better. One of the means is to collaborate with a branded coaching institute. Not all the schools tie up with the same brand. As there are many branded coaching institutes (Path Finder, Prayas) in the city, the schools strike a deal with one of the brands to achieve their ends.

I chanced upon one such conversation between the Principal of a school and authorities of a particular coaching institute on a completely different occasion. The authorities of the coaching institute were on their drive to select some good students of Class 9 and give free scholarship to the select students to attend classes in their coaching centre to which the Principal readily agreed seeing more prospect of producing toppers from the school. This symbiotic relation between the formal and the informal which is 'organized' in nature fosters the market and the involvement of the school legitimizes tutoring activities further. This is quite akin to the concept of public private partnership where the government school contracts out the school space to a private entity to increase the chances of producing 'efficient' students who would fetch more marks for them. It is equally beneficial for the coaching institutes which generate revenues through schools and also advertise the successful candidates of various schools in their websites. Clearly, there is a supply side inducement of sending a child to private tuition mediated by school.

Some private schools in the city rent out their classrooms for evening private tuition classes to tuition centres or sometimes conduct extra tuition classes themselves against extra money. As one walks along the neighbourhoods of Kolkata, it is hardly impossible not to notice the big banners where some schools explicitly advertise their tuition classes (photograph of one such school provided in Appendix 7). Two of the respondents- a schoolteacher of a private school and a tutor of a private school also confirmed the same. The tutor who was recruited for the evening tuition classes in a private school remarked:

I applied for the position of a school teacher but during the interview I came to know that they wanted to hire a tutor for their evening tuition classes which they did not mention in their advertisement. As I was in dire need of a job, I took up the job (October, 2018)

Respondents informed that parents pay separately for the tuition classes. They are mostly those parents who are persuaded by the schools that students who are not doing enough in particular subjects should attend tuition classes provided by the schools. Students are charged as per the subjects they choose. Mathematics and Science are in high demand in all the classes (V to XI) while in the higher classes (IX to XII), the demand for private tuition is in all subjects.

Schools usually execute their goals by creating situations wherein parents are bound to provide private tuition or coaching. This is possible because schools as institutions are broadly considered to play a role in transforming children in the society. Therefore, schools have such power over parents to exercise their discretion through persuasion or coercion. Persuasion as opposed to coercion as a form of power was developed by Grant (2006) which means “the use of speech or other symbols to control or influence people’s beliefs, judgments or behaviour” (p.32). In this particular case, the schools are able to influence parents’ beliefs through their emphasis on board examination. This sense of acquiring more marks in the education market of heightened competition which already existed in their belief system is pushed further by schools. It is executed through test examinations held by schools as well as through parent teacher meetings held in the school. Students who are already performing well in different school examinations are encouraged to sit for more mock tests to excel in the board examination. This kind of persuasion takes various forms. For the terminal students of class 10th and 12th standard, schools allow coaching centres to conduct mock examination which create a peer pressure among students to participate in the test. In lower classes such as class 5th or 6th standard, it takes the form of attending extra tuition classes provided by schools to build foundation for board examination. The same government school which collaborated with Pathfinder for mock test also has a tuition centre run by its schoolteachers of various subjects in the same locality. The students and the parents informed that the coaching centre was opened by schoolteachers who teach different subjects. Most of the students in the school are part of the coaching centre⁵⁰. An observation from the field elucidates the point further:

It was unusually crowded outside the government school which I have been visiting for the last one month at various intervals. Mothers who usually spend their days in the shack outside the school are abnormally tensed. The result of the test examination of the school for class X has been declared. The small teashop owner informed the parents that twenty students were not allowed to write the board examination. This spurred a lot of discussion about private tuitions and coaching centres of their children. Some parents (mothers) discussed how some particular teachers do not teach well in school but in the coaching centre they are excellent. Some of the parents who had not yet enrolled their children were suggested to join the coaching centre run

⁵⁰ Parents were initially unwilling to disclose about the coaching centre because of the fear that the teachers might fail their children if they come to know. In such a case, I extracted information from the students in the school who readily showed me the way to the coaching centre. On various occasions, I would sit with the mothers outside the school and listen to their discussion about various schoolteachers and their tutoring activities. I was fortunate enough to gain trust of some of the parents who informed me about the coaching centre run by the schoolteachers.

by schoolteachers. The test examination result gave them an opportunity to reconsider their private tuition decisions. Parents who provided private tuitions at home are now considering sending their children to this coaching centre. On the same day, a parent (whose son is promoted to class 8), approached a schoolteacher for enrolling her son in the coaching centre. (Field notes, 24th December, 2018).

The observation unfolds ways in which schools influence parents to become part of the shadow education market either through mock tests conducted by branded coaching centre or through schoolteachers who run their own coaching centres.

7.3.1.2 Negotiating with School and its Agents: Parent Teacher Interaction

Apart from these routes, the other route is through parent teacher meetings where the class teacher or the Head of the School interact with the parents. Three of the respondents, two middle class mothers (F1, F4) and one working class mother (F11) shared their experiences with the school authorities. These mothers, who hail from the same locality but send their children to different schools, recounted their discussion with the schoolteachers and Principal about their wards. Mrs. G.B (F1), who is herself a tutor, pointed out how school creates anxiety among parents and why she felt the need for a Mathematics tutor for her son:

My son did not do well in Mathematics in the final examination in class IV. His Mathematics teacher in school called me to express her concern about his Mathematics score. He got only 58 out of 100 which is very alarming as she said. On asking about his mistakes in particular, the teacher informed he made ‘silly’ mistakes like two plus two equals five for which she could not give marks. After hearing this, I was so anxious that despite having a tutor at home, I enrolled him in a coaching centre nearby. Now as I am telling you this, I realize how I tormented the house and scolded him for not practicing Mathematics. This happened because school created this pressure. Thirty students in the class cannot be equally good in all the subjects. How can you expect everyone to get above 90 in all the subjects? (December, 2018).

The interaction of the teacher with the mother of the student who has just been promoted to class V explicitly hints at the enormous burden that the student faces. He has two tutors in one subject- a home tutor and a tutor in the coaching centre. Although Mrs. G.B (F1) realizes the external influence of the school in her decision, she is too anxious to not discontinue the additional tuition for her son. This sense of insecurity or anxiety that schools perpetuate through its teachers goes much beyond one’s own understanding of how education should be. Mrs. G.B holds on to the point that all the students in a classroom are different, yet the anxiety of her son not doing well in

Mathematics compels her to fall into the system. This dichotomy between one's agency and structure emerges sharply from this situation. The anxiety has resulted from fewer jobs in West Bengal which leaves a parent with no choice but to prepare a child for the job market from an earlier stage. In her conversation throughout, there is a trace of desperation out of the crisis of jobs these days. We will see later in this chapter that this similar desperation and restlessness runs through every middle class families.

The experiences of schooling are quite different for the working class parents which are clearly visible from their narratives. One such instance is R.D's family who lives in a slum diametrically opposite to G.B's (F1) apartment.

R.D's (F11) family survives on a meagre income of 5000 INR. Yet, he enrolled R.D. in an English medium missionary school in the vicinity. Initially, the school funded his education but as he got promoted to class V, the school asked the parents to pay the school fees. R.D's father informed that the school is having fund crunch as they get fund from abroad. Despite the difficulty in paying a fee of Rs. 700 per month and an admission fee of Rs. 5000 at the beginning of a session, he did not change the school. But striking a conversation with the schoolteacher about his son's studies is extremely difficult for him. He said "ora ki bolbe amra bujhte parbo na" which means "we will not understand what they (teachers) will tell". But the last time as he mastered courage to speak with the class teacher, he was suggested to find a tutor for his son. The class teacher made a point that without a tutor he would not be able to follow the class. R.D's father did not blame the teacher for not paying additional attention to his son; rather he blamed his inability to look after his son's studies. (Field notes, November, 2018).

It is interesting to note that there is a stark difference in the narratives of the middle class and the working class parents in their experiences about schooling. While the working class parent of R.D. fell into the act of self-blame, the middle class mother, G.B. is in a position to criticize the school for creating the anxiety. Nevertheless, both the parents considered tutoring activities for their children albeit for a different reason. Shadow education market capitalizes on these anxieties and thrives with the aid of schools and its agents (schoolteachers/Principals).

R.D's father is not the only parent who has been advised for a tutor by a schoolteacher. M.G's (F12) father, neighbour of R.D. also shared similar experiences about his daughter but his decision of considering a tutor left him with a lot of hope.

M.G's father is an electrician who managed to enroll his daughter in an English medium school run by an N.G.O. As told by the parents, M.G is a promising student who always ranks within 3rd in her school. As she is bright, the head of the school asked her to attend her tuition class so that she comes out with excellence. The father was beaming with pride at the fact that

the head herself wanted to tutor his daughter. Now M.G. attends her tuition and pays 1000 INR for all subjects. (Field notes, April, 2019)

This act of paternalism on the part of the school teacher and head teacher suggests how schools decide what is right for the working class children. Working class parents, on the other hand, are stuck in the trap of self-blame considering schools as their guardians. In the world of asymmetric information, the task of searching for a tutor is all the more difficult for people with limited resources (economic, cultural and social) which is further elaborated in the sections that follow. In M.G.'s case, the assurance from the head teacher, however, reduced the cost of searching and instilled hope in the parents. But while they could reduce the cost of searching for a tutor, they had to forgo 1000 INR every month for their daughter which is huge for a family with an income of 10,000 INR. Meanwhile, schools are subtly shifting their responsibilities on the tutors where schoolteachers are themselves the subset in the pool of tutors, balancing themselves as 'teacher' and 'tutor' (discussed in Chapter 8). Even a head teacher is a part of the private tuition market. This brings us to the question of how classroom experiences by students can give rise to private tuition or other forms of the shadow market. This is linked partially with the effort of the schoolteacher in the class.

7.3.1.3 When schoolteacher is a tutor

In a bid to balance the two work spheres, schoolteachers sometimes shirk their responsibilities which lead to the fall in quality of teaching in school and hence increase the demand for various tutoring activities as documented in various studies (Majumdar, 2014; Biswal, 1999; Jayachandran, 2014; Ghosh and Bray, 2020). Majumdar (2014) in the context of West Bengal argues how teachers fail to use their classroom energy and effort when they divide their time between teaching and coaching. This particular aspect has also been narrated by parents in my sample.

Seventy per cent of the parents interviewed confirmed that their wards' respective schoolteachers engage in tutoring activities. As argued earlier, some schoolteachers of a government school collaborated and started a coaching centre themselves. On the other hand, some schoolteachers create an 'artificial demand' as coined by Sen (2009) by not delivering the service and hence creating demand for the service outside school. This entails not correcting class work of the students, not completing the syllabus in the

classroom, refusing to explain concepts after the class hour. This even takes a direct form like approaching students to join his/her tuition class. A government schoolteacher of a reputed school wrote his contact details on the blackboard for joining his tuition class (as informed by a student). A student of class 10 of a private school who overheard the conversation of her mother on private tuition remarked:

“Private tuition is the source of education these days. Nothing happens in school”. (Field notes, March, 2019)

This statement demands serious introspection on the education system as a whole and not particularly the failure of the government schools alone. Students are losing faith in the system which is supposed to nurture their critical minds instead of cramming their minds with information. This sense of pessimism that the student has garnered about his school hints at the crisis education is facing today where he legitimizes the existence of private tuitions and wants himself to be withdrawn from school. However, as schools are examination centres for them, students are bound to remain associated with schools. This understanding disrupts classroom activities as schools cease to motivate students to explore their minds. The literature points out the effect of tuition as to how students get inattentive in the class because they have a tutor at home. But what is more interesting to bear in mind is that the same schoolteacher, who is unable to arouse interest in the classroom, is very popular at the coaching centres or when she tutors privately. Clearly, there is a trade off in the effort between classroom and private tuition. The following field notes will throw further light to the arguments made above:

My daughter is very inquisitive and she does not stop asking questions until she is convinced with an answer. She does the same in school but her schoolteacher discouraged her one day and asked her to get the answer from the tutor. Even her friends do not encourage her asking her doubts in the class as the class gets extended. They tell her ‘tuition e bujhe nis’ which means ‘get the explanation from the tuition’. In spite of spending a total of 10,000 INR on school per month, I need to look out for a tutor. The same schoolteacher, who is teaching 30 students in school, tutors 20 students at home. (G.B, F1) (Field notes, December, 2018)

Similar accounts emerged in an interview with a retired private tutor. P.R (Tutor1) recounted one incident where two of her students from a reputed private school asked her to solve an incomplete sum in the classwork notebook. When she asked as to why the schoolteacher did not complete it in the class, they replied “she told to ask the tutor”.

The demand for tuition in this case is fuelled by the lackadaisical attitude of the schoolteachers towards students and this is not limited to government schools alone. But the modalities or the routes taken by schoolteachers differ depending on whether a teacher serves a government school or a private school. The sense of security of a government job often directs a government schoolteacher to engage in coercive practices (for instance, writing their contact details on blackboard). However, in case of private schools (especially reputed ones) one has to be alert about the means adopted to lure students as ‘customers’ because of any misconduct may lead to losing jobs. Therefore, the means are more indirect in nature as mentioned in the interview excerpts above i.e. enquiring students whether they have a tutor or cautioning parents about their ward’s performance. These strategies are discussed in detail in Chapter 8. These strategies need to be integrated with the choice problem that the parents face in the education market where a parent oscillate between ‘coercion’ and ‘persuasion’ exerted by the schoolteachers and finally makes decision. Choice formation takes place within the matrix of power which in this context boils down to a situation of ‘compulsory choice’ or a choice which is unavoidable.

In discussing with mothers whose children are enrolled in a Convent missionary school (private aided), the issue of discussion centred around the quality of teaching in the school which has jeopardized their children’s future in pursuing science. They pointed out how some untrained teachers are recruited by the school authorities and paid poorly (parents’ conjecture). This has resulted in poor quality of teaching in the classroom and demand for tuitions to make up for the gap. (Interviews conducted with a group of mothers, December, 2018).

Parents whose children are in government schools were uncomfortable to disclose information on the schoolteachers hinting at the panic constructed by the schoolteachers around child’s success or failure. In some cases, the latter fear was more overriding. A parent (F13), whose son studies in a government school remarked:

If my son were tutored by a schoolteacher, I would not have given you (researcher) my consent for interviewing me or would not have told you my experiences about private tuitions in detail. (January, 2019).

This has been reiterated by several other parents in the informal conversations with them. Schoolteachers have managed to flout existing rules and at the same time have

been able to capitalize on the fear of parents or aspirations of parents for their children. In this case legitimacy is gained through establishing fear of failure mediated by the schoolteachers themselves.

On many occasions, a teacher differentiates between the content to be taught in tuitions and in school as Majumdar (2014) also pointed out in her study. Parents often resented that some teachers in school complete each chapter of a subject a day by scratching the surface of the concepts which they term as “upor upor porano” i.e. not intensive or thorough teaching. Parents make sense of these lacunae by checking classwork copies where everything written in the copies are mostly not corrected. In some cases, they make a quantitative assessment on the number of school copies that are exhausted. M.G’s mother (F3) mentioned:

In tuitions I have bought three practice copies in Mathematics and in school there are blank pages left in the same notebook for one year. (October, 2018)

Other than the practices that are initiated directly or indirectly by schoolteachers themselves, they have also successfully built an element of trust because of their involvement in evaluating board examination answer scripts. This brings some hope or assurance in an uncertain market of education where “the problem of valuation” (Beckert, 2009) can be dealt with through possession of certain skills which relegate competitive advantage to an individual. The possession of experience in evaluating board examination answer scripts signals possibilities of better outcomes to the parents. This apparently forms ‘stable expectations’ in the market and emerges in various narratives of the parents from all social background who have ‘chosen’ schoolteachers as tutors.

Five families, out of thirty two families interviewed, sent their wards to reputed schoolteachers from different schools apart from their own schools. One notable case is that out of these five families, only one is a working class family (F26), who despite great difficulties had managed to send one girl child out of the three school going girls to a schoolteacher. Apart from the reasons that schoolteachers know the examination pattern well, the parents belonging to working class section, wanted to compensate for poor schooling of their girl with a schoolteacher from a reputed government school. It is interesting to note that even when parents lose hope with schools, the status of

schoolteachers as good tutors remain an established reality for parents. The schoolteacher successfully controls the decision process of parents by projecting him/her as indispensable as a tutor.

7.3.1.4 Between curriculum ‘overload’ and ‘inadequate’ curriculum

Curriculum of different examination boards is different and the need for tuition differs depending on the board. In general, Indian school education curriculum is considered to be heavy but at the same time it is considered to be insufficient for high stake examinations like IIT, Medical entrance exams etc. which jointly determine the demand for private tuitions. At one hand, parents complain about the workload of students and at the same time demand ‘extra’ lessons for competitive exams indicating an emphasis on the instrumental character of education. Schools perpetuate the anxiety through curriculum in the following way:

M.D (F3), who is a para teacher in a government school, had somewhat different experience with her daughter’s school. Her daughter is enrolled in an English medium school which is quite reputed in the area. She blames it on the curriculum. She maintains that the school pressurizes students with lots of chapters in the examination. They have NCERT books but the school recommends two books of Mathematics from two publishers. On the other hand, teachers are not able to cover the syllabus in the class. This necessitates private tuitions for her daughter (Field notes, February, 2019).

Curriculum overload is one reason which indirectly creates pressure to engage in various tutoring activities. This particular reason of tutoring has been rigorously discussed in various studies in various contexts. Sen (2009) argues that “the curricular load is so heavy and ambitious for primary schools that students need supplementation at the end of the school day” (p.14). It will not be wrong to push the argument further for the secondary education as well because the preparation for board examination starts at the secondary level. This curriculum overload is also a strategy of some schools to appear ‘different’ from other schools and is an attempt to construct an image of them. Interviews with some parents (three) and discussions with them within their group indicated a mounting tension of not finding tutors who would know the pattern of examination or curriculum of their schools. These schools go beyond the recommended books of the board and expect students to handle more than one book for each subject. The idea is to prepare them for any competitive examination in the future.

Convent schools or missionary schools have different method of teaching and this does not match any other school of the same board (WBSE). Our daughters' school is different and that is why we look for tutors who would know their curriculum well. (During discussion with a group of mothers, December, 2018)

One of the oldest and reputed schools in Kolkata divides classroom sections on the basis of performance of students in school examination. This demarcation between 'weak students' and 'good students' creates enormous pressure not only on students but also on parents. It is dehumanizing and humiliating and hence parents find ways to tackle this situation through private tuitions. The students go through this process from an early age which also creates a sense of competition in them for getting the best tutors. A middle class mother of one child (F18) shares her experience on schooling and curriculum:

My son's school is different from other schools. They have a different method of teaching. They do not focus on rote learning. Although the school is affiliated to West Bengal board, their pattern of setting questions is very different from other schools affiliated to West Bengal board. Do you remember the poem Daffodil by William Wordsworth? When my son was in class 7, the English teacher gave an excerpt from the poem in the examination and asked questions based on the poem which I, myself could not answer being a graduate of English literature. That is why I cannot settle with just any tutor. This is the trend in almost every subject. If I cannot find a good tutor for him and if he fails he might be send to Section D which is for 'feltu' (poor) students and my son will come in the same list. Every other parent fears this. (March, 2019)

There are two simultaneous processes at play. On one hand, the pride of sending her son to a good school and to be labelled 'different' and at the same time a deep seated fear of not performing well enough in the examination due to curriculum overload. There are some schools which do not follow entirely the books recommended by their respective boards in the pursuit of constructing an image of 'distinctiveness'.

At the same time, some parents suggest that schools are not enough to prepare a student for IITs or West Bengal Joint Entrance Examination. There are certain tips to crack the examination which is only known to the branded coaching centres and some reputed tutors. Therefore, students need tuitions or coaching to hone these skills to ensure better prospects (getting into a renowned college).

Schools therefore create grounds for taking tuition in various ways which add more fuel in the existing aspiration of the parents. They sometimes create anxiety, sometimes pours out hope of a better future with private tuition.

7.3.2 Emergence of various tutoring activities: Role of the family

Family is another institution which legitimizes the practice of private tuitions and this takes place either through negotiation with schools or through members within the family. The practice of engaging in private tuitions cannot be understood in isolation and has to be understood in relation to institutional changes- one of them being change in the family structure as a product of modernization project i.e. rationalization of family. The reason for engaging a child in private tuition from an early age can also be attributed to the structure of family where working mothers in a nuclear family find ways to keep their wards busy with some activities. On the other hand, purpose of tutoring differs from one family to the other depending on the specific family history or biography but there is a convergence within a particular social class except for the middle class which is highly fragmented. The purpose of private tuitions varies between upper middle class and lower middle class. This section is situated within the debate of whether private tuition is a remedial strategy or an enrichment strategy in the international scholarship (see Chapter 2) by arguing that these debates need to be resolved within the context of family positioned within the social milieu. The prevalence of private tuition in the lives of school going children which otherwise appears straightforward, are conditioned by complex processes of family involvement and the process is layered. This relates to a particular type of parenting style (Lareau, 2011), a response to the process of competition for status or job, an unavoidable and compelling choice owing to one's inability to guide their wards and so on. While financial resources are visibly important in a market based on the question of affordability, culture and social positioning form an invisible web of power relations within which choice is formed. This section is developed by locating families within the 'field' of the market (drawing from Bourdieu, 2005) and analyses how families with varying capitals navigate the 'field'. Families not only negotiate with the formal market of schooling but also informal spaces and sometimes the decisions concerning private tuitions are also linked with the choice of school and their transactions with school authorities. These day to day negotiations and transactions are dealt with by mothers

and hence the discussions around choice should also bring out the role of mothers and their investment in terms of their time.

7.3.2.1 Between ‘enrichment strategy’ and ‘intensive parenting’: Tactics of the Middle class

The literature on the middle class in India suggests that this social class is heterogeneous (Fernandes, 2015; Nambissan, 2009) and is rather considered a class fraction (Scrase and Scrase, 2009). Deshpande (2003) argues that the definition of the concept of class is around the concept of economy, society and polity. In consonance with the objectives of the present study, I limit my focus on the economic and social characteristics of the class in defining the middle class (see Chapter 4). As the class is not a homogeneous one, it is imperative that the practices of each faction will vary within the class. With respect to educational investment, middle classes have demonstrated high aspiration that translated into the practice of sending children to English medium schools, reputed engineering colleges and prestigious career options (Drury, 1993, Nambissan, 2009). However, Gilbertson (2014) shows differences within the middle class parents in Hyderabad in terms of preferences, practices and discourses in the production of class. Waldrop (2004) also made distinction between upper middle class and other middle class segments on the basis of practices where upper middle class would send their children abroad. As an extension of the observations made in these articles, middle class educational practices including private tutoring can be seen as hierarchical in nature with the upper class segment setting out the ‘rules of the game’.

But these practices are also an outcome of educational trajectory of earlier generation and the stories around families or the narratives of their everyday practices are also reflection of their social class (Drury, 1993). It is important to trace these narratives about family resources which helped parents to become what they are and imposition of their values in children’s lives. This is reflected in the way parents articulate about their upbringing and relate them to the problem of raising their children. As a tutor of a student for three months during the fieldwork, I got associated with one of the families (F1) which familiarized me with their day to day activities and transactions. The way she perceives education also shaped the strategies she adapted for her children (a daughter and a son):

The mother has received her education in a reputed English medium school and received her post graduate degree from Calcutta University in the year 2002. The conversations with her were illuminating and every conversation surfaced into her class position very subtly. Regarding school choice she mentions how she never thought of enrolling her children to Bengali medium because she herself was from an English medium school and Bengali medium schools were never an 'option'. She took pride in the way she has raised her daughter (who studies in 9th standard) to be 'self-sufficient' as she does all household chores in her absence. This self-sufficiency also goes back to the time when she used to tutor students for pocket money when she was in 12th standard. (Field note: December, 2018).

This family explained why they are not in favour of private tuition for children but out of social pressure and the lack of inputs from school in their studies, they have resorted to private tuition. It was the mother herself who used to look after their studies. But as her daughter got promoted to higher class, private tuition became a necessity. There is a tension between the emphasis on 'self-sufficiency' and an expert tutor to guide the daughter which remains unresolved in her statements. The systemic compulsion to send the daughter in private tuitions and at the same time the value of self-sufficiency is contradictory in nature. However, she also emphasizes on the importance of extra-curricular activities which the school does not think important for children. She explains:

There are less extra-curricular activities in school and schools and parents both nowadays discourage the fact that there are other professions other than doctor, advocate, engineer through which one can meet his ends. The anxiety that the parents go through these days is because they do not go deep into the curriculum that is being taught in school. There is a shallow understanding of education on the basis of score in the examination. (December, 2018)

This upper middle class mother's belief system and her education trajectories which shape her understanding of education is distinct from the other middle class mothers (which the mother asserted as well) in which she focuses on a more holistic development of a child through education. Therefore, private tuition as a strategy of this class faction has to be understood in concert with the educational beliefs of these families who have developed their own *modus vivendi*. Similar trends emerged in the interviews with other upper middle class parents (F9, F29, and F30):

I do not have to ask my son to study. He has interest in studies and I do not think private tuition is necessary when I have already enrolled my son in a reputed English medium school. He has an interest in English and he has a tutor in English to improve his communication skills further. I maintain that he also has time for his extra-curricular activities. (Mother of a class 8 student, F9: April, 2019).

While every family interviewed engaged in some form of tutoring activities, the purpose of tutoring varied and among the upper middle class, it is more of an ‘enrichment strategy’ at a higher stage of schooling. Parents of students studying in 9th and 10th standard who are mainly concerned with the board examination consider it as an ‘enrichment strategy’. But this strategy is not limited to the upper middle class faction but also across all the segments of the middle class. The ‘enrichment strategy’ takes the form of two tutors in one subject which starts months before the board examination or throughout the academic year. Six families, out of 32 families, engaged their children with two tutors in one or more subjects to ensure better score in the examination. Two families with their daughters in 10th standard (F8, F14), who have two tutors in Mathematics and Physics, explained why it is necessary to ‘boost confidence’ before examination:

There are 45 students in one batch. Sometimes a student might hesitate to ask questions thinking it might appear ‘silly’ in front of so many students. That is why the second tutor is needed to increase her confidence in the subject (Father, F14: January, 2019).

While for some middle class families, two tutors in one subject act as a strategy to improve their skills or time management in examination or for clearing concepts through individualized attention, it is important to note that there are veiled motives which often escape our attention. The act of guarding wards against ‘shame’ in an informal setting of private tuition complicates the purpose of private tuition which is supposedly sought for additional help outside of formal schooling. This also points out middle class ways of upbringing children where there is subversion of natural tendencies of inquisitiveness by not exposing them to ‘adversities’. In the name of ‘protecting’ the ward, a curious mind is imprisoned in the timeframe of tutoring activities. On the other hand, there are traces of ‘concerted cultivation’ (Lareau, 2011) in child rearing by asking opinions of wards about private tuition, binding time of private tuition throughout the day to keep children busy with ‘quality’ time. This is a common practice among middle class parents who accord primacy to private tuition from an early age. This is not to say that the working class children do not avail private tuition at an early age but the purpose of private tuition for middle class parents differ widely from the working class parents and also within the class faction. The presence of private tuition in the lives of primary students in the middle class families with rich cultural capital is different from primary students of the working class parents. Middle

class parents resort to intensive parenting style but this becomes limited when both the parents are working. Therefore, this task of intensive parenting or rather involvement of mother is compromised in case of working mothers who relegate their task to the tutors who balance between teaching and ensuring child's involvement in studies throughout the day even in his/her absence. Private tuition in this case is neither an 'enrichment strategy' nor a 'remedial strategy' but rather a strategy towards 'concerted cultivation' where the role of the tutor is paramount. An upper middle class mother (F1) explained the role to a new tutor about her duties:

I need to tell you certain things about my son. My son is very naughty but very intelligent. It is difficult to handle him. Give him some challenging task and give him homework so that even after you leave, he is busy doing homework. He does not listen to me and that is why I had to look for tuition in class 5. At least that will make him busy with something productive. (December, 2018)

In this particular case, the mother not only wants to involve the child in studies but also ensures that he goes through a thinking exercise through 'challenging task'. She also keeps track of the homework assigned to her son from time to time. In a similar vein, seven families interviewed also stated how private tuition is required for inattentive child who lacks motivation to study. Private tuition is a means to 'discipline' children through routinized activities as children do not study after school:

I did not want to provide tutors for my son. He does not study on his own unless he is given task by his tutors. It is a sort of engagement for him which he cannot avoid. If he studies on his own, he will delay his studies (Middle-middle class parent, F2: February, 2019)

Private tuition creates a sense of fear which drives the student to study i.e. it acts as an impetus when students are not intrinsically motivated. Unlike the upper middle class parents (especially mothers), lower middle class mothers are more concerned with 'how many pages are completed in a copy' or 'whether study notes are provided'. The upper middle class mothers are more focused on 'clarification of concept' and 'quality' tutoring and they understand these attributes through the cultural capital they inherited through their parents and through the course of their education. Private tuition is more intricately related to child rearing at the early stage of child's education and changes its purpose at the higher stage of schooling when high stake examinations are nearing. Also, the various forms of shadow education (coaching, individual tutor, reputed

schoolteacher) become part of the choice basket which will be discussed in the sections that follow.

As stated earlier, middle class parents are characterized by huge investments in educational credentials which are marker of status but the vantage point of such investments are different within the class faction. In this respect, the social positioning of the families within the class structure as well as their family biographies of investment in education plays a role. In the lower middle class families, the history of educational investment on children are missing and cultural capital acquired (language competencies, soft skills) is less than the upper middle class parents. For such families, additional investment on education (private tuitions) is to ensure that their children are not left behind in the 'rat race' as they were left behind due to lack of investment from their parents. For upper middle class parents, investment on children appeared 'natural' as they also benefitted from their parental investment.

There is also an attempt to break the occupational chain of earlier generations in search of more 'noble' professions for the children. This trend is visible in two middle class families, an upper middle class family and a lower middle class family (F3, F18) who want their children to become doctors in the future:

For generations, my husband's family is engaged in business. I do not want to see my son as a businessman but as a doctor and that is why I am very worried about his foundation in Science and Mathematics. Till class 6, I have managed to provide him with tutors who are college students. But they are not experienced tutors. I am looking for more experienced teacher as he is now in Class 8. If he does not start preparation from now onward, he will not stand a chance in competitive examination. (Mother, F18: March, 2019)

We have a small business and we have one tenant. It is difficult to run the family with a huge expenditure on her education. I keep telling her to study more and reflect on the sacrifices we are making. All I do is because I want to see her as a doctor as she cannot run a business like her father. (Mother, F3: January, 2019)

The narratives of these families with difference in opportunity structure show homogenized expectation for children. The shadow education market ostensibly opens a conduit to materialize those dreams for them. For the lower middle class mother, the investment on private tuition is a strategy to move up the social ladder of the class faction which is a result of the dominant imagination of 'success' defined by the upper

middle class. While drawing a comparison between her family and an upper class family where both the parents are Professors by occupation this mother remarked:

Private tuition has nothing to do with parents' education. I know one family where the parents are well educated; both are professors but they still send their son to private tuition. This is because these days children do not listen to parents. In case of providing tutors, they are not different from us. (Mother, F3: January, 2019)

Although the all-pervasive presence of private tuition is felt by all the parents and tutors interviewed, private tuition plays out in different ways in each middle class families. Upper middle class families are able to involve the tutors more than their other counterparts as discussed. Lower middle class families follow the suit but in spite of huge involvement, they fail to delve deeper into the process due to their own 'habitus' and cultural capital. The mere existence of private tuition is all that they assume but they have a fuzzy notion of 'quality' of tutors or how tutoring is carried out:

M.H. (F3), who is appearing for her class 10 board examination, spends her entire day in self-study, coaching and private tuitions. The wall of her room is filled with Mathematics formulae so that as soon as she gets up in the morning, the first thing she sees is those formulae. In that way, as suggested by her tutor and imposed by her mother, the formulae will sink in. (Field notes, January, 2019)

Very few parents in the sample (4) openly spoke about what occupation they would like to have for their children. This is partly because at the secondary level, the focus is on the immediate board examination where parents assess whether a child is suitable for a particular profession. 80 per cent parents interviewed are waiting to see how their children fare in board examination. But the intensity of tutors in some subjects especially Mathematics and English hint at the possibility of their consideration of the job market. In such a situation, private tuition becomes a 'credentialing strategy' drawing from Collins (1979) where education and occupation is strongly linked. Availing private tuition serve as a means of gaining those credentials, say gaining entry into elite institutes (Punjabi, 2020).

The conversations around private tuition also pointed towards the changing family structure where the mounting expenditure on education has an impact on family planning. This is to ensure better life chances for future generation. Investment in 'good' English medium schools is not enough as expenditure on private tuitions or coaching is also a compulsory expenditure for the parents:

If you look at the expenditure on education today, it is so huge that you have to think twice before having more than one child. We are taking decision about having child looking at the cost of education. We all have only one child so that we can give them the best education. (Mother, F8: field notes, December, 2018)

This observation reflects Becker's (1973) proposition of quality-quantity trade off in family decision making where investment in education decreases with increase in the size of family. In this case, parents are more focused on quality of education which is tilted towards the 'private' i.e. both private tuitions and private schooling. Intensive parenting through private tuitions is also related to this phenomenon as parents, mostly mothers, are involved with the child throughout the day moving from one form of shadow education to the other.

