

## **A REVIEW OF CAMBODIAN PRIVATE TUTORING: PARASITIC AND SYMBIOTIC FUNCTIONS TOWARDS THE MAINSTREAM SYSTEM**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Offering private tutoring (PT) to their students is legal in Cambodia. However, teachers are banned from engaging in PT during official hours and holidays. Literature has proven common root causes across contexts such as low salaries, class size, insufficient instructional times and high-stakes examinations. With a new attempt, this narrative paper aims to discuss PT and its effects from the different stakeholders' perspectives and to reflect PT functions towards mainstream education. On the one hand, symbiosis generates a 'dependency system,' divided into two relationships such as 'commensalism' between PT and the mainstream system, and 'mutualism' between supply and demand side including the mainstream system. On the other hand, parasitism (professional misconduct) exists owing to policy implementers' laissez-faire approach in exercising the approved codes of conducts. Hence, the parasitism remains in the public classrooms owing to the lack of accountability and monitoring system of the in-charge stakeholders. Its presence enlarges the capacity of the dependency system to cast a shadow over the incomplete shape and size of the mainstream system. Thus, it should be alerted that when it is oversized, this symbiotic function may downplay the mainstream system and moves it away from the core attention of the demand side.

**Keywords:** Cambodia, extra lesson, private tuition, shadow education, supplementary tutoring.

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 What is Private Tutoring?

The term '*private tutoring*' (hereafter, PT) is not a new known phenomenon in the field of education in both developed and developing worlds, although it cannot be dated when it existed. Bray, Kwo, and Jokic (2015) assumed that it might have appeared since the start of the schooling system in history. Additionally, PT is metaphorically known as '*shadow education*' when its contents and additional instructions on academic subjects follow or change with accordance to those of the mainstream school (Bray, 1999b; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Lee, Park, & Lee, 2009). Therefore, not all kinds of PT can be categorized as shadow education; for example, sports, music, and English in some contexts. The 'inadequacy' at the mainstream schools which is caused by class size (Bray, 2010, 2013; Kim & Park, 2010), insufficient instructional time (Kobakhidze, 2015), teachers' low salaries (Dawson, 2010; Mustary, 2019), and high stakes examinations (Bray & Lykins, 2012), including the differences of family socioeconomic status (SES), helps expand the PT market. As a result, it generates 'inequality' towards perceiving the quality of education among individuals within the same education system (Barker & LeTendre, 2005; Bray, 2013; Dawson, 2010; Mori & Baker, 2010).

This emergence of PT urges educators and policymakers at an international level to take action towards the concerns over the quality and equality of education (Mori & Baker, 2010) in general. Nevertheless, not all countries regulate PT. In some countries like Korea (Kim & Park, 2010), Australia, Germany, and Singapore (Bray, 2010, 2013), Morocco (Bray, 1999a), Japan and Taiwan (Hammond, 2018), the mainstream teachers are not allowed to offer PT to their students outside official school hours. However, PT is not outlawed in countries such as India, Lebanon, and Nigeria (Bray, 2010, 2013), including Cambodia, when Malaysia requires teachers to request for PT permission, but it is not restricted to whom to offer (Kenayathulla, 2015).

PT is defined as "tutoring in academic subjects ... for financial gain and ... the provision by the mainstream teachers," (Bray & Kwok, 2003, p. 612) "... and that takes place outside standard school hour" (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, U.S Department of Education (1987) referred PT as a "secret ingredient" to assist students to perform better in the tests or examinations in some Asian nations as cited in Mori and Baker (2010, p. 37) especially

in countries which are strongly influenced from the Confucianism (Li & Choi, 2014). However, Dawson (2010) referred PT to as a ‘parasitic’ system that “absorb unmet demand for schooling ...” (p. 15). Similarly, in his 2009 study, he criticizes that PT is likely to harm Education for All (EFA) and the education quality in Cambodia (Dawson, 2010, p. 69).

