**OUT OF THE SHADOWS: THE INCIDENCE AND PATTERNS OF PRIVATE TUITION PROVISION IN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA**

1. **Introduction**

This article presents the findings of the first comprehensive analysis of the overall incidence and patterns of private tuition provision across a relatively large group of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), namely in Francophone West Africa. Comprehensive national surveys of primary schools were conducted in 2014 by the Programme d’analyse des systemes educatifs de la confemen (PASEC)[[1]](#footnote-1) in the following nine countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, Niger, Senegal, Tchad, and Togo. The PASEC surveys include information on private tutoring which enables quite in-depth analysis to be undertaken of both the overall incidence of tutoring provision among primary school students and teachers as well as patterns of provision including possible inter-relationships with formal private schooling provision.

*1.1 Private tuition in Sub-Saharan Africa*

The rapid growth of private tutoring has been one of the most important features of educational provision in both developed and developing countries during the last three decades which has generated considerable interest among both academic researchers and education policymakers. Along with the rapid increase in private school enrolments, the pervasiveness of private tutoring is widely seen as being symptomatic of a wider process of educational privatisation worldwide.

The simplest definition of private tuition is that is ‘primarily concerned with tutoring provided by private entrepreneurs and individuals for profit-making purposes’ (Bray, 1999). It is widely contended that the extent of private tutoring among both primary and secondary school students is such that, in many countries, it represents a ‘shadow’ education system operating in parallel to formal schooling provision.

Mark Bray, the leading educational researcher in this area, has recently comprehensively reviewed the available evidence on shadow education in Africa. What is most striking about this review is the paucity of robust evidence on both the overall incidence and patterns of private tuition provision across the continent and most especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Bray himself notes that the available data is based on ‘diverse studies with varying samples, research approaches and points in time’ (2021:50). The summary table of private tutoring incidence presented in the Bray review covers only 21 out of a total of 46 countries in the region. Much of the available evidence is also quite dated; the survey data in nine out of these 21 countries is more than 10 years old.

The limited data on private tutoring in SSA is most apparent in one particular sub-region, namely Francophone West Africa (FWA). No national survey data is reported for these countries in the Bray review and only a handful of publications on private tuition are cited[[2]](#footnote-2).

It is only possible to reach robust conclusions on the overall national incidence and patterns of private tuition provision on the basis of sufficiently large, nationally representative school surveys. The Bray review indicates that these surveys have been undertaken for primary schooling in only eight countries in SSA during the last 10 years[[3]](#footnote-3). All of these countries are in Anglophone East, Central and Southern Africa, five out of the eight have very small populations and six of them have relatively high per capita incomes by SSA standards[[4]](#footnote-4). Moreover, while the necessary survey data was collected that would enable fairly detailed assessments of the patterns of private tuition (with respect to gender, school location, school ownership, and socio-economic status) to be undertaken, none of the country survey reports present this information. National school survey data on private tuition among secondary school students is non-existent in SSA.

Given this overall lack of good quality evidence, it is not possible to reach any robust conclusions about the overall incidence and patterns of tutoring provision and trends over time across SSA as a whole.

*1.3 Discussion organisation*

The discussion is organised as follows. The broad analytical framework and methodology as well as basic background information on the nine survey countries are presented in section 2. Sections 3 and 4 then present the main survey findings on the incidence and patterns of tutoring provision with respect to students and tutors/teachers. Section 5 briefly examines the extent and nature of differences in the test scores of Grade 6 students who have and have not received tutorial support. Finally, the conclusion discusses the implications of this research and, in particular, how the overall quality of research in this key are of education provision can be improved in the future.

1. **Conceptual framework and methodology**

*2.1 Demand and supply factors and inter-relationships*

This study’s conceptual framework is broadly in line with most other research on private tutoring which focuses on the analysis of key demand and supply factors. With respect to demand, the standard explanation for the burgeoning demand for private education provision (both formal schooling and private tutoring) in SSA is the low and, in some instances, declining quality of learning outcomes in public schools with invariably low parental expectations of any sizeable and sustained improvements in the short-medium term. With the implementation of Universal Primary Education national strategies, mainly better-off socio-economic classes/groups have increasingly resorted to private education providers (both private schools and private tutors) in order to maintain sufficient educational distance between their children and children from lower socio-economic status groups (see Author).

