

Education

in a Hidden Marketplace:

MONITORING OF PRIVATE TUTORING

Azerbaijan

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Croatia

Georgia

Lithuania

Mongolia

Poland

Slovakia

Ukraine

OSI's Education Support Program | Network of Education Policy Centers



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Education in a Hidden Marketplace: Monitoring of Private Tutoring

Overview and Country Reports

Private Tutoring Monitoring Project

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2006

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Contents

Foreword		7
Private Tutoring: Educating Society or Driving Social Stratification?		
<i>Virginija Būdienė</i>		
Acknowledgments		11
Summary of Findings		13
Introduction		17
<i>Iveta Silova and Mark Bray</i>		
Part I: Concepts and Issues		25
Chapter 1	The Private Tutoring Phenomenon: International Patterns and Perspectives	27
	<i>Mark Bray and Iveta Silova</i>	
Chapter 2	The Context: Societies and Education in the Post-Socialist Transformation	41
	<i>Iveta Silova and Mark Bray</i>	
Chapter 3	Methodological Considerations	61
	<i>Iveta Silova, Mark Bray, and Algirdas Zabulionis</i>	
Chapter 4	The Hidden Marketplace: Private Tutoring in Former Socialist Countries	71
	<i>Iveta Silova and Mark Bray</i>	
Chapter 5	Implications for Policy and Practice	99
	<i>Iveta Silova and Mark Bray</i>	

Part II: Country Reports		111
Chapter 6	Azerbaijan <i>Iveta Silova and Elmina Kazimzade</i>	113
Chapter 7	Bosnia and Herzegovina <i>Dženana Husremović and Dženana Trbić</i>	143
Chapter 8	Croatia <i>Zrinka Ristić Dedić, Boris Jokić, and Lana Jurko</i>	169
Chapter 9	Georgia <i>Anna Matiashvili and Nino Kutateladze</i>	191
Chapter 10	Lithuania <i>Virginija Būdienė and Algirdas Zabulionis</i>	211
Chapter 11	Mongolia <i>Alison Dong, Batjargal Ayush, Bolormaa Tsetsgee, and Tumendelger Sengedorj</i>	237
Chapter 12	Poland <i>Barbara Murawska and Elżbieta Putkiewicz</i>	257
Chapter 13	Slovakia <i>Martina Kubánová</i>	279
Chapter 14	Ukraine <i>Liliya Hrynevych, Anna Toropova, Tymofiy Pylnyk, Leonid Sereda, and Ulyana Gerasevich</i>	305
Appendices		327
Appendix 1	General Characteristics of the Study Sample: University Programs by the Level of Demand	327
Appendix 2	Questionnaire	329
Glossary	<i>Eric Johnson</i>	341
Notes on the Authors		343
Notes on Institutions		349

Foreword

Private Tutoring: Educating Society or Driving Social Stratification?

Virginija Būdienė

Quality public education is essential for building an open, democratic society, for maintaining social cohesion in any country, and for improving the quality of life of citizens and residents. Countries undergoing the transformation from socialist to democratic, market-based systems have been working since the early 1990s to reform their education systems, and the aim of these reforms has been the creation of an effective, high-quality educational environment for every child. The transformation to a market-based system has produced unpredicted consequences, however, and some of these might be jeopardizing equal access to quality education and undermining open society, social cohesion, and quality of life.

This report examines how the opening of a free market for private tutoring has affected education, including access to institutions of higher education, in nine countries that once had socialist systems. The report is the result of a study into the nature, causes, and

consequences of private tutoring in Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine. This study is a first attempt in these former socialist countries to document systematically and thoroughly the general characteristics of private tutoring, including its scale, cost, geographic spread, and subject matter; the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring; and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the education system. Initiated and backed by the Open Society Institute's Education Support Program and the Network of Education Policy Centers, this study involved collecting information from existing resources, conducting a quantitative, comparative survey of university students, and critically analyzing both the circumstances contributing to the growth of private tutoring and the consequences of private tutoring for students from different geographical locations and socioeconomic groups. Each of the research teams in the nine countries participating in the study used, with slight adaptations, a template designed by the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University in Lithuania.

The dramatic growth in private tutoring in these and other transition states is controversial because this growth might indicate that their public education systems are short-changing students, that the children of people in these countries who cannot afford costly private tutoring are finding themselves at a disadvantage both in terms of acquisition of knowledge and training and in terms of competing for limited positions at universities and other institutions of higher learning, and that this process might further the process of social stratification in these countries. The data, analyses, and policy recommendations on private tutoring in this study can serve national legislative bodies, ministries of education, school administrators, local authorities, and other policymakers as they review existing policies on private tutoring, formulate new policies, and monitor trends over time. This study can also help raise public awareness of the problems and benefits of private tutoring and will serve as an advocacy tool in the effort to make national education policies more equitable for all students.

This report consists of an in-depth international comparative overview of the study's findings as well as country reports on private tutoring prepared by each of the nine Education Policy Centers and their partners. Besides providing analysis of private tutoring in the participant countries, the country reports offer a set of recommendations for policymakers in each of these countries. Fuller versions of the country reports and various supporting materials appear at http://www.epc.objectis.net/Projects/Private_Tutoring/.

The participating partner institutions of this monitoring project are committed to promoting a culture of open, constructive, and frank dialogue between civil society and government. Therefore, this monitoring project includes communication and advocacy strategies. The draft reports prepared for each country were presented during meetings

with policymakers, government officials, NGO representatives, and civil society activists. The aim of these meetings was to promote further discussion and critique the draft reports' main findings. The launch of this report will be followed by international and regional advocacy activities and its findings and recommendations will be communicated to civil society at large, policymakers, and the media. The goal of releasing these findings and recommendations is to raise public awareness of private tutoring and its effects, to broaden the discussion of how private tutoring should be managed, and to advocate for implementation of policy solutions that will improve the educational achievement of students regardless of their socioeconomic status or geographic location.

Recently, with the backing of OSI's Education Support Program, Education Policy Centers in Central Asia began monitoring private tutoring in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan using the same methodology applied in the study that produced this report. In this way, the body of data will be increased, and it will become possible to compare data across regions in order to find implications that different contexts bring to equity of education provision. Follow-up monitoring of private tutoring is also planned, as is the development of an international Private Tutoring Watch online.

Acknowledgments

The Private Tutoring Monitoring Project and *Education in a Hidden Marketplace: Monitoring of Private Tutoring* were made possible because the project managers in Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine believed in the importance of monitoring and raising public awareness about issues important to open society education. The devotion of the staff of the Education Policy Centers from the nine participating countries made this challenging project a reality.

We also would like to acknowledge the valuable contributions of the respondents—first-year university students, education administrators, and others, all of whom sincerely and openly shared their first-hand experiences and opinions about private tutoring. The international Private Tutoring Monitoring Project team hopes that this report, the in-country publications, and advocacy activities will place private tutoring on the agenda of education policymakers and teachers. We believe that raising awareness about private tutoring, both its scope and causes, will help bring about education policy measures that make our schools more appealing for students, improve the quality of mainstream education for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and lead to a decrease in the social costs of private tutoring.

The participants in the Private Tutoring Monitoring Project would like to thank the managers of OSI's Education Support Program, members of OSI's General Education Sub-board, and consultants for their support, encouragement, and understanding.

We would like to acknowledge the valuable insights and observations contributed by the following individuals: Elena Lenskaya, Tom Alexander, Gita Steiner-Khamsi, Jacques Hallak, Muriel Poisson, Jana Huttova, Suzana Gerzina, Lisa Quinn, Eoin Young, and Marian Gaspar.

Our special thanks go to the reviewers of country reports, participants in roundtable discussions, project partners, and contributors who helped make the country studies more valid and relevant to local realities.

Finally, we would like to thank the OSI education grant fund RE:FINE for supporting the international and in-country advocacy activities of the Private Tutoring Monitoring Project.

International Team of the Private Tutoring Monitoring Project

Summary of Findings

- ▶ “Private tutoring” means fee-based instruction in academic school subjects that is supplementary to instruction mainstream schools provide free of charge. Private tutoring includes lessons provided one-on-one or in small groups by individual instructors as well as larger classes provided by individual instructors and companies.
- ▶ In some respects, supplementary tutoring may be considered beneficial. It helps students to increase their competitiveness in the educational market. It is also an avenue for private investment in human capital, provides incomes for underpaid educators, and can be a constructive out-of-school activity for undersupervised youth.
- ▶ In the surveyed countries—Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine—private tutoring has had, or may have had, a number of negative consequences. These include exacerbating social inequities, distorting curricula and teacher performance in mainstream schools, fostering corruption, skewing the university admissions process, and depriving the state of tax revenues. The growth of private tutoring in the new, market-driven environment in these formerly socialist countries may indicate inadequacies in their education systems.

- ▶ The study surveyed 8,713 respondents who were mostly first-year university students enrolled in low-, medium-, and high-demand study programs. In Azerbaijan, 93 percent of the respondents reported that they had received private tutoring in the form of lessons or courses during their final year of secondary school; in Georgia, 80 percent reported receiving such tutoring; in Ukraine, 79 percent; in Mongolia, 71 percent; in Poland, 66 percent; in Lithuania, 62 percent; in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 57 percent; in Slovakia, 56 percent; and in Croatia, 56 percent.
- ▶ The survey indicates that the four participating countries with the largest scope of private tutoring (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mongolia, and Ukraine) have the lowest per capita Gross National Income (GNI). Almost 60 percent of respondents in Azerbaijan and over 50 percent in Georgia indicated that private tutoring is “the only way to get high quality education.”
- ▶ Most respondents in Azerbaijan (66.5 percent), Mongolia (63.7 percent), and Ukraine (58.7 percent) indicated that they believed that teachers treat students who take private tutoring better than they treat students who do not.
- ▶ In some participating countries, including Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mongolia, and Ukraine, respondents reported that some teachers pressured their students to take supplementary private tutoring with them after school hours; in some instances, the pressure included threatening students with lower grades if they refused to take private tutoring. The study indicated that approximately 40 percent of the students in Mongolia are tutored by their own class teachers, 25 percent in Azerbaijan, 20 percent in Georgia, and 17 percent in Ukraine.

Everybody knows about it and no one is doing anything about it. Our teachers offer tutoring in the worst possible way. . . . [They say,] “If I teach math in this school and am not allowed to tutor my own students, then I will tutor students from other schools. I will tell them who they should hire as tutors and I will know who will send students to me in return. . . .” It is a smoothly run affair.

Secondary school teacher in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

- ▶ In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Poland, where teachers are either legally prohibited or publicly discouraged from tutoring their own students, teachers from different schools often refer their students to each other for private tutoring.
- ▶ The study revealed that some university lecturers and professors who are familiar with the content of entrance examinations act as monopoly suppliers of tutoring services to potential university students.

Recommendations:

- ▶ **Raise public awareness about the phenomenon of private tutoring.** Supplementary private tutoring deserves considerably more attention from policymakers, researchers, professional associations, the media, and society as a whole than it has received to date in the former socialist countries.
- ▶ **Regulate private tutoring to reduce inequities and corruption.** Governments should prohibit teachers from undertaking paid private tutoring of their own students in mainstream schools. This would reduce the danger of teachers favoring their private tutees when awarding grades. It would also reduce the danger of teachers covering only half the curriculum during school time and the other half during private classes. University professors involved in the university admissions process or in developing and administering university entrance examinations should be barred from offering private tutoring lessons to their potential students.
- ▶ **Develop a code of ethics for private tutoring.** Ministries of education, in cooperation with teacher unions, should develop a teacher code of ethics that should unambiguously define all nonethical behavior related to private tutoring.
- ▶ **Licence private tutoring firms.** Governments and ministries of education should consider registering and licensing private firms that provide exam-preparation courses and other educational services. Governments should better monitor and tax private tutoring. Governments should consider increasing funding to help disadvantaged students acquire tutoring and other assistance to enable them to compete for university admissions.

- ▶ **Ensure adequate salaries for teachers.** Teachers must receive sufficient salaries. When economic hardship drives teachers to seek supplementary income by tutoring, it jeopardizes the fabric of society, including the commitment to fee-free education.
- ▶ **Eliminate the backwash effect of university entrance examinations on school curricula.** Ministries of education should ensure that all topics covered on university entrance examinations are part of secondary school curricula.

Introduction

Iveta Silova and Mark Bray

Following the collapse of socialism in the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Mongolia, the societies of these countries were plunged into a process of radical reorientation. While some of the changes in these societies were predictable, others were unanticipated. Some sectors of the population greatly benefited from the changes, but many people felt penalized. Yet amidst the transformation and widespread confusion, at least one element was clear—the radical changes were irreversible and new modes of operation had to be devised. In some respects, the former socialist states became a huge social, economic, and political laboratory in which far-reaching experiments were undertaken with unpredictable consequences.

In all formerly socialist states, the opening of free markets was among the most obvious elements of the new mode of operation. Previous modes, in which governments provided secure incomes and reliable services, all but collapsed. Markets emerged for practically everything, including education. Within the education sector, however, most attention continued to focus on formal institutions at kindergarten, school, and university levels. Out-of-school education did receive some attention, but policymakers and scholars who addressed this sector were mainly concerned with various forms of adult education and skill training. Almost no official attention focused on supplementary private tutoring, even

though in each of the countries addressed by this book it became substantial in size and the growth had far-reaching consequences. This tutoring operated in a marketplace, alongside many other goods and services; but it was to a large extent a hidden marketplace. Little discussion focused on the sector, and almost no statistics were collected.

Private tutoring has also received inadequate attention in other parts of the world. This is partly because, despite deep roots, until recent decades private tutoring has been limited in scope and significance. Only since the 1990s has research and policy attention begun to focus on the phenomenon in a significant way. Much of the initial attention focused on Asia, and particularly on Japan and South Korea, where tutoring had for longer periods been established as a major element in the lives of young people and their families (see e.g., Marimuthu et al., 1991; Harnisch, 1994; Zeng, 1999). In due course, attention expanded to other parts of the world in which tutoring was becoming a significant phenomenon (see e.g., Bray, 1999; Bray, 2003; Baker and LeTendre, 2005).

Comments on the private tutoring phenomenon have shown that it has both desirable and undesirable dimensions. On the positive side of the scale, tutoring provides incomes for the tutors, many of whom are teachers whose main salaries are inadequate. Tutoring also increases learning and human capital; and it provides an out-of-school activity for young people who might otherwise not be constructively engaged. Less positively, however, tutoring can consume substantial amounts of a household's income, and may be a heavy burden on low-income families. Tutoring maintains and in some cases exacerbates social inequalities, and it can place unhealthy pressures on young children.

A number of studies refer to private supplementary tutoring as "shadow education" (e.g., Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999), highlighting its relationship to mainstream education systems. Just as the shadow cast by a sundial can tell the observer about the passage of time, so the shadow of an education system can tell the observer about changes in societies. The country chapters in this book certainly say much about the ways in which private tutoring as well as mainstream school systems and the broader societies which they serve have changed during the transformation period since the collapse of the socialist system. Unlike most shadows, however, private tutoring is not just a passive entity: it may seriously affect even the body which it imitates. Private tutoring has implications for the operation of mainstream schooling, because it makes the smooth operation of classroom interactions more difficult. Further, private tutoring may be both a symptom of corruption in societies and an instrument through which corruption becomes more deeply entrenched.

While it is commonly perceived that private tutoring has dramatically increased in Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia since the collapse of the socialist bloc, few studies have documented the dynamics of private tutoring, the factors influencing demand for it, and its effects on quality, equity, and ethics in education sys-

tems. As in other parts of the world, one of the main reasons for a lack of studies on private tutoring is difficulty in accessing reliable information. Students may be unwilling to expose the amount and types of tutoring they receive because the tutoring might seem to confer an unfair advantage in competition with their peers. Tutors may be unwilling to expose their activities when private tutoring is unofficial and their incomes untaxed. Parents may also want tutoring to remain confidential because school authorities may interpret the demand for private tutoring as reflecting parents' lack of confidence in schools. Finally, governments may be unwilling to expose the private tutoring phenomenon, because it could be perceived as an indicator of a failing education system.