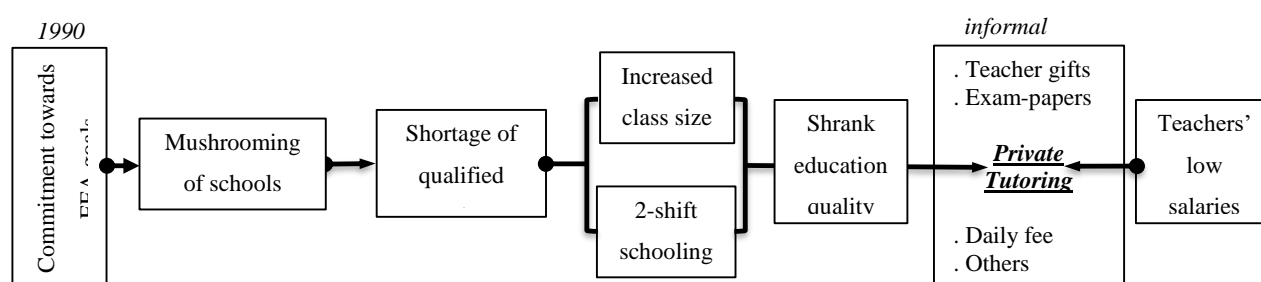
## **1.2 Incidence of Private Tutoring in Cambodia**

After the entire eradication of its education system during the Pol Pot regime, Cambodia, with support from the former Soviet Union and Vietnam, adopted the Socialism model to develop its education system and nation. This model gave no room for private education but to strive for massive involvement from communities to reconstruct schools across the country (Bray, 1999b). However, fee-paid tuition or PT (called *Rienkuor* in the native language, Khmer) emerged and merged itself in the Cambodian education system in the early 1990s soon after this Socialism came to an end in this country; PT primarily operates its services inside the public school building by mainstream schoolteachers (Bray, 1999b; Brehm & Silova, 2014).

### ***1.2.1 Relationship of Education for All and Private Tutoring***

With commitments to achieve EFA goals, some perspectives are considered to contribute towards securing PT in this context. As shown in Figure 1, while expanding educational access to every school-age child through rapidly increasing the number of schools but unable to supply enough qualified teachers, it affects the quality of education in Cambodia. This shortage of qualified teachers encouraged the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport (MoEYS) to maximize class size and implement a double-shift schooling schedule: one class has 4 or 5 hours in the morning, and another has in the afternoon. These strategies reduce the instructional time of the day, leading the overcapacity of the mainstream school to complete the official curriculum (Bray, Kobakhidze, Liu, & Zhang, 2016). Therefore, when the intended quality standard cannot be acquired at the public schools, parents require PT to compensate for the loss at public schools to guarantee that their children can cover all the intended curriculum and succeed not only in examinations but also in the future. The parents see this demand as a kind of investment for human capital (Heyneman, 2011).

Dawson (2010) reports that teachers engage in offering PT and obtaining informal payment from their students due to their low salaries. Dawson (2009) also categorized PT as one of the informal payment activities as well as Brehm and Silova (2014).



Source: Brehm and Silova, 2014

Figure 1: Incidence of PT in Cambodia

### 1.2.2 Government's Responses Towards Private Tutoring Widespread

The widespread of PT and informal payment in Cambodian schools increases a burden in household expenditure, and it becomes a barrier to access education and expand educational quality (Dawson, 2009). To respond to this issue, the government started a significant reform on the quality of education, especially in basic education (1<sup>st</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> grade).

First, MoEYS prohibited all charges (informal payments), including school-fee registration in 2001 through launching 'Priority Action Program – PAP' (Bray & Seng, 2005). There are 12 PAPs. Two (i.e., PAP1 and PAP2) amongst others aiming directly to the improvement in access, efficiency, and quality of basic education. PAP1 was to deal with education service by increasing the number of classroom teachers through training nonteaching staff and deploying teachers from schools with a surplus number of teachers. Additionally, it provided schools and teachers with incentives for their works as well as prepared regular professional developments. At the same time, PAP2 aimed to reduce the cost burden of households through abolishing registration fee and other charges (informal payment), and offering schools operational budget (Keng, 2009). Furthermore, PAP2 targeted to increase grade promotion rates, and reduce repetition and dropout rates (Bray & Seng, 2005). On the one hand, Keng (2009) reports that the reform gave big positive impacts on boosting the enrolment rate and empowering the schools, but it brought hindrance to the schools, especially high student absenteeism and dropout rate in the mid-academic year due to re-enrolment possibility and free-education policy. On the other hand, she criticized that the program failed to improve the quality of education.