7.3.2.2 Tuition among the working class- An Uneven playing field

Working class parents with limited means negotiate in their own ways with the structure of the market and its players. Family 'folklores' around educational investment of their earlier generation also shapes their aspiration and it varies depending on the history of migration. Five working class families have histories of migration among the parents interviewed. Sometimes, this acts as a double whammy where they face challenges owing to lack of social capital and a sense of 'disconnectedness' with the locality for being a migrant. Education for these families is a key to social mobility and social esteem. Two of the families (F20, F26) migrated from Bangladesh a decade back due to their minority status in Bangladesh. Since then the struggle for existence in a new space started. A.M (F20) is a class 10 student who migrated from Bangladesh when he was merely a year old. His father tutors students in their locality as a living as he is not able to get a job with school leaving certificates of Bangladesh. He is very concerned about his son who does not seem to focus on studies. This came out in a parent teacher meeting in a coaching centre:

He is always busy with mobile phone and is not bothered that he is going to write his Madhyamik examination in few months. I look at his test results and get frustrated at the thought of investing so much in his coaching and tuition. He does not understand that we came from a different country and he needs to have a job to establish here. If he does not study, we cannot fulfill our dreams. That day I told him to study and he said "lekha pora kore je gaari chaapa pore se" (the one who studies gets run over by car). (Field notes, November, 2018)

The dismissal of education by his son has irked the father because he is going through the struggle of everyday survival as a ‘refugee’ (which he is called by the local people) and is in search of establishing his identity in the locality. There is every attempt to break from their migrant status through investment in education. The parent does not earn enough to provide for private schooling but availability of private tuitions at a lower cost makes it possible for him to invest. Similarly, a rickshaw puller (F26) who migrated from Bangladesh around the same time is raising three daughters and investing in their education through private tuitions. As he was unable to enroll his elder daughter in a reputed government school, he has managed to convince a schoolteacher of a reputed government school to tutor his daughter:

I tried a lot to enroll her in a good government school where she could study with children from ‘good’ families. But due to lottery system of admission, she got enrolled in this school with all the students like ‘us’. I thought I should look for a schoolteacher of a good school so that she is around the company of ‘good’ children. (October, 2018)

This parent does not only take private tuitions as a ‘remedial strategy’ but also enjoys a sense of exclusivity by sending the ward to a schoolteacher which is expensive for other working class parents. Also, private tuitions act as a compensatory strategy for the ‘good’ school that he could not avail for his child. The narratives of the migrant rickshaw puller about his ‘homelessness’ are akin to the story of A.M (F20) where informal education market gives them the hope to negotiate with their present state. As the history of migration from one country to the other (as in case of F20, F26) is different from that of in-migration from other states (F11, F31, F32), the disbursal of resources to achieve the end is different in my sample. For the working class parents with Bangladeshi origin, private tuition expenditure per child is more than those who migrated from Bihar and the neighbouring states. While the range of private tuition expenditure for Bangladeshi origin migrants ranged from Rs.1200 to 1500 per child in the same level of education, for the migrants from Bihar, the range is Rs.450 to Rs.1000. This also may be related to the culture⁵¹ that is embedded in the place of origin where the parents belonged.

All the working class parents interviewed had one or more tutors for their children. They view private tuitions as a ‘remedial strategy’ so that their children get promoted

⁵¹ According to the Salmon (2018) titled ‘The Culture of Testing: Sociocultural Impacts on Learning in Asia and the Pacific’, Bangladesh has the highest private tuition goers (92%) in the Asia Pacific Region.

to the next class. Passing the examination is what they look for, based on the schooling experience of the child. As education is an ‘experience good’ and it takes time to understand the effect of schooling on children’s education, their expectations about their (parents’) children undergo changes based on their (students’) performance. Three working class families living in the slum send their children in low fee private schools run by a Christian missionary. Till primary level they were performing well with no ‘red underline’ in any subjects in the marks sheet:

We do not understand his marks in the mark sheet. But last time he did not have red underline in any of these subjects but this time in all the subjects I can see red underline. I went to his tutor and got to know that he is not promoted to class 7. I had so high hopes about him. That is why I enrolled him in an English medium school. But I do not understand what he is learning. I now wish that he passes in all the subjects. (Father, F11: December, 2018).

Till class 7, he passed in all the subjects but as he is now in higher class, he is unable to pass. We gave tuitions because we are not literate. I do not know what is happening in tuition. It seems that the tutor is not good enough (Mother, F32: December, 2018)

In both the narratives, there is helplessness emanating from their lack of education to guide their children. An English medium school gave them a sense of dignity in the neighbourhood but at the same time their inability to cope with the school left them shattered. On the day of the announcement of annual examination results, these parents were found beating up their children for failing the annual school examination. The parents decided that private tutors can only remedy the gap between school and home. Both these children had private tutor/tutors since class nursery because they believed it is not easy to continue in English medium school without guidance. But their own ‘habitus’ and the family cultural and social capital limited the access to better tutors. The tutors were either from Bengali medium background with little knowledge of the curriculum of I.C.S.E. One of these families (F11) availed tutor from his locality who passed out from the same Christian school where his son studies. Being inexperienced as a tutor, she could barely manage tutoring children at the secondary level although she claims she can teach all the subjects till class 10th standard. As I tutored the same child, R.D. (F11) for three months to delve deeper into his curriculum and family decision making, the following observations came into light:

The tutor, Sonu (pseudonym used), routinely sat with three children of different level of education (3rd, 4th and 6th standard) every evening except Sunday and tutored them for one hour. They were asked to open their books and memorize on their own. After they would rote learn,

she would ask them questions from the lessons given. R.D. (F11) never maintained any notebook for writing because he was never asked to write anything. He would mug up paragraphs in English without understanding the meaning and finish his lesson. Sonu claims that R.D is very good at mugging up and she does not understand why he failed in school examination. (Field observation, April, 2019)

It is evident that private tutoring of this type where multi grade teaching is adopted and pedagogy is rote learning, a child's growth is hampered and his creative faculty is stunted. Two of these students (F11, F32) when asked to explain an English text from the previous year from their syllabus, could not explain it as they 'mugged up' the text. But these parents were not able to equate the differential learning experience of his child relative to other middle class children. They are trapped in the choices they made with regards to school as it is too late to enrol in a Bengali medium school with a different curriculum and mode of learning. On the other hand, private tuitions which filled them with hope, gradually failed in guiding their children which got revealed in the higher stages of schooling. The experiences of working class children on their schooling suggest that they take private tuitions as a 'remedial strategy' i.e. to pass in the examination.

Unlike the middle class parents, these parents show little involvement with respect to private tuitions and are complacent with the fact that their children go to private tuitions every day like their middle class counterparts. In other words, the practice of tutoring carried out among the working class is distinct from the middle class. These parents would strike a deal with a tutor in their locality and ask the children to go on their own to the coaching centres or private tuitions whereas the middle class parents, mostly mothers would sit throughout the day outside coaching centres or accompany their children after the tuition class. The tutors believe that the working class parents do not care about children's education and shift the whole responsibility of their education to the tutors:

I call for parent teacher meetings every month but none of the parents turn up. These poor parents do not show interest in their children's education because they toil hard to meet their ends all the day. All the responsibilities are on the tutors. (Coaching centre owner: December, 2018).

In some cases, the students themselves look out for private tuitions as their parents are out for work throughout the day. R.S. (F31) is a student of class 10 in a Hindi medium

school whose schooling decision as well as private tuition decision was made by a local ‘bhaiya’ (elder brother) who studied in the same school:

We are Hindi speaking people and that is why I am in a Hindi medium school. In our locality, there is a ‘bhaiya’ who told us about the school. When I needed a private tutor, I went to him. My brother and I avail the same tutor.

The choice of school as well as private tuitions is limited in this particular case due to his focus on his mother tongue. Although, he has managed to enrol himself in a Hindi medium school, he could not manage a tutor who explains in Hindi due to unavailability of Hindi speaking tutors in his area. Therefore, for study materials (class notes), he has to depend on school although he incurs expenditure on private tuition. Similar to choosing schools, private tuitions choice becomes mandatory as it is embedded in the culture of the city. The working class family (F12), whose two children avail private tuitions articulates the choice of private tuition as a ‘fashion’ where more private tutors would mean better marks in the examination. There is an element of social compulsion and at the same time a ‘fetish value’⁵² associated with the choice of private tuitions. In other words, there is a co-existence of investment and consumption aspects with the exercise of choice. For the working class parents, however, the aspect of ‘consumption’ is less observed as they do not have diverse range of tutors unlike the middle class parents due to their limited ‘market capacities’.

The working class children are not tied to a tightly knit routine and were mostly seen playing on the streets with their friends which Lareau (2011) calls ‘accomplishment of natural growth’. This is partly because they do not have more than one tutor for multiple subjects. Mostly, one tutor teaches all the subjects as individual tutors for each subject is not affordable given the resource constraint. In their locality, it is not difficult to find tutors who teach all the subjects and anyone who passes school examination is a potential tutor. All the working class parents interviewed resorted to this type of tutoring irrespective of their school type. There are coaching centres run by a single tutor who teach all the subjects and club all grades at one place. In A.H.’s family (F15), all the three siblings at different stage of schooling avail one coaching⁵³ (as they call it)

⁵² Drawing from Baudrillard (1970), the term emphasizes on the feature of private tuition as an object whose mere consumption renders a sense of prestige in a culture which upholds the practice of tutoring and hence has a symbolic value.

⁵³ There is presence of coaching at low cost for these families and it is convenient for them as

in the same evening batch. It is also convenient for their parents to send them to one coaching where the elder sister can accompany the two siblings to private tuitions without their parents' involvement.

The differential access to private tuitions and the segregation of families on the basis of school type and private tutor type is shown in Table 7.1. The table shows that the working class parents send their children to low fee private schools and government schools and avail low fee coaching and tuition with private tuition/coaching fee starting from Rs.450 to Rs.1500 per month which is greater than school tuition fees per month.

Table 7.1: Linking schools, families and forms of shadow

Type of schools	Range of school fees per child per month (level 9 to 10)	Type of Tutors	Range of private tuition/coaching fees per month	Family type (social class)
<i>Low fee private</i>	Rs.300- Rs.700	Low end coaching, group tuition at tutor's house	Rs.600 to Rs.3000	working class, lower middle class
<i>Government</i>	Rs.87.5 -Rs.190*	Low end coaching, home tutor (individual/group), group tuition, schoolteachers	Rs.450 to Rs.5500	working class, middle- middle class, and lower middle class.
<i>Private Aided</i>	Rs.2800- Rs.3200	Coaching (branded, medium) schoolteacher, home tutor (individual/ group)	Rs.5350- Rs.8800	middle-middle class, upper middle class
<i>Private Unaided</i>	Rs.1000 – Rs.5000	Coaching (branded, medium) schoolteacher, home tutor (individual/ group)	Rs.2500-Rs.8650	middle-middle class, upper middle class

*Government school fees are incurred yearly and the variation exists between schools in terms of miscellaneous expenditure like computer fee, maintenance fees. Coaching centres are split into three groups: low, medium and branded. Low end coaching charge tuition fees up to Rs.1000 for all subjects with one tutor teaching all the subjects. Sometimes there are two or more tutors who teach different Grades in one classroom. Medium coaching has different tutors for each subject and charges in the range of Rs.500 to Rs.1000 per subject depending on the board and Grades. Branded coaching centres charge tuition fees over a session and tutors students for high stake examination. Home tutors are of two types: a) who provide tuition in a batch (group tuition) at her house b) who provides tuition at tutee's house.

individual subject tutors will charge them more. I call these coaching as low end coaching where multiple subjects are taught by one tutor.

7.4 Stages of Choice making: Unequal Choice across families

Choice formation undergoes various stages and this process is intersected by local context, policies of the State, schooling experience, social class position and one's own disposition. Bell (2009) observes that construction of choice sets among families from different social backgrounds vary due to unequal resources at the initial stage of choice making. It is through examining choice process that one can link the market with the society. In other words, tracing the process of choice opens ground for incorporating social structure into the preference formation of parents by establishing the linkages between the economic processes (exchange/price formation) and the society. This section brings out what Hogan (1999) contends as 'endogenous preference formation' where social action is 'embedded' in culture and society. This also involves acknowledging that educational choice is an outcome of interdependencies between various social groups who construct an 'image' of themselves and distinguish themselves from 'others' through their choice. All these complexities are taken into account to understand the stages of choice. While looking at the various aspects of choice, I focus on the constraints that limit the process of choice. This involves looking at the informational constraints arising from one's own social capital or the inability to activate it, lack of economic and cultural capital and one's own 'habitus'. Sometimes these resources are gained in the process of making choice as educational choice is not a one shot game. In families with more than one child, informational source become diverse due to the experiences gained through investment on the first child. Therefore, choice formation is a dynamic process and it evolves with time in the trajectory of family decision making process. In the last section, we have observed how parents from different socio-economic backgrounds differed in their understanding of private tuitions and also differed in their family folklores on educational investment. This section is an extension of the earlier section to assess why certain choices are better than other choices or why working class choice is not as good as middle class choice. The part of the answer lies in the resources at one's disposal and their skewed distribution in the 'economic field'. Following the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3 on choice and drawing from Hossler and Galagher (1987) model, this section shows that the working class parents, despite their active participation in the private tuition market, do not go through all the phases of choice making as outlined in the model. This is due to the informational constraints arising due to the lack of social

capital. Each of the phases is different for the middle class and the working class parents. It has also been found that private tuition choice is also intricately entwined with school choice for some families either because of the supply side inducement (schoolteachers/schools) or because of the aspirations of families to achieve better. Choices made by parents also create hierarchies within the market for different subject tutors which become evident in the expenditure pattern on each subjects. A closer examination at the process of choice lays bare the diverse parallel processes which change the nature of the market and create hierarchy within the market.

7.4.1 The predisposition phase

As discussed in Chapter 3, according to Hossler and Galagher model (1987), there are three phases of choice making- predisposition, search and choice. These phases are interrelated with each other and each of these phases there is interplay of structural and individual factors which determine outcome (Bell, 2009). Each of these phases is different among the families depending on their family trajectory, class position and the distribution of capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic). Among the middle class parents, these phases are well defined in the sense that manifestation of each of these phases surfaced distinctively in their narratives. For the working class parents, search phase is narrow or absent and is largely confined to their locality. For the middle class parents, search process is an extensive one especially among the upper middle class parents with a wide range of social networks.

Among the middle class parents, predisposition phase characterizes deciding on the subjects for which tutor should be assigned instead of deciding on whether to avail tuition or not. As discussed earlier, some forms of tutoring activities are always part of the educational strategies of the middle class parents. At the lower stages of schooling, one tutor is assigned for all the subjects as a result of 'intensive parenting' discussed earlier. This phase becomes more critical at higher stages i.e. at the secondary level, when opportunity cost of time is high as the number of subjects increase. In such a situation Mathematics and English are prioritised (by 18 middle class families). The parents also start considering the type of tutors/ coaching suitable at the secondary level as it is considered to be the preparatory stage for board examination.

Upper middle class parents consider a mix of tutors tailored for a specific purpose. This involves considering two or more tutors in one subject who would serve various purposes from ‘clearing concepts’ to ‘preparing for board examination’. Such exclusive considerations are upper-middle class penchants and this ‘division of labour’ gets reflected around the time of board examination. An account of an upper middle class mother (F1) having a son and a daughter at different stages of schooling demarcates how predisposition phase varies within a family:

I started looking for tutors when my daughter got promoted to class 7. I had to Google every time to explain her concepts. I thought it would hamper her foundation of the subjects. I got a tutor who is a Jadavpur University student and she taught her till class 8. But as she is in Class 9, I thought schoolteachers would be better for my daughter. For my son (who is in class 5), I am looking for a strict tutor who could control him and give him homework. (December, 2018)

This aspect needs to be related with the purpose of tuition discussed in an earlier section. This purpose shapes the predisposition phase of choice making. The consideration of tutors is based on the assessment of the child by the parents as well as the need arising from consideration of board examination. Schoolteachers are considered the best for preparing a child for board examination because they know the pattern of examination and are question setters and/or examiners. While initially, conceptual clarification was sought from a University student tutor, importance for marks replaced the earlier tutor at higher stages. For the son, however, consideration of tutor is on a different basis i.e. to make him ‘disciplined’. Based on these preconditions, parents start the next phase of ‘search’. Such considerations are tied to the family resources and the certainty of activating such resources or networks through one’s situated context i.e. habitus. Cultural capital of the parents plays a significant role in forming preference about the type of tutors they are seeking. In this phase, preference formation takes place through the interplay of cultural capital which is embodied in the family history and habitus which is an automated response about how to act deeply ingrained in the life experiences of the families. The families also take into account the earlier experiences of tutoring while contemplating on the type of tutor:

When my daughter was in Class 8, she had an English tutor who was a schoolteacher of a school under West Bengal board. We found out that his way of teaching is different from I.C.S.E. board teachers. The way he was explaining grammar or essay writing did not tally with her school. We decided to look for a schoolteacher as a tutor who knows I.C.S.E. curriculum. (Father, F14: April, 2019).

In the earlier stages of schooling, parents therefore form an assessment about their children and the kind of tutors that would want for them. The middle class parents have a well-defined set of preferences as most of them are well versed with the curriculum of school board and it is more so in case of upper middle class parents who themselves were taught in English medium schools. They form preference on the basis of examination board of their children and look for schoolteacher-tutors who are associated with top notch schools of Kolkata. Along with this, the alternative options of coaching also become part of their consideration. They form a distinct separation of the need for each form of shadow education. For instance, schoolteachers as tutors are demanded for their experience on examination pattern, branded coaching centres are for writing mock test before the board examination for practice and retired tutors or university student tutors are for clearing concepts and to go through each chapter in greater detail. This demarcation within the different forms of shadow education emerges clearly in the practice of the middle class parents who transform this ‘customized need’ into realization of choice in the market. The diverse forms of shadow become part of the ‘consumption basket’ in the terminal stage of board examination. A close scrutiny into the predisposition phase reveals layers of consideration before the search phase begins. These layers of decision process is typical of middle class parents for whom the informal market opens up opportunities to exhibit what Ball (2003) calls “their class advantage”. The phenomenon of tutoring is therefore not necessarily the result of lack of responsibility of school alone but an urge of the middle class parents towards ‘perfection’ or what Sen (2015) pointed out as ‘first boy syndrome’. This syndrome in tandem with the desire to appear ‘distinct’ from others through choice provides an impetus to the practice of tutoring:

It is not because quality of school is poor that we are considering private tuition for our daughter but we are constantly led by the belief that our daughter will do better if we send her to private tuitions. We want perfection. (Father, F14: April, 2019).

The physics teacher we have availed for our elder daughter is a St. Xavier’s School teacher. Even Saurav Ganguly went to his tuition. (Father, F14: April, 2019).

There are two forces at play in the narrative of this upper middle class father- one is the emphasis on perfection and the other is driven by consideration for a popular tutor who serves in a reputed school. This also relates to a transition from ‘meritocracy’ to ‘parentocracy’ to borrow from Brown (1990) where we clearly observe a shift of the

narrative from the child's ability or effort to the pleasure of selecting a tutor of great reputation. These parents avail tuitions for displaying their status which is symbolic in nature.

While the upper middle class parents consider this diverse range of choice, lower middle class parents behave differently by focusing more on the trade-offs arising from investing in a child's private tuition. For all the families belonging to the lower middle class faction, this phase is marked by close consideration about the subjects on which tutors are needed. Mathematics and English tops the preference chart in most of the cases. All the families of lower middle class background (three families) in my sample considered low end to medium coaching centres because all the subject teachers are available at a lower cost. At the higher stages (Grade 10), one family (F3) considered to provide a separate home tutor for Mathematics and English three months before board examination besides coaching centre. In other words, the family considered two tutors for Mathematics and English. This consideration came at the cost of time and money as well as curtailing extra-curricular activities:

I had to stop her Karate class because of these additional tuitions. It is difficult for us to incur so much expenditure. But Madhyamik result is important. That is why I have talked to a tutor of the coaching centre to tutor her Maths and English few months before examination. (Mother, F1: December, 2018)

The tension with resources becomes more evident for the lower middle class parents as they have to curtail other expenditures and this also involves compromises on the part of mothers. In this case, the mother (F1) had to leave her job to spend her time waiting outside coaching centres. In families with more than one child these tensions are intense:

I have two children. Every time I think of considering a schoolteacher for my son, I have to also consider that I have my daughter's educational expenditure as well. (Mother, F5: February, 2019)

Families therefore strategize by considering their constraints as well, which is more visible in case of lower middle class parents with more than one child.

The working class, on the other hand, also face severe constraints because of their lack of economic capital but they consider participating in the market realizing the importance of 'good' education, although the idea of 'good' is not clear to them. This

arises from the belief that schools cannot be completely relied upon for child's education. This imagery of incompetence of the school created by the middle class also percolates down to the working class population who coupled with their inability to guide children in their education take recourse to private tuitions. In the predisposition phase, these families realize that they have to avail private tuitions but they do not distinguish between types of tutors as the middle class parents do. For the working class, this phase is characterized by consideration of a tutor who would take care of all the subjects. They are not able to form a well-meaning preference due to their own limitations arising from lack of both economic and cultural capital. The process through which the middle class especially the upper middle class and the middle middle class select a private tutor is a tortuous one which involves forming a set of criteria about the tutor. For the working class parents, expressions of their interests are not clear or rather their interests are subsumed by their lack of voice in matters of education. Whatever the reason be, they do not display their set of preferences in terms of defining the criteria of tutor/tutors:

As per my capacity, I will look for tuitions. From pre-primary my son has a private tutor who teaches all the subjects. I cannot send him to a schoolteacher who charges more for tuitions and he will not teach all the subjects. (Father, F 13: March, 2019).

In case of all the working class parents (10 families), financial constraints appear to be the major impediment to their decision making process. They mostly believe that one tutor is sufficient to teach all the subjects disregarding the fact that not every tutor has expertise in all the subjects. This belief also comes from their lack of experience on education which is apparent in their decision making process. In the context of school choice, Reay (1997) pointed out that the working class parents have reluctance to choose popular schools in fear of rejections. Similarly, while choosing private tutors, they have a tendency to consider tutors with whom they can strike a deal in their own terms.

7.4.2 The Search Phase: 'Overt' Choice through 'covert' means

During the search phase, the parents who have formed a set of criteria about the tutors and coaching centres appropriate their resources to find tutors who match those criteria. This is a very crucial phase for the middle class parents who have rich social capital through which they gather information about tutors or coaching centres. The knowledge

of the existence of various modes is also pertinent to facilitate the search for tutors. Middle class mothers have a close network which provides them with a 'social closure' to use Weberian analogy defining 'status groups'. As the market is informal, information on tutors are not readily available. Middle class parents capitalise on the informational asymmetry to remain 'exclusive' in their choice. Information on tutors flow through their close networks but does not go out of it. But within the middle class parents, there are various groups based on the performance of their children in school examinations. The hierarchy based on performance of their children results in formation of groups among parents which is another typical middle class character:

My daughter does not go to the tutors where first girl of her class goes. We do not know about her tuitions as she does not reveal information. But since her father is a University Professor, he must have good connections which we do not have. (Father, F14: February, 2019)

Can you (pointing to the researcher) see these mothers? Their children are all rank holders in the class. They do not even look at us as our children do not perform well. Extracting information about tutors is difficult. If you ask them, they will say they do not avail tuitions but that is not true. (Field notes, December, 2018)

There are some mothers who will never disclose where they send their children for tuitions. They say that they look after their children's education themselves. I wondered how these students perform so well without private tuitions. Then suddenly, I find them in a private tutor's house where I go to enrol my child. The information about the tutor came to me much later through my friends whose children are in a different school. (Mother, F8: March, 2019)

Parents are more competitive than their wards. They think sharing information about tutors would leave their children behind. (Mother, F6: December, 2018)

These narratives indicate tendency of middle class parents to conceal information in order to maintain exclusion which is also related to middle class anxiety of performance. These ways of excluding others (both their kind and working class parents) is propelled by the pursuit of excellence which can be achieved at the cost of others. Instead of considering that educational achievement is a function of child's ability and effort, there is an increasing reliance on the supply side factors i.e. good tutors. Sharing information is considered to be detrimental to the child's path of success as tutor's attention would be divided and the child will no longer get the exclusive attention of the tutor if number of tutees increase.

During the course of my fieldwork, some parents did not open up about tutors because they thought sharing about their tutors to the researcher would be overheard by other

parents. This cautious behaviour is also because the parents send their wards to schoolteachers' tuition centres. While some parents kept themselves at bay, some parents approached me after they could sense the possibility of extracting information about tutors from the researcher. Two of the parents interviewed have even requested to give them the list of tutors that I have interviewed. These means adopted by the parents are clear reflection of how information is made costly by them. These frictions in the market owing to overpriced information have led parents to consider various means. The bounded rationality (Simon, 1972) of parents limits them to consider all the options; not to mention informational constraints which are constituted by parents themselves. Due to these considerations, the search phase is mired in difficulties.

There are various modes of gathering information which are mainly through one's group of friends, relatives, newspapers, senior students, signboards, pamphlets and tutor's bureaus. As secrecy on information is a common experience of all the middle class parents, they adopt various mechanisms other than their own peer groups at times. Some parents (16 parents) stated that senior students who passed out from the school were very helpful in sharing information about tutors. Middle class parents choose from multiple information sources. The tutor's bureaus which connect tutors with parents are also in demand for providing information on tutors against commission fees. Two of the upper middle class parents (F1, F14) considered tutors through this medium. Information therefore comes at a cost when one cannot rely on their social ties for gaining information. It is interesting to note that tutors through social networks become popular through word of mouth and hence transaction cost is less in this case where parents do not need to evaluate the tutors on the basis of their qualification. This becomes important when information on tutors is obtained from Teachers Bureaus. In such a case parents interview the tutors in the search phase because they doubt the quality of tutors sent from the Teachers Bureau. During this process of search, they look for tutors who would match their perception of a good tutor. I chanced upon this process of selection where an upper middle class mother was interviewing a tutor at her house:

Mother: Please tell me about your schooling. Which school did you go?

Tutor: I went to National Modern School for girls and I am pursuing English honours from Bhawanipur College.

Mother: How many days a week can you come for tutoring?

Tutor: Shikkhani (Tutor's bureau) asked me to tutor four days a week but I also have to go for my undergraduate tuitions in Salt Lake. At last I agreed to their demand. So I will tutor him (the student) four days a week.

Mother: Are you comfortable to teach Hindi?

Tutor: Yes. I had Hindi in school.

Mother: My son has a problem with Hindi. You have to focus on his writing in Hindi. Make him read each chapter thoroughly line by line even if it is not in the syllabus. Their syllabus is difficult. If you can handle a student of Garden High School, you will be able to handle any student. Make him practice Maths every day.

Now, tell me about your remuneration.

Tutor: From Shikkhani, they asked me to charge Rs.2000 since I am going to tutor him four days a week.

Mother: You do not have to come four days a week. Instead, come three days a week and since he already has Maths coaching, you do not need to explain him problems in Maths. Now, tell me how much you are going to charge.

Tutor: Rs.2200.

Mother: But as you said Shikshani told you to charge Rs.2000. Why additional Rs.200?

Tutor: This is for my conveyance. Aunty, Shikkhani will take half of my tuition fees for two months. I will not have enough money.

Mother: I know. I also got my tuitions from Shikkhani at one point of time. You should go to another Teachers Bureau, Mr. Saha. You may strike a good deal with him but do not tell this to Shikkhani. Anyway, I will pay you Rs.2000. I do not have any option as his final examination is round the corner.

(Field notes, December, 2018)

The conversations point out the expectations of a parent and how those transpire into negotiations in the market. The intermediaries in the name of Teachers Bureaus, which are scattered in every corner of the city provide not only information on tutor but make it easier for parents to skip the search process. As argued earlier, upper middle class

parents have explicit sense of what they want from the tutor and this gets reflected in the conversations between the mother and the tutor i.e. the mother dictates as to how the tutor would carry out day to day teaching activities.

It is important to bear in mind that the source of information, nature of information and access to information are distributed unequally across different classes. Middle middle class and the upper middle class are aware of most of the sources from which they could gather information. Information on Teachers Bureaus is advertised on various local newspapers which are known to the upper middle class and middle middle class parents by dint of their cultural capital. Although the information about Teachers Bureau is known to middle middle income parents, they do not actively consider this option as the upper middle class parents. It is because there is rhetoric among these sections that the Teachers Bureaus charge more or asks the tutors to charge more so that they can draw more commission. The dependence on Teachers Bureaus for information is mostly observed in families with both the parents working. Middle class mothers who spend most of their time outside schools are able to gain information from their group. The opportunity cost of time in gathering information is more for these mothers as they have to withdraw themselves from household chores and spend time outside schools. On the other hand, the upper middle class working mothers incur direct cost i.e. paying Teachers Bureaus to seek information.

Information asymmetry is a striking feature of an informal market and there is a tension among various stakeholders to gain information. While the tutors want their information to reach everyone (to be discussed in Chapter 8) to lure ‘customers’, there is an attempt by parents to hide information to their own advantage. Sometimes, the children are also prohibited from sharing any information on tutors:

We, mothers decide on tutors together. But sometimes there is a tendency of some mothers to conceal information when they recruit two tutors for some subjects. The second tutor is a home tutor who tutors at home and the first tutor is in coaching or a schoolteacher. It is easy to hide information on home tutor who individually tutors the child. This happened in our group. Garima’s mother (pseudonym) is a close friend but she hides the fact that she has a second tutor in Maths. Garima told my daughter about it. Later when I asked about the tutor, she told he does not teach well. (Mother, F8, February, 2019)

While apparently the decision making is collective in nature, there is a tendency to deflect from the usual decision making process in pursuit of outpacing others. This

unhealthy competitive spirit often gets ingrained as values in children who also tread the path of individualism. The search phase of choice making process reflects how information is a powerful tool to exclude others across and within social groups. It depicts a power struggle within the group for possessing information which otherwise seems 'out there' but acquisition requires utilising one's resources and time. It is pertinent to mention that some information is also tailored for certain groups excluding others. The owner of a Teachers Bureau excludes West Bengal board students from the 'client list' because Bengali medium students are not ready to spend more on tutors and hence it is less profitable (Chapter 8). Interestingly, middle class parents in my sample (6 families), whose wards are enrolled in government schools are not aware of the existence of Teachers Bureaus. Therefore, information is also selective due to supply side factors targeting only well off parents or students of certain boards (I.C.S.E and C.B.S.E).

Variations in collecting information on tutors is absent among the working class parents. The sources from which they gather information are: relatives, children's' friends and neighbours. They exhibit increasing reliance on the locality for gathering information. Locality renders them more confidence in gaining information where these familiar spaces are sources of comfort. The preference for tutors is largely influenced by their idea of space which is localised and confined to neighbourhood in the notion of 'para'⁵⁴. While the middle class parents interviewed were also part of the same *para*, they do not fall back on the *para* entirely for the purpose of gathering information. For the working class, however, their *para* made the process of gathering information easier. There are folklores about some *dada* (commonly used in Bengali to address elder brother) in the neighbourhood who were known for their strict ways of tutoring students which involves beating up students if they fail to produce home works. Some of the tutors are popularly called by Ghontu Da, Abhishek Da etc. for their unique way of tutoring. Information about them is easy as people talk about them more often:

Ghontu Da is a popular tutor in our *para*. He is very strict and beats up students if they do not study. (Student, F15: January, 2019).

⁵⁴ Para is a Bengali term to roughly describe neighbourhood with a strong sense of belongingness to a community or shared relationships (Sengupta, 2018).

We have many tutors in our *para*. We do not have to go elsewhere for tutors (Mother, F11: December, 2018).

There are two specific zones of familiar space- one which is physical i.e. the physical boundary of *para* and the other is a connection inherent in the meaning of *dada* which renders a sense of familial ties with the tutor. Working class parents are in search for those types of tutor with whom their children would feel comfortable.

This is however also present among the lower middle class parents which indicate that the boundary between lower middle class and working class is porous. The ways of gaining information among the lower middle class parents also has traces of the working class ways:

I always look for tutors in my *para* as I cannot send my children to different neighbourhoods for tuitions. It is also not possible for me to accompany them (Mother, F5: March, 2019)

There is a transition in demand from a local tutor or *para's dada* to professional tutors (schoolteachers) among the upper middle class and middle middle class parents. While working class parents and some lower middle class parents rely on *para* in search of tutors, the upper middle class and the middle middle class parents look for information of more 'professional' tutors. The term has various meanings that reflect the shift in the idea of a tutor which has changed from *para's dada* to a more sophisticated version:

I am looking for a tutor in Physics. I want someone who is more professional i.e. more experienced. University students are not good tutors. They are not professional. They look at the mobile phone all the time and are not serious enough. (Father, F2: February, 2019)

Interestingly, these parents were tutored by *para's dada* in their school days. There is, thus, a temporal dimension to the idea of *dada* as tutors. Two of the parents interviewed (F2, F3) recollected that a tutor, someone from the *para* used to tutor all the siblings together when they were children. Satya Da's coaching was very popular at that time. The image of Satya Da as a strict tutor with cane is collectively remembered by earlier generations as discussed by a respondent. As the demand for education changed, the image of *dada* as tutor has also undergone transformation in search of technology based sophisticated tools of learning. Therefore, the nature of information that middle class parent (except lower middle class) seeks is different from the working class parents which is based on their resources.

Teachers Bureaus remarked that these days' parents have become very finicky about tutors. They have failed to provide tutors according to the expectation of the parents as well as the students. The reason is not entirely academic but related to how 'presentable' a tutor is:

I do not know what the parents want these days. I think we have to manufacture tutors for them. For a class 11 student, I sent a tutor who is a PhD Scholar. They interviewed him and did not like him because his get up was not good. (Teachers Bureau 1, December, 2018)

This remark suggests how the process of choosing tutor has undergone a complete shift towards the desire for a more readymade and customized tutor and *commodification* of the profession of teaching. This replacement of *dada* as tutor is visible as parents thwart the traditional culture of private tutoring for want of sophistication which can also be tied to the changing educational landscape. The tutors, who speak fluently in English, appear more enterprising and have soft skills, are sought after to match the experiences of English medium schools in which their wards are enrolled. At the same time, the lower middle class and the working class population at large are mostly left with the local tutors to depend on. We therefore find a reflection of differences not only in terms of source of information but also in the nature of information that is sought after. The next section brings out how the information gained in the search phase is processed and gets manifested as choice.