Nevertheless, private tutoring has been increasingly recognized to be of major importance in Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. During the political, economic, and social transformation processes of the 1990s and the present century, private tutoring has been viewed as an effective way for children and young adults to adapt to the new reality and cope with system changes. Responding to students' needs in a more efficient, flexible, and prompt manner, private tutoring has been perceived as an important supplement to the rigid mainstream education system, which has been slow to embrace changes. At the same time, private tutoring has brought a number of negative consequences, such as exacerbating social inequities, distorting curricula, inviting corruption, and depriving the state of tax revenues. In the context of decentralization and market-driven reforms in the former socialist countries, should private tutoring be welcomed or controlled? Is it a necessary component of the mainstream education systems, or is it a sign of failing mainstream education in a new, market-driven environment? The chapters in this book discuss the private tutoring phenomenon in the hidden marketplace of the nine former socialist countries by examining both its positive and negative impact on education, society, and economy.

Goals and Objectives of the Study

This cross-national study is the first of its kind in the former socialist countries. The book examines the complexity of the private tutoring phenomenon and analyzes its consequences for the mainstream education system and for the overall social structure, including its stability and stratification. The chapters also identify challenges that confront education stakeholders and policymakers as they decide how to respond to the rapidly spreading and constantly changing phenomenon of private tutoring. While no single piece of research can fully explain these complex issues, this book provides an important empirical foundation

for policymakers as they begin to discuss the implications of past trends and current patterns and devise appropriate policy responses. The book identifies important conceptual and practical lessons by drawing comparisons at multiple levels—within countries, across countries of the former socialist region, and across regions of the world.

For the purposes of this study, the focus is on tutoring in academic school subjects (for example, mathematics, history, or English), which is provided for financial gain and which is supplementary to provisions by mainstream schooling. Such tutoring includes private lessons offered to individuals and small groups, and larger out-of-school classes provided by individuals and organizations. Focusing on the last grades of secondary schools, the book examines: (1) the general characteristics of private tutoring (scale, cost, geographic spread, and subjects); (2) the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring (quality of mainstream education, higher education entrance examinations, education financing, etc.); (3) the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the education system (geographic, socioeconomic, and gender inequalities); and (4) the policy options and alternative approaches.

The study places its analysis of private tutoring in former socialist countries within the wider international literature on the topic, thus contributing to further conceptual understanding of the private tutoring phenomenon as a “world megatrend” (Baker and LeTendre, 2005). The study contributes to the educational policy debates on private tutoring in several ways. First, it documents similarities and differences in the scope, intensity, and organization of private tutoring across nine countries: Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine. Second, it explores connections between private tutoring practices and features of mainstream education systems in different nations. Third, it analyzes different educational, economic, and sociocultural factors driving the demand for private tutoring in various geographical contexts. Finally, it aims to foster awareness of the importance of private tutoring for the overall political, economic, and educational development in the region.

The History and Context of the Study

This study was initiated by the Network of Education Policy Centers (NEPC) in Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. Supported by the Education Support Program (ESP) of the Open Society Institute (OSI), the network brought together 26 policy centers in 22 countries.¹ The policy centers are all well grounded in local knowledge, have developed regional contacts, and have built links with key international organizations.

Collectively, the centers aim to provide professional, evidence-based education policy analysis, advocacy for equity, and effective, sustainable solutions for education policy processes. Since its establishment in 2003, the network has provided an independent voice in education policy debates in the newly emerging democracies and open societies of the region.

One of the key features of the network is its commitment to coupling education research with policy practices. Responding to the expressed need of many countries for empirical data on several understudied issues, shortly after its establishment the NEPC initiated two international education monitoring studies. This book focuses on one of them, which had nine participating countries. The other focus was on school dropout, which brought together education policy centers in seven participating countries. Primarily funded by the OSI Education Support Program with contributions from participating countries, the monitoring studies demanded both intensive policy research and local capacity building. The latter included the domains of designing policy research, writing policy reports, and improving advocacy skills.

The idea of the study was first discussed at a NEPC meeting in Bratislava, Slovakia, in November 2003. Among the 26 members of the network, nine accepted the NEPC's invitation to participate in the survey presented in this volume. The countries where these centers are located include new members of the European Union (Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia), South Eastern European countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Croatia), the Caucasus (Azerbaijan and Georgia), the Commonwealth of Independent States (Ukraine), and Mongolia. The architects of the study envisaged that in subsequent phases centers from additional countries would become involved, and in the first instance they received a positive response from four countries of Central Asia, namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The international study was managed by the Education Policy Center at Vilnius University, Lithuania, together with the international steering committee comprised of representatives from the participating countries (i.e., national study coordinators) and the representative of OSI ESP. In order to strengthen the academic side of the study, Mark Bray, then working at the University of Hong Kong, joined the committee as an external adviser and coeditor of this book.

This study is thus a product of extensive international cooperation, with the representatives of all participating countries collaborating in all stages of the research from the beginning. Specifically, they completed background studies for the initial stage of the research (thus influencing the framework and item development), and sent representatives for international meetings in Tbilisi, Georgia (July 2004), Baku, Azerbaijan (March 2005), and Istanbul, Turkey (June 2005). Each national team prepared a chapter on private tutoring on its own country for this book and contributed to the data analysis and interpretation of the international comparative findings.

Overview of the Book

To highlight the complexity of the private tutoring phenomenon in the nine former socialist countries participating in this study, the book features both international comparative findings and national case studies. The first part consists of four chapters that introduce the major concepts; social, economic, and political circumstances in the former socialist countries; methodological considerations; and an overview of the findings and policy recommendations. The first chapter discusses definitions and models of private tutoring and identifies patterns in different parts of the world. It examines the factors driving the demand for private tutoring and the consequences for public education systems. It is followed by a chapter on the political, economic, and social transformation of former socialist countries to explain the context in which private tutoring operates. The third chapter describes the methodological approach of the study, including the processes of instrument development, sampling, testing, and quality control. The fourth chapter presents findings from the cross-national study and discusses the scope and intensity of private tutoring across the region, the factors underlying the demand for tutoring, and its impact on mainstream education, societies, and economies. The final chapter of the first part of the book summarizes conclusions and policy recommendations from the study.

The second part of the book presents national case studies of private tutoring in the nine countries. These case studies analyze the private tutoring phenomenon across a range of settings, and emphasize the uniqueness of different education policy contexts. Among the major contributions is identification of the nature of tutoring and of the forces in operation. Thus, improved conceptual understanding is itself a contribution to improved policy-making.

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Note

1. For more information on the NEPC, see <http://epc.objectis.net>.

Part I

Concepts and Issues

Chapter 1

The Private Tutoring Phenomenon: International Patterns and Perspectives

Mark Bray and Iveta Silova

Although private tutoring has existed for centuries, it has attracted little attention in the academic and education policy literature. This situation began to be remedied in the 1990s, but the topic remains in great need of further study.

A number of studies refer to private supplementary tutoring as “shadow education” (e.g., Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999; Baker and LeTendre, 2005), highlighting its relationship to mainstream education systems. First, these studies note, private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education system exists. Second, as the shape and size of the mainstream system change, so do the shape and size of supplementary tutoring. Third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow, the supplementary tutoring. Finally, the features of the shadow are much less distinct than those of the mainstream system, making it more difficult to study, analyze, and monitor.

Shadow Education

Shadows can of course be useful. Just as the shadow cast by a sun-dial can tell the observer about the passage of time, so the shadow of an education system can tell the observer about changes in societies. However, in some countries parents, educators and politicians are highly critical of the ways in which private tutoring affects mainstream schooling. . . . Unlike most shadows, private tutoring is not just a passive entity but may negatively affect even the body which it imitates.

Bray, 1999, pp. 17–18

The Parameters: Nature, Types, and Forms of Private Tutoring

As indicated in the Introduction, the focus of this book is on tutoring in academic school subjects which is provided for financial gain and which is additional to provisions by mainstream schools. Three aspects of this focus need to be elaborated:

- ▶ The book is only concerned with *academic subjects* taught in mainstream schools, such as languages and mathematics. The focus does not include extracurricular subjects such as soccer, ballet, or music. It also excludes religious studies (e.g., through Sunday schools) where they are not part of mainstream school curricula. While these additional forms of learning are certainly important, they deserve a separate focus.
- ▶ Private tutoring is only concerned with services provided by tutors and the companies that employ tutors for *financial gain*. It is not concerned with extra lessons given by mainstream teachers to needy students on a voluntary basis outside school hours. Nor is it concerned with the voluntary help given by family members to other family members. Although these different sources of support by families and communities are of considerable interest, they are not usually included in studies of private tutoring.
- ▶ Private tutoring is *additional to the provision by mainstream schooling*. This definition implies that tutoring is provided outside school hours, mostly in the evenings, on weekends, and during vacations. Most of the tutoring is also provided in separate

premises outside the school compounds. However, some schools permit their classrooms to be used for private tutoring. This arrangement is included in the focus if the tutoring is received on a fee-paying basis and is considered additional to the mainstream work of the schools.

While this definition provides a useful explanation of the nature of private tutoring, it does not distinguish between different types of tutoring. Ireson (2004) differentiates between three different types: “individual tutoring,” which refers to one-on-one tutoring; “small group tutoring,” which denotes tutoring with groups that are small enough to allow teachers to devote significant amounts of time to individual students; and “large classes in private institutions,” such as *juku* in Japan, *frontisera* in Greece, or *dersane* in Turkey. In the present study, a distinction is made between private tutoring lessons (usually offered by individuals) and preparatory courses (usually offered by institutions). Private tutoring lessons may include one-on-one and small-group instruction, while preparatory courses are usually organized for larger groups.

How Private Tutoring Is Defined

In this study, private tutoring is defined as tutoring in an academic school subject (e.g., mathematics, history, or English), which is taught in addition to mainstream schooling for financial gain. This definition of private tutoring includes private tutoring lessons (offered by individuals) and preparatory courses (offered by institutions).

Diversity may also be found in the ages and qualifications of tutors. At one end of the age scale, university students tutor secondary students, and secondary students tutor primary students, to earn pocket money. At the other end of the age scale, many tutors are retirees who wish to contribute to society and earn extra income. Between these two extremes are others who provide private tutoring on a full-time or part-time basis and who may or may not have formal training.

In many systems, mainstream teachers themselves provide supplementary private tutoring. In such countries as Australia, France, and Singapore, teachers are prohibited from providing paid tutoring to the students for whom they already have responsibility in the mainstream school. However, in such countries as Bangladesh and Cambodia, it is common for mainstream teachers to provide remunerated supplementary tutoring for their own

mainstream students. In some cases this creates a problematic form of blackmail, in which teachers cover only part of the curriculum during school hours and require students to come to the private classes for the remainder of the curriculum (see e.g., Ahmed and Nath, 2005, p. 71; Bray and Bunly, 2005, p. 40).

Covering a great variety of subjects, the supply of private tutoring is generally shaped by demand. The subjects in greatest demand are ones required by examination systems at each stage of education transition, which typically means mathematics and the national languages. The supply of tutors for elective subjects, such as art and religious studies, is usually more limited. Whereas much tutoring aims to give “more of the same,” i.e., reinforcement of materials already covered in mainstream classes, other forms of tutoring aim at enrichment. Much depends on whether the tutoring is remedial and helps students to keep up, or whether it is targeted at high achievers who want to achieve even more.

The International Context: The Global Reach of Private Tutoring

Partly because most supplementary tutoring is unofficial and does not welcome attention, data on the topic are scarce and are mostly drawn from scattered studies in a range of settings. Available research on private tutoring gives prominence to Asian societies, because the phenomenon has been particularly widespread there for an extended period. Private tutoring has become an almost universal phenomenon in some parts of East Asia (especially in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan), with some studies reporting over 70 percent of students receiving some sort of private tutoring at some point during their school experience. In Japan, for example, a 1999 survey found that over 90 percent of children in urban areas were receiving some sort of tutoring (Japan, 1999). In South Korea, a 1997 study indicated that 72.9 percent of primary students were receiving private tutoring (Kim, 2000, p. 2); and in Taiwan, a 1998 survey of eight Kaohsiung secondary schools found that 81.2 percent of students were receiving tutoring (Tseng, 1998, p. 86).

Research also indicates that private tutoring is growing in other parts of the world, including Africa (Guinea, Mauritius, Morocco, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), North America (Canada and the United States), South America (Brazil), as well as Europe (Germany, Romania, Turkey, and the United Kingdom). Writing about the United Kingdom, Russell (2002, p. 10) described tutoring as “the secret lessons,” remarking that tutoring has become one of the most important yet least acknowledged factors in a child’s performance. Mischo and Haag (2002) highlighted expansion of tutoring in Germany, and Wolf (2002) presented data

from national samples in a number of countries on the percentages of students in grade 7 who reported receiving tutoring in science. The proportions exceeded 50 percent in Czech Republic, Latvia, and Slovak Republic. In mathematics, the proportions of students in grade 7 receiving tutoring exceeded 50 percent in the Czech Republic, Hong Kong, Japan, Latvia, Russia, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia (Wolf, 2002, p. 235; see also Baker et al., 2001, p. 7). Despite numerous weaknesses, such as a lack of international comparability, the existing research reveals that private tutoring has grown significantly in both industrialized and less developed societies. In countries as diverse as Egypt, India, Malta, and Romania, over one-third of students regularly receive supplementary private tutoring; and in some societies this proportion is considerably higher (Bray, 2003; Bray, 2005).

Factors driving the demand for private tutoring: cultural, economic, and educational

The scope of private tutoring may be influenced by a variety of factors, including cultural, economic, and educational ones (Bray, 2003). First, *cultural factors* account for the perceived role of effort in educational success. Many Asian cultures, particularly those influenced by Confucian traditions, place strong emphasis on effort, while European and North American cultures are more likely to emphasize ability (Stevenson and Stigler, 1992; Rohlen and LeTendre, 1996; Salili, 1999). Some studies suggest that supplementary tutoring is especially likely to be widespread in cultures that stress effort (Zeng, 1999; Foondun, 2002; Bray, 2003). Related to this is the extent to which individual schools, and society more broadly, are competitive. For example, an interesting argument on the use of private tutoring revolves around the notion that some nations (such as Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, and others) have developed system-wide motivation for national achievement. In this context, a high degree of private tutoring could be viewed as a consequence of an explicit national strategy to foster national achievement (Baker and LeTendre, 2005). A different dimension of sociocultural factors driving the demand for private tutoring has been brought out by the political, economic, and social transformations in Central and South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In these regions, families are increasingly relying on supplementary private tutoring as an effective mechanism to adapt to new sociocultural realities of new democracies and market economies (Murawska and Putkiewicz, 2005).

Second, the use of private tutoring may be influenced by *economic factors*, especially salary differentials between those who are well educated and those who are not (Kwan-Terry, 1991; Bray, 2003; Ireson, 2004). Some cross-national studies have shown that education is generally a very good investment that can generate high rates of return, implying that it is usually wise for individuals to remain in education systems as long as possible (Psa-charopoulos and Patrinos, 2004). One study on the use of extracurricular language lessons by students in Singapore has explicitly illustrated the economic returns that families can

achieve from private tutoring (Kwan-Terry, 1991). However, the differentials in living standards between individuals with different amounts of education are greater in some societies than others, with significantly larger differentials in societies like Singapore and Hong Kong and less marked differentials in Western Europe (Bray, 2003). This implies that the rewards from extra levels of education, and from supplementary tutoring, are greater in these Asian societies than in the Western European or Australasian ones. The “rate of return to education” logic has been eagerly embraced by students in the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as they have faced rapidly deteriorating economies and increasing unemployment during the transformation period of the 1990s. Viewing education as one of the ways to escape the hardships of the transformation period, many families invest in private tutoring to ensure that their children successfully enter higher education institutions and have access to better paying jobs in the future.

Third, *educational factors* (i.e., the nature of education systems) are also important when explaining the use of private tutoring. One of the most widespread assumptions is that extensive private tutoring exists in countries with intense competition for future educational opportunities, which are usually accompanied by a “tight linkage” between academic performance and later opportunities in higher education and labor market (Baker and LeTendre, 2005). The argument goes that students use private tutoring as “an enrichment strategy” when there are clear, high-stakes decision points within the system that are based on examination performance. For example, the tight connection between elite universities and labor market opportunities in Taiwan, the examination-based link between secondary schools and the best universities in Greece, highly competitive higher education entrance examinations in Turkey, and the secondary school selection process in Japan produce a strong logic for students to use private tutoring (e.g., Bray and Kwok, 2003; Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Tansel and Bircan, 2006). In these circumstances, high-stakes examinations serve as “a gate-keeper to education and labor market opportunities” (Baker and LeTendre, 2005, p. 62). A further variant of the gate-keeping functions of university examinations has been noted in some of the post-Soviet republics. In Georgia, for example, the lecturers in the most prestigious universities are able to command high prices for tutoring because they know, or are presumed to know, at least the rough content of the entrance examinations set by their own institutions (MacWilliams, 2002). Education systems in other countries are less dependent on the examinations set by individual institutions, and thus are less dependent on tutoring by individuals who specialize in particular examinations for particular institutions.