Second, MoEYS has attempted to ban PT since the mid-1990s (Dawson, 2009) by barring teachers from engaging in PT during the official school hours, public holidays, and on Sundays, as stated in Article 25 of the sub-decree of teaching ethics (MoEYS, 2008). In

addition to this, to respond to a complaint of low salaries, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) provides a regular increase in teachers' salaries. Twenty percent increase in the salary stated in 1994 plus a 'prime pédagogiques' (Bray & Seng, 2005, p. 20) and other allowances such as extra hour teaching and two-shift teaching (MoEYS, 2014, p. 54). It is worth to know that the total wage of the teacher is comprised by basic salaries, prime pédagogiques, and position wage plus the allowance of extra hour teaching for teachers whose teaching hours over exceeds the official required teaching hours. Additionally, primary school teachers who are responsible for double shift teaching or multi-grade teaching are given more allowance. Another small allowance is given to any teacher who works in disadvantage areas. Nevertheless, despite the regular salary increase plus other allowances, teachers still claimed that they are unable to meet the family needs due to the simultaneous increase in living costs (Dawson, 2009; Khy, 2019).

Third, alongside with the 2014 national examination reform aiming to eliminate the corruption during the examination day, MoEYS released a new ban to reduce the burden costs of households. The ban strictly forbids teachers from selling test papers by requiring teachers of all grades to write the test on a whiteboard or blackboard for all types of examinations, including the national examination (Chhay, 2014). None of the studies has been, so far, done to report about the effectiveness of this ban.

Although the studies on PT have enormously expanded in the past several decades, there is a limited number of studies on this phenomenon in the Cambodian context. Nevertheless, it has attracted no attention from the local scholar so far. Some local studies tend to use private tutoring as one of the independent variables for their statistical analysis, such as in the studies on the dropout and academic achievement. It is worth to highlight that most of the previous studies on PT in this context chiefly aimed at basic education (1<sup>st</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> grade) while few included the 12<sup>th</sup> grade in their scope.

## **2.0 DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS THE DEMAND FOR PRIVATE TUTORING IN CAMBODIA**

### **2.1. Supply-and-Demand Side's Perspectives**

Cambodian teachers offer PT due to three main reasons, such as lack of instructional time to complete the intended curriculum, inability to pay attention to every individual due to class size, and inability to sustain on the government salary (Brehm, 2015).

### ***A) A Shortfall of Instructional Time***

Short time for instruction at public school is seen as one of the reasons for PT incidence. This issue was reported to happen due to three main prospects. One of which is the shortage of qualified teachers during the school mushrooming towards improving educational access for school-age children. Teachers have to deal with a double-shift schedule or multiple-grade responsibility. This decreases the number of instructional times of the day (Brehm & Silova, 2014).

Pedagogy is another factor contributing to instructional time deficits at public school (Dawson, 2009). This can be seen from two perspectives. First, the pedagogy control from MoEYS is found to be a problematic factor at the public school for teachers, especially at primary schools. In the Cambodian context, teachers are required to follow a 'five-step teaching model' in every lesson rather than given the teachers the rights to choose appropriate teaching strategies that take into consideration the different types of learners in one class and the time constraint. Second, teachers are required to adapt to a new teaching approach, a learner-based approach. Brehm, Silova, and Mono (2012), reports that this approach consumes more time than does a teacher-based one. Additionally, teachers frequently used group works at public school. Unlike at PT class, more individual work is employed, which students have more time to practice. Therefore, parents and students need PT where they can study the same content twice or in a proper way in which the curriculum can be taught effectively (Brehm & Silova, 2014) in consideration of time and level of students.