The analysis of demand side factors in most surveys and other studies of private tuition provision in SSA is generally quite superficial mainly because key areas/aspects of tuition demand are excluded. In particular, potentially important inter-relationships between private schooling and private tuition across various locations and especially rural and urban areas are ignored altogether. As will be discussed below, the PASEC survey data reveals the extent to which the incidence of private tutoring among students attending private schools is much higher than among public school students which suggests that the demand relationships between these two types of private education provision are more complementary than substitutive.

On the supply side, the key factors are the availability and cost of private education service providers. Most studies highlight the willingness of large numbers of government and other teachers (both employed and unemployed) to supplement their generally meagre pay with income from private tutoring as a key issue. Similarly, the Bray Africa review concludes that ‘erosion of salaries in both Anglophone and Francophone countries has increased the pressure on teachers to engage in additional occupations, among which private tutoring is a common choice’ (p.12).

*2.2 Provision patterns*

The available evidence presented in the Bray review on the patterns of private tuition provision in SSA is both limited and dated.

Gender: The Bray review cites evidence from six studies, five of which report that the overall incidence of girls receiving private tuition in SSA is higher than among boys. Three of these studies are over 15 years old and none of them provide any explanation for the observed gender disparities (See Buchmann 1999; Getange and Obar 2016; Melese and Abebe 2017; Montgomery et al. 2010 and ORC 2003 and 2004).

Location: Four studies, all of which rely on data which is over 15 years old, report that the incidence of private tutoring is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (see Buchmann 1999; Pare-Kabore 2008; ORC Macro 2004 and 2003). Bray concludes that ‘urban areas have higher (private tuition) enrolment rates because population density provides enough clients for tutorial enterprises to be viable, and supply to some extent creates demand. Further, children in rural areas have less time for extra educational activities because they commonly walk to school and are expected to help with farm work’ (p.18).

Socio-economic status: Only one, very dated study provides evidence to show that the incidence of private tuition (in Kenya) is higher among children from wealthier households (see Buchmann 2002).

Type of school attended: No evidence is presented in the Bray review on the incidence of private tutoring among school students with respect to the type of school attended. Research in Asia and elsewhere indicates that the incidence is higher among students enrolled in private schools (see Bray, 2012 and 2020).

Type of tuition: With information from only five studies, it is difficult to reach any conclusions concerning the type/modality of private tuition provision in SSA (see Chionga 2018; King 2012; Munyao 2015; Eilor 2007; Simbarashe and Edlight 2011). The Bray Review merely notes that ‘much private tutoring … occurs on school premises though it is usually done in the face of official disapproval…Other tutoring is provided in churches, mosques, cafes, libraries and other public locations’ (p.22).

Private tutors: No information is presented in the Bray review on the profile of private tutors with respect to their gender, age, employment status, and school type and work location. The breakdown between public and private school teachers and (self-employed and waged) tutors who are not school teachers is particularly important.

Trends: The 2007 and 2013 SACMEQ survey rounds indicate that the incidence of private tuition increased in all eight countries in SSA for which information is available. No other time series evidence is available for the remaining 38 countries in the region.

The complete absence of any consistent, sufficiently detailed, an up to date time-series data is the perhaps the greatest impediment to reaching robust conclusions about the incidence and patterns of private tuition in SSA. The second quinquennial PASEC survey round was conducted in 2019 which, once the data on private tutoring is analysed by the PASEC central survey team and/or is made publically available, will provide the first opportunity to assess comprehensively any significant trends in tuition provision in SSA during the last decade and the underlying reasons for these changes.