Some studies have questioned the link between high-stakes examinations and private tutoring. For example, Aurini and Davis (2004) observed that tutoring businesses are growing substantially in Canada despite the fact that Canadian universities lack entrance exams and are not arrayed on a steep prestige hierarchy as are universities in other countries such as the United States and Japan. Based on the analysis of TIMSS data, Baker and LeTendre

(2005) argued that the size, prevalence, and role of private tutoring are completely unrelated to whether or not national high-stakes tests exist in a country. Given that the TIMSS study focused on the 7th grade students only, and taking into consideration that students usually start preparing for high-stakes examinations only in the last grades of secondary school (i.e., 10th-12th grades), it is not surprising that a link between private tutoring and high-stakes examinations remained undetected. Clearly, further research is necessary to explore the complex relationship between high-stakes examinations and private tutoring.

Focusing on educational factors, Baker and LeTendre (2005) offered an institutional perspective to explain the prevalence of private tutoring and its variation across countries. Emphasizing the institutional quality of formal schooling, they suggested that lower public expenditure on education and less-than-full education enrollment lead to more use of private tutoring, greater intensity of use, and use by high-achieving students. In particular, nations that do not yet have full access to mass schooling or spend less than the average funds on schooling have more shadow education use by students (p. 64). In a world where education is globally recognized as the main route to success, underfunding and limited access to schooling lead students to use private tutoring as augmentation of mainstream schooling. In this context, private tutoring is used as a “remedial strategy” to help meet the requirements of what is being taught in mainstream schools (p. 59). In the words of Baker and LeTendre (2005), “the value of schooling is seen beyond, and in spite of, lower access and quality of schooling in particular” (p. 64).

Finally, the economic circumstances of mainstream teachers may be an important educational factor driving the demand for private tutoring. In some countries, teachers are paid so poorly that they and their families would be unable to subsist if they had to depend on official salaries. The teachers therefore have to secure additional incomes, with tutoring becoming a major form of income. While generating considerable employment and strengthening the stability of the teaching force, private tutoring may also raise ethical issues in mainstream education. In Mauritius and Bangladesh, for example, teachers commonly abuse their positions by teaching only half the syllabus during official hours and then declaring that if the students want to receive teaching in the second half then they must come to the after-school tutoring classes (Foondun, 2002; Shafiq, 2002). These teachers are able to exert pressure not only because the students face external competition but also because the teachers control which students are and are not promoted to higher grades at the end of each academic year.

The impact of supplementary private tutoring

While factors underlying the demand for private tutoring vary across different education systems, private tutoring has far-reaching implications in all settings. An international overview

of research on the impact of supplementary private tutoring reveals interesting findings, highlighting both positive and adverse consequences of private tutoring on student achievement, mainstream schooling, and aspects of social and economic development.

Impact on student achievement

A summary of research undertaken in several countries found mixed results with regard to the impact of private tutoring on student achievement. Some studies have documented a positive impact of private tutoring on student achievement; these include studies conducted in Mauritius, Greece, Germany, and Kenya (Bray, 2005).¹ Other studies, by contrast, have shown that tutoring may not be correlated with achievement. Egypt's Ministry of Education (cited by Fergany, 1994) surveyed 18,000 students in the primary and preparatory stages of education and found that private tutoring had no significant impact on achievement. A follow-up study by Fergany (1994, p. 108) at the primary level focused on three different parts of the country and covered 4,729 households with 7,309 individuals and again found no statistically significant correlations between private tutoring and achievement. In Singapore, Cheo and Quah (2005, p. 276) found that among elite families diminishing returns set in rapidly because of overload on the children, and that "contrary to national perceptions. . . having a private tutor may be counter-productive." In England, Ireson and Rushforth (2005) investigated a sample of secondary school students and found that students, especially girls, benefited little from private tutoring.

These and other studies must be treated with caution, because multiple forms of tutoring are involved within different circumstances for different categories of students. The range may be from one-to-one individualized instruction for young primary-aged children to mass lectures on examination tips for upper secondary students. Some tutoring is designed as remedial, to help students to keep up with their peers; while other forms of tutoring are designed to push the boundaries and help students to keep ahead of their peers. In some settings tutoring is provided by qualified professionals; in other settings it is provided by secondary or tertiary students who have not received training and are themselves only a few steps ahead of their students. Finally, much depends on the motivations of the tutees and their parents.

Impact on mainstream schooling

Supplementary tutoring significantly affects the dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream classes. Private tutoring may be considered beneficial when it helps students to understand and enjoy their mainstream lessons. In particular, De Silva (1994) has observed that supplementary tutoring can enable teachers to meet the individual needs of students. Yiu (1996, p. 78) reported that teachers in his study of upper secondary classes in Hong

Kong were positive about supplementary tutoring, saying that school teachers could cover the main ground while tutors would help consolidate the material.

Sometimes, however, tutoring is reported to have a negative effect on mainstream classes. For example, several studies explain that private tutoring may decrease student motivation in mainstream classes. Writing about India, Yasmeen (1999, p. 23) highlighted the “culture of dependency,” where supplementary tutoring is becoming more important than the synergistic classroom experience. These remarks echoed those of Hussein (1987), who stated that tutoring has caused a great lack of interest about mainstream education among students in Kuwait: “as long as they can pay someone who will show them how to pass their examinations, they do not need to attend school classes except when they are required to do so by school regulations” (p. 92). Similarly in Japan, Sawada and Kobayashi (1986) indicated that 45 percent of sampled secondary school teachers reported that the students attending *juku* did not take the mainstream mathematics classes seriously; and between 27 percent and 50 percent of teachers indicated that students who attended *juku* refused to participate in after-school activities.

The vested interests of private tutors may also obstruct reform of education systems. Popa (2003) reported that efforts in Romania to make the education system less dependent on examinations were resisted by the private tutors, including the full-time teachers who undertook supplementary tutoring. The tutors perceived the examinations as an essential ingredient to demand for their services and were therefore resistant to change. Similar remarks have been made about Egypt (see e.g., Fawzey, 1994; Hargreaves, 1997). Along the same lines, Kwok (2001, p. 174) indicated with reference to Hong Kong that the marketing styles and pedagogic characteristics of private tutors reinforced examination pressures and encouraged students to value open examinations. Similar patterns have been evident in Taiwan, Russia, and elsewhere (Bray, 2003).

Finally, the curriculum emphasized during private tutoring may be contrasted with the curriculum of the mainstream schools. Schools are expected to achieve a wide range of goals, especially in public systems of education. These goals may include development of rounded individuals, who have, for example, sporting and musical as well as academic interests, and promotion of courtesy, civic awareness, and national pride. Mainstream schools may also be required to keep all students of one grade together, in order to reduce labeling of low achievers. Examination-oriented tutorial institutes, by contrast, cut what they perceive to be irrelevant content in order to focus on passing examinations and may have much less hesitation about grouping students by ability. Many analysts view this phenomenon negatively, arguing that the tutoring distorts the overall curriculum, which has been designed with careful balance by specialists in that task.

Impact on societies

Of considerable importance is the impact of supplementary tutoring on social inequalities. As such, private supplementary tutoring seems to be a mechanism which maintains and perhaps increases social inequalities. Like other forms of private education, supplementary tutoring is more easily available to the rich than to the poor. In 1998, expenditure on private tutoring by the richest 10 percent in a sample of urban households in South Korea was 12 times the amount spent by the poorest 10 percent of households (Yi, 2002, p. 14). Where patterns become extreme, they could pose a threat to overall social stability.

However, the picture is not straightforward. Rich families also have other methods of maintaining social superiority and may use these methods together with or instead of supplementary tutoring, particularly if decision-makers in these families perceive that supplementary tutoring involves excessive mechanical drilling. Moreover, middle-income and even poor families may choose to invest in supplementary tutoring in order to gain social mobility through the examination system. Kwan-Terry (1991, p. 88) indicated that in Singapore the highest demand for tutoring in English was among families that did not speak English in the home and in which the father had an education below the university level but had middle-income earnings.

Impact on economies

In general, individuals with higher levels of formal education attract higher lifetime earnings than individuals with lower levels of education. Advocates of human capital theory (e.g., OECD, 1999; Tilak, 2001) explain this by stating that the higher earnings reflect and appropriately reward the skills and attitudes acquired by the individuals during the educational process. An alternative view (Groot and Hartog, 1995) is that education acts as a screening mechanism through which only the individuals with inherent talents and appropriate attitudes are able to move beyond the various barriers.

To those who accept either of these hypotheses, supplementary tutoring may be considered in the same light as mainstream schooling. Advocates of human capital theory might consider supplementary tutoring to be even more tightly related to economic enhancement, because it is closely tied to the demands of the marketplace and because enhanced economic return is among the chief reasons why students and their parents invest in it. Advocates of the screening hypothesis would approach the issue from a different standpoint but reach a similar conclusion about the ways in which students who have received greater amounts of tutoring are allocated to more highly remunerated economic positions. However, an alternative approach is less positive about supplementary tutoring. Critics argue that most parts of the sector are parasitic, that they waste financial and human resources which could be better allocated to other uses, and that in systems dominated by traditional examinations, tutoring and associated cramming contribute to a stifling of creativity which can damage the bases of

economic production. These views cannot easily be reconciled. They reflect wider debates on the nature and impact of mainstream education that rest as much on ideological principles as on empirical research. The broad literature on the links between education and development contains many unanswered questions and ambiguous findings (Adams, 2004; Bray, 2004). No clear formulae can link certain types and amounts of education to certain types and amounts of economic development—an observation which applies as much to supplementary tutoring as to mainstream schooling.

To summarize, this review of international research shows that private tutoring is a complex phenomenon, which is driven by multiple factors and has varied, far-reaching consequences for education, society, and economy. Given its rapid expansion in most parts of the world, supplementary private tutoring deserves considerably more attention from both policymakers and researchers than it has received to date. It is especially urgent to examine the phenomenon of private tutoring in the countries of the former socialist bloc, where it has been almost completely overlooked. Because of its contextual nature, private tutoring needs to be discussed within its historical, political, economic, and social settings. In the case of Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia, it is important to examine the socialist legacies and the changing nature of the educational systems during the transformation processes of the 1990s in order to understand the complexity of the context within which private tutoring has greatly expanded.

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Note

1. In Greece, for example, Polydorides (1986) found some positive correlations between private tutoring and senior high school achievement, but they were not completely consistent. In Germany, Haag (2001) found that secondary school students receiving tutoring improved in performance and motivational variables compared to a control group. Comparable findings have been reported in Kenya, where Buchmann (2002, p. 155) indicated that shadow education was related to less grade repetition and stronger academic performance.

Chapter 2

The Context: Societies and Education in the Post-Socialist Transformation

Iveta Silova and Mark Bray

Following the collapse of communism in 1989, the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe (CE/SEE), the former Soviet Union (fSU), and Mongolia moved from authoritarianism to democracy, capitalism, and market economies. The transformation process¹ was uneven across the region, displaying significant variations across these countries in terms of political, economic, social, and educational indicators. In Mongolia and the eight new European Union (EU) member states,² political transformation resulted in the emergence of open, liberal societies at least partially rooted in the respect for the rule of law, human rights, and economic freedom (Freedom House, 2005). In some countries of South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, however, democratic and free-market characteristics shared the stage with a degree of authoritarianism, corporatism, cronyism, and state involvement in economic life. The region has also included repressive, consolidated autocracies, such as Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, in which there has been little or no space

for opposition political groupings and independent civic activism (Freedom House, 2005). Approximately one-third of the countries experiencing this transformation have experienced armed conflicts during the process, and these conflicts have had devastating consequences in all spheres of economic and social life.³ Among the countries involved in this study, armed conflict has broken out in Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Georgia.

As in the political landscape, there are considerable differences in demographic and economic indicators (Table 2.1). The fall in economic output following the political shift was less than a fifth in the CE/SEE region, with growth already setting in during the first half of the 1990s. At the other extreme, the fall of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Caucasus region was as much as two-thirds, with recovery not starting until later in the decade (UNICEF, 2001). By 2002, only the CE/SEE region was clearly ahead of the 1989 baseline, while the western republics of the Soviet Union (Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine), the Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) were still below their pre-independence levels by an average of 40 to 55 percent (UNICEF MONEE, 2004).

Although all the countries have been affected by unemployment, falling wage levels, increased poverty, and the social problems that have accompanied economic transformation, there are considerable regional differences, with the CE/SEE countries showing improvements over time and the non-Baltic countries of the former Soviet Union and Mongolia experiencing the strongest setbacks. Measured by the Human Development Index (HDI),⁴ the differences range from 0.85 in Poland, which is categorized as a “high human development” country and ranked 37th of 177 participating countries, to 0.668 in Mongolia, which is classified as a “medium human development” country and ranked 117th (UNDP, 2004). Similarly, there are large regional differences in the inequality in income and consumption as measured by the Gini Index. With a value of zero representing perfect equality and a value of 100 perfect inequality, the differences range from 25.8 in Slovakia to 44.0 in Mongolia (UNDP, 2004).

Given the diversity of the political, economic, and social circumstances, it is clearly difficult to talk about Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia as one homogeneous region. Nevertheless, these countries share several structural and institutional characteristics. In the area of education, these countries share a number of positive and negative legacies from the socialist regime. Among the positive legacies are solid infrastructures for educational provision and administration, fee-free education for all children, nearly universal general education enrollments, and high literacy rates. After 1991, however, many of the institutional structures that fostered these achievements, such as comprehensive systems for teacher education, in-service professional development, and heavily subsidized pedagogical publishing, were considerably degraded (Johnson, 2004; Silova,

TABLE 2.1
Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Population ^a 2004 (millions)	Human Development Index 2004 (value, rank and category)	Unemployment rate ^b 2002 (% of labor force)	GDP per capita		Gross national income per capita ^c		Gini Index 2003
				2004 (US\$)	PPP [*] 2004 (US\$)	Atlas method ^{**} 2004 (current US\$)	PPP, 2004 (current international \$)	
Azerbaijan	8.3	0.746 (91) Medium	1.4	957	4,175	820	3,390	36.5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.8	0.781 (66) Medium	42.5	1,384	7,101	1,530	6,250	26.2
Croatia	4.5	0.830 (48) High	22.3	4,857	12,156	5,370	10,610	29.0
Georgia	4.5	0.739 (97) Medium	1.2	897	2,977	770	2,610	38.9
Lithuania	3.4	0.842 (41) High	11.3	4,398	13,021	4,500	11,390	36.3
Mongolia	2.5	0.668 (117) Medium	3.0	462	2,039	480	1,820	44.0
Poland	38.1	0.850 (37) High	17.8	4,885	12,881	5,280	11,210	31.6
Slovakia	5.4	0.842 (42) High	17.8	4,488	14,519	4,940	13,440	25.8
Ukraine	48.0	0.777 (70) Medium	3.8	917	6,317	970	5,430	29.0

* The PPP method involves the use of standardized international dollar price weights, which are applied to the GNI produced in a given economy. The PPP method provides a better comparison of economic well-being between countries than conversions at official currency exchange rates.

** The Atlas conversion factor for any year is the average of a country's exchange rate (or alternative conversion factor) for that year and its exchange rates for the two preceding years, adjusted for the rate of inflation in the country.

Notes: a Data refer to medium-variant projections

b Data from UNICEF MONEE database (2004); data for Mongolia from World Development Indicators Online (World Bank, 2005)

c Data from the World Development Indicators Online (World Bank, 2005)

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, UNDP (2004) Human Development Report.

2002). For all the concerns about its quality and comprehensiveness, the mass provision of socialist education undeniably helped to create a level of social cohesion (Heyneman, 1997; Heyneman, 2000) as well as very real compensatory legitimacy for the regime. During the socialist period, education also established a widely shared public expectation for the continued provision of mainstream schooling at little or no cost and on a fundamentally egalitarian basis.