Another factor is teacher absenteeism leading to cut off the instructional time to complete the national curriculum (Bray et al., 2016). Surely, teacher absenteeism leads students not to complete their curriculum and thus choosing PT as a means to compensate. To avoid being blame, teachers have to do their best to complete the schedule by using a so-called technique known in this Cambodian context: 'teaching the book rather than teaching the students.' It means teachers do not dwell lengthily on the explanation so as not to lag behind the teaching plan or schedule. This teaching style leaves unclear points for students in their lessons during the official school hour. Also, questioning during public school is not available for some teachers. Bray, Kobakhidze, Zhang, and Liu (2018, p. 14) categorize these behaviours as 'uncaring pedagogy' of mainstream schoolteachers while the 'caring' one can only be given at PT classes.

### ***B) Large Class Size***

Many students in one class at public school is a barrier to effective learning and teaching (Brehm et al., 2012). Also, Bray et al. (2016) explain that to gain more individual attention, parents tend to seek for PT service, and they may be recommended by their child's schoolteachers. Participating in PT is known as a way how students can get more interaction (Edwards Jr., Le, & Sustarsic, 2019) or gain more relationships with their teachers (Bray et al., 2016). With this relationship, students feel more convenient to approach their schoolteachers either at public school or after official school hours when they have any questions on their lesson because teachers tend to treat those students as customers (Bray et al., 2018).

### ***C) Low Salaries***

Although not all studies directly mentioned the relationship between low salaries and PT, some studies (i.e., Bray, 2013; Brehm et al., 2012; Dawson, 2009, 2010) link this issue with a cause of PT in the Cambodian context. The low salaries issue seems to be the only factor staying behind the reason of 'blackmail' (Bray, 2013, p. 415) or 'tricks of teachers' (Dawson, 2009, p. 66): teachers tend to keep some parts of what they are supposed to teach at the public schools in order to attract their students for PT lessons. This trick was reported to commonly use in countries where the teachers receive low salaries (Bray, 2013). Commonly in the Cambodian context, parents thought that their children are likely to fail the grade or to be penalized if they do not take PT (Bray, 1999a, 2013).

Using a different pedagogical approach in PT is one good example of the trick. A more interactive approach and more practices on various exercises to master any mathematical skills are used only at PT classes, unlike only theory-based techniques are used at public school. Teachers tend to differ pedagogical approach between public school and PT class in order to marketize their supply (Dawson, 2010) by using better or effective teaching approach that students can easily understand (Bray et al., 2016) such as giving a thorough explanation and providing more exercises from other sources to assist tutored students master all skills required by national curriculum rather than from the textbook used at public school (Brehm & Silova, 2014). Bray et al. (2018) reveal that some teachers treat their tutored students better than they exhibit towards non-tutored ones.

Due to 'lack of instructional time' and 'large class size', parents and students opt for PT in order to have extra instructions in smaller class sizes as well as to complete what cannot be taught at public school because they are concerned about the quality of education that they can obtain through the mainstream system. Bray et al. (2016) elaborate that some teachers were

reported to give parents and students recommendations to demand PT if they want to get more individual attention and cover the entire curriculum. Moreover, a 'low salary' leads teachers toward some professional issues like 'uncaring pedagogy', including tricks for their extra income-generating opportunity.

## 2.2 Mainstream Education's Perspectives

One important reason that cannot be neglected when referring to the relationship between the education system and PT is the eliminating and decentralizing of the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (G6) and the 9<sup>th</sup> grade (G9) completion examinations, respectively. Like in case of South Korea, implementing 'Equalization policies' to eliminate entrance examination of secondary school as well as reducing the Saturday classes from Japanese elementary school during 'relaxed education' (known as *yutori kyoiku* in Japanese) between 1998-2002 also increased the demand towards PT (Dawson, 2010).

Dawson (2010) voices out that the elimination of G6 completion examination, which was aimed to reduce PT, has instead expanded PT market, as well as other unfair treats/corrupts in classrooms (Brehm, 2015). This may be explained by the fact that teachers of G6 are given official rights to judge whom to pass and fail according to the classroom-based examinations (i.e., monthly tests, semester 1 and 2) which are developed, invigilated and marked by schoolteachers themselves, although the completion examination (known as semester 2) is supervised by DoE staff. Therefore, teachers tend to favour more students who take PT with them than those who do not (Bray, 1999a, 2013; Bray et al., 2016). Additionally, this generates more PT demand, especially with mainstream schoolteachers, because one teacher is in charge of all syllabi for one class per grade at primary school.