7.4.3 Choice: Hierarchy, differentiation and Outcome

It is needless to mention that the ultimate choice of tutors by different social groups ought to be different as the paths or trajectory of these families is different. By focusing on the outcome in terms of the type of tutors finally chosen by these families, one can trace hierarchy in the market based on social differentiation (Table 7.1). As argued earlier, it is not the parents only who choose tutors/coaching, but also the providers (some Teachers Bureaus) who are responsible for market segmentation. They sometimes restrict themselves to more closed group of students from English medium schools to extract profit rather than serving a broad clientele (see, Chapter 8). Parents pointed out that some tutors choose students on the basis of school board (I.C.S.E./C.B.S.E/W.B.S.E), brand name of school, medium of instruction in school and performance in a test conducted by the tutors at the entry level. Reputed tutors also do not go beyond a certain capacity of intake:

I came to know about an English tutor. One has to make entries of name of wards three months before the session starts. It is on first cum first basis. He does not take students after the session starts or after the batch is full with 35 students. (Mother, F18: April, 2019)

The interview suggests how providers in the market also maintain hierarchy through selection process and increase the price of their ‘product’. The final choice of tutors is therefore a matching game where parents with material and symbolic resources with their expectations meet the providers with their ‘screening mechanism’.

Table 7.2: Hierarchical choice of subjects in the market (board wise)

Subjects	Board		
	I.C.S.E	C.B.S.E	W.B.S.E
Mathematics	Rs.500- 3000	Rs.400- Rs.3000	Rs.150- Rs.1500
English	Rs.500- 2200	Rs.400- Rs.2200	Rs.90- Rs.1250
Physics	Rs.250- 2200	Rs.400- Rs.1500	Rs.90- Rs.1000
Chemistry	Rs.250-Rs.1200	Rs.350- Rs.1000	Rs.90-Rs.750
Biology	Rs.300-Rs.1000	Rs.300-Rs.900	Rs.90- Rs.600
History	Rs.250-Rs.500	Rs.250- Rs.600	Rs.150- Rs.350
Geography	Rs.250-Rs.500	Rs.250- Rs.600	Rs.150- Rs.350
Bengali	Rs.250-Rs.600	Rs.300-Rs.800	Rs.150- Rs.600
Computer	Rs.250- Rs.500	Rs.250- Rs.500	Rs.250- Rs.500
Hindi	Rs.300- Rs.600	Rs.400- Rs.600	Rs.90*

Note: For certain students (working class), segregation of subjects by expenditure is difficult as all the subjects were taught together against a consolidated amount. In such a case, the consolidated expenditure is divided by number of subjects taught in coaching/tuition to obtain an estimate of fees in each subject.

*Only one child found in this category

In the process of making choice, hierarchy and differentiation is further reinstated as a spill over effect in other dimensions. There is subject wise hierarchy based on the perception of parents shaped by the future expectation of getting into the labour market. For instance, Mathematics and English emerge as the most important subjects in the pyramid of hierarchy. Therefore, one finds tutors in these subjects at an early age, beginning from the primary level. All the students in the sample had tutors for these two subjects. All the competitive job examinations after graduation are based on English proficiency and quantitative skills which spurred the demand for these subjects at the foundational stage i.e. schools. There are some parents who invest in order to see their children in professional fields like Engineering and Medical for which Mathematics is indispensable. The hierarchy of these subjects are assessed not only in terms of the percentage of students who avail tuitions in these subjects but also in terms

of fees charged at the same level of education. In Table 7.2, I present subject wise difference in expenditure (in range) for different boards based on a sample of 113 students of 10th Grade.

Parents at the highest end of the fee range have two tutors in Mathematics and English. The tuition fees vary depending on various factors one of which is medium of instruction. Within the same board, West Bengal board of Secondary Education (W.B.S.E), Bengali medium students pay less for the same subject as compared to their English medium counterparts. For instance, in English, a Bengali medium student pays on an average Rs.500 while for an English medium student, it is Rs. 1000 or above. Table 7.2 suggests two types of hierarchy: one is board wise and the other is based on subjects of private tuition. All of 113 students took private tuitions in Mathematics and English. But the tuition fees paid differed, depending on the examination board. For the two boards, I.C.S.E. and C.B.S.E, the range of fees is more or less similar but the huge difference in the fees paid within the same board suggests that the market is segmented with different types of providers. In Mathematics, one can find a student paying Rs.400 and also find another student paying Rs.3000. As the data is collected from same location, this is interesting to note that within the same location, differentiation in terms of affordability exists as the providers are of different types. A nuanced understanding of the process of choice suggests that this difference is based on whether a tutor goes to tutee's house or the tutee goes to tutor's house for private tuition. The amount varies depending on the place where the service is provided as the tutors also take into account transport cost as well as the time sacrificed in commuting.

7.5 Choice within the families: Family strategies and education of girls

Families in the neighbourhood assigned a great deal of importance to the education of children irrespective of their gender. For each of the families, investment in both school education and private tuition is mandatory. In order to understand how social class and gender intersect in the choice of private tuition within the families, I have made an attempt to gain the perspective of the families on girls' education. As argued earlier, private tuition as a strategy serves different purposes depending on the family educational trajectory based on their social positioning. Addressing the issue of gender further complicates the purpose of tutoring across different social classes as the goal of

education differs between girls and boys in a patrilocal society, where women live with their in laws. Therefore, investment in education is expected to be less for girls as the return does not accrue to the girl's family. However, as highlighted in Chapter 6, we find intrahousehold disparity in favour of girls in private tuition investment which presents a contradictory picture to the general perception of gender bias against girls in education. A closer examination into how families perceive education of girls can shed light on this puzzle of gender bias in West Bengal.

The families informed that education for girls is important for long term prospects related to better employment opportunities, child rearing, getting a good family for marriage and for earning respect in husband's family. These considerations differ by social class. A noteworthy observation that emerged from the interviews is how the working class parents view education of their daughters. In four of the working class families, the mothers had passed 6th grade and had to discontinue their studies due to marriage. However, they informed that they want their daughters to graduate and fetch a job. Contrary to the perception that the working class parents do not value girl's education, it has been observed that they assign greater weightage to girl's education not only for better marriage prospects but also for employment opportunities. This consideration is also tied to the vulnerability and helplessness that the mothers faced due to dropping out of schools. These mothers work as domestic help and hope to break the shackle of being destitute through investing in their daughters' education. A mother of two girl children belong to the scheduled caste category remarked on her daughters' education:

I do not want to marry off my daughters at an early age even if the marriage prospect is better. I had to leave school after Class 6 because of my marriage and now I am working as a domestic help. I do not want my daughters to choose what I am doing. This is the reason we are making every effort to send them to good private tuitions within our capacity, as we cannot afford private schools. I want my daughters to complete bachelor's degree. (F15: January, 2019)

The importance of girls' education is driven by the unfulfilled dreams of the mothers for better life outcomes, which they think education could have helped them in achieving. This is not restricted to the hope of getting jobs in the future but also driven by an aspiration of being respected in the society or in husband's family. This is reiterated by a rickshaw puller with three daughters:

We are blind because we could not see the light of education. We were fooled by many people. I want my daughters to see the light so that they can take decisions for themselves. Education will also help them to be independent and not be dependent on husbands. (F26: November, 2018).

The comparison that the father draws between education and light strongly brings out how working class parents view education as an end in itself. However, the narratives of these parents also point out that education provides a strong ground for negotiations and decision making for the daughters after marriage. As pointed out by the father (F26), daughters ‘can take their own decisions’. This sense of self dependence and dignity is what education can make possible, for which investment is necessary. The father looks for different avenues to help the daughters as he is limited by his capital and habitus. It is interesting to note that the parents are aware about their lack of cultural capital, as he mentioned:

We cannot provide our children with the appropriate environment of studies. Our locality is not good. You will find girls roaming around with boys, bunking schools. At home, we do not talk about studies or books as we are not educated. (F26: November, 2018).

This narrative of the father demonstrates a strong willingness to appear ‘distinct’ from others by focusing more on the educational investment of his daughters but the structural constraints such as ‘conversation about studies at home’ or their lack of cultural capital are acting as barriers. One of the ways adopted by the father to overcome his limitations is through television which helps him to identify guide books for his elder daughter who is appearing for class 10 board examination. Apart from this strategy, he extracts information about good schools and private tutors from the passengers in his rickshaw.

Investment in private tuition is another channel to achieve social mobility apart from investment in schooling. Parents who assign importance to girls’ education are likely to conform to the culture of tutoring which is a compulsory investment in West Bengal, given the inelastic nature of the demand for tutoring (Chapter 5). As argued earlier, for the working class parents, the tutors are required for additional help as the parents cannot guide their wards in preparing their lessons. However, private tuition is also a compensatory strategy for the choice of school. The working class parents, whose daughters are in government schools (2 families), feel that government schools are not good enough for children due to which they look for good tutors. These families believe

that schoolteachers of reputed government schools are good tutors and they aspire to send their children to schoolteachers. This strategy of availing schoolteachers as tutors become more relevant at the higher stages of schooling when board examination is round the corner. Some are able to strike a deal with the schoolteacher-tutors through negotiations and some fail:

I wanted to enrol Jyoti (pseudonym) in an English medium school but I could not as these private schools are expensive. So I started searching for reputed government schools in our locality. Due to the lottery system, we did not get a school of our choice. But we have managed to find a schoolteacher in English who is from a well known school in the area. (F26: November, 2018).

Schoolteachers of reputed schools are very popular tutors in the area. But they charge high. We wished to send Ankita (pseudonym) to one of the teachers but for one subject the fee is high and we could not afford the teacher. I have three children and I cannot spend a huge amount on one. (F15: April, 2019).

The type of tutors vary depending on the negotiations within the family where there are two or more school going children. Often, the consideration of sending an elder daughter to a particular tutor is influenced by the fact that the daughter can monitor the younger siblings. In one of the families (Family 15), the younger daughter was sent to the same tuition centre as the elder daughter so that the elder daughter can accompany her. Therefore, decisions about the type of tutors are sometimes taken out of concerns of safety for girls.

The consideration about private tuition or type of tutors differs if a family has children with different sex. In Mr. Roy's family (F12), there are two school going children; the boy studies in Class 9 and the girl is in Class 8. The family maintains that they have high hope for their girl child and therefore, they did not think twice before shifting the child from a government school to an English medium private school as the former school 'did not have any examination system till Class 8'. The no detention policy under RTE, 2009 where a child cannot be failed by the school till the secondary level has often misled parents into thinking that evaluation is not in place. The head of the family believes that the pressure of examination incentivize children to learn. Till Class 4, his daughter was in a government school and then they shifted her to a private school run by an NGO. Since then, the daughter has been performing well in studies and has been

able to secure a position in the class. The parents informed that their daughter is a bright student and therefore, they would like to give every opportunity to make her career:

We do not make any distinction between our daughter and our son. Surajit (the son) was performing well at the primary level but as he was promoted to higher grades, he is just passing the examination. Our daughter stands first in her class and her headmiss insisted that we send her to a tutor so that she maintains her performance in the class. We spend Rs. 1800 on our son's coaching and Rs. 1000 on our daughter's private tuition. (Father, F12: March, 2019).

As the son is at a higher stage of schooling, the family spends more on son's coaching where he is taught all the subjects by different tutors. On the other hand, the daughter goes to a single private tutor, who tutors all the subjects. It is interesting to note that the narrative of 'keeping the daughters busy so that they are not influenced by other girls in the locality' is a recurrent theme that emerged in the discussion with the working class parents. At one hand, the locality provides them with the comfort of familiarity in terms of searching for tutors and at the same time, it houses insecurity for the daughters. There is a strong desire to appear different by investing in the girl child to earn respect which is quite similar to the dominant strategies of the middle class parents. Working class families with one child are often found to invest more in a child irrespective of the gender of the child. It is not entirely because of less financial constraints owing to one child but this is also guided by the possibilities of old age support if that child reaches a desirable position.

In the lower middle class families, the narrative are quite similar to the working class parents. Howladar family (F3) has one school going daughter named Mohua. They belong to the scheduled caste category but the family asserted on how 'different' they are from other scheduled castes viz., 'bagdi' dwelling in the same locality. Mrs. Howladar's emphasis on the attention that she gives on her daughter's education unlike others residing in the same area brought out the difference in her 'status' with other castes. As Mohua is about to appear for the board examination (tenth standard), she is enrolled in a coaching centre where all the subjects are taught by different tutors. The family has a meagre income of Rs. 12000 with Mr. Howladar being the only earning member of the three member family. He has a small clock shop which is not sufficient to fetch him enough earnings. Therefore, he rented out one of his rooms and used the money in providing private tutors for his daughter. As Mohua goes to a government school, her school fees are affordable but private tuition fees are higher (Rs. 3000 per

month) than the government school fees (Rs. 1050 per year). For subjects like English and Maths, she has more than one tutor. Her mother had a preference for private school for her daughter which they could not afford because of high donation fees that the private schools ask for. Therefore, government school was the last resort but they have made an attempt to compensate for the perceived lack of quality by providing tuition. Huge investment on education on their daughter points towards their high aspiration about their daughter. This comes out sharply from the end of the daughter as well who fills the walls of her room with Mathematics formulae so that the first thing she would notice in the morning are those formulae. Her mother always reminded of the sacrifices that she made for her quality education by drawing comparison with other households in the locality who according to her lack the desire to educate daughters. For her, girls' education is important because girls are not 'fit' to do certain physical work (menial jobs) which boys can do easily. Also, with education comes prestige and respect in the society and within the family.

This demarcation that the families make between 'what a son can do' and daughter cannot is an interesting way of examining the motive of investing in girl's education. Drury (1993) pointed out that girl's education is a dowry in the marriage market which is valued over economic capital. Apart from marriage concerns, the families also carve out the career path of the daughters. Schoolteacher is the most desirable profession for women is what the families suggest as women can handle family chores as well as their work simultaneously. There is a strong belief among all the families that investment in girls' education is important and this education will help not only her, but her children as well in the future.

Koley family (F2), belonging to the middle class faction of the class schema, provided a different perspective on girl's education. They are a family of four members living in an apartment in the same locality as the Howladar family. Mr. Koley is a postmaster by profession who moved in the locality from Howrah few years back. His elder daughter is in the first year of college while his son is in the seventh standard in an English medium school. My association with the family has been for long as I interviewed them for a project when their daughter was in her 9th standard in a government school. Choice of school of the first child is always difficult and complicated. It is more so when the locality is not known. As Mr. Koley gained experience on her daughter's education

with time, his son landed up in a kindergarten school. As in any other middle class family, Koley family realized that it is mandatory to send the son to an English medium school. For the daughter, he provided tutors for each subjects in both Madhyamik (Secondary board) and Ucha Madhyamik (Higher secondary board examination) to make up for the loss as she was in a government school. It is interesting to note that the family wanted their daughter to be in an English medium school but their preference for girl's school for their daughter was overriding. As there are very few convent schools, they could not enroll her to one. Therefore, government school was chosen and more private tuitions were provided for the daughter. The preference for single sex education has also been reflected in the conversation with other middle class families. Also, Koley family emphasized on marriage as one of the reasons for educating their daughter which is linked to the 'making of committed mothers' for child rearing as pointed out by Donner (2016). This also supports our results in Chapter 6 where girls in the age group 15-20 are more likely to avail private tuition than boys within the household.

In nuclear families, the demand for private tuition is expected to be high so as to keep the children engaged when parents are away at work. In such a situation, parents are more concerned about the girl child and her 'safety' in which case they prefer sending her to private tuition irrespective of school's quality. Thus, the alternative arrangement of education in the form of private tuition ensures that parents are able to exercise choice in relation to girl's 'quality' education.

In the process of searching for good tutors, mother's role emerges sharply during the course of the fieldwork. The children were found to be accompanied by mothers in both tuition and schools. They were many middle class mothers who left their jobs to look after their children's education. As private tuition has become important, mothers need to devote more time in searching for tuition and waiting outside tuition centres thus making them work more.

7.6 Conclusion

The question of choice discussed in the earlier sections highlighted many aspects of choice making which involves structural constraints arising out of one's social class as well as the compulsion of choosing tutors induced by the schooling system. Therefore,

the exercise of examining the black box of choice raises questions on whether the parents are 'choosing' or is it a mere response to the culture of tutoring in the city. Choices play out differently across families with different social class and within the same class faction. This shows how negotiations between parents and schools take place and how these negotiations lead to the choice of private tuition. This choice is no longer a choice in some cases as elements of coercion exist. On the other hand, there are parents who participate in the market as 'consumers' choosing tutors on the basis of various attributes by consciously engaging in choice. These varying degrees of choice in this market also mean how differentiation is carried out in the market which is hierarchical in nature. Decisions taken are also a response to the changing market where a parent makes an attempt to fit into the larger narrative of providing best education to his/her children. But since opportunities are not equal and distribution of resources is uneven, choice set of parents vary depending upon the social position. The choice set of the middle class parents are more diverse with different types of tutors than the choice set of working class parents. As there are informational constraints, social networks and sometimes tutors' bureaus become means to gather information among the parents. There too, access to information also becomes limited for some parents due to lack of 'rich' social networks or due to their lack of knowledge about various sources or platforms which provide tutors. Therefore, the choices made are also unequal in the private tuition market which resonates with Bell's (2009) argument in the context of school choice in the U.S. This process is even made difficult as some parents in the search process conceal information on tutors from other parents. These dynamics yield a complex picture where social hierarchy is maintained through the practice of private tuition. Board wise and subject wise hierarchy is also shown in the Chapter indicating how private tuition fees of a particular subject varies in Bengali medium and English medium establishing the dominance of English as a language.

Appendix 7

Figure A7.1: Timetable of Mock Test conducted by PathFinder in a School of Ward A

PATHFINDER Where Aspiration Meets Success		
H S MOCK TEST RUTINE 2018 -2019		
MOCK TEST : I		
DATE	DAY	SUBJECT
12.12.2018	WEDNESDAY	PHYSICS / NUTRITION
13.12.2018	THURSDAY	STATISTICS / GEOGRAPHY
14.12.2018	FRIDAY	CHEMISTRY / ECONOMICS
17.12.2018	MONDAY	MATHEMATICS / PSYCHOLOGY
18.12.2018	TUESDAY	BENGALI(A) / HINDI (A) ENGLISH (A)
19.12.2018	WEDNESDAY	BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES
20.12.2018	THURSDAY	ENGLISH (B)
21.12.2018	FRIDAY	COM. SC / M. COMP . APP / ENVIROMENTAL STUDIES
MOCK TEST : II		
DATE	DAY	SUBJECT
14.01.2019	MONDAY	PHYSICS / NUTRITION
15.01.2019	TUESDAY	ENGLISH (B)
16.01.2019	WEDNESDAY	CHEMISTRY / ECONOMICS
17.01.2019	THURSDAY	BENGALI(A) / HINDI (A) ENGLISH (A)
18.01.2019	FRIDAY	MATHEMATICS / PSYCHOLOGY
21.01.2019	MONDAY	BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES
22.01.2019	TUESDAY	COM. SC / M. COMP . APP / ENVIROMENTAL STUDIES
23.01.2019	WEDNESDAY	STATISTICS / GEOGRAPHY

Picture taken in December, 2018

Figure A7.2: Private Tuition within School



Picture taken in December, 2018

Table A7.1: Select Characteristics of the families with one or more school going children (December 2018-June 2019)

Family (F)	Monthly expenditure	Education		Occupation		Caste	Social class	Religion	Type of school of child/children	Education expenditure (Total)
		Father	Mother	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation					
Family 1 (F1)	Rs.90,000	Post Grad.	Post Grad.	Manager	Tutor	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school (I.C.S.E.)	Rs.40,000 (2 children)
Family 2 (F2)	Rs.60,000	Post Grad.	Graduate	Post Master	Housewife	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.6000 (1 child)
Family 3 (F3)	Rs.12,000	H.S	Secondary	Small Business	Housewife	SC	Lower middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.4191 (1 child)
Family 4 (F4)	Rs.70,000	Post Grad.	Graduate	Manager (Food corp.)	Teacher	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.11800 (1 child)
Family 5 (F5)	Rs.12,000	Both are Graduates		Small shop	Tailor	General	Lower middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.2100 (2 children)
Family 6 (F6)	Rs.25,000	Both are Graduates		Business	Anganwadi worker	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.9200 (1 child)
Family 7 (F7)	Rs.35,000	Both are Graduates		Engineer	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private school (convent)	Rs.12700 (1 child)
Family 8 (F8)	Rs.30,000	Both are Graduates		Business	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private school (convent)	Rs.12400 (1 child)
Family 9 (F9)	Rs.70,000	Both are Post graduates		HR Manager	Junior Accountant	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.13600 (1 child)
Family10 (F10)	Rs.25,000	Both are Graduates		Bank	Clerical service	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.3183 (1 child)
Family11 (F11)	Rs.6000	Did not go to school		Construction worker	Housewife	SC	Working class	Hindu	Low fee private school	Rs.1700 (1 child)

Family12 (F12)	Rs.9000	Both studied till 8 th grade		Electrician	Maid	General	Working class	Hindu	Low fee private school	Rs.4500 (2 children)
Family13 (F13)	Rs.8000	Secondary	Passed 8 th grade	Auto driver	Maid	SC	Working class	Hindu	Government school	Rs.950 (1 child)
Family14 (F14)	Rs.50,000	Post Graduate	Graduate	Doctor	Primary schoolteacher	General	Upper middle	Muslim	Private school	Rs.24300 (2 children)
Family15 (F15)	Rs.9,000	Passed 4 th grade	Passed 6 th grade	Chef in a restaurant aid	Maid	SC	Working class	Hindu	Government school	Rs.4000 (3 children)
Family16 (F16)	Rs.25,000	Passed Secondary	Graduate	Private company employee	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.2150 (1 child)
Family17 (F17)	Rs.20,000	Passed 8 th grade	Passed 6 th grade	Driver	Tailor	SC	Lower-middle	Hindu	Low fee private	Rs.6000 (2 children)
Family18 (F18)	Rs.40,000	Graduate	Graduate	Business (sale of ACs)	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.12600 (1 child)
Family 19 (F19)	Rs.10,000	...	Passed 10 th	Not living	Nurse	SC	Lower middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.2300 (2 children)
Family 20 (F20)	Rs.12,000	Graduate	Passed 12 th	Tutor	Tutor	SC	Lower middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.2000 (1 child)
Family 21 (F21)	Rs.10,000	Graduate	Passed 12 th	Clerical service	Housewife	General	Lower middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.3343 (1 child)
Family 22 (F22)	Rs.20,000	Graduate	Passed 12 th	Business (medicine shop)	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.6100 (1 child)
Family 23 (F23)	Rs.15,000	Graduate	Graduate	Government service (police constable)	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.5600 (1 child)
Family 24 (F24)	Rs.20,000	Graduate	Graduate	Business	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Government school	Rs.6850 (1 child)
Family 25 (F25)	Rs.15,000	Graduate	Passed 10 th	Service (clerical)	Housewife	General	Middle-middle	Hindu	Private School	Rs.10500 (1 child)

Family 26 (F26)	Rs.10,000	Passed 4 th grade	Passed 4 th grade	Rickshaw puller	maid	General	Working class	Hindu	Government school	5000 (3 children)
Family 27 (F27)	Rs.50,000	Post graduate	Graduate	Business	Housewife	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.7600 (1 child)
Family 28 (F28)	Rs.46000	Post graduate	Post Graduate	Engineer	Housewife	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.22600 (2 children)
Family 29 (F29)	Rs.50,000	PhD	PhD	Professor	Professor	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.22000 (2 children)
Family 30 (F30)	Rs.45,000	Post graduate	Graduate	Bank Manager	Housewife	General	Upper middle	Hindu	Private school	Rs.7000 (1 child)
Family 31 (F31)	Rs.6000	Not literate	Passed grade 4	Carpenter	Sell packets	OBC	Working class	Hindu	Government school (Hindi medium)	Rs.1000 (2 children)

CHAPTER 8: Market dynamics: Situating the Providers in the Private Tuition Market

8.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to situate the providers within the context of the emerging shadow education market. As argued earlier, private tuition is a form of the shadow and its linkages with other market forms, such as, coaching centres and Teacher Bureaus can be understood by analyzing the motivations and the strategies of the tutors. In other words, this chapter seeks to understand market dynamics by positioning the tutors in the hierarchical market and attempts to analyse as to what factors contribute to this hierarchy. By drawing on the theoretical perspectives developed in Chapter 3, this chapter establishes the linkages and modalities through which the market functions. The all-pervading nature of the market, when understood from the supply side motivations or inducements opens up various knots and intermeshing structures which are not readily visible. This chapter is an attempt to bring forth such structures which foster or legitimizes the existence of the market for private tutoring. Before delving into the processes or motivations of different actors in the shadow education market, I present characteristics of tutors from NSS 68th Round (2011-12) data on Employment and Unemployment survey in West Bengal. It involves looking at various dimensions like socioeconomic background, gender, caste and household characteristics and age of the tutors. The providers are divided into two types based on tutoring as principal activity and subsidiary activity. The identification of the broad patterns emerging from the descriptive statistics set the stage for further analysis through qualitative data gathered from various parts of Kolkata and North 24 Parganas. I trace the motivations of different types of tutors and their survival strategies in the market which depicts that market relations are not necessarily competitive but the market also fosters through collaboration. The networks of the providers, especially of the tutors are followed to understand what contributes to the process of reputation building in the market. Granovetter's (1985) 'embeddedness perspective' is employed to understand the interpersonal relationships in the market that sustain the actors in this market. The hierarchy that exists in this market is reinforced further by the intermediaries called

Teachers Bureaus who influence the market by ‘defining’ the tutors and through various consultancy services. They advance a ‘cultural template’ in the market on the basis of ‘local knowledge’ of the market. Lastly, drawing from Fligstein (1996), the chapter shows how market can be viewed from the lens of ‘social movement’ by bringing in the context of West Bengal Private Tutors’ Welfare Association (WBPTWA). The uneven power structure and hierarchy in the market results in social movements to ensure that the State implements its policies (RTE, 2009). The ‘political embeddedness’ of the market becomes evident from these power struggles in the market where each actor attempts to change the ‘established rules’ of the market in their favour. This takes the form of marketing or promotional strategies of tutors and Teachers Bureaus, mobilisation strategies of WBPTWA or influencing the State. Clearly, these dynamics clearly show that market is not merely an arena where demand is equated with supply. In going beyond the neo classical understanding of the market as neutral, this chapter shows the emergence of some markets and how crisis arises within the market where the challengers or new entrants attempt to establish their ‘conception of control’.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section sets the background of the market by looking at the characteristics of tutors from NSS data 68th Round (2011-12). Section 8.2 and 8.3 focuses on motivations of various types of tutors and the role of intermediaries in the market respectively. The last section looks at market from the perspective WBPTWA as ‘social movement’.

8.2 Characteristics of Tutors in West Bengal

In this section, the tutors are divided on the basis of principal activity status and subsidiary activity status based on NSS 68th Round. This survey distinguishes between various types of providers: a) home tutor tutoring at his/her own house b) home tutor tutoring at tutee’s house c) coaching centre. Based on these criteria, I have looked at the tutors’ characteristics from the lens of occupational status (principal or subsidiary), gender, age, household characteristics, socioeconomic background and education level.

Table 8.1: Household Characteristics and Personal Characteristics of Tutors

	Distribution of Private Tutors	Distribution of Population
Household Characteristics		
<i>Sector</i>		
Rural	47.57	71.16
Urban	52.43	28.84
<i>Social Group</i>		
ST&SC	16.34	32.49
OBC	7.66	8.93
Others (Forward caste)	76	58.58
<i>Occupation Status</i>		
Self-employed	52.55	40.09
Salaried/regular wage earners	37.02	16.4
Casual Labour	9.56	36.94
Others	0.87	6.57
<i>Education level of the Household Head</i>		
Not literate	6.51	31.98
Below Primary	6.92	13.03
Primary	5.02	19.75
Upper Primary and Secondary	39.78	22.04
Higher Secondary	11.03	5.38
Graduate & Above	30.74	7.82
Personal Characteristics		
<i>Age</i>		
20 or below	14.99	38.55
Above 20	85.01	61.45
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	55.15	51.11
Female	44.85	48.89
<i>Education level</i>		
Graduate & Above	51.04	5.74
Higher Secondary	22.69	4.50
Secondary	14.46	7.76
Upto class 8	11.81	82.00

Source: Author's calculation from NSS 68th Round (2011-2012)

Table 8.1 shows household characteristics and personal characteristics of tutors in West Bengal. As compared to its rural counterparts (47.53%), 52.43% tutors belong to urban households indicating that private tuition as an occupation is more common in the urban than in the rural after taking into account the distribution of urban population (28.84 %). As far as the household's social category is concerned, it has been found that the

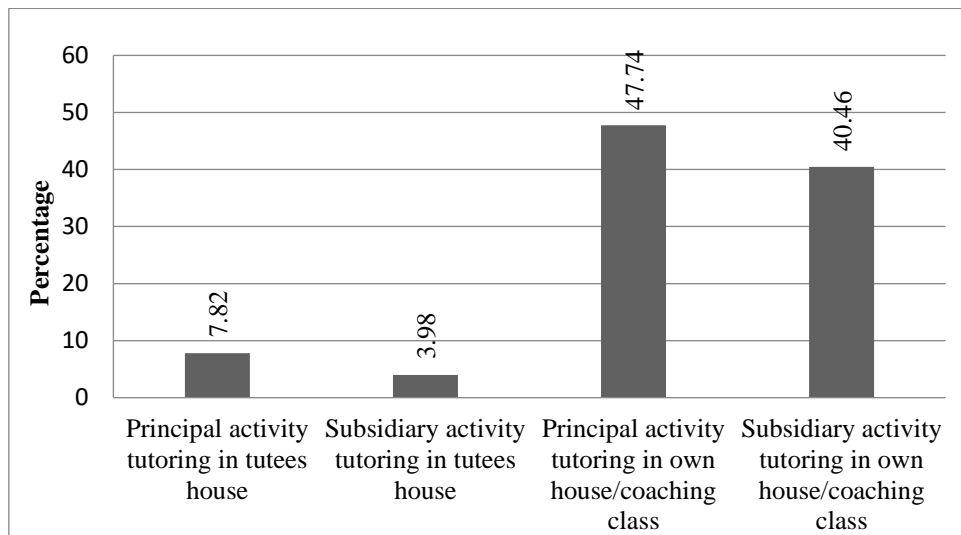
tutors mostly belong to the forward caste/Other Caste (76%) as compared to SC/ST (16.34%) and OBCs (7.66%) showing caste biasness in favour of forward caste households. This can also be linked with the lack of social and cultural capital of the backward caste households which makes it difficult for tutors from this background to enter the market.

The occupation and the educational level of the household head indicate that tutors belonging to households with stable earnings and higher level of education of the household head proportionately high. Therefore, household characteristics reflect biasness in favour of urban and certain socioeconomic and educational background. This shows how entry of tutors in the market is based on the background of the households where tutors belonging to forward caste and higher socioeconomic status households form the larger portion of the suppliers. This depicts how social hierarchy is also maintained in the market.

The percentage of tutors above 20 years of age is 85% as compared to tutors below 20 years of age, which is quite obvious, as individuals below 20 years of age are mostly students enrolled in schools or colleges. Although such individuals constitute a small portion of the total population, one cannot lose sight of the fact that 15% of such tutors exist. There is also gender bias in favour of male tutors, although the difference in the percentage between male and female is not large. On the other hand, education level of the tutors show that the proportion of tutors (51.04%) with qualification equivalent to graduation or above is more as compared to tutors below graduate level. While the proportion of graduates and above in the population is 5.74%, proportion of tutors with the same qualification is 51.04% which is much higher than the distribution of population indicating greater reliance on tutoring as an occupation among the educated youth. At the same time, one can find the presence of tutors with qualification 'up to class 8' as part of the market, raising question on the quality of the services provided by them. As discussed in Chapter 7, tutoring is available for students residing in slum areas where quality of tutors is not up to the mark and educational qualification of those tutors is up to secondary level or below. This finding corroborates with the qualitative findings discussed in parental choice making.

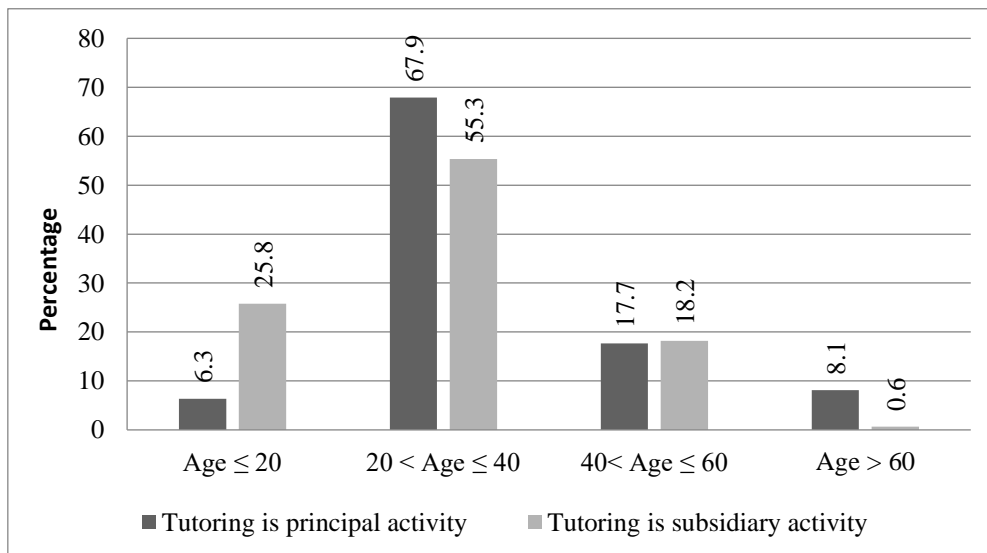
The distribution of different types of tutors based on principal activity and subsidiary activity in own house/coaching class and tutee's house is provided in Figure 8.1. It depicts that the percentage of tutors taking tuition in own house or coaching class is higher for both types of tutors who take tuition as a principal activity (47.04%) and subsidiary activity (40.46%) respectively.