*Government policy and practice*

No systematic information is available on private tuition policy and practice in SSA. Prior to economic liberalisation in the 1990s, while private schooling was banned in many developing countries, governments were invariably more tolerant of private tuition. However, since then governments have relaxed the policy regime for private schooling while, at the same time, hardening their policies on private tutoring which, in the most extreme cases has resulted in the outright official banning of the most problematic and corrupt forms of individual private tutoring by teachers. While many of these bans have not been rigorously enforced, the overall policy environment towards private tutoring remains hostile in many countries.

There is a noticeable absence of any government regulation of private tuition in Francophone West Africa which is in marked contrast to other countries in SSA especially in East and Central Africa. This provides the opportunity, therefore, to analyse the largely unfettered provision of private tuition across a reasonably large number of countries.

*2.2 Study methodology*

The primary focus of the PASEC schools surveys is to measure learning outcomes in reading and maths among grade 2 and grade 6 students at nationally representative samples of public and private primary schools. In order to be able to assess the key determinants of these learning outcomes, each survey collects comprehensive information on each sampled student, teacher and school.

The stratified sampling methodology that is used in each survey country is based on well-established and robust statistical procedures and techniques. Data from national population census enumeration districts is used to calculate sample weights for each school, teacher and student included in the survey which ensures that each sampled group is representative of group populations as a whole at the national level.

A total of 180 primary schools are selected for each national survey with between 4,000 and 4,500 grade 2 and grade 6 students being tested in each country. In addition, at each survey school, personal and other information is collected from the teachers of the two selected grade 2 and grade 6 classes as well as the school director.

*Private tuition information*

Information on private tuition is collected from both students[[5]](#footnote-5) and teachers. Students are asked the following two questions concerning private tuition. (i) Do you currently receive any additional tutorial support from your own class teacher in your own home? and (ii) Do you receive any other tutorial support (‘repetiteur’) of any kind? Teachers are asked only one question, namely do you earn any additional income from offering private tuition (‘cours particulieres’) outside of your normal teaching duties? While this information is quite limited, it does provide the basis for a fairly detailed assessment of the overall incidence and patterns of tutorial provision across each country.

Between them, the two student questions cover all private tuition activity although a more detailed breakdown of ‘repetiteur’ activities by location (school, tutor’s home, commercial centre, on-line, other premises) and provider (individual tutor, commercial organisation etc.) would clearly be desirable. As noted earlier, since there do not appear to be any serious government restrictions on private tuition in any of the nine FWA countries, neither student nor teacher responses to the three questions on private tuition provision are likely to be seriously biased (either upwards or downwards).

* 1. *Background information*

Table 1 provides background information on the nine PASEC survey countries in West Africa[[6]](#footnote-6). High poverty rates (over 40% in eight countries) and low primary school completion rates (generally under 70%) are particularly noticeable. All nine countries have a six-year primary cycle. With the exception of Cameroon, Senegal and Togo, public schools account for over 80% of primary education enrolments in the rural areas (see table 2). Non-state ‘private’ provision, both (not-for-profit) faith-based and (mostly for-profit) ‘secular’ schools, is more important in urban areas accounting for more than 20% of total primary education enrolments in six countries. However, the enrolment shares of for-profit private primary schools in urban areas are somewhat lower than is generally the case in Anglophone Africa.[[7]](#footnote-7)

1. **Students**

*3.1 Overall incidence*

Table 3 shows the national incidence of private tuition among Grade 6 students in the nine PASEC counties in 2014. The high level of incidence variability across these nine countries is particularly noticeable - ranging from 12% in Tchad to 42% in Senegal. While a higher degree of variability prevails among the eight SACMEQ countries in Eastern and Southern Africa, the (unweighted) average incidence is virtually identical for both groups of countries (27.3% and 28.4% respectively).[[8]](#footnote-8) Assuming that these 17 PASEC and SACMEQ survey countries are reasonably representative of all 46 countries in SSA, one can conclude that private tuition is likely to be a mass phenomenon in the large majority of countries across the continent.