Similarly, the G9 examination (last grade of the basic education) was no longer a national standard examination. It became a school-based examination during the 12<sup>th</sup> grade (G12) national examination reform in 2014. Delegating the G9 examination to individual schools helps MoEYS double the wage of G12 exam proctors, hoping to eliminate bribery during the exam days (Kuch & Blomberg, 2014) and thus save around half of the G9 exam budget (Barron, 2014). However, according to Kuch and Blomberg (2014), this will lead to more corrupt, students becoming lazier, and trigger high student absenteeism. One teacher is responsible for only one subject at junior high school, unlike teachers at primary school. Thus, while MoEYS is saving on its budget, the financial burden goes into the hands of individual households as families have to invest more in PT with different subject teachers.



### **2.3 The Functions of Private Tutoring**

In recent years, PT is seen as a ‘must’ to boost the students’ academic achievement (Mori & Baker, 2010) in various contexts which are influenced by Confucian principles. With this purpose and principles in mind, both parents and students do their best to seize PT with expectations for better returns in their academic lives. Commonly, better-income families tend to obtain more chances to get a better education than do their peers in the educational arena since they can support to buy ‘*one chance twice*’. For example, Dawson (2010) reflects that students, who can afford tutoring lessons of the next grade's curriculum before a new academic year begins, obtain more advantages. This kind of system is known as "learning-in-advance," "accelerated learning," and "false head start" in South Korea, Japan, and Cambodia, respectively (p. 22). It clearly presents that differences in family socioeconomic levels create a disparity of educational access or quality. However, it can be accepted that investing in educating a child is a kind of human capital investment (Heyneman, 2011). That is the reason many families not only the rich, but also anyone who can afford for PT feels that it is a need to invest in PT (Bray & Kwo, 2016) if they want to complete the race in adding their child to the national human capital stock.

In the Cambodian context, the increasing of PT provision does not seem aligned with Bray’s (1999a, p. 17) “shadow” metaphor stating that it mimics the contents of the mainstream system. Purchasing PT service in this context is not for remediation purpose but for continuation for their public schools’ contents and for more chances to practice the theory taught at public school (Brehm et al., 2012). However, this paper categorizes the impacts of PT into two main categories – symbiosis and parasitism. PT in the Cambodian context is like one object which casts a shadow over the incomplete shape and size of the mainstream system. On the other hand, this mainstream system may not be a centre for public attention due to too much complementary supports. Metaphorically, PT functions as a symbiosis – the association of two different organisms that require complementary support from one another for a living, and at the same time, it takes a role as a parasitic system: one organism robs another from inside (Lewin, 1982).

#### **2.3.1 Private Tutoring Functions as Symbiosis**

Inability to survive with the government salaries and feeling insecure towards education quality are likely to develop a ‘dependency system’ among stakeholders. The dependency system is divided into two types of relationship – commensalism and mutualism. Biologically, ‘commensalism’ is referred to a relationship between two organisms in which one benefits

without affecting another one, and 'mutualism' is used to describe a relationship in which every individual benefit<sup>1</sup>.

#### *A) Commensalism Relationship*

It reflects the relationship between private tutoring and the mainstream education system. Undoubtedly, PT survives due to the existence of a mainstream system; however, it provides the host with some benefits. Brehm and Silova (2014) claim that the quality of education is not likely to realize without support from PT. Brehm et al. (2012, p. 15) describe the situation of the mainstream education in Cambodia as 'public-private hybrid education system'. The authors explain this phenomenon chiefly from the curriculum perspectives. At the public school, the teachers' mission is to complete the national curriculum contents within the given time. Teachers rush to finish their daily plan by giving fewer examples or giving one or two exercises for students to practice any (mathematic) skill. Therefore, students will not be able to master skills unless they go to PT to absorb those again. Furthermore, Bray et al. (2016) report that MoEYS can maintain the teachers in their teaching profession by forgiving the teachers who are absent. Some teachers are absent from their duties because they devote their time and energy for PT or another job to generate supplementary income.