Figure 8.1: Distribution of tutors by tutor type



Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round

Figure 8.2: Age Distribution of different types of tutor



Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round

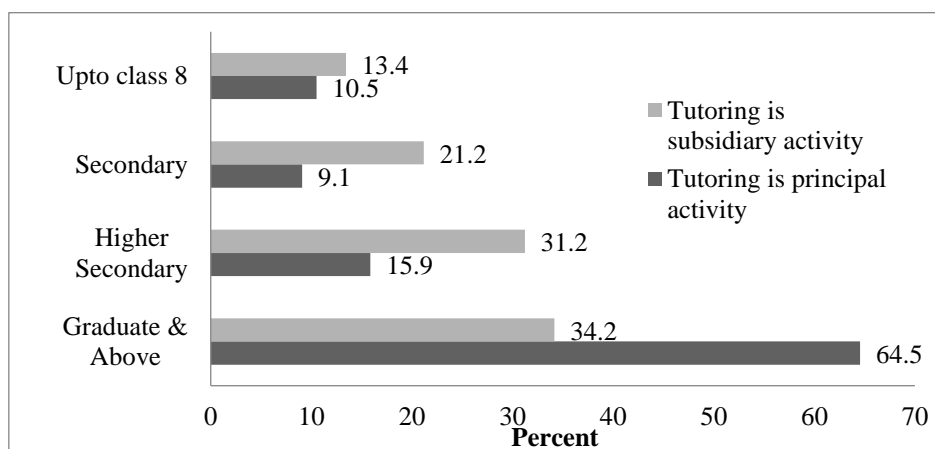
Figure 8.2 shows age distribution of different types of tutors. This shows a pattern of age distribution based on tutoring as principal activity or subsidiary activity. Proportion

of tutors who consider tutoring as a subsidiary activity is higher (25.8%) for the tutors below 20 years of age indicating that these tutors might be involved in other activities. This might include students who are enrolled in educational institutions. This can be corroborated with Figure 8.4 which shows 36.8 % tutors are students whose subsidiary activity is tutoring.

It is clear from Figure 8.2 that tutors predominantly belong to the age group ‘between 20 and 40 years old.’ The percentage of tutors in this age group is higher (more than 50%) for both ‘tutoring as a principal activity’ and ‘tutoring as a subsidiary activity.’ On the other hand, the proportion of tutors goes down with higher age group. Interestingly, there is a small percentage of tutors (8.1%) above 60 years of age who take tutoring as a principal activity implying that some people choose this occupation at a later stage of lifetime, say, after retirement.

If we look at the type of tutors on the basis of educational attainment (Figure 8.3), we find that among the tutors who choose tutoring as a principal activity, 64.5% are ‘graduate and above’ indicating that this informal education market is a source of earning income of a large section of educated population mostly in the age group of 20 to 40 years as shown in Figure 8.2. On the other hand, 34.2 % of tutors who are ‘graduate and above’ take private tuition as a subsidiary activity. Overall, we find that tutors with different level of education are available in the market starting from tutors with education level ‘up to class 8’.

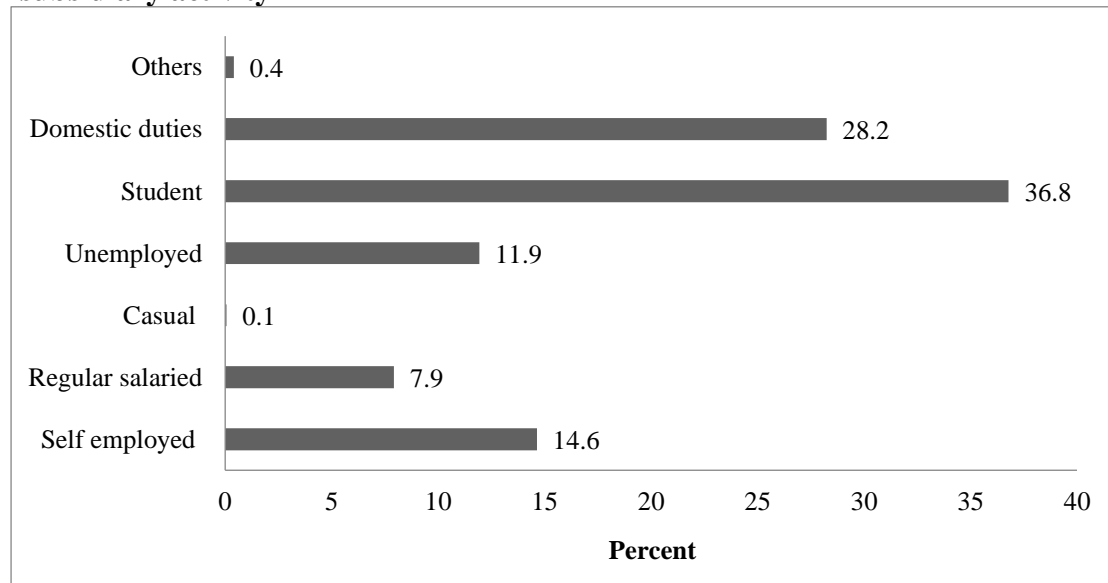
Figure 8.3: Distribution of two types of tutors by education level



Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round

On disintegrating the analysis further, in order to probe into the ‘principal activity’ for tutors who take tutoring as a ‘subsidiary activity’, it has been found that 36.8% of tutors are students, followed by 28.2% tutors who engage in domestic duties (Figure 8.4). The data reveals that 14.6% are self-employed tutors and 11.9% are unemployed individuals who engage in tutoring apart from 7.9% of regular salary earners.

Figure 8.4: Distribution of Principal activity of tutors who take tuition as 'subsidiary activity'



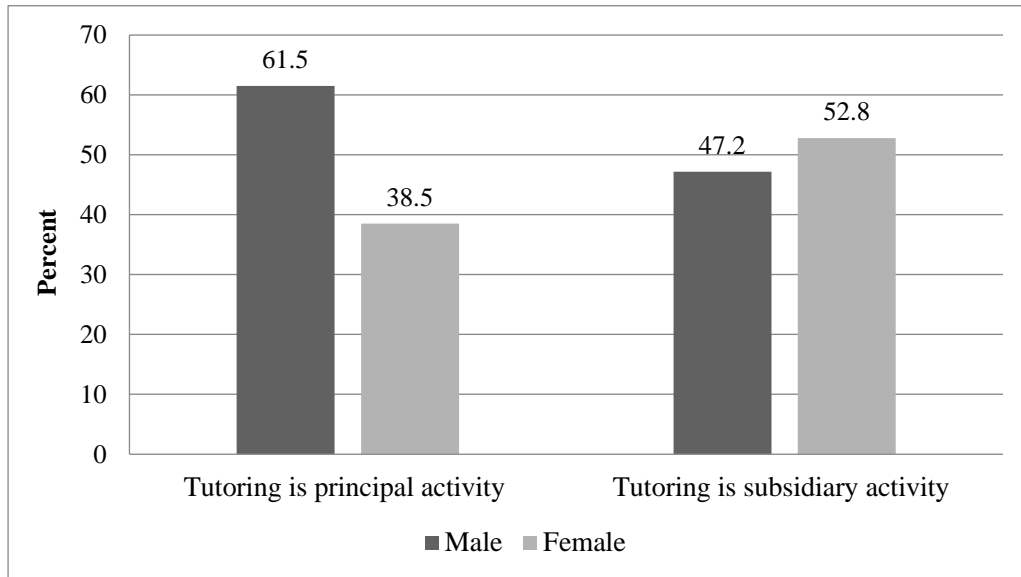
Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round (2011-12)

Figure 8.5 and 8.6 bring out the dimension of gender in the supply of tutoring. As compared to female, a higher percentage of male (61.5%) take up private tuition as a ‘principal activity’. On the other hand, 47.2% female take tutoring as a ‘subsidiary activity’ implying that they are engaged in some kind of primary activities. This comes out clearly in Figure 8.6. Among the female tutors who take private tuition as a ‘subsidiary activity’ are mostly engaged primarily in domestic activities (53.5% of female) and studies (33.4%). This indicates that females who are engaged in domestic chores constitute the highest share of female tutors.

From Figure 8.6, it is clear that a large proportion of male tutors are mostly students (40.6%) followed by self-employed individuals (28.9%) and unemployed persons (15.5%). A percentage of regular salaried (14%) is also present in this profession indicating a mix of individuals from different occupations. However, the motives of

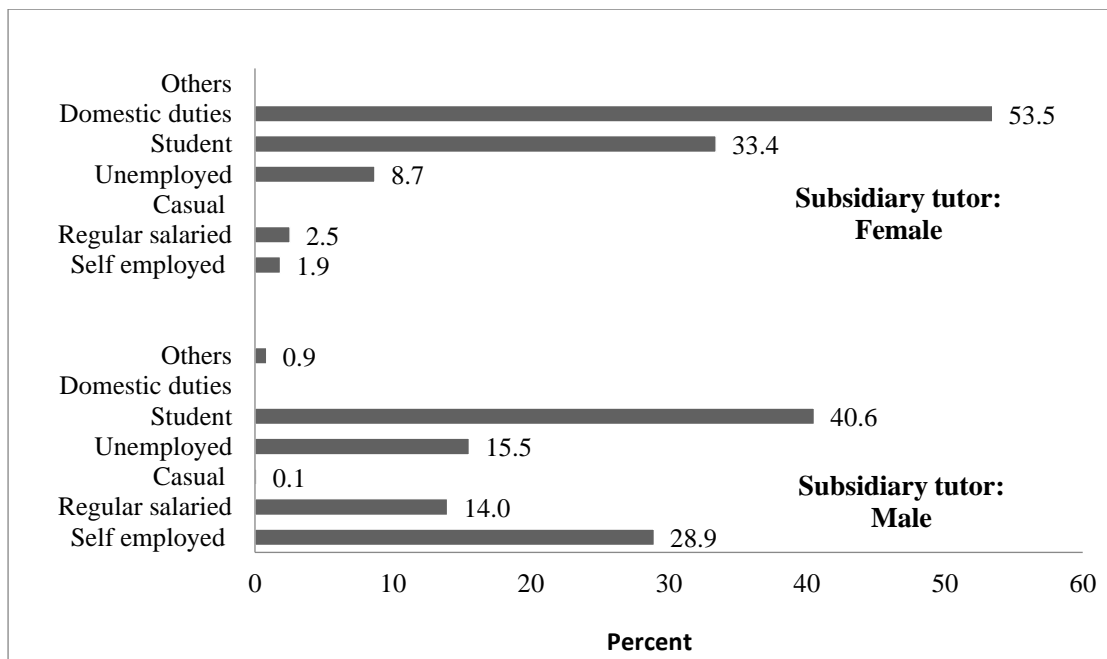
these tutors are not clear from these figures which necessitate looking at the qualitative dimension of choice of this occupation.

Figure 8.5: Distribution of two types of tutor by gender



Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round (2011-12)

Figure 8.6: Principal activity of subsidiary male and female tutors



Source: Own calculation from NSS 68th Round (2011-12)

8.3 Varieties of Motivation and Identities

This section attempts to answer the question of ‘who chooses to tutor?’ and the motives hidden behind tutoring. Based on the interviews of thirty tutors in Kolkata and North 24 Parganas, this section provides insights on why they chose tutoring as a profession. The types of tutors identified in the primary survey consisted of tutors, who are schoolteachers, ‘self-employed⁵⁵’, students, retired schoolteachers, tutors in various coaching centres and online tutors (Appendix 8, Table A.8.1). Some of the tutors have multiple identities. For instance, an individual is a tutor at his/her own house, at the coaching centre and at the same time is a schoolteacher. The motivation of tutoring therefore differs depending on whether the tutors consider tutoring as their primary occupation. Literature on teacher motivation suggests that there is interplay of socio cultural context, extrinsic factors (career prospect, monetary gain, status etc.) and intrinsic motivation that govern decision to choose teaching as a profession and thereafter continuing with the profession (Sinclair, 2008; Han and Yin, 2016). However, the context of tutoring is far more complex as it does not always involve certain qualifications to enter into the market. As the market is segmented on the basis of the type of clients, less qualified tutors can also become part of the market. This becomes all the more possible due to information asymmetry about the quality of tutors. Since the private tuition market is flexible in terms of entry, for some tutors, the market acts as a temporary arrangement until they gain entry into the formal labour market. On the other hand, some tutors continue to remain part of the market even after joining the formal labour market to extract monetary gain and to sharpen their teaching skills.

Out of the 30 tutors interviewed, 17 tutors claimed that private tuition is their source of livelihood. Each of these tutors has unique history of entering the tuition market and then sustaining themselves thereafter. Tutor 1, who is a retired schoolteacher, tutors students every evening at her house to keep herself busy and to make sure that she can sustain herself financially with whatever she earns. Some tutors (Tutor 3, Tutor 4, Tutor 6, Tutor 9, Tutor 14, Tutor 19, Tutor 21, Tutor 22, Tutor 23, Tutor 25, Tutor 26, and Tutor 27) are part of the private tuition market for earning their livings and are wholly depended on this market for survival. Out of these tutors, some are engaged in coaching

⁵⁵ This category is self-declared by tutors.

centres (Tutor 3, Tutor 20, Tutor 24 and Tutor 26). Therefore, one can observe layers of engagement within this market. There is a common thread which binds these tutors through private tuition but they also divulge in different areas of opportunities through their negotiations with different stakeholders. For Tutor 20, who claims to be 'self-employed' narrated that he joined the market in search of autonomy which is not provided in any occupation:

After passing out engineering from Jadavpur University, I got a job in a company under Government of India but I left the job after some years. While doing the job, I was with a coaching centre and tutored many students. I had confidence that even if I leave job, I will never stop earning. Now I write Mathematics books for West Bengal board. (Tutor 20: April, 2019).

The narrative of the tutor suggests that there are some tutors who enter the market not out of compulsion arising from the lack of jobs in the formal labour market. They believe that they have an acumen in withstanding the uncertainty due to their skills. This tutor suggests that on an average he earns above Rs. 60,000 per month from tutoring which is sufficient to run a family of three. Similar narratives have been shared by some tutors (Tutor 3, Tutor 15, Tutor 16, Tutor 21) on why they entered the market. Apart from a sense of faith in their survival, there is also an inertia which keeps them in the market.

Some tutors suggest that in their initial years of job search, they looked for government jobs but as the number of jobs was limited, they could not enter the formal job market. After trying for two to three years, they gave up on the hope of getting a job and settled as tutors in the market:

I have tried for teaching job in government schools for three years. In the meantime, I was also tutoring students. As I became popular in my area, I felt like a boss myself. I felt a sense of independence. I gave up on government jobs and now I have 120 tutees and students travel long distances to avail tuition from me. (Tutor 22: February, 2019)

This sense of satisfaction or complacence is overshadowed by the perception of the society about tutors as he mentions that there is a lack of acceptance as a tutor.

No one wants to marry a tutor because of a lack of security in this job. I am still a bachelor at 40. (Tutor 22: February, 2019).

This constant struggle between autonomy and social acceptance as a tutor ran through the narratives of tutors who took this profession as their primary occupation. It is not

always out of compulsion but is a matter of choice when expected gain from this profession is quite high. As the service delivered in the shadow education market is diversified i.e., a home tutor can also become part of a reputed coaching centre, there arises avenues to gain satisfaction if one is dissatisfied with the status of a home tutor. These mixed identities and role diversification are also ways of sustenance in the market. There are four tutors (Tutor 3, Tutor 20, Tutor 24, Tutor 26) in the sample who diversified their role in the shadow education market by becoming a part of reputed coaching centres.

Tutor 26, who had passed out M.Sc. in Chemistry from IIT Kharagpur maintains that home tuition gave him an opportunity to earn his living after passing out from IIT. Later on, he applied for the post of a faculty in Aakash Institute and got placed. However, he continued home tutoring students after conducting classes at Aakash. Similarly, Tutor 3, who initially started with tutoring at tutee's house found herself as a part time faculty in Pathfinder, a coaching institute. As they navigate between these different spaces and structures within the shadow education market, the identity of being a teacher at a coaching institute or as 'edupreneurs' help them in attracting tutees at home. This is the dominant identity that they subscribe to because their narratives sharply brought out their association with the coaching centres and their experiences with coaching institutes rather than their involvement as a home tutor.

The work schedule in Aakash is very hectic. It is like any other corporate job. During the first six months, I attended the classes conducted by the experts as a training program to understand short cut techniques that are required for IITs. After these classes, I do not get much time to tutor at home. But I still have some tutees who come on Sunday. Being a faculty in Aakash is a huge responsibility. I intend to take these experiences and start my own coaching institute at a later point of time. (Tutor 26: October, 2018).

I have been associated with Pathfinder for 6 years. Now I am one of the members in the committee who decide the content of the classes and question papers. Although I prefer one to one teaching at home, being associated with Pathfinder has given me recognition in tutoring profession. There is also no risk of teaching in coaching centre like Pathfinder as there will always be students who demand coaching from these institutes. (Tutor 3: March, 2019).

In both these cases, the motivation to enter into the shadow education market was initially triggered by the lack of suitable job in the labour market. As they became part of the informal market, their professional goals evolved with their personal experiences of being a tutor.

Home tutoring often acts as a stopgap option for some tutors who look for other avenues in the shadow education market. Tutor 16 tutors students online and earns around Rs.35000 per month. She started tutoring students at home and eventually realised that home tutoring does not add value to her career. With a Masters degree in English and being a short story writer, she realised she could do much better than being a home tutor. At the onset, the motivation of tutoring is financial gain but eventually this gain diminished in face of the challenges of being answerable to the demands of the parents. Online tutoring cushions the tutor from dealing with these kind of parents. There is also a fixed timing and formal set up when online tutoring companies act as mediators.

Online tutoring is not so common in West Bengal because home tutoring is in our culture. With the help of my son, I came to know of this online tutoring company based in the United Kingdom. They have rounds of interview to hire online tutors for students based in foreign countries. I cleared the interview and have been tutoring online for 5 years now. The timing is very convenient for me. I am very fond of this formal set up. You have to ensure that your room is sound proof and there is no technical glitch from your end. (February, 2019).

In case of Tutor 16, online tutoring gave her a way to exercise choice beyond the boundary of the region and at the same time fulfilled her career goals. While it gave her satisfaction in terms of keeping her professional identity, it also helped her in her quest for being 'formal' in an informal market. Also, being 'chosen' by the tutoring company based abroad rendered her a sense of pride and motivated her to remain in the shadow education market. Being a housewife and navigating these spaces elevated her confidence that a housewife can also earn a handsome amount within her confined spaces of home.

Private tuition, therefore, also has a gender dimension. Four housewives in my sample suggested that private tuition is an avenue to gain financial independence and the flexibility of timing gives them scope to manage the household. It also helps them to remain updated so that they can help their children with their (children's) studies.

I have been tutoring since graduation as a student to earn pocket money. Now, as a housewife my motive of tutoring students have changed. Tutoring at home gives me autonomy and at the same time I can look after my children. I left a good job at a company after I conceived my first born. Women always have to make career sacrifices. But I am quite settled in this profession. (Tutor 9, December 2018).

Similar narratives have been reiterated by Tutor 4, Tutor 14 and Tutor 19 who are also home tutors and housewives at the same time. These two roles complement each other in such a way that the identity of a home tutor connects them to the space outside home where they can make use of their qualifications and understand the market by negotiating with the students and parents. On the other hand, tutoring at home provides them scope to oversee the everyday transactions at home. On many occasions, during my field visit, some of these housewife-tutors were found tackling household chores while tutoring students at home. This is mostly visible in case of tutoring of children at the primary level.

At the other end of the spectrum are the schoolteachers who are positioned favourably in the private tuition market owing to their experiences as schoolteachers. As schooling market is also differentiated with the presence of different types of private schools and government schools, teachers who become part of the private tuition market also differ depending on the type of schools they are associated with. Hence, the motivation of becoming a tutor is also shaped by the pay structure, teaching experiences and the working environment in schools. Although economic gain from tutoring ran through the narratives of the schoolteachers, for some of the tutors this additional duty is out of compulsion due to low salary in schools. Tutor 18 is a para teacher who has been teaching in a government school for 10 years. She gets a meagre salary of Rs. 10,000 which is insufficient for her.

The salary they pay in this school is very poor. There are many para teachers like me in government schools. My husband is well off, so I do not have to share the household expenditure with him. I do this job because I like teaching students. At the same time, I get some tutees from the school which becomes an additional source of income for me. You cannot run family being a para teacher. (January, 2019).

The prevalence of para teachers in West Bengal is not a recent development. It has continued to be a cost effective strategy in school education system when the State shows apathy in teacher recruitment in West Bengal (Pandey, 2006), thus creating dualism within teaching community in school education. Therefore, the motivation of tutoring is also an outcome of structural impediments generated from the schooling system.

While some schoolteachers are compelled to enter into the tutoring market due to poor salary, some schoolteachers find it quite profitable to tutor their own students. They suggest that there is a high demand for schoolteachers as tutors and they cannot refuse a parent's request. They maintain that a teacher can also be a tutor and there is no trade off between the two duties. However, the identities of a tutor and a teacher are different for them. During the course of the fieldwork, I came across a schoolteacher who refused to be interviewed as I addressed her as a tutor although she provides tuition classes at her home. This suggests that the schoolteachers prefer to keep these two identities separate and attach a negative value to the profession of tutoring. This is also because of a partial regulation in the tutoring market which prohibits schoolteachers from tutoring students. Therefore, suppressing the identity of being a tutor is the best strategy in face of laws prohibiting tutoring.

One of the schoolteachers who tutors history at his home denied that he tutors students. However, parents from his school suggested that he is one of the popular history tutors in his area. The course of interview took the following turn:

Researcher: Do you tutor students?

Schoolteacher: No

Researcher: What do you think about those schoolteachers who tutor students? Why do they tutor students?

Schoolteacher: They are doing it out of their passion of teaching. There is no harm in helping students outside schools.

Although the schoolteacher denied being a tutor, the conversation reflected that he has a positive attitude towards tutoring. Many schoolteachers who are also tutors refused to be interviewed after I mentioned the topic of the research. Three schoolteachers who agreed to be interviewed suggested that their motive is not only to gain extra money but also to hone their skills. One of the schoolteachers, who is a teacher in a primary school remarked:

I studied in a convent English medium school but I teach primary school students in a government school. Being a home tutor not only gives me additional money but also gives me an opportunity to teach English to students from I.C.S.E. and C.B.S.E. (Tutor 11, March, 2019).

Similar narratives emerged from the interviews conducted with two other government schoolteachers who view the profession of tutoring as an avenue of getting updated

with their subjects that they do not get to teach at schools. As government schools are assigned to teachers through West Bengal School Service Commission, the teachers cannot choose schools.

My school has majority of students from poor families. They are not interested in studies. In private tuition, I have bright students from different schools which motivate me to teach. I also get to tutor subjects which I do not teach in school, i.e., for Joint Entrance and IITs, which help me to improve my skill and upgrade my knowledge. (Tutor 13, April, 2019).

Professional development is cited as one of the reasons for tutoring the students, especially, for schoolteachers who do not get the subject of their choice in schools. However, as tutoring is more customized, it increases academic burden on tutors. While the motivation of tutoring is not solely driven by monetary gain, high salary of schoolteachers does not guarantee their withdrawal from the market. One of the private schoolteachers who earns a salary of over Rs. 50,000 remarked:

I have to ensure that my son gets the best education. But providing him with the best facilities involve incurring high expenditure . Quality education is very expensive. Private tuition helps me to support his education expenditure. (Tutor 17, December, 2018).

While schoolteachers juggle between their roles as a teacher and a tutor, their role as a teacher gets compromised as preparation time is reduced. The sample of teachers informed that they do not need to prepare for the classes at school or rather do not get time to prepare for school. They claim that their involvement as a tutor is legitimized by the demand side of the market and they respond to the demand of the students. However, the tension between the two identities remain, as they do not want themselves to be addressed as tutors.

8.4 Understanding Competition and Collaboration of tutors

The preceding section presented the narratives of different types of tutors with different motives coexisting in the tutoring market. These varieties of motivations and interests that form part of the market create competition in the market. Competition takes various routes in the market depending upon the type of tutor, demand for the subject, locality and grade/class of the student. In the narratives of the tutors, there is a sense of discomfort while talking about competition. They would often remark that they have no competitors. However, probing the question differently would result in interesting answers. For instance, the tutors named the popular tutors in the locality and the fees

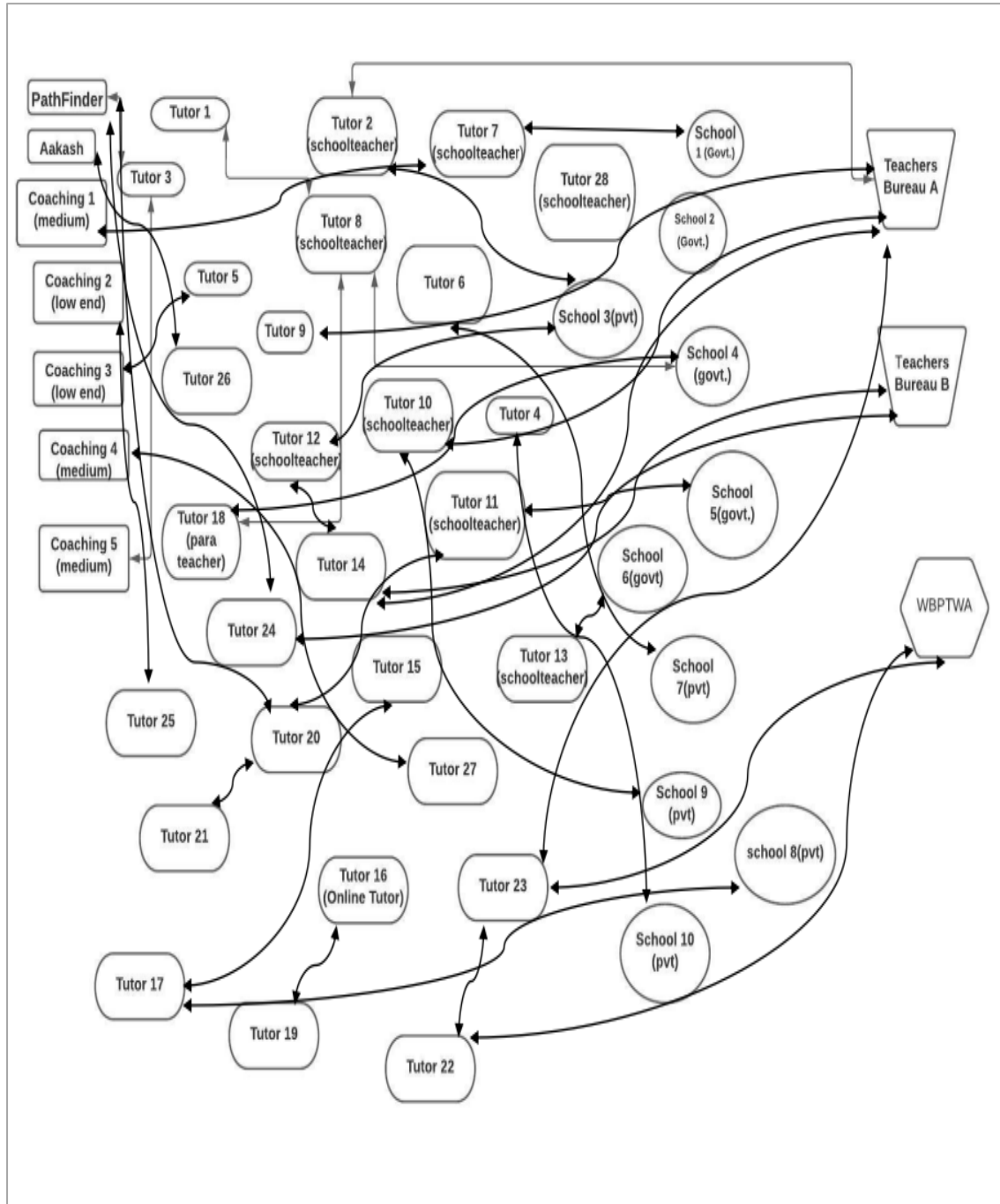
that they charge from the students. This revealed that these tutors gather information about the other tutors and strategizes accordingly. The presence of various coaching centres as well as home tutors in the select localities determine the fees charged in the market. The process of price formation is, therefore, not automatic as Bourdieu (2005) argues but is filtered through various considerations. One of the most remarkable aspects of the private tuition market is that it faces constant threat from the coaching centres. Coaching centres, which are mushrooming in every lanes of the city offer coaching/tuitions in all the subjects. Therefore, parents do not need to look for tutors for different subject tutors in the locality which is convenient as transaction cost is reduced. This has become quite popular among the lower middle class parents and the working class parents who pay Rs. 1800 for all the subjects (5 subjects) for a class 9 student instead of paying Rs. 500 separately for each tutor.⁵⁶ While the home tutors face competition from the other market form such as coaching centres, they too, adapt or emulate certain characteristics of coaching centres to remain in the market. This involves taking frequent tests, supplying study materials from time to time. Some home tutors (Tutor 3, Tutor 20, Tutor 24) became part of the branded coaching centres like Pathfinder and Aakash which help them in gaining more tutees at home. By doing so, these tutors gain a strategic advantage over the other home tutors.

Competition emerges as an important feature of any type of market but what has not received enough attention is how different tutors with different interests collaborate with each other and foster the market. These networks of tutors and various stakeholders include schools and tutoring agencies show how the 'culture' is inculcated further through a system of referrals and mutual understanding. This is shown in Figure 8.7. The figure shows 25 tutors and their networks with each other, schools, coaching centres (of all types), Teachers Bureaus and West Bengal Private Tutors' Association (WBPTWA). These collaborations take place at various levels. Tutors who teach in branded coaching centre also tutors as home tutor and works at schools which create linkages with these actors in the market. On the other hand, tutors who are associated with WBPTWA are also linked through a spirit of fraternity which I discuss in the last section. Collaboration helps the tutors to gain more tutees and help in forming a niche

⁵⁶ This information has been gathered through interviews with two families (F5, F12).

of their own. Sometimes it is profitable to collaborate with schoolteachers as they are linked with schools directly to gain tutees.

Figure 8.7: Network of various providers in the ‘shadow education’ market



Source: Created by author using Lucidchart software showing interaction of tutors with branded coaching centres (Path Finder and Aakash), medium (coaching 1, 4, 5) and low end coaching centres (coaching centre 2 and 3), schools, teachers bureau and WBPTWA

It is also in the interest with the coaching centre owners to have more schoolteachers in their coaching as the demand for schoolteachers as tutors is high (see, Chapter 7). These various motives converge to gain market share and therefore, any tutor who does not have 'local knowledge' of the market cannot sustain in the market. The case of Tutor 27 is relevant in this context. This tutor from Basirhat in North 24 Parganas travels for 4 hours to reach Ward A to tutor students in a coaching centre. Apart from tutoring in coaching centre, he could not find any tutees because he comes from a different district. As he is 'disembedded' from the chain of network which has a spatial dimension as well, his efforts of getting tutees went in vain. The importance of 'local knowledge' of the market becomes relevant in this case.

On the other hand, some tutors are found to have shifted towards a more institutionalized form of tutoring i.e., imitating the dominant market forms. This type of transformation has been found in case of Tutor 5 and Tutor 25. Both the tutors started tutoring from their first year of college. As market condition changed and demand for coaching soared, they decided to open their own coaching centres.

Tutor 5 continues to home tutor and run coaching centres with 19 teachers of different subjects. His coaching centre includes CCTV cameras to monitor the students. He suggested that the shift towards coaching centre is in response to the changing market dynamics as tutors in his areas also opened coaching centres and the demand has also shifted towards coaching. This is because all the subject tutors can be found in one place which is cost effective for the parents as well. Apart from the coaching centre, the same space has also been turned into a small stationary shop which contains all the materials needed for doing school projects. This tutor appears to have adopted the marketing skills as much as possible through these means by emulating the reputed coaching centres. He distributes the pamphlets of his own coaching centre which guarantees 'high quality notes', 'regular written class test' and 'extra class for English and Mathematics' (written in Bengali). These are some of his dominant strategies to remain in the market and gain tutees.

As competition is an essential ingredient of any market, marketing techniques have become a very popular strategy among the tutors to attract the tutees. For instance, one tutor informed that teaching alone is not enough to retain students.

You cannot just tutor the students and go. You have to connect with them. I have 85 students so far because I connect with them by listening to their personal lives, going out with them, celebrating their birthdays. In this way you can retain students. (Tutor 6, December, 2018).

These strategies often help the tutors to gain popularity among the students in a competitive market. Tutor 6 also talks about ‘entry deterrent strategy’ which works by demeaning other tutors in the market. Some tutors have also been subject to criticism by other tutors’ method of teaching. In one of the meetings of WBPTWA, a tutor while delivering a lecture to other fellow tutors mentioned:

A schoolteacher who also tutors his own students wanted to demean me in front of the student by sending a tough grammatical problem. He asked the student to solve this from me as he was under the impression that I will not be able to solve it. (Field observations from a meeting held by WBPTWA, May, 2019).

This form of competition especially occurs between tutors of the same subject where the tutor makes an attempt to humiliate the other tutors through various means. The tutors are well aware about the fees charged by other tutors in the same subject. Often charging a lower fee from the market rate renders the impression to their ‘clients’ that the tutors are not reputed and hence charging a lower fee. This largely occurs in case of middle class parents who do not want to settle with less. Therefore, a tutor has to tread carefully in this market as his strategy might backfire if he fails to understand the psychology of the parents and tutees.