Detailed research is needed in order to understand the main reasons for the high degree of variability in the incidence of private tuition among these and other countries in SSA. A preliminary analysis suggests, however, that four factors may be particularly salient, namely GDP per capita, the level of urbanisation, the relative size of the private school sector and grade repetition rates.

As expected, GDP per capita and the degree of urbanisation are positively correlated with the incidence of private tuition[[9]](#footnote-9). With regard to grade repetition, it might also be expected that the level of private tuition is quite strongly, positively correlated with grade repetition rates as students and parents seek additional help in passing end-of-year examinations. However, Figure 1 shows that private tuition incidence and repetition rates are negatively correlated among the nine PASEC countries. One possible explanation is that private tuition leads to appreciable improvements in academic outcomes and thus lower repetition rates.

The positive correlation between incidence tuition rates and the share of private secular enrolments which has been observed in other developed and developing countries is largely due to better off parents being prepared to incur additional expenditure on both private schooling and private tuition in the expectation that this will improve the performance of their children in ‘high stakes’ national examinations. Private schooling and private tuition should be regarded, therefore, as complementary goods rather than substitutes (see Figure 2)[[10]](#footnote-10).

*3.2 Provision patterns*

G*ender*

For all but one of the nine PASEC survey countries, gender differences in the incidence of private tuition are either minimal (less than percentage point) or are in favour of female students (see table 3)[[11]](#footnote-11). For primary schooling as a whole, relatively large gender disparities persist with respect to both enrolment and completion rates across FWA. However, among girls who complete primary schooling, there does not appear to be any widespread and systematic male preference with respect to private tutoring. One possible reason for this is that girls from richer households account for a relatively large share of grade 6 enrolments (compared to boys) and thus a higher proportion of their parents are able to afford private tutoring. Female school enrolment rates are generally lower in predominantly Muslim countries in West Africa. However, there is no (statistically significant) correlation between the size of gender tutorial incidence differences and the share of the population which is Muslim among the nine PASEC survey countries in FWA.

*Location*

The differences in private tuition enrolment rates between rural and urban locations in FWA are relatively small. Among public schools, the percentage point difference is 10 percentage points or less in all but two of the nine PASEC survey countries (see Table 4). A possible reason for this is that private schooling in rural areas is generally less accessible than in urban areas which means, therefore, that private tuition is usually the only feasible private provision option. However, it is also the case that generally much higher poverty rates in rural areas are likely to depress the demand for private tuition among rural households.

The picture is more mixed with regard to private schools, but in half of the PASEC survey countries, relatively more students at rural private schools receive private tuition than in urban private schools. Unlike children attending public schools, the affordability of private tuition is likely to be less of a demand constraint among households who can afford to send their children to private schools.

*School type*

The PASEC surveys indicate that the incidence of private tuition is generally much higher among private than public primary school students (see table 4). As noted earlier, this is likely to be because better-off households send their children to private schools and they are more able to pay for private tuition because they believe that it significantly improves educational and employment outcomes for their children.

*Tuition provider*

Grade 6 student survey respondents are asked if they receive assistance at home with their homework (‘devoirs’) from their own class teacher or a tutor (‘repetiteur’). As can be observed in Table 5, independent tutoring is the predominant form of private tuition provision in urban areas especially among students attending private schools. Tutorial support from class teacher tutors is relatively more important among students at public schools in rural areas which may be due to the more limited number of available teachers and tutors in rural localities.

Typically, 5-10% of primary school students in FWA receive private tuition from both their own class teachers and other tutors. In a few countries, this figure is a lot higher. In Niger and Senegal, for example, around one-quarter of students attending urban private schools receive both types of tutorial support.

1. ***Teachers***

*4.1 Overall incidence*

The PASEC school surveys ask each teacher survey respondent to provide information about any additional income they earn from activities outside of their main occupation as a primary school teacher. One of these extra income earning activities is ‘cours particulieres’ (CP), which include additional tutorial classes provided either individually by each teacher or by specific commercial or other organisations. The overall incidence of CP tuition among Grade 2 and 6 teachers is less than 5% in rural areas and only slightly higher among these teachers employed in urban schools (see Table 6). Given that the incidence of students receiving some kind of tutorial support is usually at least two-three times higher, this suggests that a high proportion of class teachers have more than one after-school tutorial student and/or that sizeable numbers of students are supported by (self or waged employed) tutors who are not full-time school teachers.