For all of these achievements, the education systems in the former socialist countries were also rigidly bureaucratized and narrowly and involuntarily vocational (Johnson, 2004). They were also institutionally fragmented, with different hierarchies of educational provision and training divided between different branch ministries, which resulted in severe inefficiencies. The system was also characterized by uniform and exceptionally rigid conceptions of pedagogy and formal “didactics,” authoritarian and teacher-centered learning, overloaded and centrally mandated curricula, and insufficient attention to the quality and nature of individual student learning (Johnson, 2004; Silova, 2002). Finally, the system had acute ideological and cultural weaknesses, which included the stultifying effect of socialist political indoctrination in schools.

Private Tutoring in the Socialist and Post-Socialist Transformation Contexts

Some of these weaknesses of the socialist education system were partially addressed through private tutoring, which existed throughout the socialist period yet was never officially acknowledged by the socialist governments. One reason for the lack of official acknowledgment and academic discussion of private tutoring stemmed from the socialist image of school as an ideal institution. As Murawska and Putkiewicz (2005) explain, it was assumed that some segments of the socialist system should function flawlessly—especially the army, police, and the educational system. Any acknowledgment of the existence of private tutoring could be interpreted as a serious imperfection of the state education system, eroding the socialist myth of free and uniform education for all. In the Soviet Union, for example, private tutoring was officially frowned upon as unwarranted, with the government being very reluctant to admit that the society it had built did not give everyone an equal chance (Jacoby, 1974). Generally, private tutoring was perceived as an elitist practice, which was available to a select few only. Party officials and representatives of intelligentsia had the money to make effective use of private tutoring for their children, while the majority of students (especially children from less elite families and in rural areas) had no access to tutoring.⁵

Across the socialist region, the official reaction to private tutoring ranged from complete disregard to “unyielding official hostility” (Matthews, 1982, p. 198). In some cases, however, education authorities made attempts to control private tutoring by institutionalizing it within the mainstream school structures. Generally, institutionalization of supplementary tutoring served two main purposes. First, tutoring was used as a remedial strategy to help students who were unable to master the official curriculum during school hours. In Yugoslavia, for example, teachers were required to organize free supplementary lessons after school hours if more than 50 percent of their students had problems in mastering the subject matter (Husremovic and Celebivic, 2005). Second, supplementary tutoring was used as an enhancement strategy for gifted children to further develop their academic knowledge, skills, and abilities. In the Soviet Union, as well as in other socialist countries, the government initiated several experimental programs to provide free supplementary tutoring for talented students from rural areas before the annual university entrance examinations, recognizing the importance of tutoring that well-to-do parents were able to buy for their children (Jacoby, 1974). In all cases, however, the emphasis was on convincing the public of the impeccability of mainstream schooling as well as the accessibility of high-quality mainstream education to all students.

After the collapse of communism, the image of the “free and uniform education” began to crumble, as private tutoring appeared increasingly to supplement and, in some cases, substitute for mainstream schooling as a more flexible, effective, and prompt response to student needs in a new sociopolitical environment. In this process, the public perception of private tutoring grew to encompass different, often conflicting perspectives. In particular, it brought out a tension between values of the new market forces and legacies of the socialist past. In the context of decentralization and market-driven reforms in the region, many families embraced private tutoring as a long-awaited opportunity for educational choice that was never available during the socialist period. At the same time, however, many families insisted on safeguarding the socialist legacy of free, equitable education system that would reduce and eventually eliminate the need for private tutoring. The public debate revolved around such issues as whether private tutoring should be welcomed or controlled and, more importantly, whether private tutoring was a necessary component of the modern education system or a sign of failing mainstream education in the new, market-driven environment.

To understand the complexity of the private tutoring phenomenon in the post-socialist countries of Central and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia, it is important to examine the political, economic, and educational changes in the region during the 1990s. To some extent, a combination of these system changes may have triggered the rise of private tutoring in the region, bringing new learning opportunities for many young people while restricting educational prospects for many others. In particular, it is impor-

tant to examine the following educational changes brought by the transformation period: (1) declining state expenditures on education and increasing private spending on education, (2) shifting status of the teaching profession, (3) changing quality of education in mainstream schools, (4) increasing demand for higher education, and (5) changing nature of examination systems.⁶

Declining state education expenditures and increasing private spending on education

Economic decline had a direct impact on spending for education, which rapidly decreased across most countries of the region during the transformation period.⁷ While real public spending on education did not substantially change in some countries of Eastern and Central Europe (e.g., Poland and Lithuania), it fell by 77 percent in Azerbaijan and 94 percent in Georgia during the first part of the 1990s (UNICEF, 1998). In some cases, trends in real spending were offset by declining numbers of children, so that *per student* expenditure was not affected. This has occurred in parts of Eastern Europe and the Baltics. But in the Caucasus and Central Asia, population increases worsened the situation (Micklewright, 2000). In the initial years of the present century, education spending as a percentage of GDP varied greatly across the region: most of countries in the study spent about 4–6 percent of GDP on education (an average for OECD countries), while Azerbaijan and Georgia spent considerably less (Table 2.2).

While public sector expenditures on education in most countries have fallen in real terms, the share of private expenditures has almost certainly grown everywhere (Micklewright, 2000). Across the region, the new direct costs of education to households include: (1) formal fees in private schools, universities, and noncompulsory levels of education,⁸ (2) community contributions toward the financing of local schools (e.g., school maintenance and repairs), (3) payments for textbooks, school meals, and extracurricular activities, (4) payments for complementary requisites such as clothing, shoes, and transportation, and (5) informal payments to public schools (e.g., payments for private tutoring, and bribes to obtain good examination results). Although all these costs differentiate student access and learning achievement by household income, the final category—informal payments—is the most disturbing. UNICEF (2001) reported numerous cases from many countries in the region of state schools giving places to children whose parents made substantial donations, of private tutoring of children by their own teachers, and of payments to teachers for good examination marks. For example, focus groups of secondary school students and graduates conducted by UNICEF in Russia, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan all mentioned this problem. Instances of illegal payments to support positive outcomes of school examinations have also been reported in Slovakia and in other countries in the region (UNICEF, 2001).

TABLE 2.2

Educational Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Duration of compulsory education 2004	Student/teacher ratio (secondary) 2002	Private enrollment (as % of total) (secondary) ^a 2004	Education expenditure			Gross enrollment ratio			Teacher salaries ^b	
				(% of GDP) 2002/03	(% of state budget) ^d 2002/03	Secondary 2002/03 (per student as % of GDP)	Primary 2002/03	Secondary 2002/03	Tertiary 2002/03	(as % of average salary)	(as % of minimum subsistence)
Azerbaijan	11	8.7	0.3	3.1	20.7	12.8	92.2	82.7	24.0	118	69
Bosnia and Herzegovina ^c	9	16.0	...	5.8	26.0	...	98.9	72.6	24.2	96	112
Croatia	8	10.8	...	4.5	10.0	23.3	96.5	89.8	39.6	96	210
Georgia	9	9.2	3.3	2.2	11.8	...	90.5	80.1	37.9	54	108
Lithuania	9	10.9	0.3	5.9	26.2	19.4	98.1	102.5	71.5	89	226
Mongolia	8	21.5	3.5	9.0	20.3	19.5	100.8	83.6	37	73	220
Poland	9	12.3	3.6	5.6	12.8	21.1	99.5	104.5	59.8	180	340
Slovakia	10	12.9	17.8	4.3	7.5	18.7	100.7	91.7	33.6	93	290
Ukraine	9	13.1	0.3	5.4	20.3	17.3	92.6	96.8	61.8	90	130

Notes: a Data on private enrollments for Azerbaijan from the State Statistical Committee (2005); for Lithuania for 2001 from EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005); for Mongolia from the Ministry of Education (2004); for Poland from Putkiewicz and Wilkomirska (2004); for Slovakia from the Institute for Information and Prognosis in Education (2004); for Ukraine from the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine (2005).

b Data on teacher salaries for Azerbaijan from Azerbaijan's State Program on Poverty Reduction and Economic Growth (2003) and Sigma (2005); for Croatia from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Croatia (2004); for Mongolia from State Statistics (2004) (excludes bonuses); for Poland from the General Statistical Office (GUS, 2005); for Slovakia from the Institute for Information and Prognosis in Education (2004) and Ministry of Employment, Labor and Social Affairs (2004); for Ukraine from State Committee of Statistics (2005).

c All education-related data for Bosnia and Herzegovina from the *Functional Review of Education Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, the European Union's CARDS Program for BH, March 2005.

d Data on education expenditure for Lithuania from the Statistics Lithuania (2003; 2005); for Mongolia from the Ministry of Education (2004). Source: Unless otherwise indicated, UNESCO Global Digest of Education (2005)

Such practices are clearly in conflict not only with equity of access, but also with educational efficiency.

Declining professional legitimacy of teachers

During the transformation period, the decline in public spending on education has resulted in decreasing salaries, deteriorating social status, and declining authority of teachers. All the privileges teachers had enjoyed during the socialist period, such as stable jobs, ample professional development opportunities, and a respected social status, began to erode as values related to profit replaced the high value placed on education. This trend has severely affected teachers as a professional group, resulting in multiple financial, professional, and social losses. In particular, teachers' salaries declined dramatically and could no longer provide for average-sized families. Among the countries in the study, in 2004 teacher salaries were below the national wage average in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Ukraine (Table 2.2). Although teachers' salaries were above the national wage average in the remaining countries, they were actually below the minimum subsistence level in Azerbaijan (69.2 percent of the minimum subsistence level) and barely exceeding it in Georgia (at 108 percent of the minimum subsistence level).

Furthermore, the teaching profession began to lose its social respect as teachers began to be more concerned about personal survival than educating children. UNICEF (2001, pp. 80–81) reported that teachers in the Caucasus and elsewhere were surviving by engaging in petty trading, farming, teaching in more than one school, and/or taking other jobs in addition to mainstream schooling. In more economically developed countries in Eastern and Central Europe, the declining economic, social and professional status of teachers led to increasing migration of teachers to better-paying jobs in other sectors of the economy. The poorly paid and demoralized teachers who stayed in the mainstream education system began to lose their “professional legitimacy,”⁹ often resulting in less enthusiasm in the classroom and more time spent on earning income elsewhere that would otherwise have been spent in preparation for teaching.

To some extent, private tutoring has helped to reestablish the economic independence and professional legitimacy of teachers. In the context of market-driven reforms, many teachers have eagerly adopted the logic of “service provision,” using private tutoring as a key income-generation activity. Furthermore, supplementary private tutoring has strongly appealed to many teachers for being closely associated with “the very notion of professionalism,” including its “technical culture, a commitment to service ethic, and autonomy in planning and implementing their practice” (Popa and Acedo, 2006, p. 98). In this respect, private tutoring has become an effective solution to the problems teachers faced

during the transformation period, counterbalancing their economic hardships and restoring their professional legitimacy. Furthermore, private tutoring has helped many teachers to secure advantages that were otherwise denied to them during the transformation process—a relatively respectable social status, economic rewards, and even political influence. It is as private tutors, not as teachers, that they can secure and enjoy economic advantages and professional legitimacy in the field of education.

Changing quality of education in mainstream schools

Despite the difficulties of the transformation period, international comparative studies on student learning achievement suggest that many former socialist countries achieve scores in mathematics, science, and reading which compare favorably with international averages. Among 13 countries in the Central and South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that participated in the 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS),¹⁰ the majority scored above the international average. The exceptions were two countries in mathematics (Moldova and FYR Macedonia) and five countries in science (Moldova, Romania, Serbia, Armenia, and FYR Macedonia). However, the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) showed a less favorable picture, with most countries in the region scoring below the OECD average in reading and mathematics (OECD, 2003).¹¹ While many education systems in the region, particularly in Central Europe, continued to offer good quality education, qualitative reports were less encouraging in some countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia (World Bank, 2002; UNICEF, 2001).¹² A combination of government cutbacks, poverty, conflict, and the legacy of rigid approaches to education meant that many children did not receive the basic education they needed (UNICEF, 1999, p. 6). Quantitative and qualitative studies suggested that learning achievement tended to vary within countries, with students from rural areas and disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds being particularly vulnerable (UNESCO, 2005).

[There is] a large number of students, little time, large material, no time for what is really the most important—developing a passion in students. . . . I see that some students are taught according to the old method—they listen to lectures or information rather than being taught how to analyse and interpret texts, justify their opinions, make their own comments, give feedback on the text. . . . This is what we are missing.

Teacher from Poland

Importantly, test results suggest that students in former socialist countries often outscore those in other countries in awareness of facts, but the students are weaker in applying given techniques to new problems and weakest of all in choosing which techniques to choose to solve new problems (UNICEF, 2001, p. 84). This points to the problems with the nature, type, and structure of school curricula. Numerous national and international reports illustrate that school curricula remain overloaded and encyclopedic in terms of information and content taught in schools (OECD 2001a; OECD, 2001b; World Bank, 2002). Furthermore, there is a dominance of information and acquisition of knowledge over skills and development of personality. Typically, curricula are fragmented, with little or no connection to students' real lives. This has a critical effect on teaching and learning, the depth of understanding of the learned material, the development of higher order skills, as well as the preparation of students for later life. In most of the countries of the region, the organization of the curriculum around subjects and teacher-dominated learning methods is not conducive to developing competencies necessary in a competitive market economy.¹³ It is not surprising, therefore, that many students seek additional learning opportunities through private tutoring to compensate for the shortcomings of mainstream schooling.

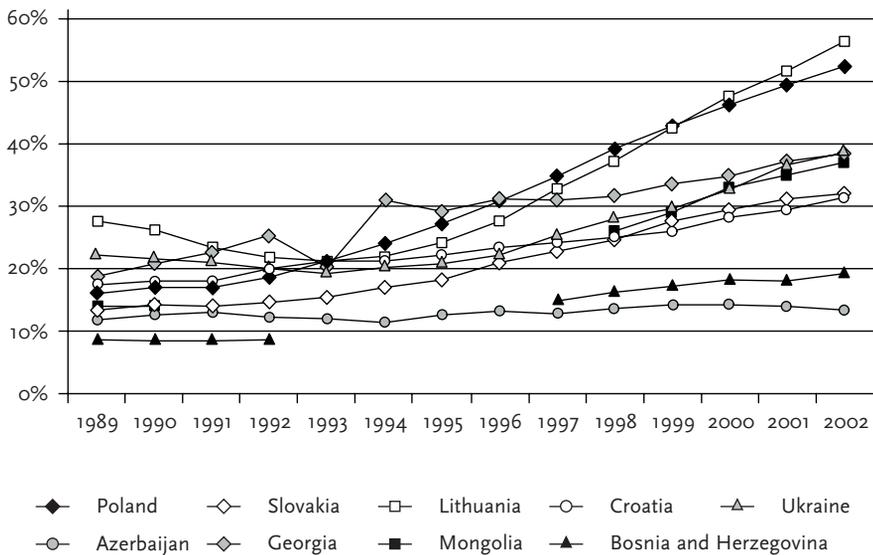
Increasing demand for higher education

Private tutoring has become particularly important in the context of increasing demand for higher education during the transformation period. Between 1989 and 2002, higher education enrollments doubled in most countries covered by this study, and in Poland higher education enrollments tripled (Figure 2.1). In some countries, the demand for higher education is much greater than supply. In Azerbaijan, for example, approximately 70 percent of all secondary school graduates participate in centralized university entrance examinations, but only about 20 percent of all graduates enroll in higher education programs. Across the region, the demand for higher education is primarily driven by the belief that more education is a good investment for the young job-seeker (UNICEF, 2001, p. 87). In many countries (especially in CE/SEE and the Baltics), higher education is increasingly perceived as the means toward social advancement, as opposed to political connections, which were viewed as the key factor during the socialist period (Švecová, 1998, p. 82). In some countries of the study, however, higher education appeals to students for other reasons. In Azerbaijan, for example, male students commonly desire to enter higher education in order to avoid or defer recruitment into the army.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the relatively high unemployment that plagued many of these countries,¹⁴ higher education was seen as a major way to improve employment

opportunities. Consistent with this reasoning, rates of return to education increased during the transition from communism to a market system (Newell and Reilly, 1999; Boeri and Terrell, 2002). In fact, some scholars have argued that the link between higher education and employment opportunities may have a larger impact on the societal structure in transformation countries than in advanced countries (Ammermüller et al., 2003). According to UNICEF (2001, p. 87), the returns to higher education have been comparable to those obtained in high-income countries and increased in Azerbaijan, Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, and other countries during the transformation period. For example, estimated returns to higher education more than doubled during the 1990s in the Czech Republic (Klazar et al., 2001). With the expansion of the European Union and integration of the labor markets, higher education became essential for the young people from the region, and particularly from the new EU accession countries, which desired to compete with the Western European labor force.