8.5 Shadow of the Shadow: Role of intermediaries in the construction of market

Demand for private tuitions has led to the emergence of intermediaries or brokers in the market which call themselves as Teacher Bureaus or Educational Consultancy. In this mediated market, the visibility of these forms is quite a spectacle as parent’s desire for ‘exclusive tutors’ are soaring (Chapter 7). It is important to link the proliferation of this kind of intermediaries with the demand side of the market as these nascent markets of Teacher Bureaus evolve and gain social acceptance through parents and students. As discussed in Chapter 7, middle class parents conceal information on tutors not only from parents outside their group but also parents who belong to their own group indicating a sense of heightened competition around information on competent tutors. As parents want every information on tutors and likewise tutors looking for private tuitions want information on potential ‘buyers’ of their service, there arises possibility

to construct a market by supplying information. This gave rise to the intermediaries known as Teachers Bureaus in the shadow education market who reap the benefit of high search cost in the informal market and act as 'market makers'. As elite and middle class parents do not want to compromise with good tutors, they readily pay fees to these bureaus rather than wait longer for tutors. Time is a crucial element in this search process which also ensures the growing legitimacy of these bureaus. They reduce waiting time in the market as they maintain records of tutors which can be 'delivered' according to the wish of the parents. Therefore, instead of relying on the informal networks of friends and relatives to gather information, parents prefer these 'professional' networks that are ready with tutors at the tip of their fingers. Likewise, tutors who are seeking for tutees also find these agents suitable instead of searching for tutees themselves and incurring high opportunity cost in terms of time. In both the cases, search costs appear higher as the actors are scattered in an informal market. The intermediaries bridge what Burt (1992) calls 'structural hole' which arises in a network when actors do not exchange information in their relational network through social interaction. Thus a third actor (intermediaries) arrives at their rescue by mediating information among these actors who are not connected. One of the interesting aspects which emerge from the data is the challenge that the presence of intermediaries poses to the idea of 'embeddedness' of the market through social network. On one hand, the market is embedded in a network of different actors with interpersonal relations which facilitate transaction in the market and on the other hand the intermediaries ensure transaction of anonymous actors thus 'disembedding' them from such a structure. These tensions are observable on various counts as I proceed to unpack the market.

The other important dimension that provides an impetus for growth of these intermediaries is related to the need for more 'customized' form of tutors as per the preferences of parents and students which is not readily available otherwise through the social networks of parents. As these bureaus have wide and diverse range of tutors based on religion, caste, qualification and other credentials (e.g. being a schoolteacher), parents are in better position to choose from this range thus reducing tutors as salesman with presentable and marketing skills. Teachers Bureaus feed into this process of choice making by instilling hope of supplying better tutors to run the business and in the process they create a niche of their own. In this section, I elaborate on the operations of the intermediaries by arguing that their role is not confined to reduction of search

costs by connecting tutors with tutees but they also construct the market by inscribing meanings of 'standard' tutor through their transactions with both parties (tutors and tutees). More often, these intermediaries help in creating a 'label' on tutors who then become 'reputed' by setting criteria of tutors which are mostly sought after.

In a market which is characterized by uncertainty in terms of quality of tutors, these Teachers Bureaus bring with them some certainties through their activities. They also serve as consultancy organizations, as 'network architects' (Pollock et. al, 2004), as 'matchmakers' (Bessy and Chauvin, 2013), as 'problem solvers'. While these intermediaries are involved in 'valuation problem' (Beckert, 2009) of the parents, they also face difficulties in their own domain as competition prevails. In other words, these Teachers Bureaus are intertwined in a complex structure where they help in forming what Beckert (2009) calls 'stable expectations' but at the same time they face uncertainty as other players try to challenge their rules. If 'economic field' as Bourdieu (2005) puts forward is to be understood as a constellation of economic units i.e. firms or industries and there exist power relations among these units, intermediaries are part of the dynamics of the 'field'. The dynamism in the market is then constituted by the constant struggle between various actors in the 'field'. Therefore, the role of the intermediaries goes much beyond than that of 'network architects' as they engage in 'activities of valuation' (Bessy and Chauvin, 2013) and constantly innovate through various modes (marketing for e.g.) to remain dominant and maintain legitimacy. Bessy and Chauvin (2013) argues that by focusing on the 'activity' of valuation rather than value itself, one can observe how actors construct values (economic and symbolic) in the market. For the present analysis, the role of these intermediaries can be traced following Bessy and Chauvin (2013) and hence the uncertainty that Beckert (2009) posits in his 'valuation problem' will get larger space for discussion. It is worth mentioning the complex trajectory of private tuition market which led to the evolution of outgrowths like Teachers Bureaus which follows Collins (1990) argument that market tends to expand to incorporate more people and goods in its evolution. Private tuition market assumes the character of what Collins (1990) define as 'superordinate market' which ensues growth and change and lead to the formation of other forms of market which remains a characteristic feature of capitalism.

This section is devoted towards understanding the complex nature of the mediation process in the market which I call ‘shadow of the shadow’. As discussed, the market of intermediaries emerged out of the private tuition market to bolster the transactions between ‘buyers’ and the ‘sellers’. This market is not of a recent origin as some of the Teachers Bureaus have been functioning for three decades. These intermediaries initially worked through closed networks and recently have adopted various marketing strategies as number of players in this market increased over the years. Exact number of Teachers bureaus operating in Kolkata is not known as they operate under the shadow of the shadow market. Although they operate from one location (either from office or from house), they appear to have transcended physical boundary of space by expanding their operation in all parts of Kolkata. Some of the players in this market are Shikshani, Educare, Brilliant Teachers Bureau, Tutor Signature and Home Tutor, Kolkata. There is incumbent challenger dynamics within this market which is a source of contestation as resources (financial and symbolic) within the ‘field’ are not equally distributed. This section presents these struggles within and outside the market of intermediaries with the help of data from the websites and drawing from the field work data on two intermediaries as cases- Teacher Bureau A and Teacher Bureau B.

8.5.1 Teacher Bureaus in Kolkata: Origin and Motivations

Teacher Bureaus have not received attention in the scholarships of shadow education market partly because they operated behind the shadow and were few in numbers. The pioneer Teacher Bureau named Shikshani started its operation three decades ago with one member and advertised its requirement in a local newspaper (Anandabazaar Patrika). Since then, various players have entered into this market changing the structure of market through competition. As new players entered into the ‘economic field’, they brought with them new ideas to sustain in the market which is gradually changing the way intermediaries operate. For instance, there has been a shift from newspaper advertisement to designing one’s own websites and adoption of various other marketing tools like engagement with social media, Google reviews and content marketing. Teachers Bureaus are spread across Kolkata and beyond the city in their operation but their nodal offices are mostly at the core of the city except for one which is located in Howrah. It has become a prospective business opportunity for many unemployed youth in Kolkata including housewives which can connect clients across

large geographical distances shrinking locational boundaries by sitting at their own house. As families, these Teacher Bureaus also have their own biographies which shape their understanding of their own niche and aid in making sense of the changes that are happening in their own field. These biographies are important to trace how some Teachers Bureaus have undergone transformation from their erstwhile form, say coaching centres or home tuitions and how they envision future prospects of their profession as a 'broker' or 'educational consultancy'. The cases of two Teacher Bureaus elucidate these transformations and their motivations which spurred investment in this market. The investments are not in monetary terms per se but more in terms of time which otherwise 'parents as buyers' and 'tutors as sellers' are not ready to incur. This section traces the origin of Teachers Bureaus specifically focusing on two leading Teachers Bureaus (Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B) operating in the city for more than two decades.

Teachers Bureau A was established in 1987 in Howrah which remains its nodal office till date. My association with this bureau started during fieldwork in December 2018 when I enrolled as a tutor with this bureau. The information on the existence of this bureau came as a result of my association with several tutors who explained how this bureau helped them start their career as a tutor. The easiest entry point to gain extensive information was through opportunistic strategy as a tutor. The enrolment is done through a phone call where tutors are asked about their qualifications, experiences, address and preferred location of tutoring. The terms and conditions are explained as follows over the phone- a) they do not have any enrolment fee b) First month salary from private tuition is to be handed over to the Bureau and in the second month 50% of the salary is to be kept by the Bureau as commission fee. The bureau also asks for certificates from Madhyamik (Class 10 board exam) to latest qualification to be sent via Whatsapp. Later on, it was revealed from interviews with tutors that there are some of them who are enrolled without these supporting documents. The location of their operation is not known to the tutors but this bureau appears to have earned 'practical legitimacy' in the market among different stakeholders. Some tutors even received five to six tuitions in one month through this Bureau thus providing them with avenues of income. Therefore, despite its invisibility in terms of location, this bureau became visible through its extended operations in the city of Kolkata and in the lives of tutors.

This well-known Teachers Bureau is situated in a suburban neighbourhood of Howrah with too many intertwining lanes squeezed in between. The office which is without a signboard is situated in the first floor of a two storied building and hardly caught attention of the dwellers. The owner of the bureau informed that the people in the neighbourhood do not avail their services. This presents an ironic picture of the market of intermediaries which caters to the city dwellers from a locality with no demand for their services as the parents in the neighbourhood continue to rely on informal networks to gather information. As the deliverables of the bureaus are not confined to their locations, they do not face locational disadvantage that is faced by private tutors or coaching centres in the suburbs. Teachers Bureau A also has a history of being a coaching centre which did not gain success partly due to locational disadvantage as most of the parents in the locality could not afford high coaching fees. This kind of transformation is a result of uncertainty leading to a change in the structure of the earlier form of the shadow education to fit the expectations of the parents. Although the owner of this bureau claimed that the formation of this bureau is his brainchild, he also mentioned that he extensively studied the market abroad and visited few places namely, Japan and China which gave him an idea of how to run a market that would thrive. Also, his experiential learning as a tutor and the struggle he faced as a tutor in search of tutees shaped his ideas on the market and opened up this possibility for him:

It (Teachers Bureau) is my brainchild and this idea came to me in 1975 when I was a home tutor. There was a time when I had to ask my friends and neighbours to inform me about students seeking tutors. Once I had to wait six months to get tutees. I always thought how to overcome this problem. I often used to discuss with my friends if we could have an organization where tuitions could be distributed as per the demand and supply. I was very young then and not mature enough to make it into a reality but I always had it at the back of my mind. After gaining some experiences in the field of education, sometimes as a tutor, sometimes as a schoolteacher and sometimes as a guest lecturer in college, I ventured into this business. I eventually found out that West Bengal has a very good market for private tuitions than any part of India. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

The narrative suggests the extent to which it was necessary for the owner as a tutor to reduce search costs. The resources and his disposition at a young age did not permit him to undertake this venture. But the dream materialized after many years through experience, as the owner imbibed ‘a feel for the game’. The worldviews of the owner as a tutor or as an owner of coaching centre are constructed through his experiences as a teacher or tutor in his career path which influenced his decisions regarding this

business. Therefore, this bureau, which started its journey with one man, grew over the years with fourteen employees at present. Their mode of marketing is advertisement through newspapers, the mode which has been in place since its inception. They function within a room with two tables divided into North Kolkata and South Kolkata within the small space. Each of these two is again divided into various zones and each zone is assigned to each employee. They call these zones as departments; Jadavpur, Ballygaunge and Jodhpur Park as one department. More than 5000 tutors are enrolled with this bureau and the number is increasing. This organizational journey is a reflection of one's own habitus which is formed over the years with experience as well as the change in the nature of private tuition market which intensified with time. One has to bear in mind that most of the Teachers bureaus supply home tutors for individual students at tutee's house and the demand for such individualized form of tuitions is a recent phenomenon which spurred the growth of these intermediaries. This also reflects how the nature of the private tuition market is changing:

I observed that parents' aspirations about their children are high in Kolkata. As numbers of such parents are increasing, I felt demand for tutors are rising. I took this as a chance and went for advertisement in three newspapers. Within a day, I got three calls from Dumdum Park, Southern Avenue and Jadavpur with different requirements. These calls were from parents. I did not have tutors to supply them. I requested them to give me some time. In the meantime, tutors also contacted me for tutees. I sent a tutor from Howrah to Dumdum Park. In those days, tutors were ready to cover long distance. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

The narrative of this owner elucidates how he has managed to break spatiotemporal boundaries by reducing time as well as escaping from his locational disadvantage as he can now access the market of the city from Howrah. The origin of the Teachers Bureaus is necessarily linked with the individualistic upbringing of children and a desire to achieve exclusive education which has been discussed in Chapter 7. Also, one has to revisit Becker's (1973) quality-quantity trade off to understand why family size plays a role in educational investment. It has been observed through discussions with parents and tutors that as families mostly have one or two children, they want the best for them in terms of education. Teachers Bureaus capitalize on the desire or aspirations of parents to achieve this end. At the same time, competition in the job market also results in competition at the school level which transpires into hiding information on 'good' tutors at the school level. These factors have contributed to the development of these intermediaries. At the same time, growing unemployment in the state has also fostered

growth of this business where both tutors and Teachers Bureaus mutually benefit from this transaction by catering to the need of the parents. Apart from unemployed youth, this has also become a source of generating income by housewives who remain at home and carry out transactions through phone calls.

Teachers Bureau B is one such bureau which has been operating since 1991 with ‘one woman army’ as the owner quoted. In contrast with Teachers Bureau A, the owner of the bureau who was a housewife did not have prior experience of tutoring. It was a matter of chance that she embarked on a business as this:

Back in 1991, I was a housewife planning to tutor students to earn some money. I advertised in the newspaper that I am willing to provide tuitions. I got calls from all over Kolkata as I did not mention my location in the advertisement. All the parents wanted me to tutor in their house whereas I wanted to tutor at my house. I could not strike a deal either due to adjustment of time or due to distance from my location. Tutors also started contacting me, possibly because my advertisement was not clear whether it is intended for parents or tutors. I advertised once again for tutees and once again my purpose was not served as I got similar responses. I could not get a single parent who agreed to my terms. In the meantime, tutors specialized in different subjects also called me for tutees. It clicked my mind- some are willing to tutor and some want tutors. Why don't I think something new? If I send Belghoria tutor to Shyambazar tutee and Tollygaunge tutor to Saltlake tutee, both the parties will be benefitted. That's how I became a mediator and started my journey as Teachers Bureau. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

The origins of these bureaus tell us two different tales of motivations that paved the path of their journey as intermediaries or mediators as reflected in their interviews. Despite these different journeys arising from different biographies of the owners, there is convergence in their beliefs about private tuition market as a prospective business venture because of the increasing demand for private tuition for individualized training of children. Besides, the relentless effort of tutors to search for tutees and their willingness to commute to the tutee's residence reflect how the market serves as a source of sustenance for educated unemployed youth. The possibility of connecting a tutor in a locality which is just a kilometre away from tutee's residence also reduces the time of commute for the tutors. This is reflected in the discussions with the Teachers Bureaus who try to connect tutors in a particular locality with tutees residing in the same locality or few kilometres away. These bureaus which are born out of private tuition market offer survival strategies to the tutors who are ‘new’ in the market by signalling to the parents that they are ‘capable’ of improving learning outcomes.

For Teachers Bureau B, her survival in the market and thereafter her ‘taking off’ as a leading bureau is attributed to her ‘intuitive skills’ and not based on any other teaching experiences like Teachers Bureau A. The owner of Bureau B reiterated that she never studied or researched on bureaus but without market research she is able to emerge as one of the players because she pays attention to the demand of the parents and focus only on what they exactly want:

Parents are very particular about tutors. They do not want to compromise on tutors. For I.C.S.E. students, they want I.C.S.E. background tutors. I did not know about these criteria but it became clearer after I entered into this profession. I came to know about patterns of board examination from the parents. I could gather that these parents are from good backgrounds who know what they want from a tutor. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

It is evident from the interview cited above that the owner did not have prior knowledge of how the market works or on what basis tutors are selected. She acquired the skills ‘on the job’ or through ‘learning by doing’. This is similar to Hirschman’s (1982) analysis of new entrants in the service delivery as ‘hustlers’ who enter the market with promise of better service delivery. It is only in the due course of time that the quality of service catches attention. In the next section, I present the ambiguities in this market on the issue of ‘quality’ tutors.

Teachers Bureau B depicts a particular case where the owner single headedly created a ‘stable world’ of her own through her adaptability with the need of the market. In the initial phase of the cycle of this bureau, the owner did not charge any enrolment fee which she presently charges after running this business for some years. The other developments which are otherwise very subtle but important to judge the size of her clients and how she learned from her clients got reflected in her conversation:

I had a small notebook of records of my clients initially but now I have many notebooks. I have learned from the senior teachers that checking mark sheets is important so that I can understand who is good for which subjects on the basis of marks of the tutors. I do not enroll tutors with certificates but mark sheets (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

This bureau, which has more than 3000 tutors enrolled with it has evolved with consultation with the clients (both tutors and parents). The tutors who are enrolled with other Teachers Bureaus brought with them their experiences which helped the owner in the initial phase. On the other hand, by adhering to parents’ wants and taking their suggestions of improvement, this bureau remained one of the key players in the market.

It is interesting to note that the owner maintains personal relations with some of the tutors who at any point of time are ready to serve her even when they are busy with tuitions. Similarly, Teachers Bureau A which has a long history of operation in this market also invested in building personal networks with some of the ‘reputed tutors’. The collaboration with tutors and other stakeholders in the market can be seen as a strategy to maintain one’s position. This word of mouth popularity gained by these bureaus also means that they do not have to adopt new marketing strategies as much as the new entrants:

I do not have my website. Since 1987 I have been giving my advertisement in the newspaper. My bureau is a brand now. If you call up Anandabazar Patrika (local newspaper) for tutors, they will refer to you my bureau. We have reached a position where we do not need to shell money on websites. You will find our name in just dial as well. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

The confidence with which the words are spoken indicates how social capital is built in the process and legitimizes the functioning of the intermediaries further. Thus, while these ‘professional’ networks of intermediaries function in an environment where social ties of parents are feeble due to competition among the parents; they themselves create informal ties with clients in their (bureaus’) interaction with them. In this sense they are ‘pseudo-professional’ network.

Table 8.2 illustrates the origin, functions and promotion strategies of some of the Teachers Bureaus based on Websites and personal interviews. Some of the Teachers Bureaus continue to advertise in the newspapers (Shikshani, Educare (computerized) and Excellence) while some operate through websites or even developed an application for android phones. I present the characteristics of some of these Bureaus (Teachers Bureau A, Teachers Bureau B, Brilliant Teachers Bureau, Metro Institute and Best Home tutor, Kolkata) in terms of year of establishment, type of tutors offered, number of tutors enrolled, Target clients and Promotion strategies, Roles assumed by bureaus.

Table 8.2 Characteristics of Teachers Bureaus (based on interviews and Website)

Teachers Bureau	Year Established	Service Type	Number of tutors	Target clients (students)	Promotion strategies	Role assumed	Terms and Conditions
Teachers Bureau A	1987	Provide Home tutors with qualification from Higher secondary pass to PhD/ schoolteachers	Above 5000	Any Grade/JEE,IIT/ BTECH/ MBA (mostly English medium students)	Specifying ‘Convent’ home tutors, advertisement through newspapers.	Consultant /middle-man/ Problem solver/ defining ‘standard’ tutors/ Monitoring	Enrolment fee equal to a)one month fee taken from parents based on Grades and course b) 50% of fees from tutor for the second month.
Teachers Bureau B	1991	Provide Home tutors with qualification from Graduate till PhD/ schoolteachers (college students not enrolled)	3500	Any Grade/ Any Course (only English medium students)	1. <i>Website</i> with tagline a)‘Empowering Quality Education’, b)Testimonials from tutors and students under ‘client’ section, c)Video recording of the founder, d)promise of placement services to Tutors, e) Objectives of improving performance of all the students. 2. <i>Google Review</i> 3. <i>Social media</i>	Consultant/mediator/ Problem solver/ defining ‘standard’ tutor/ Monitoring/Recruitment of tutors through interviews checking ‘fluency in English’.	Enrolment fee for both Parents and tutors Range (Rs.1000 to Rs.2500) plus one month tuition fee.
Brilliant Teachers Bureau	More than 20 years	Provide Home tutors(all classes)/ Online tuton Institutes/	69 featured tutors in Website	Students looking for individual home tutor/coaching centre/Online tutor in any subject from preprimary level to Masters/competitive		Consultant/ defining ‘best’ tutor/ ‘quality’ check through verifying certificates/ connecting tutor and tutees, coaching and tutees, private school and tutors.	One month’s full Tuition fee, 50 percent of second month’s tuition fee and 50 percent of third month’s tuition fees

		Coaching centre/Tutor for private schools (Service provided in and outside Kolkata)		exams like JEE/IIT, Medical in India and GRE/TOEFL/IELTS abroad.	<p><i>1. Multiple Websites with the same content- Specifying ‘Convent tutors’ and ‘best tutors’, ‘Well trained executives’, promise of ‘Quality education’, testimonials of students, profile of some tutors, option to find tutors, students and institutes in the website.</i></p> <p><i>2. Google Application for Android phones</i></p> <p><i>3. Social media</i></p> <p><i>4. Brilliant News</i></p> <p><i>4. Free membership vs Premium membership</i></p>		(There is no refund once fee is paid)
Pratibha Teachers Bureau	2004	Individual home tutors and teachers associated with schools, colleges and universities.	1254	Class I to XII/ JEE- AIEEE/B.A./B.Com./ B.Sc./CLAT/B.Tech/ Polytechnic/ BCA/BBA/CA	<p><i>Website</i> Specifying the following:</p> <p>a) Teachers connected to schools, colleges and universities.</p> <p>b) Testimonials of parents where one of them mentions getting ‘tailor made tutors’</p> <p>c) Profile of experienced tutors</p>	Providing ‘alternative employment to educated persons’ as mentioned as an objective in the website/Organizing mock test/Educational and career counseling.	Not available
Metro Institute	2009	Home tutors at both tutor’s place and tutee’s place Qualification ranging from 12 th pass to doctorate	2789	All classes, all boards, all subjects ranging from Science (Physics, chemistry, biology), Mathematics, Arts, Music, Foreign language). College students, University students are	<p><i>1. Website</i> Specifying the following:</p> <p>a) Fluency in English through tutors</p> <p>b) ‘Proper education as a right’</p> <p>c) E resources</p> <p>d) Profile of all the tutors</p>	Supporting both tutors and tutees round the clock, connecting tutors and tutees.	Enrolment fee is not available. Subscription plans available to tutors to appear as top profiles in website ranging from Silver plan (Rs. 200 per month)

<p>Best Home Tutor, Kolkata</p>	<p>Not available</p>	<p>Provide qualified tutors for all subjects as well as professional teaching and career. 'Best' Tutors divided on the basis of subjects and boards.</p>	<p>96 featured tutors</p>	<p>Also included. (Client lists suggest focus on English medium students of I.C.S.E./C.B.S.E)</p> <p>Students from all classes, streams and all boards.</p>	<p>e) Profile of students f) Testimonials of parents and tutors</p> <p>2. <i>Mobile Application</i> 3. <i>Social media</i></p> <p>1. <i>Website</i> Specifying a) why they are the best b) Mobile service team for customer care c) Blogs with topics like ' why students below standard 6 should hire all the subject tutors d) Standard recruitment team for 'quality' check 2. <i>Social media</i></p>	<p>Monitoring/ Continuous feedback system from both tutors and parents/ Claimed as 'Company'/ Recruiter of tutors/ 'standard' setting of the service/ Reviewer/</p>	<p>to Diamon plan (Rs. 1200 in 12 months).</p> <p>Separate policies for parents and tutors under 'rules and regulation'. Parents pay tuition fees agreed over to the Bureau for two months. Tutors are paid 50% of the tuition fees for two months.</p>
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8.5.2 Varieties of mediation: From ‘establishing rules’ to ‘consultation’ to ‘maintaining hierarchy’

The characteristics of the bureaus shed light on their origin and how they project themselves in the market and diversify in their ‘products’. The players in the market presented above have been operating in the ‘field’ for quite a long time, at least a decade and are employing diverse promotional strategies like any firm in the market. All the Bureaus have one thing in common i.e. they connect tutors to tutees acting as a ‘broker’ or ‘middle-man’. What is interesting to note is that bureaus like Brilliant Teachers Bureau, Metro Institute and Best Home Tutor who came after Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B, specialize in multiple ways to broaden their client base. They not only connect tutors with tutees but also give scope to tutors to teach at the comfort of their own house without commuting to tutee’s house. At the same time, tutees who cannot afford individual home tutoring at their own house can pay less to the tutors and get the service at the tutor’s house. This form of price discrimination where clients are compartmentalized on the basis of location of tutoring (tutor’s or tutee’s house) is the strategy adopted by new bureaus. While Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B are very specific about the service, i.e., tutors should tutor only at tutee’s house, Metro Institute (emerging bureau) remains open to the option of tutees who can go to tutor’s house. This is how challengers in the market orient their action to change what Fligstein (1996) calls ‘conception of control’ based on their own experiences. This is a cultural project where the challengers in the market innovate not only through technology but also culturally by advancing certain scripts or categories which are more appealing to the clients (both tutors and tutees). A closer examination at the type of service illustrated in Table 8.1 will give us a tour to the process through which the bureaus attempt to gain control of the market. For instance, Pratibha Teachers Bureau claims to provide services of tutors who are associated with schools, colleges and universities indicating that these are schoolteachers, college teachers or University Professors who are also part of this bureau. As discussed in Chapter 7, schoolteachers are high in demand due to their institutional affiliation and their association as an examiner with various boards. These bureaus who have gained ‘local knowledge’ of the market change the game to their advantage in accordance with the desire of the parents. Two interesting cases emerged in the interviews with two tutors who informed that these bureaus asked them to ‘fake’ their identity as schoolteacher to the parents:

When I first thought of providing private tuitions, I enrolled myself with a bureau (Teachers Bureau A), who told me to introduce myself as a schoolteacher to a parent so that I can earn more money and they can get more commission. (Tutor 29: January, 2019)

I was asked by a number of bureaus to introduce myself as schoolteachers to parents. But I did not agree as it is against my ethics. (Tutor 14: March, 2019)

These interviews suggest how these bureaus modify truth to their advantage which is a characteristic feature of the post truth era where “alternative facts replace actual facts” (McIntyre, 2018). The deception or malfeasance of these agents in the market is a mechanism of survival as well as gaining legitimacy. It is possible because of the information asymmetry where these intermediaries have more information about tutors than the parents as they collect academic details (certificates and mark sheets) from the tutors. Therefore, the projection of ‘best tutors’ in the websites does not serve as the best strategy to lure their ‘customers’ as long as they fail to provide tutors with institutional affiliation as per parent’s choice. This results in various opportunistic ways to reap profits in the market of which one is constructing identity of tutor to fit customer’s satisfaction. This reinforces hierarchy in the market where schoolteachers stand in top of the pyramid.

On the other hand, some bureaus (Brilliant Teachers Bureau, Best Home tutor, Kolkata) extend their clientele base by enrolling coaching centres in their websites or provide tutors for coaching centres or other organizations including private schools. In the website of the bureau, Best Home Tutor, tutors are divided on the basis of subjects and location that is available at one click on the screen. The information flow is facilitated through recruitment of ‘executives’, ‘customer care’ which are available throughout the day similar to a ‘corporate office’. These emerging forms and diversification of product within these bureaus are shifting ‘stable world’ created around market. The ‘stable world’ that Fligstein (1996) talked about (discussed in Chapter 3) depends on how incumbents are able to hold on to their position and create a ‘conception of control’ that is acceptable to other agents in the market. But the uncertainty that is part of the market challenges the ‘stable expectations’ as Beckert (2009) suggests. One finds traces of this dynamic character in the market shaped by the intermediaries where the older Teachers Bureaus which continue to deploy ‘old methods’ of connecting to the parents through newspapers have made their ‘stable worlds’ susceptible to change. The competition prevalent in the market is posing challenges to the incumbents in the market as

challengers continue to innovate through marketing tools, expansion of service to create their own ‘conception of control’ and ‘establish rules’ in their own terms. One can sense competition by visiting the respective websites of these bureaus. For instance, Best Home Tutor, Kolkata begins their introduction with ‘Why we are better?’ indicating that they need to distinguish themselves from other competitors.

As argued earlier, the hierarchy that exists in the market is a socially accepted phenomenon where some tutors are preferred to others depending on qualification and ‘formal’ institutional affiliation. Again, hierarchy at the societal level on the basis of affordability is also reinforced by these bureaus. As far as ‘target clients’ are concerned the bureaus prefer English medium students who are supposedly pay higher fees than Bengali medium counterparts. Although the websites of these bureaus do not categorically mention that they are open to ‘only English medium’ students, in practice they prefer only students from this background:

All my clients are higher class parents, upper middle class and their children are all from English medium schools of I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E. and West Bengal board. I do not entertain parents whose children are in Bengali medium schools because Bengali medium tutors are available in paras (neighbourhood). You will find Bengali medium tutors teaching five to six children together in the evening. That culture is there in Kolkata. These Bengali medium students or tutors do not need Teachers Bureau. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

Interestingly, the same Teachers Bureau does not mention preferred tutors or boards in the website. Thus, there is pretence of providing enrolment opportunities to all the clients on the website to demonstrate ‘inclusivity’ which is not practiced. Such practices breed more inequality in an otherwise unequal society where not only students are screened on the basis of affordability but also tutors who are from Bengali medium background. There is also an attempt to break the traditional mode of tutoring or ‘culture’ of tutoring embedded in informal networks of para through a ‘professional network’ that commensurate with the practices of parents. One can therefore discern a pattern where both parents from upper middle class and middle middle class background and some of these bureaus alike push the society towards new modes of inequality through segregating market. These modes sometimes take a direct approach where Bengali medium tutors and students are not enrolled and sometimes indirectly by mentioning their association with schoolteachers and college teachers on their websites.

The other way in which these bureaus maintain social hierarchy is by identifying tutors who belong to certain caste, religion, gender and age. The interviews with Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B reflect that most of the parents demand tutors who are ‘non SC’, ‘non-Muslim’, ‘not above 50 years’ and ‘female teachers for female students’:

Some parents call us and ask us not to send Muslim tutors or tutors from scheduled class background. I remember one of them even specified ‘Brahmin’. Some parents request us to send lady tutors. Some parents ask us not to send tutors above 50 years. We have variety of customers with various preferences. (Employee, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

Bengalis, Gujaratis, Marwaris- they do not prefer Muslim tutors. But Muslims do not have such preference. What I observed is a remarkable preference for lady home tutors. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019).

At the outset, the role of the Teachers Bureaus appear confined to reducing search costs by providing information on tutors and tutees thus bridging the ‘structural hole’. But as discussed above, the role of these intermediaries are varied and not merely reducible as ‘network architects’. Firstly, in relation to the problem of information, these bureaus help in reducing information asymmetry arising from adverse selection and moral hazard problem.

Adverse selection problem arises in this market because tutors as ‘sellers’ of service have more information on their quality than the parents as ‘buyers’. As presented in Table 8.1, these bureaus check mark sheets, certificates and address proofs of the tutors while enrolling which act as a screening mechanism and reduce adverse selection by ensuring credibility. Yet, the problem remains as bureaus often engage in opportunistic behaviour as ‘sellers of information’ by hiding information on tutors who are otherwise not in demand by parents. Therefore, there is a semblance of mitigating adverse selection problem depending on the behaviour of the bureau. The other problem, i.e., the moral hazard problem which arises because of the tendency of tutors to shirk responsibility or reducing effort in the delivery of service is often dealt with by continuously taking feedbacks from the parents about the tutors. Based on these feedbacks, these tutors are assigned next student. The better the feedback, the chances of assigning next tuitions are higher. In this way, the bureaus design a mechanism through which efforts of the tutors in the present assignment is tied with the next. At the same time, they reduce the transaction costs of negotiating with the tutors and act

as a 'watchdog' so that contracts is enforced. The focus on imperfect market arising from information asymmetry is therefore taken care of to an extent by these intermediaries as depicted in various studies in the field of economics (Stigler, 1967; Akerlof, 1970).

The problem of bounded rationality arising from one's own cognitive limitation where parents are not able to choose all the alternatives in choice decision is also reduced by these intermediaries by offering alternatives to choose from. This is to be linked with the processes of choice making through which parents select tutors in an informal network as discussed in Chapter 7. It has been observed in the interviews with parents that apart from the issue of affordability, choice process is mired in difficulties due to time constraint, locational disadvantage, reluctance in sharing information and so on. As all the options cannot be taken into account due to these limitations, the choice set of parents do not have all the options. Teachers Bureaus expand the choice set of parents by providing information on the tutors. More so, the tutors are 'tailor made' as one of the parents shared in her testimonial (Table 8.1).