*6.2 Location, school type and teaching experience*

As expected, the incidence of tutoring among teachers at urban primary schools is considerably higher than among rural teachers in all nine countries (see table 6). With regard to school type, in all but one country, at least three-quarters of teachers who are involved in private tuition activity are employed at private schools (see tables 7 and 8). In Cote d’Ivoire, for example, private school teachers provide 90% of all private tutoring but only account for only 14% of all primary school teachers in the country. The two exceptions are Cameroon and Tchad where 60-70% of private tuition is provided by community teachers. The generally very limited involvement of teachers who are employed in public schools as civil servants (‘fonctionnaires’) is also noticeable. In most countries, the relatively low pay of teachers at private schools is likely to be a key factor in making tutoring that much more attractive for these teachers. In Cameroon, for example, the median pay of private school teachers is around one-half that of the median pay of public school teachers (see Author). Relatively low pay is also likely to be the main reason why younger, less experienced teachers tend to take on more tutoring work than older teachers (see Table 9).

1. **Tuition and learning outcomes**

Comparing with- and without-tuition learning outcomes among (non-randomised) groups of students tells us little or nothing about the overall impact of tuition provision on learning outcomes. To be able to evaluate robustly this impact is a complex exercise which can only be based on randomised control trials and, ideally, difference-in-difference assessment methodology. Samples of students have to be precisely selected in order to be able to compare accurately the differential learning outcomes of tuition (treatment) and no tuition (control) groups over a sufficiently long time period. Eliminating possible selection biases between these two groups so that one is comparing like-with-like is a major methodological challenge.

It can be observed in Table 10 that the percentage point difference in reading and maths mean test scores of Grade 6 students who were tested as part of the PASEC country surveys is generally positive among public primary schools (albeit only marginally for reading) but is strongly negative for both subjects among students attending secular private primary schools across all nine countries. However, this does not mean that the overall impact of private tuition is significantly higher in public schools because the profiles/characteristics of tutored students could well be quite different between the two types of schools. It is conceivable, for example, that academically more able students tend to be selected for private tuition in public private schools whereas relatively larger numbers of weaker ability students attending private schools receive ‘remedial’ tutorial support. While the impact of tuition may be quite positive for this latter group, sizeable learning outcome differences may still exist between this group of supported students and academically more able non-supported students.

**6. Conclusion**

This article has presented for the first time nationally representative information on the overall incidence and patterns of private tuition in an important sub-region of SSA comprising nine countries in Francophone West Africa with a combined population of over 150 million. Five main conclusions can be drawn from this initial analysis.

Firstly, private tuition is indeed a mass rural and urban phenomenon in this sub-region although considerable variability exists in the overall incidence across countries. Most available school survey data in SSA itself is now quite dated which highlights the need to collect information on a regular basis in as many countries as possible. Secondly, already better-off children attending private schools benefit disproportionately from private tuition thereby exacerbating already sizeable inequalities in overall education provision and learning outcomes. Along with private schooling, private tuition plays an important role in maintaining the education distance between elites and the middle class, on the one hand, and the rest of the urban and rural population, on the other. Thirdly, the generally higher incidence of private tuition among female school students suggests that its provision contributes to the reduction of gender enrolment disparities in the school population as a whole. Fourthly, private tuition does not appear to be an important source of additional income for public primary school teachers in FWA. However, this may not be case elsewhere in SSA especially in countries where public school salaries are much lower than is typically the case in FWA. And finally, there is insufficient evidence to be able to draw any robust conclusions on the quality of private tuition and its overall impact on learning outcomes. This evidence is essential in order to develop effective regulatory policy regimes for private tuition provision.