#### *B) Mutualism Relationship*

The organisms in this type of relationship are referred to as supply and demand sides (i.e., teachers, students and parents). They all benefits from what they invest.

PT can obviously help MoEYS provide teachers with supplementary incomes (Bray, 2013) plus additional instructional time to teachers to cover the uncovered parts of the curriculum during the official hours (Brehm & Silova, 2014). With this instructional time, teachers can explain more precisely and provide students with more exercises to practice since they have enough rights to choose any effective strategy that works for different types of learners. Unlike at the public school, they have to follow a learner-based approach and five-step teaching pedagogy.

Students accept that PT is significant for them, and they are willing to devote their time and expense for securing PT (Edwards Jr. et al., 2019). Although, PT is banned on Sundays, and public holidays, students are willing to do in order to achieve better results in their

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<sup>1</sup> [https://bio.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Microbiology/Book%3A\\_Microbiology\\_\(Boundless\)/16%3A\\_Microbial\\_Ecology/16.5%3A\\_Microbial\\_Symbioses/16.5A%3A\\_Mutualism\\_vs.\\_Symbiosis](https://bio.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Microbiology/Book%3A_Microbiology_(Boundless)/16%3A_Microbial_Ecology/16.5%3A_Microbial_Symbioses/16.5A%3A_Mutualism_vs._Symbiosis)

examinations, realize their future goals, and hope to have a job opportunity after their schooling (Brehm & Silova, 2014). PT is viewed as the compulsory system for keeping students learning, although they are out of the official school hours so that they can acquire all skills and knowledge.

Parents seem to view PT from two different angles. One of which is keeping their child in the learning zone both at school and out of school with the belief that when their child learns one thing twice, they will learn better (Dawson, 2009). Another one is that PT can keep their child safe (Bray, 1999a; Dawson, 2009) since they are engaged with their business or family income-generating job.

### ***2.3.2 Private Tutoring Functions as Parasitism***

MoEYS (2008) amended the ethics code of conduct for the teaching profession in 2008 for both public and private institutions in response to the widespread private tutoring and the business in formal schools. Any misconduct is considered illegal, and the concerned doers will be charged if Anit-Corruption Unit (ACU) reveals that they have done so (Mai, 2016). Here are some articles which are related to PT.

*Article 13: Teachers shall no raise the money or collect informal fees or run any business inside the class. [...].*

*Article 17: [...] Teachers have a duty to teach without putting pressure on students, which aims to exploit them.*

*Article 27: Teachers in public and private education institutions shall not use their roles to force students to study with them or other teachers.*

Although delivering PT to the students for whom they are responsible at public school is not illegal in Cambodia as well as the mainstream schoolteachers are given rights to teach in private institutions according to Article 25 (MoEYS, 2008), some PT engagement of the Cambodian teachers can be categorized as professional misconduct when referring to the above three Articles. According to Heyneman (2009), professional misconduct is one of the four ways of how the education system can be corrupt. This misconduct is similar to Bray's (1999a) concept of '*supply creates demand*' whereby mainstream teachers find means and ways to influence their students to opt for private tutoring. However, this paper thematizes the professional misconduct of Cambodian teachers in two categories.

### *A) Teachers' Pressures*

Teachers refer to low salaries as the sole excuse behind pressuring students to take PT. First, it is said that tutored students advance their non-tutored peers in the tests or examinations since teachers intend to emphasize those exercises during PT classes (Bray et al., 2016) in order to attract students to take PT. Surely, this leads to care-free behaviour in the official school hours, especially for those who can afford PT (Bray, 2013; Hammond, 2018). Additionally, teachers usually teach what will be taught in the public school ahead and only tutored students are called to engage in problem-solving during the lesson at public schools, so they look smarter than their peers who cannot afford for PT (Bray et al., 2018; Bray, Liu, Zhang, & Kobakhidze, 2019).