As discussed, the role of the intermediaries is diverse and hence focusing on information will downplay the other forms of intermediation that characterize the market for private tuition. Coupled with the problem of search costs, the market poses problem of uncertainty which is typical of education market as returns to investment comes after time lags. The uncertainty also remains as the definition of 'quality tutors' is ambiguous. Also, Beckert (2009) suggests there are 'coordination problems' in the market which accentuate in presence of uncertainty. 'Valuation problem' that surfaces due to uncertainty is often handled by intermediaries through what Bessy and Chauvin (2013) describes as 'frames' on which activities of valuation is based. In the context of Teachers Bureaus, the activities of valuation take the shape of 'consultants', 'evaluators', 'monitors', 'recruiters' and 'reviewers'. Through these activities, these bureaus construct market where a convention is formed which not only affects other agents in the market but also themselves. The convention relates to the 'standard enrollment fee', 'best tutor', 'good clients', 'indispensability of tutoring' and other activities which relate to the price and quality of tutoring services. The website analysis suggests that the enrollment fee or the commissions taken by the bureaus are more or less similar and there is thus a standard convention which they accept. As far as

uncertainty in the market is concerned, the definitions or frames that are advanced by these bureaus act as conventions in this market which are again accepted by parents because they fit the narrative of the education system in which they are embedded. The definition of ‘best’ tutor becomes important in this context. As Table 8.1 illustrates, two of the bureaus (Teachers Bureau A and Brilliant Teachers Bureau) specified ‘convent tutors’ in their advertisement on tutors. Our discussions in chapter 7 brought out the emphasis that some parents put on ‘convent tutors’. This is exactly in sync with preferences of some of the parents who belong to the upper echelon of the society. Thus the promise of providing ‘convent tutors’ reduce the uncertainty around ‘quality’ of tutor as ‘convent’ is synonymous with ‘quality’ for some parents. Fluency in English is another symbolic category through which quality of tutors is assessed. The currency of usage of these terms that is quite appealing to the parents is one constitutive element of the market and as these bureaus continue to use these terms they become a ‘standard’ in the market which becomes a normative device. Thus, while these homogenized categories or meanings that flow in the market reduce uncertainty by streamlining tutors from a diverse range, they also act as an elimination system where some tutors who do not belong to the ‘defined category’ are left out. The interviews with bureaus pointed out how they categorize tutors:

If a tutor from Bankura or Medinipur who cannot speak one sentence in English demands Rs.3000 per class, this is not acceptable by parents. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

Sometimes parents specifically look for schoolteachers. South Point school parents look for South point pass out tutors. Also, convent educated tutors are in high demand. I have these types of tutors. I do not enroll college students who do not take tutoring seriously and take it as a source of pocket money. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

“...helping a student with homework and projects and taking regular tests against the topics in curriculum come in prima facie of such a tutor”. (Website of Best Home Tutor, Kolkata)

These interviews reflect the meaning of ‘quality’ that is constructed by these bureaus based on locational dimension where district tutors are considered to be incompetent in English language and hence not in demand. On the other hand, schoolteachers of reputed schools or tutors who passed out from these schools are attributed higher value in the market. Lastly, a ‘good home tutor’ not only helps students with homework but also take tests regularly. Therefore, the identity of a ‘good’ tutor is continuously getting

reconstructed by these bureaus which further feed into the dominant narrative of ‘good’ defined by parents and schools alike. Similarly, they bring a shared meaning of who is a ‘good parent’ into the market. This idea is related to the background of the parents as well as their dependency on these bureaus. Parents, who do not question the choice of tutors provided by the bureaus, are often considered to be ‘good clients’:

A parent made a call for a doctorate holder tutor for her son who studies in class 11. I told her doctorate holder tutors are not good tutors because they do not know syllabus properly and they are not in touch with school curriculum. I explained to her and she listened. Nowadays parents do not listen but she understood what I was trying to say. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

There are some parents who completely rely on my choice of tutor. They tell me the subject for which they want tutor and I supply them. This is built on relation. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

These flow of meanings around ‘good clients’ again become convention in the market. These meanings are shared by these bureaus in a common platform, an organization of Teachers bureaus. The organization of bureaus is established to identify opportunism on the part of both tutors and parents. This entails discussions around tutors who are not sincere and are enrolled with most of the bureaus. This also concerns those parents who do not pay their fees on time. They, therefore, set what Fligstein (1996) terms as ‘rules of exchange’ governing the conditions and agents who should be part of transaction. In this way, markets can be seen as cultures as Abolafia (1998) pointed out “...markets exhibit their own distinct set of mutual understandings” (p.69). These mutual understandings around which the agents orient their action in the market through repeated transactions reduce uncertainty in the market as agents (bureaus, tutors and parents) who were otherwise anonymous in the first transaction develop interpersonal relation with the course of time. This renders a sense of certainty in the market. The bureaus (both Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B) named some popular tutors whom they rely on for emergency situations (i.e. if a ‘good’ tutor is needed immediately). Therefore, the ‘activities of valuation’ wherein some ‘standards’ are circulated or meanings are shared make it easier for parents to judge tutors around these defined values. This in turn reduces uncertainty to some extent in the market.

In the process of defining tutors or parents and other agents in the market, the bureaus also define themselves in myriad ways. The most common identity which they share is

that of a ‘consultant’. The bureaus identify themselves as ‘educational consultants.’ Their understanding of consultancy is based on other players in the market, who “sell” education differently, for instance, branded coaching centres.

Education consultancy is of many types. FITJEE, Aakash are also consultancies. They provide study materials for IIT. In the same manner, our consultancy is to establish relations between parents and tutors. We connect parents with a competent tutor. There are some tutors who are connected with us for twenty years. If I request them to charge less from parents, they cannot say no to me. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

I give suggestions to new tutors about how much to charge depending on the Grade of the student. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B, February, 2019)

In the first case, consultancy is in terms of building relations between parents and tutors and in the second, it is related to the ‘local knowledge’ of the market that these bureaus acquire which serve the new tutors. The experiences and the market survey that these bureaus carry out help them to engage as a ‘consultant’ as well.

The other roles that they play is related to recruitment, review and monitoring the activities of the clients. The website of Best Home Tutor mentions the engagement of ‘mobile service team’ that reviews student’s diary and makes a report on student’s progress based on the report provided by schoolteachers. This is said to improve their home tutoring services. Therefore, the bureaus continue to remain part of the service even after a tutor is assigned assuming the role of a ‘reviewer’. The same Teachers Bureau also acts as ‘recruiter’ by checking the tutors ‘ability to train’ by forming ‘a standard recruitment team’ qualified to interview tutors. Apart from defining the categories like ‘best tutor’ or ‘good clients’, these bureaus also differentiate tutoring service on the basis of clientele need. For instance, this bureau divided the service as simple tutoring, corporate tutoring and academic tutoring. While simple tutoring implies tutoring all the subjects by a single tutor, academic tutoring is tutoring in specialized subjects. Corporate tutoring is for the purpose of imbibing ‘corporate values’ through professional development and soft skills. This Teachers Bureau also identifies itself as ‘company’ as mentioned in the website. This is one of the important characteristics that emerged from the data where bureaus bring in ‘corporate touch’ in their service through various modes drawing ideas from the corporate world. These processes of transforming education into commodities with ‘exchange value’ manifest itself in various ways through the activities of the bureaus.

Lastly, it is important to understand how these bureaus create a niche of their own and they organize themselves within the ‘field’ in which they belong. This brings us to the question of legitimacy that these bureaus gain in the market. This acculturation of people to a particular system is an on-going process and hence the promotional strategies adopted in the past vary from the present. As developed in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3, the market is in a constant flux due to the emergence of new players, regulation and other external conditions which change the ‘conception of control’ in the market. This also depends on the changing education market to which this market owes its existence. The manner in which private English medium schools are gaining momentum has resulted in search of tutors from an English medium background. Therefore, we see reflections of language proficiency that is accorded primacy in these bureaus. Some interesting pattern emerges from the interviews of Teachers Bureau A and Teachers Bureau B which explain how they maintain their legitimacy:

I have been interviewed in a radio programme called ‘Boss er sathe adda’ (chit-chat with boss). They called me boss because I run a business alone without any assistance. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

Ministers, artists, even our previous Mayor took tutors from us. I have connections with eminent people in Kolkata. They are all my clients. There are teachers who left their jobs and got tuitions from here. Now they have their own cars and bought apartments. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

As the interviews suggest, the strategies of the bureaus do not end in advertisement through websites and newspapers but they push their horizon by broadcasting their interviews to get as much clients possible. Also, some big names from different fields who are their clients help them to remain in business and perpetuate their acceptance as intermediaries as observed from the above interview.

8.5.3 Future Prospects and Challenges of the market

Teachers Bureaus which are evolving with time keep track of the changing market and adapt strategies according to the need of the hour. In a way they are the ‘forecaster’ of the market as they undertake market surveys of supply and demand conditions. The potentiality of the market can therefore be assessed from the perspective of these bureaus that see the market as indispensable but at the same time contestable. This is

related to their understanding of the education system in general and the role of private tuitions in particular:

Can you live without having food? Clothing, food and education are necessities. You need an institution to study and that is school. Similarly, for good results you need tuitions. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

Till 2013-14, we had good experiences in this market. I have closed my coaching centre as this market (Teachers Bureau) was thriving. We were satisfied with our work. But since the last four years, we are facing problems. I do not think this market will sustain. This is because of parents who have endless demand. Even Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar would fail in fulfilling what they want. A student who studies in Class 8 goes to FITJEE for IIT preparation without knowing basics. These coaching centres assign all the difficult questions to these children. To solve these questions, they want tutors which we provide. If the tutor cannot solve twenty questions out of hundred, he/she faces rejection from the parents. To fulfill their demand, we need such 'materials'. Education is producing 'impure product' and that is why it is difficult to find good tutors. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

The views of the two bureaus present, on one hand, a promise of sustenance arising from the necessity of private tuitions and on the other hand, also show us the tensions that arises in the market which challenges the functioning of these bureaus. This is a result of increasing aspirations of parents to see their wards in prestigious institutions like IITs and hence preparation starts at an early age. The change in these demand conditions indicate that the 'product' i.e. tutor should have certain 'quality' which in this case is the ability of the tutor to solve questions provided by branded coaching institutes like FITJEE. Teachers Bureau A bemoans that education these days is producing 'impure products' and this creates a supply constraint. Therefore, contrary to the general perception that anyone can become a tutor, the bureaus reflect that the market glorifies certain values over others. Given the fact that demand conditions are changing in the market, Teachers Bureau A which was a dominant bureau two decades back faces competition from other bureaus which are able to supply tutors with these specific qualities. Therefore, 'established rules' are amenable to change once these external changes are in place. This brings more competition in the market to grab the greater share of the market.

The other challenges that are pointed out by the bureaus are related to lackadaisical attitude of some tutors which threaten their business prospects. On various occasions there are some tutors who lack sincerity towards students especially those tutors who are college going and consider tuition as a source of earning pocket money. In such

cases, the dispute arises between tutors and parents and Teachers Bureaus face the brunt of it. The other challenge is concerning the tutor who enrolls himself/herself in various Teachers Bureaus in search of a better deal:

Some tutors do not turn up at the stipulated time at tutee's house. We get calls from the parents that the tutor did not arrive. Because of these tutors, I lost many assignments where parents immediately switch to other Teachers Bureaus. (Employee, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

Sometimes we get complaints from parents that the tutors do not arrive on time and keep him busy with mobile phones. We have to contact the tutor to resolve this problem. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

A guardian called me up saying that she is unable to contact the tutor over the phone. The mobile phone is switched off and is not reachable. I was wondering how I was supposed to contact the tutor if his mobile is switched off. Shall I roam around on the streets to search for the tutor? Guardians call up for small things. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

The competition prevalent in the market creates tensions within this 'field' for more customers and the driving mantra is 'customer satisfaction'. There is a demand for 'sincere' tutors who can keep up to this expectation but as the information on 'sincerity' is difficult to obtain, uncertainty would prevail. Teachers Bureau A relates the lack of sincerity with present day upbringing which gets reflected in the attitude of tutors towards tutees:

These days value of education has gone down. We are going towards a dark age. Parents have mostly one or two children and they give everything to them. Tutors who come from good background consider this profession as a source of gaining pocket money. In our times, parents used to have many children and investment was less per child. I had to run my own educational expenditure through private tuitions due to financial crisis. We used to take it sincerely. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

The temporal dimension of education where 'education then' and 'education now' is compared shapes how the bureaus think about the prospects of the market. This comparison emerges from the owner's reflection of his family biography and how tuitions helped him continue with his studies. This lack of sincerity also results from the education system which is increasingly getting commercialized. In a system, where teachers are reduced to 'service providers' or parents are treated as 'clients' or 'customers', education loses its purpose as an end in itself. Therefore, the profession of teaching has completely transformed in the face of commercialization.

The bureaus also pointed out the opportunistic behaviour on the part of parents where parents have tendencies to extract one lesson from tutors in the name of demonstration class at no cost. Even after document verification and 'quality check' by bureaus, parents demand for a demonstration class to judge whether the tutor is capable of teaching their wards. In various cases, after the demonstration the parents call the bureaus to send another tutor. This is not only demeaning for a tutor's esteem but also the bureaus which are under the impression that they are not able to cater to the need of the parents.

I sent a tutor for a class 11 student. He gave fifty sums to the tutor in the demonstration class. The tutor completed the sums and came back. Later, the parents called me up and informed that they did not like the tutor as the student did not understand any of the sums. The tutor took all the trouble going to the tutee's house and all his efforts were wasted. The student gained as all the sums are solved in one demonstration class without any payment. Can you imagine a class 11 student judging a tutor with Master's degree? On top of that parents are backing him up and putting stamp to his choice. This is very embarrassing for a tutor. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

Parents demand for taking demo classes of tutors. Sometimes, after the demo class they reject the tutors and do not pay for that class. I ensure that they pay the tutors for demo classes as well. Nothing is free of cost. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

From both these interviews it becomes clear that the market of intermediaries suffers from opportunism and malfeasance which are unavoidable. While Teachers Bureau A suffers loss from the attitude of parents, Teachers Bureau B meticulously designed a mechanism to reduce such behaviour by taking fees per demonstration. The practice of demo classes also point to the fact that parents do not completely trust the tutors chosen by the bureaus.

The bureaus suggested that as far as the new tutors are concerned, the intermediaries play a major role in connecting them to the tutees as they do not have the knowledge of the field or how the market works. This is true especially for those tutors who come from different cities as their family relocates and are in search for tutees. Eventually, as tutors develop trust with tutees through their services, the tutors start getting tutees through referrals or words of mouth. In such a case, these tutors do not go back to the Teachers Bureaus.

Mehuli Basu (pseudonym) got her tuitions from Teachers Bureau A in her initial years as a tutor. After a year, she got more tutees through her first student assigned by the Teachers

Bureau. Now she has a group of ten students in one batch. (Interview with a tutor: December, 2018).

This is a common phenomenon which emerged from the interviews with both Teachers Bureaus and tutors. The tutors initially approached these bureaus to reduce search costs. With time, as the tutor builds relationship of trust with the parents, he/she shifts to the older mode of getting tuitions through informal networks. This poses a challenge to these bureaus as they lose experienced tutors.

The bureaus also sense competition from each other which is likely to change the dynamics of the market. They assess their own position vis-à-vis others in the 'economic field' and strategise according to their 'conception of control'. Teachers Bureau A which is the oldest bureau remarked:

I have seen many new bureaus coming and going. They could not run the business because of their lack of knowledge about the market. We have a position in this market. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018).

I often find Teachers Bureau A (pseudonym) and another bureau run by someone named Mr. Saha. Mr. Saha came much later and took my Teachers Bureau's name but added 'computerized' into it. I still do not understand what that means. Teachers Bureau A is run by an owner who is not a good person. He enrolls every tutor without checking their documents. You will also find 12th standard student enrolled with him. Tutors complained that parents refuse their services after a month and they do not even get the salary of the first month. (Owner, Teachers Bureau B: February, 2019)

The bureaus therefore are aware of each other's way of operating and adopt strategies that would benefit them. For instance, Teachers Bureau B does not enrol tutors below graduate and hence brags about selecting 'quality' tutors unlike Teachers Bureau A. The existence of a number of bureaus in the market leads to competitive behaviour which brings out newer 'conception of control' into the market. This has been discussed in the last section in which these bureaus adopt various promotional strategies or diversify their 'products'. Teachers Bureau A who is wary about the functioning of this market introspected on other options which could open up new avenues:

I am thinking of opening a consultancy which will guide students on choice of course. In foreign countries, the students select courses in which they have a knack unlike our country where parents push students for IIT or Medical. We do not have such consultancies in India. I see a possibility of this kind of market in future. It is somewhat acting like a psychologist. This needs approval of parents. This is in my mind by I do not know how far I will be successful in making it happen. (Owner, Teachers Bureau A: December, 2018)

As discussed earlier, one can find some possibilities of transforming the market further into some other forms which would fit the dominant narrative and expectations of the parents. The owner's worldviews and his assessment of the market sharply come out from his experiences as a teacher in education market. In this particular case, he forecasts the market according to his perception and experience. In this way one can conceive of the role of the bureaus as something more than 'network architects'. This section shows their role in determining and assessing the potentiality of the market.

8.6 Private Tuition Market as Social Movement: The Case of West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association

In the last two sections, I have developed an analysis of various forms of 'shadow' in the market which interact with one another and shape the dynamic character of the market through competition and collaboration. In this section, we take the debate on 'market as politics' advanced by Fligstein (1996) to develop the case for the emergence of West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association (WBPTWA). It is important to locate the emergence of 'social movements' within the context of private tuition market which is brought about by contested social relations within the market. As pointed out earlier, the motivations of the players in the market are varying- for some, private tuition is a source of livelihood and sustenance and for others it is a way to earn additional income or earn profit. These varying motivations result in power struggle within the market in which each actor tries to influence the 'exterior' i.e. the State. Also, the policies of the State influence the behaviour of the actors in the market which also lead to movements. Callon (2007) argues that markets lead to certain matter of concerns about which satisfactory answers may not be available and these trigger political issues whose solutions impact organizational structure. The metaphor of social movement is relevant in the context of present study in order to capture the tensions that emerge in the market in times of crisis. Fligstein (1996) points out that market assumes the character of social movements in times of crisis i.e. when the market destabilizes. It also happens in case of emerging markets where 'rules' and 'roles' are not defined and challengers enter into the market leading to formation of allies to invade the market (Fligstein, 1996). While Fligstein (1996) talks about markets as taking form of social movements, he ignored the possibility that the market can lead to social movement. This section elaborates on the existing social movements around the market where

various interest groups emerge and form nexus to establish their ‘conception of control’ and ensure that compliance to regulatory policies of the State is maintained.

Social movement is defined as “networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities” (Diani, 1992; p. 3). By looking at the market through the lens of social movement one can discern social relations that constitute the market which again brings us to the ‘embeddedness’ perspective of the market. In light of this, actors share collective identity and beliefs which result in formation of organizations necessary to carry out the movement. Tarrow (2011) contends that the basis of social movement is *contentious collective action* which arises when people who do not have access to certain benefits put their claims against opponents who are better placed in the society. The formation of WBPTWA narrates an interesting tale of such collective action where tutors with a common goal mobilize against powerful forces in the private tuition market to ensure imposition of formal rules mandated by Right to Education Act, 2009. This section begins by situating the formation of WBPTWA in the context of the changing education system in West Bengal characterized by increasing reliance of students on private tuitions coupled with increasing unemployment. The origin and history of the organization and its growth as an organization takes us to the root of the deficiencies in the school education system arising from corrupt practices of schoolteachers who adopt various means to gain tutees from schools. The unemployed youth who take recourse to tutoring as their main occupation to sustain their living are affected through these practices as they lose a chunk of tutees to schoolteachers. As unemployment increased over the years in West Bengal, private tuition market opened up earning opportunity for unemployed youth as demand for the service is high in West Bengal (also depicted in Section 8.1). In a hierarchized market with schoolteachers placed at the topmost position among the suppliers of private tuition, these tutors are at constant threat of getting eliminated. The unfair competition adopted by these schoolteachers is part of everyday discourse in West Bengal which surfaced from the discussions with parents and Teachers Bureaus. The contradictions arising from conflicting interest between the tutors and schoolteachers in a partly regulated market results in continuous shift towards new meanings where the tutors attempt to involve the State. This materialized into concerted

effort by tutors to bring together the likes of them from diverse backgrounds under an umbrella organization WBPTWA.

8.6.1 The Origin of the movement⁵⁷

The movement has its roots in *Thana more* area Jalpaiguri in North Bengal where some tutors under the leadership of a tutor named Sujay Kumar Barman felt the need of a union which could address issues related to problems of tutoring. The founder believed that the country has witnessed various unions like trade unions, labour unions who took their movement forward through collective struggle. In the same vein, the tutors need to organize themselves to claim their position in the society. In 2001, this association was named as Jalpaiguri Private Tutors' Association and the movement which was earlier led in a diffused manner in different pockets of North Bengal became concentrated with the establishment of this organization. Since then, various incidents of protests have been reported in the newspapers. In Islampur, members of Unemployed Private Tutors' Association filed a complaint with the head teachers of schools against the school teachers as the school teachers are depriving them of their means of livelihood by taking coaching classes (The Telegraph 2007). Similar incident occurred in Murshidabad where unemployed young men moved to the high court to demand action against school teachers engaged in tutoring (The Telegraph 2006). These instances eventually spread in various districts of West Bengal and took an organized form as private tutors joined the common cause of uniting against the unfair tutoring practices adopted by schoolteachers. Finally, the organization was registered as West Bengal Private Tutors' Welfare Association (WBPTWA) in 2013. From one district, the movement spread to other districts and in 2019, the number of members has increased to 70,000 in 22 districts.

The historical backdrop of the movement has to be linked with the attempts to deal with the issue of private tuition practices in each political regime starting from the Left Front government (1977-2011). In 2001, the then Finance Minister of West Bengal, Asim Dasgupta announced in his budget speech about passing a bill to ban private tuition which faced resistances from various teachers' organization (*The Telegraph* 2001).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The present President of WBPTWA and other members narrated the history of the organization at various occasions during the fieldwork conducted between 2018 and 2019.

⁵⁸ <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/bill-lined-up-to-ban-tuitions/cid/929582> (Accessed on

The idea was to make teachers more accountable to their duties as a huge chunk of education budget goes into their salaries. The CPIM led Teachers' Union, All Bengal Teachers Association (ABTA) also criticised the move of not taking consensus of teachers' organizations. Later, ABTA joined hands to help the government to eliminate the practice of private tuition by conducting free coaching classes so that the need for private tuitions do not arise (*The Telegraph*, 2001).⁵⁹ The criticism came from various corners as an eye wash of the government to avoid the question of school infrastructure. However, this ban on private tuition was imposed by signing a written undertaking by the schoolteacher that he/she is not involved in privately tutoring students which is still in place. In 2018, Kolkata Gazette published by School Education Department of West Bengal states "No teacher shall engage himself in any sort of private tuition for personal gain. Provided that, a teacher shall co-operate in the matter of remedial coaching which may be organised by the Institution" (Gazette notification, No. 214-SE/S/10M-01/18 Kolkata, 8th March, 2018).

Since then, a number of cases have emerged where schoolteachers continue to provide private tuitions either openly or secretly. This also gets reflected in this study through field observations and discussions with parents and tutors. The popular tutors in the coaching centres are schoolteachers of 'reputed' schools which produce toppers. Despite the written undertaking furnished by schoolteachers, the flouting of rules continue in West Bengal and punitive measures against schoolteachers are not adopted. The movement of tutors is to bring these laws into place by acting as a 'watchdog' to ensure action against schoolteachers.

The 'contentious collective action' that Tarrow (2011) referred to predominantly shaped the goals of the organization as the tutors kept struggling for their survival in the market and made attempt to create their own 'conception of control'. The metaphor of 'contentious collective action' is emphasized with regards to this movement because of the changing political economy which provides these ordinary people with opportunity to raise their voice collectively. As the market evolves, States policies also adjust according to the changing nature of the market. In West Bengal, private tuition

8.9.2020)

⁵⁹ <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/class-after-class-to-check-tuitions/cid/919532> (Accessed on 8.9.2020)

ban on schoolteachers existed much before RTE (2009)⁶⁰ was enacted indicating the extent of government school teachers' involvement in private tuition. Therefore, it is clear that schoolteachers providing private tuition are not a new phenomenon. What is new is their acceptance as tutors in the society and their strategies to gain more tutees by forming nexus with networks like Teachers Bureaus and coaching centres as discussed in the earlier sections. The non-compliance of rules and the inaction of the State to these corrupt practices have led to massive social unrest among the tutors who are caught between a state of uncertainty and denial of social recognition. This movement has taken various forms like demonstration on the streets, making parents aware of RTE (2009) Act, complaint against schoolteachers who provide private tuitions in the DI office, meetings in each unit (district) about their course of action and to maintain solidarity of the movement (see, Appendix 8, A.8.1, A. 8.2, A.8.3). Although contentious elements are present in the movement, it also goes beyond this politics by involving members in social work activities in each district.

8.6.2 Goals and Mobilization strategies and Negotiation with the State

The President of this organization who is leading the movement since 2016 from Siliguri district of West Bengal suggests how the organization has come so far through collective struggle. The goal of the organization goes beyond the contentious action against schoolteachers. The members assign great importance to the term 'welfare' as they believe that one of the goals of the organization is to contribute to the society through social work. Thus 'welfare' is not confined to the welfare of the members within the organization but includes activities like distribution of books to the needy students, blood donation campaigns, collecting funds for social disaster etc. For carrying out their day to day transactions including deputations and protests, the members are charged an annual membership fee. Besides, tutors who have established themselves as in the market shell out resources for various activities as well.

The members of the organization include home tutors, tutors in coaching centres and tutors who also run other businesses like consultancies from time to time. They are in a continuous struggle to gain recognition from the government and society:

⁶⁰ Section 28E of the Right to Education Act (2009) prevents schoolteachers from engaging in private tuition.

We are treated like second class citizens. The struggle is not only against schoolteachers who provide private tuitions but also to gain respect in the society. (State Co-ordinator, WBPTWA, 2019)

Our movement is to ensure that schoolteachers comply with State rules. Schoolteachers cannot provide private tuitions for personal gain. We also want recognition of our occupation- 'peshar shikriti'. We are the architect of the society and we need to live with our head high. The other day, I went to the bank for home loan but I was denied the loan because I do not have a secure job. (President, WBPTWA, 2019)

My motive of joining the organization is to fight for self-respect. Even though I have many students, I think this respect is missing from our society. The organization has helped me to gain ground for this fight and I am now known to many. (Member in North 24 Parganas, February, 2019)

The laws have been amended by the State. This is Government's decision that a law exist that schoolteachers cannot provide private tuitions. We only want State to implement its law. We always feel deprived because of the schoolteachers. We have nothing to fear. (A senior member was addressing other members in the occasion of formation of Committee in Belghoria, North 24 Parganas: March, 2019).

These tutors who believe that they contribute to the society are pushed in the margin of the society from where they struggle to come out. These tensions in the words of the President as 'architect of the society' and 'recognition of occupation' reflect ambiguity and perplexity of this occupation where contribution to the society comes at a lesser price (or only in monetary terms). The quest for social recognition forms the basis of this struggle apart from reducing threat posed by schoolteachers as tutors. The demand of the organization is therefore to ensure that the state government registers every tutor and provide them dole to reduce the uncertainty arising from this occupation.

We have come to terms with the fact that it is not possible for the government to recruit unemployed youth into the school system. Most of us love what we do. We only demand that government provide us certain benefits. State government has provided doles to Maulavis, Lamas and even clubs, then why not us? (President, WBPTWA: July, 2019)

The members relate themselves to the deprived class in the society who has the right to have certain facilities from the government as any other deprived sections. The problem of unemployment has been normalized in the present context which indicates the sheer failure of the government to address the problem of unemployment as well as ensuring compliance to regulatory norms. The narratives of the members reflect such how these impediments or lackadaisical attitude of the government are making it difficult for many tutors to continue their livelihood.

Although, at the outset the movement takes the shape of protest against schoolteachers and deputations in various offices of Department of School education, this goal of social recognition or benefits from the government remain a central issue in the movement. But this has not taken much prominence in their negotiation with the State as much as the protest against flouting of rules by the schoolteachers. The association is known for its struggle against schoolteachers, particularly government schoolteachers. Private schools are mostly under Delhi boards which makes it difficult for them to register complaints against them.

As far as the protests against schoolteachers are concerned, it starts with identifying schoolteachers in each of the districts who provide private tuitions. The members of WBPTWA who are assigned to particular districts make such lists based on their local knowledge of the area and schools. At the initial stage, these members lodge complaints against schoolteachers addressing it to the Headmasters of schools. The Headmasters respond to the complaints by warning the schoolteachers and reminding them that actions might be taken against them. In some cases, the inaction of the Headmasters compels them to go to the District Inspectors directly or in the BDO (Block Development Officer) office. Recently, the deputation has also reached West Bengal School Education Department and Bikash Bhawan in Kolkata. This is how the members attribute the success of the movement:


One of our achievements is getting access to Partha Chatterjee's (Education Minister, West Bengal) office in Bikash Bhawan and explaining our problems and our demands to the Minister. We started our movement with BDO office in the district and then moved on to West Bengal Secondary Education department and eventually we made our voices heard in Bikash Bhawan. (President, WBPTWA: July, 2019)

Success in the movement is related to how far the members are able to make their demands to the higher authorities. As evident, the small success of filing petitions in schools to BDO office or DI office has culminated into bigger goals of making themselves visible to the Minister. In Birbhum district, success has taken the shape of release of notice by Birbhum District Primary School Council (see Figure 8.8). Similar instances have also taken place in various districts where notices have been forwarded by various authorities to look into the matter (Appendix 8). The members suggested that they have successfully stopped some schoolteachers from tutoring students privately through their protests. But they felt these as temporary success as after few

months these teachers would resume their malpractices. The idea of a schoolteacher is based on the binary of ‘Adarshabadi Shikshak’ (Idealistic teacher) and ‘Arthalobhi Shikshak’ (Avaricious teacher) as perceived by the tutors of the association. The former does not engage in private tuitions or corrupt practices while the latter looks at this profession as a way of extracting money. The members define their roles in identifying the latter and ensuring that punitive measures are taken against them.

Figure 8.8: Notice by Birbhum District Primary School Council

Birbhum District Primary School Council
Vidyasagar Bhaban
Suri, Birbhum



Ph.No. +91 3462 255596/256427
 Fax +91 3462 259032
 Email- birbhundpsc@gmail.com
 dpscbirbhum@gmail.com
 website- www.birbhum.gov.in/dpscindex.html



Memo No.-BDPSC/ACA/ **647(C)** /2019 Date: 04.07.2019
 From:
 The Chairman/Secretary.

To,
 The Sub-Inspector of Schools
 Rampurhat West, Rampurhat North, Rampurhat South, Mollarpur, Mollarpur East & Md. Bazar New.

Sub: Regarding Private Tuition of Primary/J.B. School teachers.

The undersigned has to inform him/her that one Alikenda Chakraborty, President, Birbhum District Committee, West Bengal Private Tutors Welfare Association had alleged that fifteen teachers(list enclosed) under the jurisdiction of Birbhum District Primary School Council has been engaged in providing private tuition to the students-an act clearly against the RTE norms.

He/she is, therefore, requested to look into the matter and collect an undertaking in the prescribed proforma from the concerned teacher and send the same within a week to the office of the undersigned.


 Chairman/Secretary
 Birbhum District Primary School Council,
 Vidyasagar Bhavan, Suri, Birbhum.


In the process of taking forward the movement, the members also build interpersonal relationship among themselves. One of the ways, the members connect with each other is through tutees. This works through a system of referrals where, for instance, Mathematics tutors in an area refer his/her tutees to a Physics tutor in the same area. These practices surfaced out clearly in the formation of committee in Nimta area of

Belghoria in North 24 Parganas. One of the agendas of the meeting was to build solidarity which also involves sending students to fellow ‘comrades’:

In Barasat, we have 150 members now. Some tutors have good understanding with schoolteachers. The picture has to change through organization. Be good to your fellow comrades and send your students to them and not schoolteachers. (Senior member in Belghoria unit meeting, March, 2019)

The field observations on the occasion of formation of a new unit in March 2019 brought to the fore various aspects of the association. The members who are part of the movement address themselves as ‘comrades’ akin to various other political movements. Indeed, the struggle is political, as power structures are unevenly distributed in the market. Interestingly, these meetings are also arranged to reflect on the shortcomings of the organization, for instance, to bring awareness to the members as to how they can engage themselves with guardians. This calls for ‘skill up gradation’ of the tutors, ‘dedication’ and understanding why schoolteachers are in demand as tutors. These introspections are important to form what Fligstein (1996) terms as ‘conception of control’ where the members attempt to resist the established rules in the market that schoolteachers are good tutors.

Often the slogans in various districts are to carry the movement to Kolkata which in their language is ‘*Kolkata mukhi andolan*’. It is a general perception among the members that the protests have remained confined to districts as the tutors in the city of Kolkata do not participate in the movement. Therefore, the movement takes a spatial dimension where hotspots of these movements are in the districts of West Bengal which are rural or semi urban in character. The members of these districts feel that the city is characterized by ‘individualistic attitude’ and tutors residing in the city nurture it further. Also, the city space provides with various employment opportunities (subsidiary in nature) where a tutor does not only depend on tuitions but can also engage in other types of temporary jobs like call centres, educational consultancies and proprietor of Teachers Bureaus:

Our movement is not strong in Kolkata like other districts because tutors in Kolkata are very self-centred. They look for what they can gain from the movement instead of what they can contribute to the movement. In Kolkata, you also have various opportunities besides tutoring. They do not have much fear of losing tutees like tutors in other districts. (State co-ordinator, February, 2019)

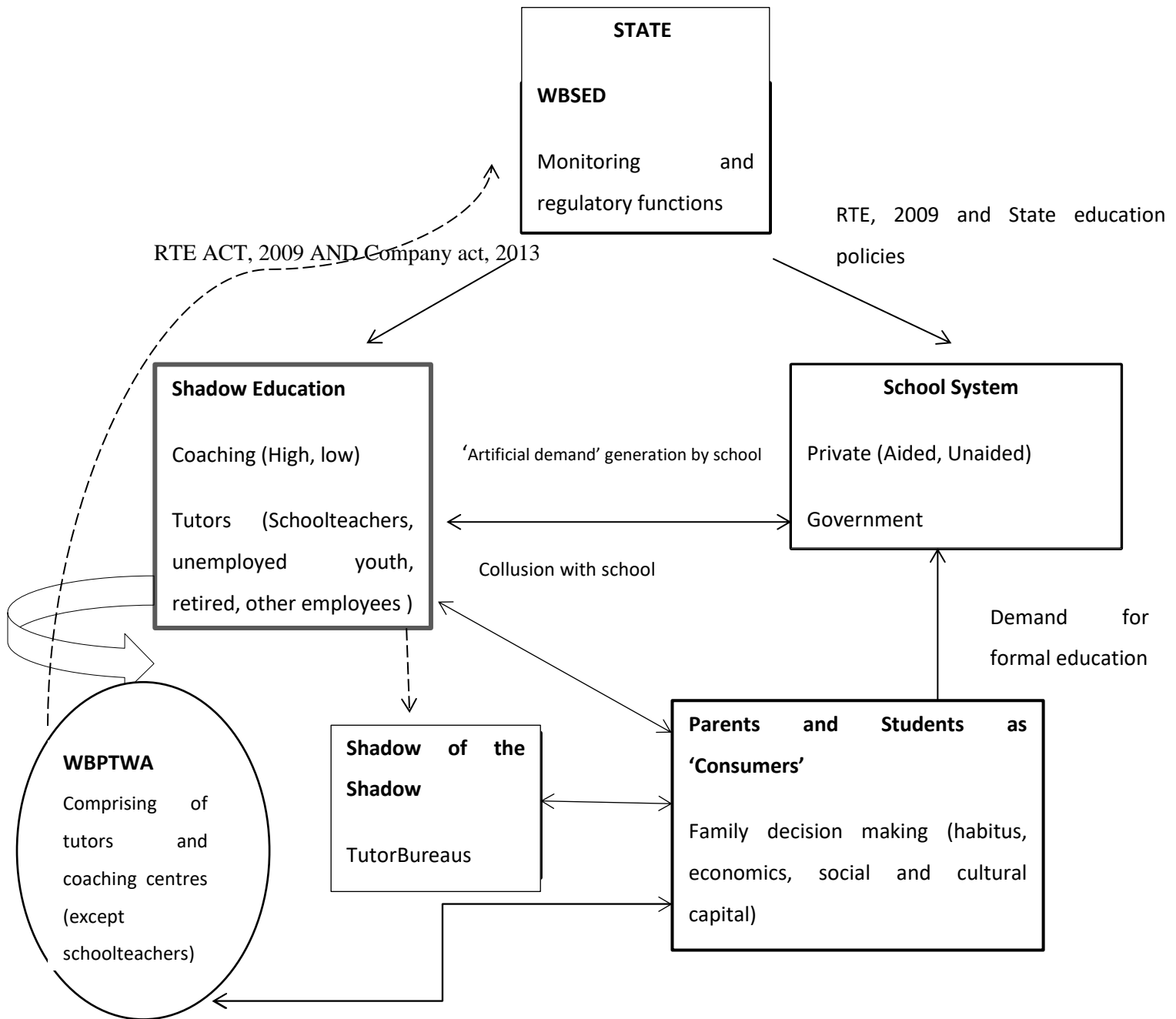
The organization, therefore, faces challenges of involving the tutors from city apart from their challenges of negotiating with the State. It believes that it is only the city that their voices will be heard and hence once a year all the members from different districts assemble on the streets of Kolkata with their demands which they call 'Rajya Sammelan' (Appendix 8).