*Future research*

Private tuition is a mass phenomenon whose provision needs to be carefully monitored on a regular basis. Well-designed national surveys of both primary and secondary schools provide the necessary foundation for this research effort which can be extended in various ways to include more in-depth analysis of key demand and supply factors as well as the impact of private tutoring on learning outcomes. As noted above, this will provide the indispensable empirical evidence for well-designed policy interventions is this key area of education provision.

Future national school surveys should include additional, more detailed questions on all key aspects of private tuition and especially key information on school students who are receiving private tuition and on tuition providers themselves including delivery modalities, locations and tuition costs. In addition, carefully designed randomised control trials should be undertaken in order to assess the learning impacts of private tuition.

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| Table 1: Background information on countries in Francophone West Africa, various years 2015-2018 |
|   | Population  | GDP pc  | Poverty head | % Muslim | % urban | Primary school |
| Country | (million) | US$ PPP | count | population |   | completion rate |
| Benin | 11.8 | 3432 | 50 | 28 | 48 | 64 |
| Burkina Faso | 20.3 | 2275 | 44 | 62 | 30 | 65 |
| Cameroon | 25.9 | 3804 | 26 | 30 | 57 | 65 |
| Congo | 5.4 | 3836 | 40 | 24 | 67 | 72 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 25.7 | 5443 | 30 | 43 | 51 | 79 |
| Niger | 23.3 | 1279 | 45 | 98 | 17 | 62 |
| Senegal | 16.3 | 3545 | 39 | 96 | 48 | 61 |
| Tchad | 15.9 | 1650 | 38 | 58 | 23 | 41 |
| Togo | 8.1 | 1667 | 51 | 20 | 42 | 87 |
| Source: World Bank  |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 2: Breakdown of Grade 6 enrolments by location and ownership |  |  |
|   |   | RURAL |   |   | URBAN |   |   | NATIONAL |
|   | Public | Faith | Secular | Public | Faith | Secular | Public | Faith | Secular |
| Benin | 87 | 5 | 7 | 74 | 10 | 16 | 82 | 7 | 10 |
| Burkina Faso | 93 | 2 | 5 | 80 | 6 | 14 | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| Cameroon | 80 | 13 | 8 | 45 | 24 | 31 | 71 | 16 | 13 |
| Congo | 93 | 6 | 1 | 43 | 54 | 4 | 64 | 34 | 2 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 88 | 9 | 3 | 76 | 19 | 5 | 88 | 10 | 3 |
| Niger | 99 | 1 | 0 | 89 | 2 | 9 | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| Senegal | 79 | 10 | 11 | 69 | 16 | 15 | 79 | 11 | 11 |
| Tchad | 91 | 6 | 4 | 78 | 12 | 10 | 84 | 9 | 7 |
| Togo | 71 | 17 | 12 | 61 | 14 | 25 | 72 | 15 | 13 |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 3: Incidence of private tuition among grade 6 girls and boys  |
| in Francophone West Africa, 2014 (rounded %) |  |
| Country | Total | Girls | Boys | pp diff |  |
| Tchad | 12 | 11 | 12 | -1 |  |
| Congo | 18 | 17 | 19 | -1 |  |
| Niger | 20 | 20 | 19 | 1 |  |
| Burkina Faso | 26 | 29 | 24 | 5 |  |
| Togo | 29 | 30 | 27 | 3 |  |
| Benin | 36 | 38 | 34 | 4 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 36 | 38 | 34 | 4 |  |
| Cameroon | 37 | 38 | 36 | 2 |  |
| Senegal | 42 | 43 | 41 | 3 |  |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |

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Table 4: Incidence of private tuition among grade 6 students by school  |
| ownership and location in Francophone West Africa (rounded %) |  |
| Country | Public urban | Private urban | Public rural | Private rural |  |
| Benin | 30 | 45 | 24 | 49 |  |
| Burkina Faso | 30 | 30 | 20 | 35 |  |
| Cameroon | 28 | 40 | 30 | 38 |  |
| Congo | 17 | 20 | 9 | 12 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 38 | 49 | 29 | 56 |  |
| Niger | 33 | 41 | 13 | 2 |  |
| Senegal | 44 | 45 | 30 | 28 |  |
| Tchad | 9 | 27 | 8 | 12 |  |
| Togo | 30 | 32 | 20 | 32 |  |