FIGURE 2.1
Higher Education Enrollment Rates (1989–2002)



Source: UNICEF MONEE database (2004); data for Mongolia from the World Development Indicators Online database (2005).

Growing pressure around school-leaving and university entrance examinations

Given a rising demand for higher education across the region, access to university has become increasingly competitive. In most countries, admission is usually on a competitive basis and depends on a special combination of the secondary school-leaving examinations (either decentralized or centralized) and an entrance examination, which is set by specific higher education institutions or the study program, respectively (see Table 2.3 for more details). Of the countries involved in this study, this procedure can be found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Mongolia, and Ukraine, which have decentralized school-leaving examinations organized by individual schools, as well as in Poland and Slovakia, which have recently introduced centralized school-leaving examinations. In several countries (Lithuania, Azerbaijan, and Georgia), examination systems have been reformed to combine school-leaving and university entrance tests into one centralized examination, which serves as the basis for all decisions regarding student admission into higher education institutions. In most countries, some sort of *numerus clausus* applies, often for the state-financed study places. Additional study places are usually available for fee-paying students. A combination of an increasing demand for higher education and a limited number of state-financed study places available in higher education institutions creates increasing pressure around school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations. Students fear that poor results of school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations may limit their chances of entering prestigious higher education institutions and/or undermine their efforts of competing for state-funded higher education study places. Across the region, students often choose to invest in private tutoring in order to increase their chances of entering state-funded higher education groups and avoid having to pay for higher education for the following four years.

Within this context of rapid political, economic, social, and educational changes, this book examines the phenomenon of private tutoring. This study shows that private tutoring cannot be examined in isolation from the multitude of contextual factors and that some dimensions of its scope and nature may be a direct response to the political, economic, social, and educational changes brought by the transformation period. Although this study does not provide a complete explanation for the rise of private tutoring in the countries which it addresses, it explores the unique nature of private tutoring in the region and discusses its implications for mainstream schooling.

TABLE 2.3

School-Leaving and University Entrance Examination Systems in the Nine Former Socialist Countries¹⁵

<i>Country</i>	<i>School-leaving examinations</i>	<i>University entrance examinations</i>
Azerbaijan	School-leaving examinations are decentralized and administered by individual schools. The results of the school-leaving examinations are not taken into consideration when applying to higher education institutions.	Centralized higher education entrance examinations were introduced in 1992. All students willing to enroll in higher education need to take a national test administered by the State Student Admission Commission (SSAC). The results of this examination alone determine student admission to all vocational and higher education.
Bosnia and Herzegovina	School-leaving examinations (or <i>matura</i>) are decentralized and organized by individual schools. As a part of this exam, students write a paper on a subject in their mother tongue, followed by written work in the academic area they have chosen, which they then orally defend in front of a school commission. The <i>matura</i> exam grade is the average grade of all three parts.	Decisions about university admissions are made by individual universities based on two criteria: students' secondary school records (which constitute 40 to 60 percent of possible points) and the results of university-specific oral and written entrance examinations (40 to 60 percent of possible points). Students can also get additional points for winning one of the first three places in Olympiads (mathematics, physics, democracy, etc.), and for being awarded a title of the best student of their cohort.
Croatia	School-leaving examinations are decentralized and organized by individual schools. Gymnasium education ends with a school-administered <i>matura</i> examination. The <i>matura</i> examination includes a final paper on a selected topic, as well as passing an examination in two compulsory subjects and one elective subject. The gymnasium diploma allows access to tertiary education, but does not have great value in the job market.	Higher education institutions have autonomy to determine criteria for student enrollment into their institutions. Common criteria include previous achievement, type of completed education, entrance examinations, specific knowledge, skills, and competences. Typically, secondary school grades carry 40 percent of the enrollment score and the institutional entrance examination carries 60 percent.

TABLE 2.3

School-Leaving and University Entrance Examination Systems in the Nine Former Socialist Countries (*continued*)

<i>Country</i>	<i>School-leaving examinations</i>	<i>University entrance examinations</i>
Georgia	<p>Until 2004, school-leaving examinations were decentralized and administered by individual schools. However, topics for the two written examinations (i.e., Georgian language and literature and mathematics) were determined by the Ministry of Education and were the same for all schools throughout the country. In addition to the two written examinations, students had to pass two oral examinations in subjects determined by individual schools. Results of the school-leaving exams had no value for applying to higher education institutions, except when two students with similar scores had to compete for one “state-financed place” during university entrance examinations. In such a case, a student with higher school-leaving examinations grades would be admitted to the higher education institution. These school-leaving examinations were abolished with the introduction of centralized national examination system in 2005.</p>	<p>Until 2004, university entrance examinations were decentralized and organized by individual universities. In 2005, the government modified the policy by introducing a centralized national examination, which consists of tests in three basic subjects: Georgian language and literature, foreign language (one of the four offered languages), and an aptitude test. The centralized national examination is administered by the National Examination and Assessment Center (NAEC) and its results determine student admission into higher education institutions.</p>
Lithuania	<p>Since 1999, the National Examination Center (NEC) has been administering the external <i>matura</i> examinations, which serve both as school-leaving and university entrance examinations. The NEC offers external <i>matura</i> exams in 11 school subjects.</p>	<p><i>Matura</i> examinations, which are administered by the National Examination Center (NEC) serve as the basis for higher education entrance examinations. According to the Law on Higher Education in the Republic of Lithuania (article 47), higher education establishments are not authorized to organize entrance examinations or test students in subjects that are included on <i>matura</i> examination.</p>

TABLE 2.3

School-Leaving and University Entrance Examination Systems in the Nine Former Socialist Countries (*continued*)

Country	School-leaving examinations	University entrance examinations
Mongolia	<p>At the end of every school year (June), secondary school graduates take school-leaving exams in two compulsory subjects (i.e., algebra and native language). The third exam is selected by each student from a list of subjects, which include chemistry, physics, social science, and foreign language. Until the spring of 2005, school-leaving exams were administrated by the Ministry of Education. In 2005, however, the administration of school-leaving exams was transferred to individual schools. School graduates receive a certificate of completion of secondary education and the average score of the certificate is usually taken into account during higher education entrance examinations.</p>	<p>In the last two weeks of June, higher education authorities announce the number of students they plan to enroll, and begin to receive applications from potential students. Each higher education institution has its own entrance examination format. Students are enrolled based on the results of university entrance examinations and their school certificate average. The winners of Olympiads (mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, etc.) are allowed to enter university without taking entrance exams. All higher education is fee-based, but students can get scholarships from the Ministry of Education, private businesses, and individuals based on their university entrance examination scores and recommendations.</p>
Poland	<p>The 1999 reform of the Polish education system introduced an external (state-run) skills test for primary school graduates and an external examination for lower secondary school graduates. While the former is designed solely to test students' skills, the latter is intended to select out students and its results are one of the factors considered in admitting students to upper secondary school. A third exam, the <i>matura</i>, was introduced for upper secondary school leavers. In its reformed shape, the state-administered <i>matura</i> was intended to be the sole criterion for university admission.</p>	<p>The 1999 <i>matura</i> examination was intended to replace university entrance exams. However, a significant number of faculties hold additional tests as part of the recruitment process.</p>
Slovakia	<p>In 2004, the Ministry of Education launched a reform of the school-leaving exam, <i>maturita</i>. The new <i>maturita</i> exam consists of an internal (school-given) part and a centralized external (state-given) part. In 2004–2005, the new centralized portion of school-leaving exam was officially used for the first time in three subjects.</p>	<p>Universities have the right, but as of yet no obligation, to incorporate the results of the new school-leaving <i>maturita</i> exam into their admission criteria. However, the most popular faculties continue to rely on their own entrance exams and selection criteria.</p>

TABLE 2.3**School-Leaving and University Entrance Examination Systems in the Nine Former Socialist Countries** (*continued*)

Country	School-leaving examinations	University entrance examinations
Ukraine	School-leaving exams take place in June and are school-based, i.e., conducted with the teachers of mainstream class students. Every school graduate sits for five exams in order to receive <i>attestat</i> (i.e., the document verifying the completion of secondary education). Results of school-leaving exams are not taken into account at the majority of universities.	Standard requirements for university entrance examinations are approved by the Ministry of Education and Science, but they provide more of a general guidance than a firm rule. In practice, every higher educational institution builds its own entrance examination structure. Different universities use different formats for entrance exams, including tests to prevent bribe taking and increase objectiveness.

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Notes

1. We use the term “transformation” purposefully to highlight the complexity of the political, economic, and social change in the former socialist countries. While the term “transition” assumes a linear movement and a gradually phased replacement of “the old” socialist policies, practices, and values with the “new” Western ones, the term “transformation” highlights the complexity of the process and its multidimensional nature. Given the highly political nature of the transition processes combined with unique historical, political, social, and cultural contexts of each country, the outcomes of the post-socialist transformation process may not be as clear and uniform as commonly assumed. As such, education transformation may take a variety of different forms and result in a multiplicity of different outcomes depending on contextual variables.

2. Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

3. Following the collapse of communism, armed conflicts broke out in the Caucasus (including Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1988–1994 and Georgia in 1990–1994), in Central Asia (including in the Ferghana Valley in 1989–1991 and Tajikistan in 1992–1993), the former Soviet republics (including the northern Caucasus of the Russian Federation in 1992–2001 and Moldova in 1992), and the former Yugoslav republic (including former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1997–1999, and FYR Macedonia in 2001).

4. The HDI is a summary measure of human development which incorporates three basic dimensions: (1) a long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth, (2) knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrollment ratio (with one-third weight), and (3) a decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita (PPP US\$). For more information, see <http://www.undp.org/hdr>.

5. In the 1970s, one study revealed “inequality in the possibilities of further education open to different social groups” (Konstantinovskiy and Shubkin, 1970 quoted in Jacoby, 1974). In the

Leningrad region, 73 percent of the children of intellectuals secured daytime places at universities and technical colleges, while only 50 percent of industrial workers' children and 35 percent of agricultural workers' children did so.

6. For more information on the structure of the educational systems and terminology used to denote educational institutions in Europe, please see *European Glossary on Education, Volume 2: Educational Institutions* (Eurydice, 2005).

7. These declines in expenditure partly reflected the falls in national income. However, this was not the only factor. During the first half of the 1990s, the share of GDP spent on public education fell in several countries in the region, ranging from Central Europe (Slovakia) to the Baltic states (Lithuania) to the Caucasus (Georgia and Azerbaijan). The withdrawal of the state from spending on public education in Georgia and Azerbaijan, the worst cases, was the result of a collapse in tax revenues. The failure of governments to collect adequate tax revenues has been a feature of transition in a number of countries, notably the former Soviet republics (Cheasty and Davis, 1996; EBRD, 1998).

8. In some countries, formal fees are now charged for the last grades of secondary education in the public sector. For example, secondary school fees for grades 10 and 11 were introduced in Georgia in 1996, where fees were charged on the basis of assessed ability rather than financial need.

9. Darvas and Nagy (1995, p. 216) refer to the “professional legitimacy” that the state gave to teachers in Eastern Europe during the communist period. In such an elite type of schooling, teachers used to play a critical role in the students' lives, even though they did not enjoy much social prestige or economic benefit. Average teachers' salaries were set at the lowest of the intellectual professions, which were already low compared to similar professions elsewhere in Europe.

10. In the SE/CEE and the fSU regions, 13 countries participated in the international TIMSS study, namely Armenia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, FYR Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.

11. On a reading scale, the majority of the former socialist countries scored below the OECD average (Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovak Republic, Latvia, Russian Federation, and Serbia). However, Poland scored higher than the OECD average. On a mathematics scale, all countries scored below the OECD average except for the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic (OECD, 2003).

12. Unfortunately, international studies on learning achievement tend to leave out countries which experienced the most dramatic changes in education funding during the transformation period, including the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia.

13. For example, Ammermüller et al. (2003, p. 1) point out that the market economies are demanding new abilities of students, like flexibility, teamwork, management, and decision-making skills, that were not fostered under the socialist regime, but are rewarded greatly during the transformation period.

14. Annual registered unemployment rates varied considerably across the region. They were 42.5 percent in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22.3 percent in Croatia, 17.8 percent in Poland and

Slovakia, and 11.3 percent in Lithuania (UNICEF MONEE database, 2004). See Table 2.1 for more information.

15. For more information on the terminology associated with education examinations in Europe, please see *European Glossary on Education: Examinations, Qualifications, and Titles, Volume 1* (Eurydice, 2004).

Chapter 3

Methodological Considerations

Iveta Silova, Mark Bray, and Algirdas Zabulionis

One weakness of the existing data on private tutoring is that doing an international comparison is obstructed by the fact that the data have been collected in different ways, apply to different levels of education, refer to different points in time, and use different definitions of private tutoring. This study addresses some of these weaknesses by examining private tutoring in nine former socialist countries in a more systematic way. This chapter summarizes some methodological dimensions of the study, including objectives, framework design, instrument development, sampling, quality control, and data analysis.

Objectives

The definition of private tutoring used in this study distinguishes between private tutoring lessons (offered by individuals) and preparatory courses (offered by institutions). Focusing on both types of private tutoring, the study aims to inform and stimulate discussion about private tutoring among policymakers, curriculum developers, teachers, researchers, and the

general public. The study does not advocate a particular approach to private tutoring, but rather aims to deepen understanding of the scope, nature, possibilities, and practices of private tutoring as it takes place in various former socialist countries. More specifically, the study examines

- ▶ general characteristics of private tutoring (scale, cost, geographic spread, and subjects);
- ▶ the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring (quality of secondary education, higher education entrance examinations, education financing, etc.);
- ▶ educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the education system (geographic, socioeconomic, and gender inequities); and
- ▶ policy options and alternative approaches.

Instrument Development, Sampling, and Data Collection

To reach the objectives of the study, quantitative and qualitative data were used. The quantitative data permitted identification of the scope of tutoring, while the qualitative data helped to show the characteristics, causes, and consequences of tutoring.

Quantitative data

A quantitative survey was administered to identify the scope and nature of private tutoring as well as student attitudes toward tutoring. The survey was based on a modified version of a Lithuanian questionnaire designed by the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University, where it had been pilot-tested and used for the Lithuanian study on private tutoring in 2002/2003.¹ The original survey was reviewed, discussed, and modified by the international steering committee consisting of representatives of all national teams. The modified version of the questionnaire (Appendix 2) consisted of four parts, including a new section on preparatory courses offered by educational institutions. The first part of the questionnaire provided background information, including geographic, socioeconomic, and educational characteristics of the respondents. The second part included items exploring general features of private tutoring lessons (scope, subjects, costs, intensity of use), perceived impact on student achievement, reasons for taking private tutoring lessons, and information on the providers of private tutoring lessons. The third part of the questionnaire collected the same

information on preparatory courses. The fourth part explored student opinions regarding private tutoring.

The survey targeted first-year university students (referred to as the “university sample” in the study). University students were chosen to ensure more forthright student responses about their private tutoring experience in secondary schools. Having just entered higher education institutions, first year students have fresh memories about their private tutoring experience in schools and are unlikely to feel intimidated when talking about it. However, the university sample did not represent all students leaving secondary schools in the country. Therefore, the questionnaire also asked the respondents to estimate the scope of private tutoring among their classmates. Three countries (Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Croatia) chose to conduct an additional survey targeting secondary school students (referred to as the “school sample” in the study), thus expanding the respondents’ pool and reporting about the private tutoring experience among all students graduating from secondary schools in their respective countries.