To sum up, the resistances within the market can be viewed as assuming the character of social movement where uneven distribution of power within the market and non-compliance with State rules spur protests. The case of WBPTWA demonstrated the 'political embeddedness' of the market in West Bengal.

8.7 Identifying various actors within the shadow education market

In Figure 8.9, interaction of various actors in the market is shown through a flow diagram. I have identified four major actors: State, School education system, providers in the Shadow education market and parents. State through West Bengal School Education department (WBSED) influences the market through regulatory policies (RTE, 2009 and Companies Act, 2013) which impact both the school education and shadow education market. Shadow education market has resulted in the emergence of Teachers Bureaus and West Bengal Private tutor welfare association (WBPTWA) which is shown separately. Parents as 'consumers' also interact at various levels with the providers: school education market and shadow education market. Therefore, transformations within the private tuition market is influenced by several market actors who are also part of the shadow education market as discussed in the previous sections.

Fig 8.9 Schematic representation of the Shadow education market of West Bengal



8.8 Conclusion

This chapter delves into the dynamics of the private tuition market by focusing on the tutors and other players like intermediaries to show their influence in establishing certain meanings in the private tuition market. These meanings are powerful as they create hierarchy in the market. Initially, the chapter concentrates on the types of tutors from 68th Round of NSS data. Then, it builds on the motivations and collaborations of the tutors by bringing various other actors in the 'field'. While focusing on the motivation of the tutors, the chapter establishes that the tutors navigate through various interlinked spaces within the shadow education market and assume different identities. This is also a strategy to diversify risk in the profession of tutoring. While the mixed identities help in reducing uncertainty from the profession, the other strategy of sustaining in the market is through collaboration within a competitive space. This network aids in information dissemination on tutees as informational constraint is one barrier to entry in the market. In Section 8.3, the role of Teachers Bureaus shows various processes of mediation by these intermediaries and the way they create meaning in the market of private tuition and maintain hierarchy of a set of tutors i.e., schoolteachers. The position of the tutors in the market is also governed by their social status as parents choose tutors on the basis of social class and caste positions of tutors. The market, therefore, reinforces social hierarchy by selecting tutors who are privileged in terms of social status.

Lastly, the market is seen through the lens of a social movement by focusing on the conflicts of interests among the actors (between schoolteachers and tutors) which led to the formation of WBPTWA. This brought out the role of the State in implementing the policies and how the members of the organization negotiate with the State through various protests and meetings with higher officials. The formation of other markets around private tuition is transforming the identity of the tutors as 'edupreneurs' which is also changing the market of private tuition. The sections presented in the chapter commensurates with the theories that indicate how market is in continuous flux in a capitalist society and this also depicts how education is getting commodified with the profession of teaching getting commercialised.

Appendix 8

Table A8.1: Characteristics of Tutors in the Sample

Tutor	Type of tutor	Age	Gender	Fees charged (as reported)	Number of students (as reported)	Subject/subjects taught	School board	Hours devoted to tutoring per week/per day	Qualification	Years of experience
Tutor 1	Home tutor/Retired schoolteacher	65	Female	Rs.2000 per student up to class 8. Varies depending on the school.	4	English, Science, Social Science	I.C.S.E. C.B.S.E.	20 hours per week	B.Sc., B.Ed.	33 years
Tutor 2	Schoolteacher, Home tutor	32	Female	Rs. 1500 per subject (twice a week) (class 9 and 10)	3	Science and Mathematics	I.C.S.E. C.B.S.E.	10 hours per week	M.Sc., B.Ed.	9 years
Tutor 3	Part time tutor in a reputed coaching centre, partner in a coaching centre, home tutor.	32	Female	Rs. 15000 from the coaching (twice a day), Rs.1000 per subject (class 9 and	40	Science and Mathematics	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	10 hours a day	M.Sc., B.Ed., MBA	10 years

				10;twice a week)						
Tutor 4	Tutor at a school, Home tutor	45	Female	Rs. 700 per subject for class 10 and Rs. 500 for class 9 Rs.9000 per month from school	2 tutees at home 30 students in one batch and 35 in the other in school tuition.	Hindi	I.C.S.E. C.B.S.E.	5 hours per day	B.A. in Geography	13 years
Tutor 5	Owner of a coaching centre, home tutor, karate teacher	38	Male	Rs. 500 per subject (class 9 and class 10), Rs. 2000 all subjects in coaching centre (class 9 and 10)	3 tutees at home, 15 tutees in coaching centre	Mathematics, English	W.B.S.E.	4 hours per day	B.Com.	19 years
Tutor 6	Home tutor, tutors at tutee's house, part time in a private school	32	Male	Rs. 500 per students (class 9 and 10), Rs. 1000 (class 11 and 12), Rs. 2000 for Economics undergraduate course	85 students	Economics and Statistics	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	10 hours per day	M.Sc. and pursuing B.Ed.	10 years

Tutor 7	Schoolteacher, home tutor, tutor at two coaching centres	50	Male	Rs. 500 per student per subject (class 9 and 10) Rs. 700 per student per subject (class 11 and 12)	80 students (home tutoring)	Chemistry	W.B.S.E.	5 hours per day	M.Sc., B.Ed.	25 years
Tutor 8	Schoolteacher, home tutor	35	Female	Rs. 500 per subject (class 9 and 10)	2 students	Nutrition	W.B.S.E.	3 hours a day (provides tuition before examination)	M.Sc., B.Ed.	12 years
Tutor 9	Home tutor, tutors at tutee's home	42	Female	Individual tutoring (class 9 and 10)- Rs. 2000 per subject (2 days a week),	9 students	English, History, Civics and Geography	W.B.S.E., C.B.S.E., I.C.S.E.	6 hours a day	M.A.	10 years
Tutor 10	Home tutor at tutee's home, part time teacher	35	Female	Individual tutoring at tutees' home- (depends on type of subject,	30 students	Geography (honours), Social sciences (from 5 th standard), English (10,11,12),	I.C.S.E, C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	10 hours a day	M.Sc., PhD	8 years

				number of subjects, class)- Rs.2000 per subject (minimum)		Economics (11, 12), Mathematics				
Tutor 11	Government school teacher, home tutor (both tutor's and tutee's house)	27	Female	Rs.1000 per subject (class 9 and 10)	7	English	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	4 hours a day	B.Sc., B.Ed., (pursuing M.A.)	5 years
Tutor 12	Home tutor at her own house	55	Female	Rs.2500 (5 days a week for preschool), Rs.1800 for 2 subjects (class 6), for one subject- Rs.600 twice a week.	5	English, Social Sciences	Pre-primary, I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E.	2 hours to 4 hours a day	B.Com., Montessori training	32 years
Tutor 13	Government schoolteacher (class 6 to 10), home tutor at his house	45	Male	Rs.600 per subject (class 11 and 12) but varies depends on the income of the parents	35	Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics	W.B.S.E.	4 to 6 hours a day	M.Sc., B.Ed.	20 years

Tutor 14	Private school teacher, home tutor at her house	50	Female	Rs. 1000 (class 5 social science)	5	Social Science, English	C.B.S.E.	3 hours a day	B.A., B.Ed.	27 years
Tutor 15	Home Tutor (at his house)	27	Male	Rs. 800 - 1000 (W.B.S.E. per subject in class 10), Rs. 1200 (I.C.S.E. class 10)	8	English, History, Geography, Economics (Class- 5 to 12)	I.S.C., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	4 hours a day	M.A., B.Ed. (pursuing)	10 years
Tutor 16	Online tutor, children's short story writer	50	Female	Rs.45000	10 (students are from U.K. and Australia)	English	O level (British Council)	6 hours a day	M.A.	25 years
Tutor 17	Private school teacher	43	Female	Rs. 1000 per subject (2 days a week, class 11 and 12)	25	Accountancy	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E.	4 hours a day	M.Com., B.Ed.	26 years
Tutor 18	Para teacher in government school, home tutor	50	Female	Rs.300-500 in a batch (class 9 and 10) physical science	5	Physical Science	W.B.S.E.	3 hours a day	B.Sc.	20 years
Tutor 19	Home tutor	45	Female	Rs.1000 for English and Social Science-	12	English and Social Science	I.C.S.E.	6 hours a day	M.A.	27 years

				Rs.700-800 (for class 9 and 10)						
Tutor 20	Home Tutor, Tutor at a reputed coaching centre, paper setter for competitive exams.	46	Male	Rs.1200 per class (Mathematic s-9,10) Rs.1500 for class 11 and 12	95	Mathematics	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	10 hours a day	B.E.	28 years
Tutor 21	Home Tutor, Owns a coaching centre	45	Male	Rs. 500-800 per subject (for class 9 and 10, depending on board) Rs.1000 for class 11 and 12	100	Physics and Chemistry	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E.	12-15 hours a day	B.Sc., MCA	28 years
Tutor 22	Home Tutor	48	Male	Rs.200 for 9,10 (history for WBSE); Rs.500 for class 9,10 (English medium)	40	History	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E	12 hours a day	B.A.	30 years
Tutor 23	Home Tutor, Runs a consultancy	45	Male	Rs. 500 per subject (class 5 to 8) Rs.800-1000 per subject	20	Mathematics and English	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E.	5 hours a day	B.Sc.	20 years

				(class 9 and 10)						
Tutor 24	Home Tutor, Tutor at a reputed coaching centre, private schoolteacher	49	Female	Rs.2000 (5 English classes in a month for class 9 and 10) Rs.10,000 for 3 hours a week from the coaching centre	12 students (home tutoring)	English	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E.	6 hours a day	M.A., B.Ed.	20 years
Tutor 25	Coaching centre owner, Home tutor	40	Male	Rs.300 per subject from English medium students except English (Rs.400) Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 per subject from Bengali medium students (class 9 and 10)	30	All subjects	C.B.S.E. W.B.S.E	6 hours per day	B.Sc.	12 years
Tutor 26	Home Tutor, Tutor at a	26	Male	Rs. 50,000 (from	10 (home tutoring)	Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E	8 hours per day	M.Sc.	4 years

	coaching centre			coaching centre) Rs. 2000 (Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics for class 11, 12)						
Tutor 27	Home tutor, tutor at two coaching centres	50	Male	Rs. 300- Rs.500 (for Maths and Science at his home for 9 and 10), Rs. 2000 (for Maths and Science at tutee's house), Rs.6000 from coaching	30	Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E., W.B.S.E	12-15 hours a day	B.Sc.	30 years
Tutor 28	Government schoolteacher, home tutor	48	Male	Rs. 500 per subject (class 9 and 10)	50	History	W.B.S.E.	12 hours a week	M.A. B.Ed.	28 years
Tutor 29	Government schoolteacher, home tutor	32	Female	Rs. 1000 for Mathematics , physics and chemistry	25	Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry	I.C.S.E.	13-14 hours per week	M.Sc., B.Ed.	12 years

				from class 9 and 10, Rs. 1500- from 11, 12						
Tutor 30	Home tutor at tutee's house	25	Male	Rs.2000 (class 10- Mathematics , Physics and Chemistry)	10	Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry	I.C.S.E., C.B.S.E.	5 to 6 hours a day	B.Sc.	4 years


Figure A8.1: Logo of WBPTWA



Figure A8.2: Protests by tutors in Cooch Bihar district, West Bengal



Figure A8.3: Kolkata Gazette, March 2018


GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL
Office of the District Inspector of Schools (SE), South 24-Parganas,
New Administrative Building, 5th floor, Alipore, Kolkata 700027

Memo. No.: *125/Gen.* Date: *03/05/2018*

From: The District Inspector of Schools (SE), South24-Parganas

To: All Heads of all Jr High/ High/ HS Schools
South 24 Parganas

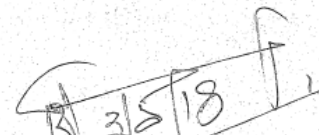
Sub: **Circulation of G.O. No. 213-SE/S/16M-01/18** dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018, G.O. No. 214-SE/S/10M-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018, G.O. No.215-SE/S/1QM-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018 & NO.216-SE/S/IQM-O 1/18 dated Kolkata, hire 8th March, 2018 for proper implementation.

The following notifications, issued by the School Education Department, Government of West Bengal, are being uploaded for information and proper implementation.

1. The West Bengal Board of Secondary Education (Requirement; of Verification of Antecedents and Examination of Medical Fitness for Appointment in the Posts of Teachers and Non-teaching Staff) Rules, 2018 promulgated vide **Notification No. 213-SE/S/16M-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018.**
2. The West Bengal Board of Secondary Education Confirmation, Conduct and Discipline of Teachers and Non-Teaching staff) Rules, 2018 promulgated vide **Notification No. 214-SE/S/10M-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018.**
3. Amendments to the Rules for Management of Sponsored Institutions (Secondary) Rules, 1972 promulgated vide **notificationNo.215-SE/S/1QM-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018.**
4. Amendments to the Rules for Management of Recognised Non-Government Institutions (Aided land Unaided) 1969 as promulgated vide Notification **NO.216-SE/S/IQM-01/18 dated Kolkata, the 8th March, 2018.**

The Heads of all Jr High / High/ HS Schools under the district of South 24 Parganas are hereby requested to act accordingly.

Encls:
1. 213-SE/S/16M-01/18 dt. 8.3.2018
2. 214-SE/S/10M-01/18 dt. 8.3.2018
3. 215-SE/S/1QM-01/18 dt. 8.3.2018
4. 216-SE/S/IQM-O 1/18 dt. 8.3.2018


District Inspector of Schools (SE),
South24-Parganas

Telephone -2479-7868 & 2479-0127, Fax: 2479-7002
E-mail -dis.south24pgs@gmail.com , rmsa.south24p@gmail.com

- (d) to take disciplinary action against misconduct of teachers or non-teaching staff;
- (e) to collect vacancy report from the Commissioner in respect of sanctioned vacancies of teacher and non-teaching posts in the State in order to fill up such vacant posts of teacher or non-teaching staff including Librarian in an institution upon recommendation of the West Bengal School Service Commission;
- (f) to maintain, as the appointing authority, reservation rosters of posts as per law in respect of teacher or non-teaching staff including Librarian.

(2) The Board shall obey any other general or specific order of the Government or the Commissioner of School Education in the interest of education.

4. Code of conduct and discipline of teacher or non-teaching staff of the Institutions.— (1) No teacher or non-teaching staff shall behave in a manner, which is improper and unbecoming of a teacher or a non-teaching staff and derogatory to the prestige of the Institution, the State and the Nation.

(2) Every teacher and non-teaching staff shall strictly abide by law relating to the prohibition of gambling, intoxicating drinks or drugs, or smoking during the course of his duty in the premises of the Institution or in any public place.

Explanation—For the purposes of these rules, the expression "public place" means any place or premises (including conveyance) to which the public have, or are permitted to have access, whether on payment or otherwise.

(3) No teacher or non-teaching staff shall, in discharge of his official duties, be guided by his personal interest, if any, affecting discharge of such official duties.

(4) Save as otherwise provided in these rules, no teacher or non-teaching staff shall engage in any business, trade, undertaking or money lending agency and undertake any employment other than his service directly or indirectly, or use his position to help such business, agency or undertaking:

Provided that a teacher or non-teaching staff may, with the permission of the committee, undertake any honorary work of social and charitable nature without hampering his duties in the Institution.

(5) A teacher or non-teaching may, with the permission of the committee, undertake writing or publication of books by himself or jointly with others and may receive reasonable remuneration for such work and the proper account of such remuneration shall be furnished before the authority to whom he is subordinate:

Provided that such work shall not include publication of answer key or note or help books, by whatever names these may be called, in respect of textbooks approved by the Board or the West Bengal Council of Higher secondary Education.

(6) No teacher shall engage himself in any sort of private tuition for personal gain. Provided that, a teacher shall co-operate in the matter of remedial coaching which may be organised by the Institution.

(7) No teacher or non-teaching staff shall employ any subordinate staff in his domestic work or for his personal service.

(8) Every teacher shall practise, promote and encourage collective functioning in the interest of academic and administrative efficiency of the institution and shall attend guardians' meeting when arranged by the Head of Institution.

(9) No teacher shall ask a student to participate in any private programme without permission of his guardian, if the same is held on holidays, and without the permission of the Head of Institution, if the same is held on working days:

Provided that if the guardian or the Head of Institution, as the case may be, permits such participation, the concerned teacher shall be responsible for safety, security and well-being of the student till the student returns to his guardian:

Provided further that no teacher shall force any student against his desire to participate in any programme in which the institution is taking part.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This study seeks to contribute to the growing scholarships on shadow education in terms of understanding and interrogating the private tuition market from the prism of its entities (parents and providers) as well as the intricate networks in which the market is embedded. Private tuition is conceived as one of the forms of shadow education which is analysed in relation to other forms such as coaching and Teachers Bureaus in order to trace its origin and transformation within this emerging shadow education market. In doing so, I have made an attempt to deconstruct the black box of the market which is seen merely in terms of interaction between sellers and buyers. I have endeavoured to delve into the implications of this booming market in the lives of the school going children. The ubiquitous presence of the shadow education market with diverse forms such as coaching industry, home based tutoring and franchises suggest coexistence of various interlinked market forms which have an impact on the mainstream education system from which they arise. The creation of various market forms within the umbrella term 'shadow education' has not been explored in the literature. Unpacking these forms operating within an unregulated environment would provide us an explanation of their legitimacy and acceptance as an alternative to schooling in some cases. Although the central focus of the thesis is on private tuition, other types of tutoring services which are coterminous with private tuition also received attention as some parents prefer a mix of various tutoring services and the tutors navigate between various shadow spaces. To focus on the various linkages of different forms of the market as well as the nexus between actors, I have built on the narratives of the families and the providers. This necessitated revisiting the theories of the market in economics and reconceptualise market in such a way so as to fit the research objectives. Therefore, a multiple theoretical framework formed the basis of the thesis guiding the research objectives in terms of understanding choice of private tuition by families and tracing multifarious motives of the providers. Theories of the market advanced by neo classical economics fail to capture the evolution of the market or interpersonal relations among its entities that foster the market and bring new dimension to the market as an institution. Drawing on the theories of economic sociology, the thesis brings out the interplay of competition and collaboration among the diverse forms which constitute the market and create possibility of the emergence

of new markets such as market for intermediaries. Market is therefore not a fixed entity as its structure and forms change as new meanings are constructed through what Fligstein (1996) calls 'conception of control'. The contingent nature of the market which is an imprint of the changes happening in the sphere of education is a departure from the neo classical market which is ahistorical and isolated from the society.

Education market has to be understood differently from commodity market due to the distinct characteristics of education which not only serves instrumental role of getting jobs but also inculcate citizenry values. Apart from this, investment in education has social and cultural underpinnings so much so that it is a means to gain class advantage (Ball, 2003) or generate positional advantage (Marginson, 1995). The market for education is not a monolithic one as we find heterogeneity and diversity within education market in terms of schooling from low fee private schools to elite schools at the two end of the spectrum. On the other hand, there is informal private tuition market running simultaneously along with the market for schooling. The thesis made an attempt to make sense of these diverse forms, particularly focusing on the informal market of education. It sought to answer the dominance of private tuition in the lives of school going children as a consequence of negotiations and strategies at the family level and also at the level of the providers.

Literature on shadow education market is tilted towards the demand side perspective of the market with little focus on the supply side except a few (Aurini, 2004; Kobakhidze, 2018; Ghosh and Bray, 2020). The perspective of the market in terms of interaction between these two sides is unexplored in the literature. At the theoretical and conceptual level, reconceptualization of the theories of shadow education is required to understand the market in a particular context as the market is not regulated in some countries or the same regulatory norms do not apply in all the countries. The literature presents us with a debate on the purpose of tutoring as a 'remedial' or an 'enrichment' strategy in comparative education perspective (Baker et. al., 2001; Wolf, 2002; Ireson, 2004; Bray and Kwo, 2003; Bray, 2009; 2011). The present study is located within this discourse where the purpose of tutoring is studied through the narratives of families belonging to different class and caste position. I introduce the question of choice within the framework of market to identify the strategies adopted by parents with regard to their children's education and problematize the idea of choice in private tuition market as

there are compulsive forces and supply side aggression hidden behind the choices made. The dimension of choice also opens up ground for understanding market as a socially structured arena where parents from privileged section of the society are able to access the high end providers in this hierarchical market whereas parents from backward sections are left behind. By tracing the processes and subtleties of decision making which culminated into the choice of tutor/ tutors in this market, I argued that this market reinforces the existing social order by the process of differentiation and reproduction of class advantages through various practices. On the other hand, the practices of the parents or their modus vivendi shape the way the market organizes itself to suit its customers. Choice, thus, becomes one analytical angle to look at the market which the literature focusing on demand side scarcely brings out. As choices are also reflections of negotiations within the family, I highlighted intra household decision making by bringing out the context of gender within family. The literature has largely been inconclusive on the relationship between gender and private tutoring. In some countries, investment on private tuition is found to be more on girls than on boys (Chu, 2009; Lui, 2011; Elbadwy et al., 2007; Montgomery et al., 2000) while in some, we observe opposite pattern of discrimination. This is particularly important in India as girls are discriminated in educational investment (Kingdon, 2005; Azam and Kingdon, 2013; Sahoo, 2017). This is another unexplored area within the scholarship on private tutoring which is addressed in the thesis.

The thesis marks the trajectory of choice at the family level and its implications in the market for private tuition. It brings out the role of intermediaries who construct a separate market by capitalising on the informational constraints faced by the parents. I call this market as 'shadow of the shadow' which functions as a watchdog and prescribes tutors to the parents by ascribing meanings about 'who is a good tutor'. The literature is silent on the role of the intermediaries, particularly in the informal market of education. While market creates its culture through circulation of certain meanings, there are negotiations and resistances within the market to break the existing meanings and transform the market which is hierarchical. These resistances take the shape of social movements which is also addressed in the thesis by bringing the context of an organization (West Bengal Private Tutors Welfare Association) formed by tutors. I argued that these negotiations create tensions to the existing structure of the market rendering dynamic character to the market for private tuition.

9.1 Context and Research Questions

West Bengal is taken as a case to unfold the stories of this market because of the enormous presence of private tuition in the lives of the school going children. Statistically speaking, the percentage of students going for private tuition is 79.14% in 2014-15 in West Bengal which is much higher than the Indian average of 25% (NSS, 2014-15). Apart from the statistical evidence, the ban on the practice of private tuition by schoolteachers in 2001 i.e. prior to Right to Education Act (2009) also bears testimony to the pervasive practice of private tuition in West Bengal. It is often hard to lose sight of school children in Kolkata rushing from one tutor to the other after school which is documented by Sen (2012) in her studies on children in Kolkata. On the other side of the market, we observe protests by educated unemployed youth negotiating with the State for implementation of Section 28E of the RTE (2009) to prohibit school teachers from providing tuition under the banner of West Bengal Private Tutor's Welfare Association (WBPTWA). West Bengal has also been the seed of policy experiments in education. Abolition of English at the primary level in 1983 is one such experiment which has led to an increased demand for private tuition in English (Roy, 2010). The hegemony of English as a language is a colonial legacy which has been maintained by *bhadraloks* of Kolkata since the British Rule. Their imagination of good education also shaped educational imagination of the working class. West Bengal, particularly Kolkata, therefore, provides a fascinating landscape to trace the market of private tuition for the diverse entry points that ensues from its cultural and educational context.

Within West Bengal, Kolkata is chosen as a site to explore micro motives of attending private tuition as well as tease out motivations of the tutors who engage in private tuition. Kolkata as a city acted as a gateway in analysing this market with a variety of providers and their range of clients from different socioeconomic background. It is in the city that market develops as it is a networked space and an aspirational site for its denizens. Apart from this, it has a long standing history of educational reforms which provided foundation for unpacking the choice of private tuition as a form of educational investment. The regional disparity between the rural and the urban which has been observed in context of West Bengal using NSS data (2014-15) sheds light on the fact that the market for private tuition in the urban is more differentiated than the rural.

Range of providers charging different fees are present in the urban which makes it an interesting site to explore the dynamics of the market. Kolkata as an urbanized space therefore presents us with various intersecting dimensions which provided more scope to situate private tuition market. The city of Kolkata also lent different perspectives which evolved during the course of fieldwork. One remarkable perspective is how unemployed youth from different districts took to the city space of Kolkata to protest and negotiate with the State. These aspects unfolded as I attempted to link market with the city in terms of its diversity of clients and providers.

The thesis has been organized around three main research objectives. The first objective is to examine the determinants of demand for private tuition and expenditure on private tuition. This involves looking at broad patterns of decision making by gauging at household specific, child specific and supply specific variables (Chapter 5). Intra household decision making with respect to gender of the child is also taken as a research question (Chapter 6) under this broad objective of parental decision making as statistics from NSS data (2014-15) suggest that there is no significant difference between male and female participation in private tuition. At the secondary level, percentage of female tutees is marginally higher than male tutees which make it an interesting aspect to delve deeper into the context of intra household decision making. The second research objective is to understand the processes and subtleties of decision making which involves examining how and why these decisions are made within and across families of different social strata (Chapter 7). I have focused on the social background of the students and drawn on the relationship between their access to various tutors and their background to understand the differentiated nature of the market. The other research question within the second objective is to look at the role of information in maintaining class status of the families. The last research question within this objective involves understanding negotiations and bargaining within the households in terms of the distribution of resources, specifically looking at dimensions such as gender, number of school going siblings, assessment of the wards by parents and hierarchy of subjects. The third research objective focuses on market dynamics through the lens of different providers in the shadow education market and how they gain legitimacy. The first research question deals with identifying the players in the localities chosen. The second and the third research questions interrogate into the strategies adopted by the players and how they build reputation by focusing on competition and collaboration.

The broad patterns from secondary data (NSS) showing participation and expenditure on private tuition in West Bengal with respect to income quintile, caste, and gender made more sense in the subsequent chapters which focused on the nuances of decision making. For instance, middle class families driven by anxiety of their children's success often hides information about tutors which is discussed in Chapter 7. This information asymmetry has given rise to intermediaries in the name of Teacher Bureaus who construct market by providing information in exchange for commission fees as discussed in Chapter 8. In other words, this complex structure within which the market is embedded is difficult to grasp without looking at these possible linkages.

9.2 Dynamism and the market for private tuition- Theoretical lens

The complexities of the urban site with variants of the informal market for education required theoretical perspectives that would be in conjunction with the research objectives. There is emergence of competing theories of the market within the discipline of economics where market assumes the character of institutions and organizational power struggle bring changes in the market structure questioning the assumption that market is a static entity (De Maggio and Powell, 1983; North, 1990). On the other hand, exchanges between disciplines of sociology and economics bring out importance of social element in transactions where identity and social network accords significance. In a market which is informal in nature, transactions are hidden and such transactions often require repeated interactions between the agents. Social networks between agents facilitate such transactions. Moreover, as schoolteachers come under Section 28 E of the RTE (2009) which puts a ban on private tuition by schoolteachers, there are extra-legal issues in this market. It is more likely that strong cohesive forces are instrumental in sustaining the market that emerges out of social relations among agents. To capture such veiled transactions and activities, one needs to reinstate the 'social' in the economy. Economic sociology provides us a lens to understand the social structure and relations within the market and advances theories to understand power dynamics within the market. The study draws on the embeddedness perspective of Granovetter (1985) who looks at market as networks and opined that economic action is embedded in social relations and this network of social relations drive economic transactions in the market. Granovetter's (1985) theory has been extended further by Zukin and Di Maggio (1990) to take into account the role of cognitive, culture and politics in explaining

embeddedness of economic action. Informal market for education is assessed through this angle of embeddedness. Networks alone cannot explain all the market forms and their transformations as sometimes the changes within the market can happen without direct interactions between the individuals. The players in the market possess certain level of capital which can be social, symbolic and financial and the distribution of these capitals make one player dominant than the other. In such a case, direct interactions are not required to set 'rules of the game' in the market. The idea of 'economic field' as contended by Bourdieu (2005) describes how some players in the market by dint of possession of these capitals establish their dominance over others. At the same there are internal struggles within the market to change the hierarchy. This pushes the analysis of the market further and brings the role of politics in the market process. Fligstein's (1996) 'political cultural approach' becomes a useful framework to understand the internal dynamics between firms in the market. Fligstein's approach is particularly impressive as he argues that in a modern capitalist society there can be multitude of market forms. This goes in line with the shadow education market with numerous variants operating in a different structure. As Bourdieu (2005), Fligstein (1996) also presents us with the possible conflict that may arise within the market to bring about change in the existing rules. Market creation and market crisis are the outcomes of these constant struggles within organizational field. There is a compelling force to destabilise the 'stable world' through such interactions. This takes the shape of 'social movement' which arises as some firms want to change the existing norms that define the market. In the process of struggle, some players negotiate with the State which Bourdieu (2005) terms as the 'exterior' either to maintain the 'rule of the game' or to change it. Fligstein (1996) calls this process as a cultural phenomenon as it is based on one's interpretation and experiences of the actor which he coins as 'conception of control'. Market is in a crisis when the players attempt to change the 'conception of control'. This can again be linked with Abolafia's (1998) cultural interpretation of the market. Repeated interactions between agents create shared meanings or culture of exchange as well as create identities in the process of interaction.

The functioning of the market involves uncertainties and in such a case expectations play a central role especially in education market in which returns are not immediate. The uncertainty leads to what Beckert (2009) identifies as 'coordination problem'. The coordination problem involves demand side of the market through exposition of 'value

problem' which is not discussed by other theories. Theories of economic sociology have been inclined towards supply side dynamics of the market. Beckert (2009) points out that valuation problem arises in situations of uncertainty when consumers have to choose from a diverse range of commodities. In such a case, social convention eases out the decisions regarding commodities. Producers adopt marketing tactics to create an attachment of the consumers to their commodities. They do so by projecting that the acquisition of their products would render status. This is true for education market as well as shadow education market where branded coaching centres compete with one another through marketing strategies. In the private tuition market, with a diverse range of tutors, we observe such tactics by tutors who belong to some renowned institutions and advertise cent per cent success of students. Hierarchy in the market is maintained by creating 'stable expectations'. But Beckert (2009) warns us that these would not last and the problem of valuation would exist as firms innovate and new products emerge in the market. Uncertainty also leads to change in the structure of one particular form as can be seen in case of the emergence of Teacher Bureaus from coaching centres. These transformations are to be understood in terms of the dominant forms of the market that are favourably positioned. The rapid changes in the shadow education market where there are various low end coaching institutions or the existence of intermediaries called teacher bureaus are epitomes of such transformations which finds prominence in the thesis.

This multiple theoretical framework has the capacity to rationalise and put vigour to the analysis of private tuition market. All these theories have one connecting theme, i.e., they intend to arrest the dynamic character of the market. The dynamism is captured through transformations within the market as well as the changes that are happening when market itself gets constituted through new repertoire of meanings, i.e., through internal struggle. This is the central theme on which chapter 8 is built. For instance, in the city of Kolkata, Pathfinder, a premier coaching institute is running a school for higher secondary students. Similarly, numerous intermediaries in Kolkata have a particular history of origin or a parent organization which led to the emergence of these forms. Apart from these transformations, these theories opened up dialogues to understand market beyond the usual perception of competition between actors. Repeated transactions in an informal market create an element of trust; a culture of how to orient oneself in the market is developed which facilitates transaction. A network of

social relations not only exists between the tutor and the parents/ tutees but also among the providers. It is through collaboration that the market is sustained. This interconnectedness of the market is dealt with in Chapter 8 through the case of WBPTWA. Clearly, the market for shadow education, specifically, private tuition market is distinct from other forms of market in education as it required more social cohesion than any other market as it has to be built on trust given information asymmetry, regulation and informality. In Chapter 3, I also discuss about the nature of the shadow education market and point out the overlapping interfaces within which this market is located. I explore the interface of formal and informal, legal and illegal and semi regulatory environment to define shadow education market. Like any other education market, shadow education market is hierarchical in nature with some providers in top of the pyramid. Private tuition as a form of the shadow also replicates this character of the market.