Second, thorough explanations and provision of exercises from various sources in PT compared to the theory-oriented approach used at the mainstream school (Brehm & Silova, 2014) can act as another form of pressure on students to opt for PT. This is like what Brehm et al. (2012) called “pedagogies of private tutoring,” as cited in Bray et al. (2016, p. 292). It is also described as the “trick of the teachers” by Dawson (2009) as he quoted one teacher’s voice that “[...]. [...] the new math formulas are only introduced in private tutoring.” (p. 64). The trick simply reveals teachers’ uncaring pedagogy during public school hours (Bray et al., 2018). Teachers do not seem to care how much their students at public school have learned after one lesson despite teaching fast to catch up on their plan and accepting no questions during public school hours. On the contrary, Bray (1999a) and Dawson (2009) report that some teachers tend to withhold the curriculum contents of the daily lesson to create PT demand. Therefore, parents or students seek PT in order to cover the entirety of the national curriculum.

### *B) Corrupt Relationship*

Taking PT gains not only the precise explanation and more practices but also a close relationship with teachers. When they get close to their teachers, the tutored students feel confident in approaching them when having some questions (Bray et al., 2019). Therefore, they obtain more benefits and chances to have their questions clarified, unlike the non-tutored students remain silent with the questions. Thus they tend to stay behind their peers who can afford PT or to repeat the grade. Remaining behind or repeating the grade may lead to school dropout as a result of low academic achievement (No & Hirakawa, 2012; No, Taniguchi, & Hirakawa, 2016).

Additionally, teachers may treat students who take PT differently from those who do not (Bray, 1999a; Bray et al., 2016) like unethically make students who do not attend PT with

them feel shameful, allow those who receive PT to cheat during the examinations but those who do not take PT cannot, and offer them good grades although their works are not that good (Maeda, 2019). This may psychologically affect those who cannot afford to take PT due to either poverty or labor demands at home. This psychological effect may lead non-tutored students to be more passive or move out of the education system.

### 3.0 CONCLUSION

Soon after PT came into practice in Cambodia in the early 1990s, MoEYS attempted to forbid PT by launching several programs, including raising the salary, issuing bans, and amending the professional ethics. However, those actions have fewer effective results in terms of eliminating teachers' professional misconduct and forbidding PT. Through different examination reform of G6, G9, and G12, PT seems to enlarge its demand among Cambodian students. This reflects that the response of MoEYS towards the parasitic function of PT can be categorized as a '*laissez-faire approach*' since both demand-side and relevant stakeholders (i.e., MoEYS, PoE, DoE, and school principal) seem to acknowledge the fact of teachers' low salaries although they are not really happy with the practices (Dawson, 2009, p. 57). This is clear that when accountability and monitoring mechanism of the stakeholders are weak, corrupts is likely to appear in the mainstream system (Biswal, 1999). Hence, when the response towards parasitism of PT is not effective enough, the dependency system will gradually develop and become oversized. Then, PT in Cambodia may gradually become symbiotic system rather than parasitic one, especially for families who can afford. Later, this symbiosis of PT may downplay the mainstream system. However, to claim this phenomenon, the empirical study may bring fruitful conclusion when data from different stakeholders' perspectives and real classroom practice are obtained to compare with PT settings.

Furthermore, PT has rooted deeply in social and human development in Cambodia owing to the lack of accountability and monitoring system of the concerned stakeholders. Psychologically, PT is likely to install a corrupt function in the mind of the future human resources without knowing how and where it starts from a young age through the parasitism function practices which are implemented by whom they are staying with during their schooling lives. Hence, this unregulated PT may devastate not only the current demands but also wreck the future of the entire nation like a 1997's statement of Egyptian Minister of Education, Dr. Hussein Kamel Bahaa el Din, "[...] Education that starts with a crime will inevitably end with a catastrophe" as cited in Bray (1999a, p. 62). Although offering PT to their students is not outlawed in Cambodia, the authority agents should better perform the very-

beautiful concepts that are stated in the ethics code of conduct for the teaching profession before any sort of regulations is identified.

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