In all countries except Bosnia and Herzegovina,² the sample included respondents from universities located in different geographic regions (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). The ratio between them was determined by the total number of students enrolled in these universities in the previous academic year. Within each university, faculties and study programs were stratified by the level of demand. The level of demand was identified by the number of students competing for available spaces. Selected programs had the highest ratio of the number of applicants and the number of available places. In some but not all countries, these ratios corresponded with the highest/lowest scores achieved by students on centralized university entrance examinations. The number of participants per program was determined based on the number of students enrolled in each program in the first undergraduate year. Although the selected study programs varied by countries, the high-demand programs typically included business- and economy-related study programs (e.g., business, economics, finance, and management), while the low-demand programs included pedagogy and natural science (biology, physics, and chemistry). Medical, pharmaceutical, and art programs were excluded from the sample (see Appendix 1).

TABLE 3.1
Characteristics of the Study Sample

<i>Country</i>	<i>University sample size (total)</i>	<i>University sample by the level of program demand</i>			<i>University sample by geographical location</i>	
		<i>High demand</i>	<i>Low demand</i>	<i>Other (medium demand)</i>	<i>Capital city</i>	<i>Outside capital city</i>
Azerbaijan	913	604	270	39	813	100
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,008	266	742	0	1,008	0
Croatia	995	663	332	0	793	202
Georgia	839	486	353	0	562	277
Lithuania	810	319	219	272	521	289
Mongolia	1,475	891	191	393	1,252	223
Poland	849	131	514	204	464	385
Slovakia	926	776	150	0	320	606
Ukraine	898	491	316	91	193	705
Total	8,713	4,627	3,087	999	5,926	2,787

TABLE 3.2
Universities Participating in the Survey by Geographical Location

<i>Country</i>	<i>University name and location</i>	
	<i>In the capital city</i>	<i>Outside the capital city</i>
Azerbaijan	Azerbaijan State Economics University Azerbaijan Teachers' Institute Baku State University Western University	Lenkaran State University
Bosnia and Herzegovina	University of Sarajevo	
Croatia	University of Zagreb	University of Rijeka

<i>Country</i>	<i>University name and location</i>	
	<i>In the capital city</i>	<i>Outside the capital city</i>
Georgia	Tbilisi State University Technical University Tbilisi Pedagogical University Tbilisi Economic Relations University	Telavi State Pedagogical University Batumi State University
Lithuania	Vilnius University Vilnius Pedagogical University	Vytautas Magnum University, Kaunas Siauliai University
Mongolia	Mongolian State University of Education Tsagaan Lavai College National University of Mongolia Institute of Finance and Economics Institute of Commerce and Business College of Trade and Industry Mongol Business Institute Mandah Burtgel Institute Mongolian Labor Institute Mongolian University of Science and Technology Khuree Information Communication University Shihihutag Law School Ulaanbaatar College Gazarchin College Mongolian State University of Agriculture Health Sciences University of Mongolia Ach Medical Institute	Darkhan College (Darkhan) Plant Science, Agricultural Research and Training Institute of Mongolian State University of Agriculture (Darkhan) Technical College (Darkhan) Teacher Training College (Dornod) National University of Mongolia (Khovd)
Poland	Warsaw University	Białystok University
Slovakia	Comenius University	Slovak Technical University in Trnava University of P.J. Safarik in Košice University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra Slovak Agricultural University in Nitra
Ukraine	National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"	Kharkiv National Pedagogical University Donetsk National University Lviv National University Odesa National University

The questionnaire was translated into ten languages, including nine languages of the countries participating in the study and Russian, which is still widely used in parts of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Ukraine. In most countries, the survey was administered between November 2004 and January 2005. In Mongolia, which joined the study at a later stage, the

data were collected in February and March 2005. On average, completion of the questionnaire took 30–45 minutes. After data collection, the national data sets were submitted in a format for processing with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to the Education Policy Center at Vilnius University, which created the international database for the study. The center checked the data for inconsistencies, and all deviations were documented and sent to the national research teams for clarification. The data-cleaning process consisted of several steps designed to guarantee the high quality of the data. The center also calculated the weights to be applied to the sample according to the previously approved sampling design in each country.

Qualitative data

Qualitative data complemented the quantitative data from student surveys, and helped to explain the causes and consequences of private tutoring. The type and amount of qualitative data varied by country and depended on contextual specifics as well as available financial and human resources. Typically, qualitative data were collected through document analysis, press review, focus group discussions, and interviews with major education stakeholders. In most countries, for example, interviews and focus groups were organized with the representatives of ministries of education, providers of private tutoring (e.g., private tutors and private tutoring agencies), and students using private tutoring. In some countries (e.g., Azerbaijan and Georgia), interviews were also conducted with parents. Interviews and focus groups examined such issues as teacher perceptions of the dynamics of private tutoring growth; the impact of private tutoring on schools, teachers, and students; and positive and negative implications of private tutoring for public schools.

Units of Analysis

The field of comparative education, into which this study may be said to fit, pays considerable attention to units of analysis (see, e.g., Noah and Eckstein, 1998; Crossley and Watson, 2003; Bray et al., 2006). In this book, the most visible unit of analysis, made evident in the chapter titles of Part II, is the country. This has some justification insofar as national governments either deliberately or by default shape both education systems and the economic, social, and political contexts within which those systems operate. Further, the chapter on policy implications is particularly oriented to the roles that national governments might play.

Above the country level, however, are other groupings. Most obvious in this book is the cluster of countries on which the volume focuses. The former socialist states are themselves a unit for analysis and in the literature on private tutoring may be contrasted for example with East Asian, Western European, North American, or African states (Bray, 1999). Other supra-national groupings include states that have shared economic characteristics as members of the European Union or have shared cultural and geopolitical characteristics within the Balkans and the Caucasus.

Within each country, as demonstrated by the individual chapters, are many other units of analysis. Particularly obvious are the universities, which are contrasted with one another, and the different faculties and programs within these universities. Yet a smaller unit of analysis is represented by the students, who are grouped by gender, socioeconomic status, geographic location, and other factors. Similar remarks apply to the tutors, some of whom operate on an individual basis and some of whom are employed by institutions. Thus, the comparisons are made at multiple levels and provide a rich tapestry for analysis. As observed by Bray and Thomas (1995) in a broader context, multilevel analysis is valuable because it reveals different facets of a phenomenon. Moreover, on the one hand, the big picture is formed from a summation of the parts; but, on the other hand, patterns at lower levels of systems are commonly shaped by policies and contextual forces at higher levels.

Limitations

Any research on private tutoring encounters various obstacles. In this study, obstacles ranged from logistical issues (such as securing letters of support from ministries of education to collect data in educational institutions) to conceptual issues (such as negotiating the emphases of the study among the nine participating country teams). In addition, the study encountered several methodological limitations. First, the study sample was limited to university freshmen who reflected on their private tutoring experience during the last grade of secondary school. The researchers assumed that freshmen students would be more objective and outspoken about the use of private tutoring in secondary schools and that their school experience was recent enough for them to recall accurately. Furthermore, the university sample helped the researchers to explore the role of private tutoring in student preparation for university entrance examinations. However, the exclusive focus on the university sample meant that the study excluded other important student population groups, which may have used private tutoring but, for whatever reasons, did not enter higher education institutions. This sampling

limitation did not permit full estimation of the scope of private tutoring in secondary schools or even its impact on transition to higher education institutions.

In addition, financial limitations led to a number of methodological weaknesses. The international survey was prepared in English and translated into ten different languages. However, limited financial resources did not allow the researchers to undertake back-translations of the questionnaire for verification. Furthermore, some countries adapted the international survey to their countries' political and cultural contexts, yet these modifications were not reviewed by the international steering committee due to the time and financial limitations.

Despite these limitations, this study is unique in that it represents the first attempt in former socialist countries to document systematically and thoroughly the general characteristics of private tutoring (scale, cost, geographic spread, and subjects), the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring (quality of secondary education, higher education entrance examinations, education financing, etc.), and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the education system.

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Notes

1. The goal of the 2002/2003 study was to examine the scale, nature, and implications of private tutoring. The study was based on a quantitative survey of 2,000 first-year university students from five universities in Lithuania. The study found that approximately 60 percent of the surveyed students used the help of private tutors to prepare for the school-leaving/university entrance examination. For more information on the findings of the study, contact the Educational Policy Center at Vilnius University.

2. The University of Sarajevo is the oldest university in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and enrolls students from the whole country.

Chapter 4

The Hidden Marketplace: Private Tutoring in Former Socialist Countries

Iveta Silova and Mark Bray

In the former socialist countries, private tutoring has deep roots but was modest in scale until the early 1990s. Since that time, private tutoring has become a vast enterprise. The findings of the cross-national study reveal that private tutoring is widespread in all countries examined, with more than half of the student population receiving some type of private tutoring in the last year of secondary school. This chapter outlines general characteristics of private tutoring in the countries studied, profiles the main actors involved in the tutoring process, examines different factors driving the demand for tutoring, and discusses the educational, social, and economic impact of tutoring on the education systems.

General Characteristics of Private Tutoring

General characteristics of private tutoring include its scale, types, intensity, academic subjects, and costs at a secondary education level. These domains are considered here in turn.

Scope of supplementary private tutoring

The majority (69 percent) of students in the sample as a whole reported having received some type of supplementary private tutoring during the last grade of secondary school. The scope of private tutoring varied by country, with more than 80 percent of sampled students in Azerbaijan and Georgia receiving tutoring and fewer than 60 percent of sampled students in the Balkans and Slovakia receiving tutoring. As evident from the data, supplementary private tutoring exists in countries with different levels of economic development. However, it reaches higher proportions in countries with lower economic development indicators. For example, four countries with the highest scope of private tutoring (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mongolia, and Ukraine) have the lowest per capita Gross National Income (GNI), which is estimated at below US\$1,000 (see Chapter 2). By contrast, the countries with the lowest scope of private tutoring (Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia) have a considerably higher per capita GNI, which exceeds US\$4,500. The only exception is Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has the lowest scale of private tutoring of all countries in the study (57 percent), yet a noticeably low per capita GNI of US\$1,530. Overall, these findings suggest that private tutoring may be more widespread in countries suffering from economic difficulties, because it is a mechanism through which teachers can generate additional incomes in order to supplement fairly low and irregularly paid salaries. However, this matter deserves further consideration, since studies elsewhere show that tutoring is widespread in such high-income societies as Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, where teachers are well paid.

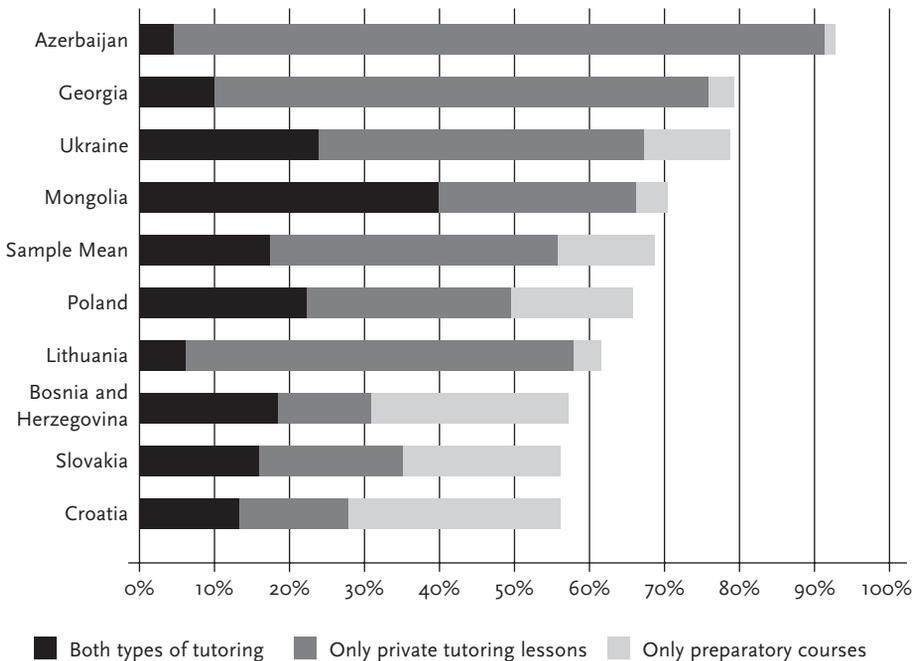
Types of private tutoring

In the group of countries studied, two types of supplementary private tutoring are prevalent, including private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses. The study revealed that 39 percent of all respondents received private tutoring lessons, 13 percent preparatory courses, and 17 percent both types of private tutoring (i.e., lessons and courses). Private tutoring lessons are usually offered by individuals (e.g., teachers, university professors, and professionals in specific occupational fields) in either the student's or tutor's home. Private tutoring lessons are generally, but not necessarily, long term in nature, and provide opportunities for students

to learn new subject matter that may not be covered by school curricula. In some cases, however, private tutoring lessons may be used to achieve short-term goals such as preparation for school tests, improvement of school grades, or better understanding of complex topics. Preparatory courses are generally offered by institutions (private agencies, higher education institutions, university departments, etc.) and focus on immediate, short-term results. Compared to individual private tutoring lessons, preparatory courses tend to be more goal specific and task oriented, usually aiming to prepare students for passing higher education entrance examinations.

While individual private tutoring lessons tend to be more popular than preparatory courses in most countries in the study, the scope of different private tutoring types varies by country. Private tutoring lessons are more widespread than preparatory courses in six of the nine countries, namely Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, and Ukraine. Preparatory courses, however, seem to be a preferred type of supplementary private tutoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovakia—the three countries with the lowest proportion of students using supplementary private tutoring of any type, and, in the case of Croatia and Slovakia, with better-developed economic markets (see Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1
Types of Private Tutoring by Country



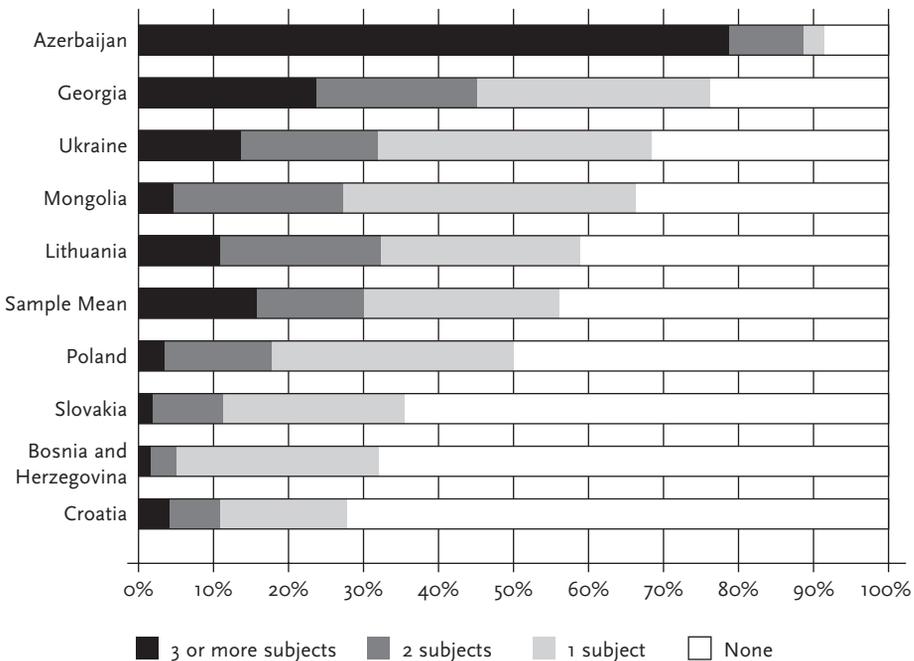
Intensity of private tutoring

The intensity of supplementary private tutoring varies widely across the region in terms of the number of subjects, academic hours, and the perceived regularity of use among students. Private tutoring seems to be used more intensively in the countries with the highest proportions of private tutoring users. For example, 87 percent of sampled students in Azerbaijan and 65 percent in Georgia received private tutoring lessons on a regular basis throughout the year, compared to 55 percent in Poland, 54 percent in Lithuania, and 11 percent in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Croatia. Furthermore, Azerbaijan and Georgia had the highest percentages of students taking private tutoring lessons for three or more subjects (79 and 24 percent respectively), compared to 11 percent in Lithuania and less than 5 percent in the other countries (see Figure 4.2). Finally, Azerbaijan and Georgia were among the countries with the largest percentages of students spending more than three academic hours a week with a tutor (75 percent in each country), barely exceeded only by Mongolia (77 percent).