While exploring this market, the issue of choice is unavoidable. With a plethora of options of tutoring services, the market creates a platform to exercise choice although this choice might be a compulsion in some cases. But choice is a reflection of social stratification as well. The second research objective in the thesis which seeks to answer why and how parents make choices about tutors is understood through Bourdieu's (1986; 2005) framework of capital (social, cultural and economic) and habitus and is connected with Hossler and Galagher model (1987) of process of choice. This exposition highlighted how individuals with a set of capital are positioned in the market for private tuition. This broad framework of theories created a route to explore various dimensions of the market and also analyse implications of the market through choice.

9.3 Methodological Issues

In order to unravel the complexities of this market, the choice of methods was a critical question. Also, a broad theoretical framework requires a methodology that encompasses these considerations. I began with the philosophical premise of critical realism that drives the methodology of the research objectives. Critical realism is an ontological position which claims that nature of reality is not reducible to our knowledge of reality. As our knowledge of the 'real' is limited, one of the ways to grasp reality is to consider open system ontology as argued by Lawson (1997) which would

embrace plurality of methods. Mechanisms underlying events can be captured through an open system which is consistent with critical realism as the philosophical stance. An attempt has been made to bring to life ‘unobserved heterogeneity’ from econometric method through qualitative tools. While doing so, the thesis reconciles with the method of econometrics and critical realism. The thesis can be seen as a progression from closed system ontology to an open system ontology where causality is not one directional and there are various mechanisms at work to cause an event. It required a pluralistic approach where different research questions are probed through different methods.

To answer the first research objective dealing with determinants of demand for private tuition, I have employed Hurdle model using NSS data (2014-15). Descriptive statistics helped discerning the patterns of access and discrimination with respect to socioeconomic variables which foregrounds the study in Chapter 5. The question of gender emerges as one of the important aspects of understanding decision making with respect to private tuition. It necessitated using Engel Framework to detect gender bias with household level data. Engel framework, which is suitable to detect gender bias with household level data, fails to capture the stage (participation or expenditure stage) at which gender discrimination occurs. One might observe willingness to send the girl child to private tuition is prevalent among parents but that may not be actualised when expenditure on tuition is high. In such a case, gender bias might not get detected when we average the two stages of decision making. The thesis employs Hurdle model to detect gender bias, if any, at two different stages- participation and expenditure.

The shady nature of the market with informality as one of its characters posed challenges in the collection of data. It would not be wrong to conceive this market as a black market which operates through closed networks and in most of the cases, transactions get fostered through the interpersonal relations among the stakeholders. Entry into this market without being an ‘insider’ was difficult. In the initial stages, field observation as a method was useful to understand these networks. In various cases, I had to take recourse to opportunistic sampling. In order to become a part of the market, I registered with one of the tutoring agencies as a tutor and worked closely with them. At the same time, I have attended meetings with the members of WBPTWA and joined their protests to gain their confidence. As far as the demand side of the market is concerned, building rapport with the parents was necessary. My regular visits during

the school hours helped me in gaining access to information from the mothers who would wait outside the school premises. The importance of the urban as a site appeared all the more important as parents appear to have knowledge about the regulations that are prevalent in the market. Therefore, information on school teachers as tutors was hard to obtain from the parents. Also, the tight schedules in which the students are bound throughout the day acted as a hindrance in the process of gaining information. On the other hand, the issue of private tuition also created tensions among the schoolteachers. A tight knit network existed between the schoolteachers and the coaching centres where they conducted classes after school. Given these challenges, it was increasingly realised that the researcher needs to develop a sense of trust among various stakeholders. Participant observations by teaching students from different backgrounds for 6 months helped in gaining trust of parents. The anxiety driven parents and their strategies of not divulging information on tutors created obstacles in the fieldwork. But this also reflected the role of information in construction of the market by intermediaries and in maintaining one's class position. The qualitative insights from a primary survey exposed the nuances of the interconnected market forms which are built on social relations and the complexities of decision making. The researcher needs to be part of these relations to untangle the knots. The thesis brought out these tensions of trust building in the process of data collection. Using multiple methods also helped in triangulation of findings apart from providing a broader canvas. Critical realism laid the basis of using these methods to explore the layered social reality.

9.4 Choice in a hierarchical market- Quantitative outcomes and Qualitative Insights

The process of decision making with respect to private tuition is a continuous process in the schooling years and not a one shot game. In an informal market, exercising choice is much more complicated with informational constraints which might induce opportunistic behaviour among various agents. Impediments in the market for education along with uneven distribution of resources among the families present us with a hierarchical structure within which choices are made. In a city space, parents dwell in a bubble of aspirations about their children and success is weighed in terms of better life chances. Private tuition appears as one such strategy to fulfil the broader objective of getting jobs. The thesis narrates the story of the preparations taken to fulfil

this objective of attaining success within which private tuition emerges as one of the dominant strategies. It also argues that the purpose of private tuition is not limited to excel in examination but there are various other motives of availing private tuition. Tracing the process of choice making revealed how social hierarchy interacted with market hierarchy by matching the low end providers with working class and high end providers with the upper middle class and middle class. There is no denying that private tuition in West Bengal is a TINA (there is no alternative) condition as Majumdar (2017) argued but given this condition, parents seek options of various tutoring services that match their preferences. The thesis investigated the possible options that parents consider and observe social stratification through the types of tutor/tutoring services chosen.

In order to unravel the demand side of the market, the thesis took various routes. Hurdle model in Chapter 5 looks at determinants of demand through two stages- participation and expenditure. The observations suggest influence of one's social background (caste, religion) and income as determinants of participation and expenditure on private tuition. The chapter contributes to the literature by incorporating a supply side proxy i.e. percentage of literate job seekers from Census 2011 and showed that percentage of literate job seekers increases the probability of attending tuition and decreases expenditure on private tuition. Clearly, there is a supply side influence on choice of private tuition as pool of educated unemployed is likely to increase the chances of a child attending private tuition.

Following this observation, Chapter 7 brings out how school and its agents (principals and schoolteachers) create anxiety around performance and compels students to avail private tuition. Private tuition can thus be seen as an outcome of the interaction between families and schools. Apart from this supply side aggression where school plays an important role in fuelling such behaviour, one has to closely examine the role of family in driving the demand for private tuition. The desire to excel in examination as a stepping stone towards getting a job is often seen as triggering the demand for tutoring services as discussed by various studies (Bray, 1999; Punjabi, 2020). The study brings out a new insight by documenting how changing family structure as a response to modernisation is a contributing factor towards demand for various tutoring services. Nuclear families where both the parents are working often find private tuition as a

strategy to involve their children in productive activities. This trend is visibly common among the middle class parents. Availing private tuition is also related to a type of parenting style where parents want children's engagement in studies throughout the day. This observation can be located within the debate of private tuition as an 'enrichment strategy' versus 'remedial strategy' by arguing that the purpose of tutoring has to be contextualised by looking at families positioned within the social milieu. This purpose varies with respect to social status of the families as well as the stage of schooling of the child. For the middle class, private tuition is an enrichment strategy and they prefer a mix of tutoring services from one to one tutoring to group tuition to coaching. Also, private tuition is viewed as an incentive to create pressure on students by middle class parents. On the other hand, working class parents mostly take private tuition as a remedial strategy.

As resources which are used in making the choice sets are unevenly distributed (Bell, 2009), the choices that are made by families from different social class varies. In this context, information appeared to be significant in choosing tutors. As middle class parents have rich social networks, information on tutors were available from such networks. But there's a tendency among the middle class mothers to suppress flow of information in face of competition and making it even costlier in an informal market. To maintain competitive edge, parents whose wards perform better in examination are found to conceal information on tutors. This has resulted in some parents relying on more customized information on tutors through intermediaries called teachers bureaus. The search phase in the Hossler and Galagher model (1987) is thus more extensive for the middle class parents. Working class parents, however, rely on familiar spaces for extracting information and confine themselves to their localities. Their choice of tutor therefore remains limited to local tutors whom they call 'dada' (elderly brother). There is a temporal dimension to the choices of the middle class as there is a shift of preference amongst them from local tutors (dada) to 'professional' tutors. This also marks the transformation of the market where traditional mode of teaching constantly gets challenged in face of new technologies introduced by branded coaching centres in the classroom. Therefore, those with limited capacities avail low end providers.

In the process of making choices, parents reinforce hierarchy among subjects. English and Mathematics appeared as the most sought after subjects for private tuition as these

two subjects are paramount to getting jobs. Therefore, private tuitions for these subjects start at an early age. In these subjects, some students have more than one tutor per subject. There is also a board wise and medium wise hierarchy where students from English medium schools with I.C.S.E and C.B.S.E boards pay higher private tuition fees than Bengali medium state boards. The segregation present in the market on the basis of subjects and boards get further nuanced depending on the location and reputation of the tutors. The same subject would cost a student more if the tutor tutors in tutee's house.

9.5 Intra-household decision making: The role of gender of the child

In the context of West Bengal, the issue of gender assumes critical importance as the percentage of girl children attending private tuition is marginally higher than boy children. This is contradictory to the studies on India (Kingdon, 2005; Azam and Kingdon, 2013; Sahoo, 2017) where girls are discriminated against boys in educational investment. The thesis made an attempt to probe into this aspect with the help of NSS data (2014-15) and through in depth interviews with parents located in Kolkata.

Chapter 5 showed that at the elementary level, the probability of a girl child attending private tuition is higher than a male child. The issue of gender is taken up further in Chapter 6 to delve into intra- household gender disparity if any. It has been found that there is discrimination in favour of girls between the age group 15-20. These findings have to be reasoned through choice of school. As majority of girls are enrolled in government schools and the perceived quality of government schools are falling, parents compensate for this loss in quality through private investment in tuition. As the private tuition market is segregated, low end tutors can also be availed for girls. The qualitative data in Chapter 7 corroborated this finding and further elaborated strong preference for only girls' schools among the parents. In West Bengal, the number of private schools only for girls is less as compared to government schools. Therefore, parents with preference for girls' school enrol their girl children to nearby government schools and compensate the perceived gap in learning through private tuition.

9.6 Market and its networks and contradictions

As private tuition market is informal in nature, there are various channels and linkages through which it functions. Market not only fosters competition but also collaborations among its various stakeholders. These collaborations are also causes of tensions in the market that attempt to break the existing norms established in the market. The extent to which education is customized is a result of the interaction between these agents. In Chapter 8, I brought out various ways education is tailored to suit the need of its customers. In the process, hierarchy is further reinforced as tutors also choose tutees. The thesis focused on the role of intermediaries, i.e., teachers bureaus in constructing the market through supplying meanings in the market. Schoolteachers emerged as the most sought after tutors in this market with their experience in setting question papers. As the patterns of questions are known to them, they are in high demand. In Chapter 7, I showed how the schoolteachers negotiate with the parents for private tuition. It is interesting to note that the intermediaries also maintain this hierarchy by enrolling schoolteachers in their bureaus. They sometime ask tutors to impersonate as schoolteachers to grab more tuition. The thesis discussed various ways in which the intermediaries gain legitimacy; one of which is through acting as a consultant to the parents. They closely monitor the tutors and their activities acting as an ‘expert’ for children. These outgrowths i.e. ‘shadow of the shadow’ gave a new dimension to the analysis of the market.

Chapter 8 traced the motivations of different types of tutors and in doing so, it identified multiple identities of a tutor. A schoolteacher who teaches in school is a home tutor and also a tutor in a coaching centre. Sometimes, the purpose of being in this market is not driven by monetary considerations alone, but also, to hone one’s skills. Schoolteachers often complain of not being able to teach the subjects of their interest due to which private tuition is necessary to keep them updated. On the other hand, the coaching centres which are reputed in the city maintain their legitimacy by recruiting schoolteachers in their coaching.

Anyone with requisite qualifications cannot become part of the market or sustain in the market. One has to have a ‘local knowledge’ of the market to sustain in the market and often one has to be a part of the network i.e. to be embedded in the market.

An analysis of the market also presented the contradictions and tensions to change the 'conception of control'. The established hierarchy in the market often becomes a reason for struggles and movements. It is not only struggle for power but also a struggle for survival. West Bengal has quite a substantial number of unemployed youth who take private tuition as a survival strategy. The presence of schoolteachers as tutors in the market pose challenges to these tutors. The institutional affiliation of the schoolteachers positions them at the top of the hierarchical pyramid as parents prefer schoolteachers for probable questions and suggestions before examinations. This has resulted in unrest among the tutors which have taken the form of an organization called WBPTWA. The goal of the organization is to ensure implementation of the regulation banning schoolteachers from tutoring students. Market assumes the character of social movements as there is a tendency to change roles and rules of the market as Fligstein (1996) talked about. There is a shared collective identity of the members which have led to the formation of the organization. Therefore, transformations in the market can be a result of such movements which the study highlighted.

9.7 Contributions and Future directions

This study has analysed the private tuition market at various levels and unfolded the layers of interaction among various market actors. Although the primary focus of the thesis is to gauge the expansion and legitimacy of the private tuition market in the context of West Bengal, other market forms within the shadow education market also appeared to have explanatory potential in the construction of the private tuition market. The theoretical framework adopted in this study provided a strong basis to understand the possibility of an embedded market, particularly, an informal market which thrives on social connections. These interlinkages between various market forms in and around education market, particularly in the context of shadow education has received scanty attention in the literature. While emphasizing on the market, the study contributed by bringing the choice problem as one of the valuation problems that Beckert (2009) suggest. This problem arises when there are diverse range of providers in the market as well as uncertainty. By bringing the problem of choice within our analysis of the market, I highlighted the structural constraints faced by the parents in exercising choice in a seemingly free market. The constraints are not only imposed by the parents' lack of capital but by the tendency of the market actors (especially parents) to conceal

information on tutors. Inequality is further reinforced as choice remains restricted to a certain section of the population. The choices made are not informed due to informational constraints and this informational asymmetry is further maintained by the parents to gain competitive edge for their children.

Another contribution of this research is the methodological approach that opens ground for a mixed methods approach to understand the social reality at hand. As the issue is very sensitive due to regulation on schoolteachers, the critical realist framework provided the scope of introducing various methods to unravel the layers of this complex phenomenon. This approach can guide future research in this area where an economic sociology perspective of the market can be aligned with critical realism ontology. This framework helped in exposing several dimensions of motivation of the market actors which is not necessarily guided by financial motive. On the other hand, the presence of Teachers Bureaus as brought out in the study opened up another possibility of research as this market is expanding as an outgrowth of tutoring. The presence of these market forms suggest that education is subject to commodification at every stages of market transactions. The parents choose tutors on various criteria including the appearances of tutors and at the same time, the providers also choose students on the basis of merit or social background. As education becomes increasingly outcome based with the end being high score in the examination, the relations between students and teachers gets reduced into a mere market relations of sellers and buyers. The use of the metaphor of the market that defines education today is itself problematic as the purpose of education goes beyond instrumental goals. However, the transformations in school education as seen by the emergence of various forms of the shadow education market is alarming and has far reaching impacts, as it is no longer confined to the geographical boundaries. Online tutoring run by educational consultancies are gaining prominence in West Bengal which needs to be probed further.

The market replicates the commodity market as it transforms the identity of the teacher to a mere service provider. On the other hand, the study shows how schoolteachers become part of the market and create hierarchy in the market by mediating between formal and informal education spaces. Regulation, therefore, remains at the periphery. This brings us to the question of the role of the Government in tackling these market forms through regulation which can have an impact on the market actors. This remains

one of the limitations of the study as the role of the State has not garnered sufficient attention. As discussed in Chapter 8, some of the tutors who are part of WBPTWA negotiate with the State for implementing policies to curb the practice of tuition by schoolteachers. In West Bengal, as the culture of tutoring is prevalent, it would be interesting to look at the role of the State which can be a future research area.

The functioning of the market and the market conditions are expected to change in the present context of the pandemic. As the informal is vulnerable, it is likely to have immense impact on the lives of the tutors who solely depend on this market for survival. On the other hand, one can also gauge at the potentiality of the market in delivering education as children remain at home due to the pandemic. This can be a fertile area for further research.

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Appendix A

Student Questionnaire

Dear Students,

I am a PhD student of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi working on the topic of 'Private tuition in West Bengal'. The questions asked here are mainly on your background and perception of tuition. Your answers will help me in my research. Your name and information will remain anonymous. Thanks for answering the questions.

1. **Name:** _____ **Contact No.:** _____
2. **Sex:** ₁ Male ₂ Female ₃ Others (tick anyone) 3. **Your age:** _____
4. **Name of your school:** _____ 5. **Class section:** _____
6. **Reservation Quota:** ₁ General ₂ OBC ₃ SC ₄ ST (tick any one option)
7. **Religion:** ₁ Hindu ₂ Muslim ₃ Christian ₄ Buddhist ₅ Others (tick any one option)
8. **Name of the locality where you stay:** _____
9. **Father's occupation:** _____
10. **Mother's occupation:** _____
11. **Father's education level: (tick one)**
- ₁ Did not go to school ₂ Class 1-8 ₃ Class 9-10 ₄ Class 11-12 ₅ Graduate ₆ Post Graduate and above
12. **Mother's education level:**
- ₁ Did not go to school ₂ Class 1-8 ₃ Class 9-10 ₄ Class 11-12 ₅ Graduate ₆ Post Graduate and above
13. **Tick the assets you possess in your house:** refrigerator television desktop laptop air conditioner own car bike
14. **Number of members in your family:** _____
15. a. **Number of brothers:** _____ b. **Number of sisters:** _____
16. **If any of your brother or sister studying in school?** ₁ Yes ₂ No
17. If yes, write about them below:

Name of your brother/sister in school	Age	Name of school	Class	Private /government school	Monthly fee	Yearly fee	Private Tuition fee

18. Total Monthly Educational expenditure in your family (including your sisters and brothers):

a. Your School fee (Yearly Monthly):

b. Your Examination fee:

c. Other fees (stationaries, uniforms, books): (Yearly Monthly)

e. School Bus fee or Other Transport (Monthly):

f. Any other expenditure (for instance transport cost for going to tuition):

22. Do you get any scholarship from school? ₁Yes ₂No.

a. If Yes, name the scholarship:

23. What do you do with the scholarship money? (You can tick more than one) ₁ Spend on private tuition ₂ buying clothes ₃ buying textbooks ₄books recommended in tuition ₅contribute in family

24. Medium of instruction in school: ₁English ₂ Bengali ₃Hindi ₄ Others (Specify)

25. Since which class are you studying in this school? ₁ Primary ₂ Upper primary

26. Previous school if any:

a. Reason for changing previous school: ₁it was till primary ₂the school was far from home ₃ the quality of the school was poor.

27. How satisfied are you with your present school?

₁Not at all satisfied ₂slightly satisfied ₃ somewhat satisfied ₄ Very satisfied

28. Do you attend private tuition? Yes NO

If Yes then answer questions, 29 to 53. If No, answer question 54.

29. Who takes decision about your private tuitions? (You can tick more than one)

₁Father ₂ Mother ₃ Both the parents ₄You ₅Your Elder brother or sister

30. You go to tuition (You can tick more than one option): ₁on foot ₂ Bus/Train ₃ Rickshaw ₄bicycle ₅ Private car ₆ Others (Please specify):

31. In which area/areas do you go for tuition?

32. Do you have more than one tutor in any subject? ₁Yes ₂ No

a. If yes, mention the subject/ subjects- 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

b. Why do you need more than one tutor in one subject? ₁ too many students in a tuition class ₂ I do homework of one tuition in the other tuition ₃ my parents want me to remain busy with studies all the time. ₄ Others:.....
(specify)

33. What kind of tuition do you attend? (You can tick more than one)

₁ Coaching centre ₂ at tutor's home ₃ at your house ₄ in school after class
₅ School teacher's house ₆ At friend's house
 Others.....(specify)

34. Do you have students from other classes in any of your tuition batch? ₁ Yes ₂No

a.Do you find it difficult to understand in tuition which has students from different class? ₁ Yes ₂No

35. Do you have students from different boards (West Bengal Board/CBSE/ICSE) in any of your tuition classes? ₁Yes ₂No

a.Mention the other boards :

36. How did you come to know about the tutors? (You may tick more than one option)

₁Newspaper ₂Friends/classmates ₃Elder siblings ₄Relatives
₅Neighbours
₆Parents' friends' ₇Internet ₈Advertisement on buildings/buses or pamphlets

38. Details of tuition classes (Please mention the subjects in which you take tuition and provide details)

Subject	Number of students in tuition class	Private tuition fee	How many days a week?	How many hours a day?

Appendix B

Interview Schedule for Parents

I. General Information

1. Name of the ward studying at the secondary level :
2. Number of children:
3. How long have you been here in this locality?
4. Religion
5. Do you have any caste certificate?
6. Education level of spouses:
8. Occupation of the husband:
9. Occupation of wife:
9. Is there any other earning member in the family? :
10. Own house/ rented house:
11. Monthly income/expenditure in the family:
12. Details of education expenditure in the family:
 - a. Monthly/Quarterly/ Yearly (Please tick) school fees:
 - b. Examination fee:
 - c. Transport fee:
 - d. Admission fee:
 - e. Private tuition/coaching fees (total):
 - f. Other (stationaries/books/ miscellaneous):

II. Questions related to son/daughter in secondary school:

1. Since which class he/she is in this school?
2. Why did you change his school (if yes)?
3. Why did you choose this school for your son/daughter?
4. How satisfied are you with the present school?
5. If unsatisfied, how do you compensate for it?

III. Information on private tuition

1. Since which class your ward has been availing private tuition?
2. Did he avail private tuition in particular subjects initially?
3. Has the number of subjects in which he took tuition changed over time as he moved on to higher classes?
4. Which are the subjects in which he avails private tuition at present?
5. Why does your ward go to tuition? (plausible reason: everyone goes, more marks, compulsory to attend tuition by schoolteachers, schools are not teaching, none at home to take care of his studies)

6. Are you planning to avail private tuition for any other subject? If yes, what are the constraints?
7. Which subjects are you considering and why?
8. In the past one year how many times has your ward changed tutors? Why?
9. Are there many tutors in your locality? Can you name some popular tutors?
10. Types of shadow education he attends (Nature of shadow education):
Type of shadow education (coaching/ schoolteacher's house/tutor comes/ tutor's house/friend's house)

Subject	type of tuition	fees	Number of students in each batch

Tuition timing (elaborative)

Self study per day (hours):

11. Does he/she have more than one tuition in one subject?
Name of the subject:
Why does he need two tuitions in one subject?-
12. Who takes the decision on tuition?
13. What type of tuition do you prefer? Individual / group tuition / coaching/ Others
14. In which localities does you ward/wards go for tuition?-
15. How do you come to know about tuition?
16. Do you take your ward's approval in matters concerning private tuition? How often do you take your wards approval in tuition?
17. Do you think you could get a better tutor for your ward?
18. Do you wish you could spend more on tuition?
19. Do you wish to send your ward to a particular tuition but is unable to send? What are the constraints?
20. Do you wish to send your ward to reputed coaching centres? Name some.
21. Who accompanies your ward to private tuition?
22. Do you take other parents' opinion while deciding on private tuition? Do you have a parents' group who decide on private tutor?
23. Have you come across parents who do not share information about tuition?

IV. Effectiveness of private tuition

1. How do you measure the effectiveness of private tuition?
2. Has his/her performance in examination improved after tuition?
3. Do you see a change in attitude after taking private tuition? Does your ward feel more motivated to study?
4. Is it necessary for your child to take tuition to become successful in life?
5. Is getting a job in future related to availing private tuition at present?
6. Is the cost of tuition a financial burden on you?

7. What other sacrifices are you making in order to send your child to private tuition?

V. School and tuition linkages

1. How often do you see what is taught in school?
2. Do you see what is taught in private tuition?
3. Do you think there is a difference between what is taught in tuition and school?
4. Have you been approached by a schoolteacher who is willing to tutor your child?
5. Does a schoolteacher who teach in school teach differently in private tuition?
6. How does tuition affect learning in school?
7. How often do you interact with schoolteachers and tutors?
8. Are you aware of the RTE, 2009 that prohibits schoolteachers from tutoring students?
9. What do you think about the policy? Do you think schoolteachers should be banned from tutoring?
10. What do you have to say about school education these days? Has the education system changed over the years?
11. Do you think schools have become obsolete due to the influence of private tutoring?

VI. Attributes of tutor and tuitions

1. What are the qualities you look for in a tutor? (academic qualification, whether a schoolteacher, experience, medium of instruction, whether many students go to that tuition).
2. How do you select a tutor?
3. How do you expect the tutors to teach?
4. If you changed any tutors, why did you change? What is it that you did not find in that tutor?
5. Are teachers and tutors different?
6. Have you ever been late in paying tuition? What was the reaction from the tutor?
7. While availing a particular tutor, how often do you see whether there are students from other boards/ vernacular medium students in the same batch? If yes, has it ever occurred to you to change tutor?

VII. Family Dynamics (with two or more siblings):

1. What have you dreamt about your ward's future occupation? Which subjects you want him/her to choose after 10th?
2. Do you wish you could give your daughter to a private school like your son? (If there are two siblings and the daughter is in a government school)
3. Do you send the daughter to the same private tutor as your son? If not, why?
4. What is the total education expenditure incurred on your children? (school fees, private tuition fees, conveyance, miscellaneous)
5. Why is it important to give education to a girl child?
6. Is the goal for girl's education different from boys?

Appendix C

Interview Schedule for Tutors

I. General Information

1. Name:
2. Sex :
3. Age:
4. Qualification:
5. Number of family members:
6. Primary Occupation (if any):
7. Occupation of the spouse (if married):
8. District :
9. Household expenditure (monthly):
10. Are you associated with any coaching institute/institutes?
11. If yes, what is/are the name of the coaching centre(s)?

Ila. Tutoring experience of the tutor who tutors at his/her house or at tutee's house:

1. How long have you been tutoring? Since when?
2. How has your journey as a tutor started?
3. Why did you choose this profession? / Did you choose to become a tutor?
4. Have you been in any other job before or taught in a school? Reason for leaving?
5. How many students do you have now?
6. How many students do you tutor in each batch?
7. Which class/grade of students do you tutor?
8. Do you tutor any particular board of students? If yes, why?
9. How many hours do you tutor?
10. At which place (your house/tutee's house/coaching centre) do you tutor?
11. In which subject/subjects do you tutor students?

12. Details of tutees-

Class of Schools of tutees	Subjects	fee charged

13. Do you prefer small groups, large groups or individual teaching?
14. Do you have students from different grades/classes in one batch?
15. If yes, do you find it difficult to tutor?
16. How do students get information about you? Advertisement/Friends/Family, Neighbours/ School students/Friends of friends/internet/teacher in school/ tutoring agencies
17. Do you have any criteria for selecting students for your tuition?
18. How far are tutoring agencies effective in your search for tutees?

19. Can you name some tutors in your area who are teaching the same subject/subjects as yours?
20. Are you aware of the fees they charge?
21. What are the challenges of this profession?
22. Do you face competition from other tutors?
23. How is the tuition fees determined in your locality? What are the factors that decide what should be the fees?
24. What is the attitude of the parents towards a tutor? Do they bargain about fees charged?
25. What are the ways to gain more tutees?/ What are your tactics to gain tutees?
26. Do you wish you could have gained more tutees?
27. How can a tutor gain reputation?
28. Do you recommend your tutees to other tutors who teach different subjects? Why/Why not?
29. Is there a difference between a teacher and a tutor?
30. Do want to continue with this profession? What are the options you are looking for?

Iib. Tutoring experience of tutors who are also part of a coaching centre

1. Why did you choose this coaching centre for teaching students?
2. Are there any other coaching centre/s where you also tutor?
3. What is your remuneration in the coaching centre/centres?
4. How many days a week do you visit the centre?
5. What are the subjects that you teach?
6. Who are your target students?
7. How is teaching in coaching centre different from tutoring at home?
8. Are there students from coaching centres who also avail home tutoring from you? Why?
9. How many hours do you spend in the coaching centre?
10. How is the recruitment process done in the coaching centre?
11. Do you have different batch for students from different boards?
12. What are the challenges of teaching in a coaching centre?
13. How do you manage time between home tutoring and tutoring at coaching centre(s)?
14. How do you negotiate between the two?

Iic. Tutoring experience of tutors who are schoolteachers

1. Is being a tutor different from being a teacher?
2. Why do you tutor students? What is the motivation for tutoring students?
3. Do you tutor students from your own school?
4. How many students from your school do you tutor?
5. Is there a need for additional help after you teach students in the class?
6. For how many years have your been teaching in this school?
7. What is the nature of your job? (part time/permanent)

8. Do you think schoolteachers make better tutors?
9. How is the demand for schoolteacher as tutors in the market?
10. Do you teach the same content as in school?
11. What is the nature of additional help a student gets in your tuition classes after school?
12. How do you negotiate between the school and tuition? Is there a trade off?
13. Do students behave differently in school and in tuition?

III. Teaching Methods:

1. How do you introduce a concept? (using boards, giving notes etc.)
2. What is your medium of instruction?
3. Do you teach students from different classes in the same batch?
4. How frequently do you take test?
5. What do you think is the most effective way to teach students?
6. What is your idea of a good tutor?

IV. Information/ Opinion on students

1. In which grade majority of students avail private tuition?
2. Why do students go for tuition? a) Schools not teaching well b) anxiety among parents c) parents too busy to look after studies d) competition e) Others (Please mention)
3. Do you think only economically well off students take tuition?
4. Is there a change in the attitude of students over the years i.e. students are not attentive in the class ? Do you think private tuition has a role to play?
5. Do you think students are more dependent on private tuition than on schools?
6. In which subjects students mostly take private tuition?

V. On Regulation

1. Do you think the market should be regulated?
2. Are you a member of any tutor organization?
3. Are you aware of RTE, 2009 which prohibits schoolteachers from providing private tuition?
4. Do you think schoolteachers should be banned from providing private tuition?
5. Do you think tutoring should be discouraged?

Appendix D

Interview Schedule for Teachers' Bureau

I. General Information of the Owner

1. Name:
2. Sex:
3. Age:
4. Primary Occupation:
5. Place where the owner stays:
6. Qualification:
7. Number of family members:
8. Household expenditure (monthly):

II. On the motivation of running a tutoring agency:

1. How did you come up with the idea of opening a Teachers' Bureau?
2. When was it established?
3. Do you tutor students?
4. What is the function of Teachers' Bureau?
5. Why do you call yourself a consultant? What other names can you think of?
6. How did people come to know about it?
7. Do you maintain a website? Why or why not?
8. How many employees are under you?
9. How did you gain reputation in this market?
10. What are the risks associated with this business?
11. Have you ever thought of running a coaching centre?

III. Client Base

1. How many parents are registered with your agency?
2. What is the process of registering oneself?
3. Are these parents from different socioeconomic background?
4. Do you have any criteria for selecting parents?
5. What type of students mostly need the guidance of tutoring agencies? (type of school: private/government; type of board etc.)

6. How many tutors are registered with you?
7. What is the lowest qualification and the highest qualification of tutors?
8. What is the socioeconomic background of tutors?
9. Do you have certain preferences in selecting the tutors?/ On what parameters do you select tutors?
10. How do you determine what should be the fees that a tutor should charge?
11. What is your commission fee for both tutors and parents?
12. Have you ever provided tutors for free?

III. Opinion on parents/students and tutors

1. In your opinion, what is the percentage of students who avail private tuition in India and in West Bengal?
2. Why are the students dependent on private tuition in West Bengal?
3. What are the criteria on the basis of which parents select tutors?
4. How far students take decision on tutors?
5. Which type of tutors are mostly in demand? Why?
6. What are the popular subjects?
7. Do you think anyone can be a tutor?
8. What makes a good tutor? Do you give advice to tutors about tutoring?
9. Do you monitor the performance of the students after you provide a tutor to the student?
10. What is the idea of parents on 'good' tutors?
11. Have you faced any dispute between the parents and tutors? What is the nature of dispute?
12. How do negotiate dispute between parents and tutors?
13. What is the difference between school and private tuition?
14. Is there any change in the nature of demand for tutors among the parents over the years?
15. Is there any particular area/locality from where the demand is the highest?
16. What is the impact of tutoring on children?
17. According to RTE, 2009, schoolteachers are prohibited from providing private tuition. What is your opinion?

IV. Collaboration and Competition

1. Are you associated with any coaching centre? Do you provide tutors to coaching centres?
2. Can you name some other teacher bureaus?
3. What is your opinion on them? How is your service different from theirs?
4. What are the tactics you use to gain more clients?
5. Are you aware of the commission they charge from their clients?
6. Are you charging more than the market price?
7. Do you have any association/ union of teacher bureaus?
8. How do you perceive the future of this market- both private tuition market and the market for teacher bureaus?
9. Do you want to continue with this business?

Appendix E

Interview Schedule for WBPTWA President

I. General Information

1. Name:
2. Sex:
3. Educational Qualification
4. Number of family members:
5. Household expenditure (monthly):
6. Primary occupation:
7. Years of experience in tutoring:
8. Number of students:
9. Subjects:

II. Goal of the organization

1. Tell me about the history of this organization. How did it originate and from which place?
2. What is the goal of this organization?
3. Why did you join the organization?
4. Is it a registered organization?
5. What are the kind of activities in the organization?
6. How do the tutors come to know about the organization?
7. Do you think it benefits the tutors? In what ways?
8. How many members are part of the organization?
9. What is the source of your funding?
10. How far have you achieved your goal?
11. How do you negotiate with the Government? How has different regimes responded to this movement?
12. Has the condition of the tutors improved over the years?
13. What do you demand from the government?

14. Can you name any other organization of this type operating in any other parts of India?
15. What makes West Bengal different from other states in terms of the prevalence of private tuition? (If the answer is NO in Q13.)

III. Perspective on tutoring:

1. What percentage of students in India and in West Bengal avail private tuition according to your opinion?
2. Why do you think private tuition is necessary?
3. What type of tutors do the parents demand?
4. Do you think there is a hierarchy in the market?
5. What according to you are the qualities of a 'good' tutor?
6. What is the impact of private tuition on the learning in schools?
7. Would you prefer to tutor if you had a permanent job?
8. What are the challenges of this profession?
9. According to RTE, 2009, schoolteachers are prohibited from providing private tuition. What is your opinion?