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| Table 5: Median incidence rates for grade 6 students receiving private tuition from |
| class teacher, independent tutor and both in Francophone West Africa (rounded %) |
| School type | Class | Tutor | Both | Overall |  |  |
| and location | teacher | (repetiteur) |   | Incidence |  |  |
| Urban public | 12 | 6 | 6 | 30 |  |  |
| Urban private | 20 | 4 | 9 | 40 |  |  |
| Rural public | 9 | 8 | 4 | 20 |  |  |
| Rural private | 15 | 6 | 6 | 32 |  |  |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 6: Incidence of grade 2 and grade 6 teachers undertaking private tuition  |
| by rural and urban location in Francophone West Africa, 2014 (rounded %) |
|   | Rural | Urban | National |
| Country | Gd2 | Gd6 | Gd2 | Gd6 | Gd2 | Gd6 |
| Benin | 6 | 5 | 23 | 19 | 17 | 10 |
| Burkina Faso | 0 | 3 | 20 | 20 | 9 | 12 |
| Cameroon | 5 | 5 | 24 | 31 | 11 | 11 |
| Congo | 3 | 3 | 4 | 25 | 5 | 13 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 4 | na | 13 | 14 | 10 | na |
| Niger | 0 | 5 | 7 | 21 | 1 | 7 |
| Senegal | 0 | 5 | 5 | 26 | 2 | 14 |
| Tchad | 2 | 6 | 2 | 12 | 3 | 7 |
| Togo | 1 | 3 | 22 | 15 | 5 | 5 |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 7: Incidence of grade 2 and grade 6 teachers undertaking private tuition  |  |
| (cours particulieres) by school ownership in Francophone West Africa, 2014 (rounded %) |
|   |  Public |  Faith-based |  Private secular |  |
| Country | Gd2 | Gd6 | Gd2 | Gd6 | Gd2 | Gd6 |  |
| Benin | 8 | 14 | 39 | 43 | 50 | 47 |  |
| Burkina Faso | 1 | 13 | 8 | 40 | 43 | 33 |  |
| Cameroon | 7 | 12 | 9 | 13 | 36 | 61 |  |
| Congo | 4 | 7 | 4 | 20 | 0 | 70 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 2 | 4 | 31 | 33 | 32 | 39 |  |
| Niger | 0 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 0 | 82 |  |
| Senegal | 0 | 14 | 0 | 33 | 13 | 38 |  |
| Tchad | 0 | 15 | 4 | 14 | 3 | 25 |  |
| Togo | 0 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 49 | 25 |  |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 8: Incidence of grade 6 teachers undertaking private tuition (PT) by employment status in Francophone  |
| West Africa, 2014 (rounded %) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country |   | Fonctionnaire | Contract | Private | Community | Volunteer |  |
| Benin | % teachers | 60 | 23 | 16 | 0.8 | 0 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 7 | 15 | 79 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Burkina Faso | % teachers | 25 | 46 | 26 | 2.9 | 0.3 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 11 | 8 | 77 | 4.6 | 0 |  |
| Cameroon | % teachers | 11 | 10 | 48 | 28 | 9 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 0 | 3 | 28 | 62 | 6 |  |
| Congo | % teachers | 34 | 9 | 41 | 15 | 2 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 18 | 0 | 82 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | % teachers | 84 | 0 | 14 | 2 | 0 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 10 | 0 | 90 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Niger | % teachers | 57 | 42 | 1 | 0 | 0 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 43 | 44 | 12 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Senegal | % teachers | 40 | 30 | 27 | 2 | 1 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 10 | 12 | 79 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Tchad | % teachers | 48 | 0 | 5 | 43 | 3 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 0 | 0 | 26 | 70 | 4 |  |
| Togo | % teachers | 48 | 23 | 18 | 3 | 3 |  |
|   | % PT teachers | 5 | 0 | 74 | 15 | 6 |  |
| Source: PASEC |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 9: Incidence of Grade 6 teachers undertaking private tuition  |
| by years of experience in Francophone West Africa, 2014 (rounded %) |
| Country | 0-5.0 | 6.0-10.0 | 11.0-20.0 | 20> |  |
| Benin | 29 | 29 | 23 | 0 |  |
| Burkina Faso | 65 | 12 | 14 | 0 |  |
| Cameroon | 28 | 15 | 24 | 0 |  |
| Congo | 30 | 14 | 19 | 8 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 22 | 29 | 19 | 0 |  |
| Niger | 12 | 42 | 6 | 0 |  |
| Senegal | 15 | 24 | 22 | 25 |  |
| Tchad | 33 | 4 | 31 | 8 |  |
| Togo | 15 | 31 | 10 | 0 |  |
| Source: PASCE |  |  |  |  |  |