FIGURE 4.2

The Intensity of Private Tutoring Lessons as Reflected in the Number of Subjects in which Students Received Private Tutoring Lessons

(Percentage of students taking private tutoring lessons)



While the intensity of private tutoring was highest in Azerbaijan and Georgia, it was considerably lower in other countries in the study. Private tutoring lessons were used the least intensively in the Balkans, with the majority of students taking private tutoring lessons only occasionally. For example, 40.3 percent of students in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 35.4 percent of students in Croatia took private tutoring lessons occasionally throughout the year, and approximately 40 percent of students in each country took private tutoring lessons occasionally in the last semester of secondary school. Many students took private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses in the last semester of school in most of the countries in the study, with the majority of students in Mongolia (76.3 percent), half of the students in the Balkans and Slovakia, and one-third of the students in Poland and Lithuania taking private tutoring lessons either occasionally or regularly in the last semester of secondary school. Compared to Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Mongolia, students in South Eastern Europe and the European Union countries (Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia) reported spending less time on private tutoring lessons, with the majority of students spending one or two hours per week with private tutors.

The dynamics of the intensity of private tutoring use provide interesting insights into the different purposes of private tutoring. In the majority of countries in the study, a large number of students took private tutoring lessons during the last semester of secondary school, which may indicate a connection between private tutoring and education examinations (including school-leaving examinations or university entrance examinations). By contrast, the majority of students in the Caucasus (Azerbaijan and Georgia) use private tutoring lessons intensively throughout the year, which may reflect a different purpose of supplementary private tutoring. In these countries, private tutoring may be used not only to achieve short-term results (such as to prepare for examinations), but also to deal with more long-term education-related issues (such as to compensate for the shortcomings of the mainstream education system).

Academic subjects

Generally, the subjects given most attention in private tutoring are those most needed for educational and therefore socioeconomic advancement. In the nine former socialist countries, this usually means subjects included in school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations. Given the contextual nature of examination systems (i.e., general rules of centralized examinations in different countries, admission rules of individual universities, requirements of specific study programs, etc.) and the limitations of the study sample (i.e., cross-national variations of the study programs included in the sample), the choice of subjects for private tutoring varies widely across the region (see Table 4.1). In most countries,

however, mathematics, foreign languages, and native languages seem to be among the most popular choices for private tutoring lessons.

TABLE 4.1
Academic Subjects Used for Private Tutoring Lessons
 (Percentage of students taking private tutoring lessons in specific academic subjects)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Mathematics</i>	<i>Foreign language</i>	<i>Mother tongue</i>	<i>History</i>
Azerbaijan	87.6	89.1	89.5	82.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	30.0	5.7	1.0	0.3
Croatia	87.4	9.0	12.6	2.2
Georgia	59.6	45.2	40.7	26.4
Lithuania	44.5	42.3	32.2	37.2
Mongolia	60.5	11.9	25.2	2.2
Poland	13.5	34.0	14.9	33
Slovakia	16.6	18.3	2.8	8.4
Ukraine	51.4	47.2	41.7	12.1
Sample mean (weighted)	47.4	36.9	31.8	23.9

Despite cross-national variations, all national reports highlighted connections between the choice of private tutoring subjects and examination systems in their countries. In Azerbaijan, for example, the subjects given most attention in private tutoring were those included on the centralized university entrance examinations and bore more weight compared to other subjects in the surveyed higher education programs—Azeri language and literature, foreign languages, mathematics, and geography.¹ Similarly, the Georgian case study revealed that private tutoring was mainly examination oriented and that the choice of private tutoring subjects coincided with the subjects required for university entrance examinations—Georgian language and literature, foreign language, history, and mathematics. The situation was the same in Poland, where the most popular subjects for private tutoring were those tested on university entrance examinations for the surveyed higher education programs—history, foreign languages, Polish language, and political science.

While acknowledging the connection between the choice of academic subjects for private tutoring and examination systems, some national case studies pointed to other reasons for the private tutoring use among students. For example, the reasons indicated in the Croatian case study for students taking private tutoring lessons in mathematics included developmentally inappropriate curricula, complexity of the subject, and lower quality of teaching due to the shortages of teachers or inadequately qualified teaching staff. Similarly, the Mongolian case study explained that students take private tutoring lessons in mathematics not only to prepare for the examination, but also to remember and systematize topics learned earlier. These examples indicated that the content and methodology of teaching mathematics need to be more closely examined.

Size of private tutoring groups

The size of private tutoring lessons varies widely across the region. In most countries, the majority of surveyed students take individual private tutoring lessons, i.e., one-on-one instruction. Individual private tutoring lessons are most widespread in Croatia (73 percent of the respondents), followed by Poland (67 percent), Slovakia (64 percent), Ukraine (62 percent), Lithuania (56 percent), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (54 percent) (see Table 4.2). By contrast, individual private tutoring lessons were least popular in Mongolia (14 percent), Azerbaijan (18 percent), and Georgia (39 percent). In these countries, students took private tutoring lessons in larger groups. For example, 69 percent of respondents in Mongolia and 47 percent of students in Azerbaijan took private tutoring lessons in groups larger than four students. A larger size of private tutoring lessons in these countries may be dictated by harsher economic conditions. It is likely that students in Mongolia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia (the three countries with the lowest per capita GNI) simply cannot afford one-on-one private tutoring instruction and therefore opt for studying in larger groups.

Compared to private tutoring lessons, the size of preparatory courses was large in all countries of the study. Approximately 40 percent of all surveyed students attended preparatory courses organized for groups of 16–30 students, and almost 30 percent attended preparatory courses for groups of more than 30 students. Generally, the preparatory classes were smaller in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Lithuania, where over 60 percent of students attended preparatory courses organized for groups of up to 15 students. The size of preparatory courses was considerably larger in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine, where more than 40 percent of students attended preparatory courses for 16–30 students. In addition, 58 percent of students in Slovakia and 48 percent of students in Bosnia and Herzegovina attended preparatory courses for more than 30 students.

TABLE 4.2

The Size of Private Tutoring Lessons (Percentage of students reporting taking private tutoring lessons individually and in groups)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Individually</i>	<i>2–3 students</i>	<i>4–5 students</i>	<i>More than 5 students</i>
Azerbaijan	18.5	34.6	26.2	20.7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	54.4	18.0	1.8	25.8
Croatia	73.4	11.3	2.6	12.8
Georgia	38.8	31.9	14.9	14.4
Lithuania	56.3	25.1	9.3	9.3
Mongolia	13.9	16.9	15.6	53.6
Poland	67.1	8.5	3.0	21.4
Slovakia	64.3	10.7	5.6	19.4
Ukraine	62.5	17.5	8.5	11.5

Costs of private tutoring

Private tutoring costs varied widely across the countries. Interestingly, students from Azerbaijan and Georgia reported spending the highest proportions of their incomes on private tutoring lessons in one subject as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP US\$). For example, an average private tutoring user in Georgia was reported to have spent an equivalent of US\$196 a year on private tutoring lessons in one academic subject, which constituted approximately 7 percent of GDP per capita based on PPP (see Table 4.3). By contrast, average private tutoring users in Croatia spent a much smaller percentage of their incomes on private tutoring lessons in one subject—approximately 0.9 percent of GDP per capita (PPP US\$).

Although private tutoring costs varied widely by country, individual private tutoring lessons were generally more costly per person than preparatory courses. Table 4.4 illustrates this point. In most countries of the study (Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Lithuania, and Ukraine), the cost of private tutoring lessons in one subject was at least double the cost of preparatory courses. In Azerbaijan and Lithuania, the cost of private tutoring lessons was actually three times higher than the cost of preparatory courses. In most cases, the greatest components of these figures were the fees paid to tutors and their

agencies. Generally, the work of educational institutions offering preparatory courses was regulated by the state and taxed. However, private tutoring lessons offered by individuals remained unregulated, and most of the revenue received by tutors was beyond the reach of government tax collectors, thus forming a growing shadow activity.

TABLE 4.3
Yearly Costs of Private Tutoring Lessons in One Subject as a Percentage of GDP Per Capita (2004)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Yearly costs of private tutoring lessons in one subject</i>			
	<i>Median</i>		<i>Mean</i>	
	<i>Equivalent of total costs in US\$ (2004)</i>	<i>As a percentage of GDP per capita (PPP US\$) (2004)</i>	<i>Equivalent of total costs in US\$ (2004)</i>	<i>As a percentage of GDP per capita (PPP US\$) (2004)</i>
Azerbaijan	180.00	4.31	220.70	5.29
Bosnia and Herzegovina	136.00	1.91	191.90	2.70
Croatia	105.60	0.87	191.10	1.57
Georgia	196.00	6.58	235.00	7.89
Lithuania	154.30	1.19	201.10	1.54
Mongolia	36.00	1.76	54.50	2.67
Poland	319.00	2.47	489.50	3.80
Slovakia	122.00	0.84	175.10	1.21
Ukraine	150.80	2.39	374.80	5.93

Note: Private tutoring costs were calculated from local currencies into US\$ using the exchange rate at the time of the data collection (January, 2005). Because of a large spread in the data and the existence of significant anomalous outliers, median calculations are used in addition to mean calculation to compare spending on private tutoring in the participating countries.

TABLE 4.4**Comparison of Private Tutoring Costs among Private Tutoring Users:
Private Tutoring Lessons and Preparatory Courses**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Private tutoring costs (US\$) (Median)</i>		<i>Private tutoring costs (US\$) (Mean)</i>	
	<i>Private Lessons</i>	<i>Preparatory Courses</i>	<i>Private Lessons</i>	<i>Preparatory Courses</i>
Azerbaijan	180.00	50.00	220.70	179.90
Bosnia and Herzegovina	136.00	68.00	191.90	68.80
Croatia	105.60	90.50	191.10	101.50
Georgia	196.00	88.20	235.00	168.50
Lithuania	154.30	46.30	201.10	119.00
Mongolia	36.00	22.50	54.50	29.70
Poland	319.00	223.30	489.50	282.60
Slovakia	122.00	67.80	175.10	92.30
Ukraine	150.80	56.50	374.80	114.60

Note: Private tutoring costs were calculated from local currencies into US\$ using the exchange rate at the time of the data collection (January, 2004).

The Private Tutoring Market: Producers and Consumers

In many settings, the supply of private tutoring creates demand. In these circumstances, tutoring exists because the producers make it available and recommend students to take advantage of the availability on the private tutoring market. In addition, some students choose to take private tutoring simply because it is available even though they might otherwise not have demanded it. For these reasons, the presentation of the profiles of the main actors involved in private tutoring begins here with the producers rather than consumers.

The producers: Who offers private tutoring?

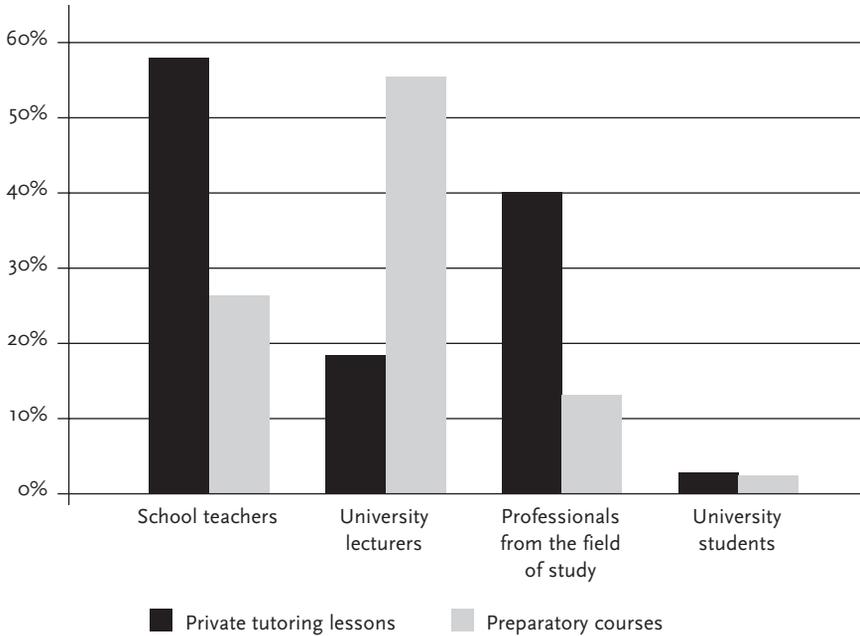
To understand the dynamics of the private tutoring market, it is important to distinguish between those who offer private tutoring lessons and those who offer preparatory courses. Tutors who offer private tutoring lessons and teach on a one-on-one basis generally serve a different market than tutors who operate large classes through preparatory courses. For example, tutors offering one-on-one lessons generally serve a diverse student population, which may include students interested in improving their grades, systematizing the learned material, acquiring new skills, or preparing for school-leaving or university examinations. By contrast, tutors offering preparatory courses typically serve students who are mainly interested in preparing for university entrance examinations. To some extent, these differences in the private tutoring market create the demand for different type of tutors.

The survey data show that individual private tutoring lessons are generally offered by school teachers, with some variations across the countries. For example, teachers constitute the vast majority of tutors offering private lessons in Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Mongolia, and Croatia (approximately 70–80 percent in each country), over 40 percent in Georgia, Poland, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and over 30 percent in Slovakia and Ukraine. Although university professors and lecturers are generally less involved in private tutoring lessons in most countries in the study, they constitute approximately half of the tutors in Ukraine and one-third of the tutors in Georgia, Poland, and Slovakia. In these countries, where university admissions are decentralized and where individual higher education institutions have their own admission requirements, there is a high demand for tutors with university affiliation who may have a direct access to topic content that may appear on the entrance examinations. In this context, employing lecturers and professors of higher education institutions is likely not only to help students get access to entrance examination topic content, but also gain strategic test-taking skills that may give them an advantage.

Unlike individual private tutoring lessons, preparatory courses are predominantly offered by university lecturers and professors. For example, university professors constitute the majority of tutors engaged in preparatory courses in Slovakia (87 percent), Ukraine (85 percent), Poland (75 percent), and Georgia (64 percent), and almost half of all preparatory course tutors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In these countries, university entrance examinations are decentralized, and many universities (as well as specific faculties within these universities) organize their own preparatory courses for potential students. These preparatory courses are usually run by lecturers and professors who are employed by the same universities. These courses seem particularly attractive to potential students, offering the possibility of gaining access to examination content and developing the necessary test-taking skills for specific higher education study programs. Not surprisingly, the majority of the respondents in Slovakia, Ukraine, and Poland (the three countries with the highest proportions of

university professors offering private tutoring) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “university lecturers are better private tutors than secondary school teachers.”

FIGURE 4.3
Who Offers Private Tutoring (Sample mean)



Although preparatory courses are usually offered by university professors in most of the countries in the study, there are a few exceptions. For example, the majority of the respondents in Croatia (67 percent) and Mongolia (51 percent) reported that they attended preparatory courses offered by school teachers. In Croatia, this reflected a more diverse private tutoring market, where preparatory courses were run not only by universities, but also by private agencies and public institutions (e.g., adult education programs). In Croatia and Mongolia, nonuniversity preparatory courses are particularly widespread in the rural areas, where students do not have access to preparatory courses organized by higher education institutions (which are usually located in big cities). In these cases, preparatory courses organized by private agencies and public institutions offer a good alternative for students to prepare for higher education entrance examinations, as well as provide additional employment opportunities for school teachers.

The consumers: Who receives private tutoring?

Although casual observers often assume that the main consumers of private tutoring comprise students with weak academic performance who need remedial assistance, the findings suggest that this is not necessarily the case in the former socialist region. In fact, over 80 percent of the respondents either somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that “only low achieving students take private tutoring.” With no significant variations by participating countries, the data suggest that it is primarily good students who take private tutoring in these former socialist countries. For example, a survey of high school students in Azerbaijan revealed that almost 90 percent of all private tutoring users got the highest marks in school (i.e., four and/or five based on a five-point grading scale). However, a similar survey of high school students in Croatia showed that nonusers of private tutoring had slightly higher grades in school compared to students taking private tutoring (4.19 grade point average among nonusers and 3.84 among private tutoring users on a five-point grading system). This suggests that students may use private tutoring for a variety of reasons, including increasing their competitive advantage on the educational market (e.g., preparation for competitive university examinations) and/or for remedial purposes (e.g., improving their grades at school).