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| Table 10: Difference in Grade 6 mean reading and maths scores between |
| some tutoring and no tutoring, 2014 (rounded percentage points) |  |
|   | Reading | Maths |  |
| Country | Public | Private | Public | Private |  |
| Benin | 4 | -8 | 15 | -7 |  |
| Burkina Faso | -2 | -9 | -17 | -9 |  |
| Cameroon | 2 | -14 | 13 | -13 |  |
| Congo | 3 | -10 | 9 | -6 |  |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 1 | -18 | 4 | -14 |  |
| Niger | 7 | -29 | 20 | -28 |  |
| Senegal | -1 | -20 | -8 | -18 |  |
| Tchad | 3 | -8 | 18 | -6 |  |
| Togo | 4 | -9 | 10 | -11 |  |

1. The PASEC central survey team is based in Dakar, Senegal and operates under the organisational auspices of Conference des ministres de l’Education des Etats gouvernements de la Francophonie (Confemen). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Only five publications on private tutoring in Francophone West Africa are cited in the Bray review out of a total of over 50 country-specific studies in Africa as a whole. Only one of these has tutoring incidence statistics which are based on a small survey of 177 students in the senior grades in handful of elementary schools in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso (Ouattara 2017). The remaining four studies (in Togo (2) and Benin (2)) rely mainly on anecdotal evidence on the incidence and patterns of tuition provision. See Amouzou-Glikpa 2018, Yabouri et al. 2010, Napporn, Rahamane 2013 and Houessou 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. These surveys were undertaken under the auspices of the Southern and Central Africa Consortium for the Monitoring of Educational Quality (SACMEQ). Data from these surveys has never been made publically available. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The eight survey countries are Botswana, Eswatini, Namibia and South Africa in Southern Africa and Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique and Seychelles in East and Central Africa. All the surveys were conducted in 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The two questions on private tuition are only included in the Grade 6 student questionnaire. However, all teachers and school directors are asked about their involvement in private tuition activities. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Burundi, was also surveyed in 2014 but since this country is not in West Africa it has not been included in this analysis. The remaining two Francophone West African countries, namely Guinea and Mali, do not belong to CONFEMEN and do not, therefore, participate in the PASEC surveys. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Primary school enrolments at private schools typically account for more than one-third of total enrolments in major cities in Anglophone Africa. In Nairobi, they are around one-half and in Kampala over 70% (see Author). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. The national profile incidence among the SACMEQ countries is also quite similar. In only four out of 13 countries (Botswana, Kenya, Mauritius and South Africa) were Grade 6 tutorial incidence rates higher than 25% in either 2007 or 2013.

 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. The R-square value for tuition incidence and GDP per capita is 0.27 and for urbanisation it is 0.33. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. However, the limited variation in the share of private secular enrolments means that this may not be true when this enrolment share is much higher, which is now commonly the case in cities across in SSA. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. A very similar pattern is observable with respect to gender enrolment rates for for-profit private schooling. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)