Of equal importance is information on those students who did not use private tutoring. Of all nonusers of private tutoring lessons, the majority (62 percent) of the total sample in all countries reported that they could do well without private tutoring, with the highest proportion of students reporting this in Poland (83 percent) and the lowest in Georgia (43 percent). Approximately 22 percent of nonusers of private tutoring lessons mentioned that private tutoring was too expensive for them, with the highest proportion of students mentioning this in Georgia (44 percent) and the lowest in Croatia (7 percent). In addition, some students (13 percent of the total sample) explained that they did not use private tutoring because their friends helped them free of charge.

Private tutoring seems to be more widespread among students who estimate their family welfare as average or above the average, as well as among students whose parents have some higher education experience. For example, private tutoring lessons were used by 41 percent of all students who estimated their family welfare as above the national average, compared to 28 percent of students who estimated their family welfare as below the national average. Similarly, private tutoring lessons were used by 45 percent of students whose parents had some higher education experience, compared to 25 percent of students whose parents had secondary or incomplete secondary education. While there were no major urban/rural divides in the use of private tutoring lessons in most of the countries, the urban/rural differences were more pronounced in the use of preparatory courses among students in most of the countries. One of the reasons was that the main providers of preparatory courses were universities and they were simply inaccessible (financially or geographically)

to students from the periphery. All country studies reported rough gender parity in private tutoring use.

National Factors Driving the Demand for Private Tutoring

Why is tutoring more evident in some countries than in others? What national factors determine these differences? An analysis of the cross-national differences in the scope of private tutoring sheds some light. Among a wide variety of factors driving demand for private tutoring in the nine former socialist countries in this study, three factors stand out. The first emerges from the commonly used argument that large-scale shadow education is a product of “enrichment strategy,” which is associated with the increasingly competitive nature of education systems and high-stakes examinations. The second has to do with student perceptions of the quality of mainstream education and the use of private tutoring as a “compensatory mechanism” for the perceived deterioration of education quality in mainstream schools. The third factor stems from the difficult socioeconomic conditions of teachers who use private tutoring to supplement their incomes.

Private tutoring as an “enrichment strategy”

In the nine former socialist countries, private tutoring is commonly used as an “enrichment strategy” to help students to increase their competitive edge in the educational market. In particular, the majority of the respondents in the total sample (84 percent) believe that “students use private tutoring to increase their chances to enter university” (see Table 4.5). Similarly, the majority of all private tutoring users (57 percent) indicated that they took private tutoring lessons only to prepare for university entrance examinations. The highest proportions of students indicating this were in Lithuania and Ukraine (over 70 percent), followed by Mongolia, Slovakia, and Georgia (over 60 percent). Even though the structure of education examination systems varies across the region (see Table 2.3), qualitative data suggest that there is a general awareness among students that higher education is imperative for succeeding in the labor market. In this context, students use private tutoring as an enrichment strategy to improve their academic performance on major education examinations, which are often perceived as gateways to further education and labor market opportunities.

In addition to preparing for university entrance examinations, the respondents indicated other reasons for taking private tutoring lessons, including willingness to fill a gap in their knowledge (34 percent), to remember and systematize topics learned earlier

(28 percent), and to better learn topics taught in school (26 percent). While most of these reasons reflect a possible remedial nature of private tutoring lessons, they may also indicate students' aspirations to get the highest possible grades in order to increase their competitive advantage in university admissions. This is especially typical in countries where school grades continue to be an important element of university admission systems (e.g., Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovakia, and Poland). As Table 4.5 illustrates, the proportion of the respondents believing that students use private tutoring to increase their school grades is much higher in the countries where school grades are taken into consideration (e.g., over 70 percent in Poland and Slovakia), compared to the countries that base their university admission decisions on centralized test scores exclusively (e.g., below 30 percent in Azerbaijan and Georgia). Interestingly, very few students mentioned peer and/or parent pressure as one of the reasons for taking private tutoring lessons (see Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5
Reasons for Taking Private Tutoring Lessons (Percentage of student responses)

Country	<i>Students use private tutoring to increase their chances to enter university</i>	<i>Students use private tutoring to increase their school grades</i>	<i>To better prepare for university entrance examinations only</i>	<i>To fill a gap in knowledge</i>	<i>To remember and systematize topics learned earlier</i>	<i>To better learn topics taught at schools</i>	<i>Parents made me take private tutoring</i>	<i>Other students took private tutoring and that is why I decided to take it</i>
	Percentage of all respondents*				Percentage of private tutoring users			
Azerbaijan	93.9	21.0	39.8	40.6	31.4	26.3	1.3	4.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	66.4	64.1	42.4	33.4	7.7	37.3	3.9	2.9
Croatia	82.3	69.8	31.8	46.2	9.0	32.1	0.7	0.7
Georgia	69.1	30.9	61.4	38.9	24.1	16.0	0.5	0.3
Lithuania	87.8	68.5	70.0	17.0	45.7	37.0	1.7	1.3
Mongolia	90.9	41.6	62.3	27.3	42.7	29.2	10.1	2.3
Poland	92.1	70.0	50.5	38.6	37.2	23.2	2.1	1.9
Slovakia	93.7	78.2	61.2	55.0	21.4	30.0	5.5	2.8
Ukraine	81.6	46.8	78.9	18.5	13.2	16.8	3.3	0.5
Sample mean (weighted)	84.2	54.5	57.0	33.6	28.2	26.0	3.2	1.9

Note: * A combined percentage of students agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement.

Given that one of the main reasons for private tutoring is preparation for examinations, it is important to examine private tutoring's impact on examination outcomes. Generally, international assessment of the impact of private tutoring on student achievement is difficult because of the variety of factors involved and the lack of uniformity in student characteristics. Given these methodological difficulties and the limitations of this study, the researchers examined *student perceptions* of the impact (instead of the actual impact) of private tutoring on student examination outcomes. In particular, the surveyed students (i.e., private tutoring users) were asked to estimate to what extent the outcomes of school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations depended on the use of private tutoring (i.e., both private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses).

TABLE 4.6
Student Perceptions of the Impact of Private Tutoring Lessons on University Entrance Examinations (Percentage of private tutoring users)

<i>Country</i>	<i>It did not help at all</i> (%)	<i>It had some impact</i> (%)	<i>It had great impact</i> (%)
Azerbaijan	1.0	21.7	75.6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	10.1	33.3	37.7
Croatia	12.9	41.9	38.2
Georgia	2.0	28.9	66.1
Lithuania	5.0	36.1	55.4
Mongolia	4.1	67.5	20.6
Slovakia	4.8	41.5	44.4
Ukraine	3.0	27.5	63.2
Sample mean	4.0	36.0	54.3

Student answers provided interesting insights, with the vast majority of private tutoring users indicating that private tutoring had either some or great impact on their examination results. In particular, the majority of the respondents (54.3 percent of the study sample) thought that private tutoring lessons had a great impact on their examination outcomes. The largest proportions of students indicating this were in the four countries of the former Soviet Union, including about 75 percent of the respondents in Azerbaijan, 63 percent in Ukraine, 66 percent in Georgia, and 55 percent in Lithuania (see Table 4.6). In all countries, student

perceptions of the impact of preparatory courses on examination outcomes was less enthusiastic than their assessment of private tutoring lessons, with only 29 percent of all private tutoring users indicating that preparatory courses had a “great impact” on their examination results. The majority of the respondents (55 percent of the study sample) thought that preparatory courses had “some impact” on examination results (see Table 4.7).

TABLE 4.7
Student Perceptions of the Impact of Preparatory Courses on University Entrance Examinations (Percentage of private tutoring users)

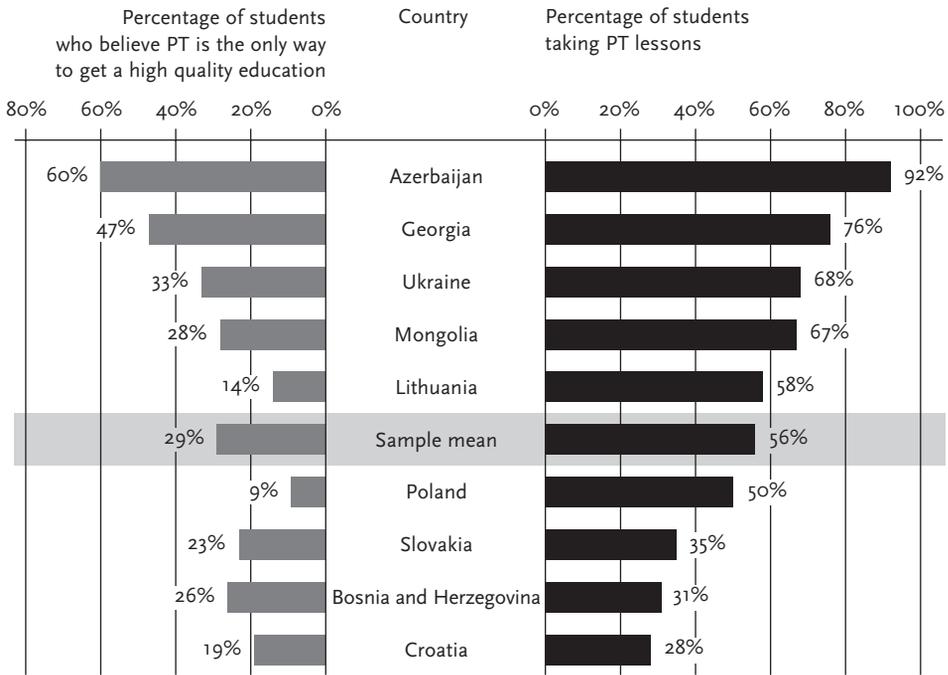
<i>Country</i>	<i>It did not help at all (%)</i>	<i>It had some impact (%)</i>	<i>It had great impact (%)</i>
Azerbaijan	3.6	47.3	49.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	9.0	57.0	24.6
Croatia	8.2	55.9	31.3
Georgia	93.	41.1	44.9
Lithuania	5.2	50.6	37.7
Mongolia	4.8	72.2	16.2
Slovakia	14.0	51.2	27.0
Ukraine	9.1	40.7	41.6
Sample mean	8.6	54.9	29.5

Compensatory function of private tutoring

To a large extent, the scope and intensity of private tutoring usage may reflect the perceptions of students and their families of the overall educational quality in mainstream schools. In all sampled countries, there was a strong belief that private tutoring was a response to the poor quality of education in mainstream schools. In the total sample, an overwhelming 85 percent of the respondents (with very small variations by country) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “the quality of mainstream education system should be such that no one would need private tutoring.” By implication, decisions of students to take private tutoring may indicate their lack of satisfaction with the quality of education in mainstream schools. For example, almost 60 percent of respondents in Azerbaijan and over 50 percent in Georgia—the countries with the largest scope and highest intensity of private tutoring—

believed that private tutoring is “the only way to get a high quality education” (see Figure 4.4). The national case studies and official statistics revealed that mainstream education systems in these countries had suffered from chronic underfunding during the transformation period, resulting in deteriorating quality of mainstream education as reflected in the lack of textbooks and teaching materials, limited professional development opportunities for teachers, deteriorating physical infrastructure of schools, and other factors. In Azerbaijan and Georgia, private tutoring is becoming increasingly like school itself and often becomes a substitute for mainstream education for students who opt for skipping their mainstream classes in favor of private tutoring sessions.

FIGURE 4.4
Scope of Private Tutoring (PT) Lessons and Student Perceptions of the Quality of Mainstream Education



By comparison, the percentages of students believing that private tutoring is the only way to get a quality education were considerably smaller in the countries with the lowest scope of private tutoring (e.g., Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovakia). In these

countries, students seemed to be more satisfied with the quality of education in mainstream schools and may feel less need for supplementary private tutoring. Poland and Lithuania present an interesting exception. These countries have the smallest percentage of students believing that private tutoring is the only way to get higher quality education (9 percent and 14 percent respectively), yet they have a considerably higher scope of private tutoring (58 and 50 percent respectively). As the national case studies explain, Polish and Lithuanian students may feel quite satisfied with the overall education quality in mainstream schools. They use private tutoring for other reasons, mainly to increase their competitive advantage in high-stakes university entrance examinations.

Private tutoring as an income-generation activity for teachers

There are people who offer private lessons and make their living out of it. The market has just opened for retired teachers, good retired teachers who cannot take up teaching at school from the legal point of view as there is no place for them. But, they are still valuable teachers, so they open firms offering private lessons, pay standard taxes, and give private tutoring lessons. This a good solution.

Physics teacher in Poland

In the countries covered by this study, the rise of private tutoring has been at least partially triggered by the declining socioeconomic status of teachers. During the initial transition period, teachers' salaries declined dramatically, no longer providing subsistence for average-sized families. In most of the countries in the study, 2004 teacher salaries were either below the national wage average (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovakia, and Lithuania) or around the minimum subsistence level (Azerbaijan and Georgia). In this context, an advantage of private tutoring is an opportunity for teachers to generate additional income. Some of them already have other sources of income (e.g., teachers in mainstream schools), but others have no alternative sources of income (e.g., retired teachers). The majority of the respondents in the total sample (63 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that one of the main reasons for private tutoring was for teachers to receive additional financial income. The proportion of the respondents agreeing with this statement was larger in the three countries with particularly difficult economic conditions—Mongolia (74 percent), Ukraine (74 percent), and Azerbaijan (71 percent).

Educational, Social, and Economic Impact

Supplementary private tutoring may have far-reaching educational, social, and economic implications. This section examines the impact of private tutoring on (1) mainstream schooling, (2) social inequalities, and (3) corruption in schools.

Private tutoring and its impact on mainstream schools

Private tutoring affects mainstream schools in a variety of ways. On a positive side, it may increase student motivation to learn by offering more innovative and individualized learning opportunities compared to the ones available in mainstream schools. On a more negative side, private tutoring may upset the complex dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream schools, and may disrupt school curricula.

Providing a more innovative, individualized learning opportunity

The findings of this study suggest that the majority of the respondents in the total sample (over 60 percent) believe that students take private tutoring to learn more. In particular, qualitative data explain that private tutoring can help students to understand their mainstream classes better and to learn more outside of school curricula. Furthermore, private tutoring presents an opportunity for more innovative and individualized learning compared to that available in mainstream schools. For example, several national chapters in this volume highlight that private tutoring can meet individual student needs more effectively than mainstream schools. One teacher in Poland described the mainstream education system starkly: “. . . a large number of students, little time, lots of material, no time for what’s really the most important—developing a passion in students. . . .” She further explains that private lessons allow for a more individual contact between students and teachers in the first place. Several national case studies included in this volume highlight other positive aspects of private tutoring, including building students’ self-esteem, developing their talents, and closing the existing educational achievement gaps.

Upsetting the dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream schools

Private tutoring may also have negative impact by upsetting the dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream schools. In societies where private tutoring is not accessible to all students (which is the case in all countries in the study), it can create disparities in student achievement. Some teachers may respond to these disparities by assisting the slower learners, while others may take the students who receive tutoring as the norm, permitting the gap between students’ learning to increase. Moreover, some teachers may treat students who take

private tutoring better than other students, especially in cases when school teachers tutor their own students. The majority of the respondents in Azerbaijan (66.5 percent), Mongolia (63.7 percent), and Ukraine (58.7 percent) believed that teachers treat students taking private tutoring better than other students. In these circumstances, parents may be placed under pressure to invest in private tutoring for their children, which may help explain the greater scale of private tutoring in these countries.

Disrupting school curricula

Looking back, I think that going to school was a waste of time. I would have been better off studying with private tutors only.

A university student in Azerbaijan

In the countries with the largest incidence of private tutoring, qualitative data reveal that tutoring may disrupt the curriculum in mainstream schools. According to the case studies of private tutoring in Azerbaijan and Georgia, the subject matter taught in the last year of high school is not explicitly covered by university entrance examinations. For this reason, many high school students reportedly stop going to school during the last couple of months before university entrance examinations, and instead attend private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses. Although the cases of school nonattendance are not officially documented in these countries,² this practice is not unique to Azerbaijan and Georgia. Similar problems have also been reported in Turkey, where centralized university entrance examinations led many students to choose private tutoring centers over mainstream school classes during the last two or three months before university entrance examinations (Tansel and Bircan, 2006).

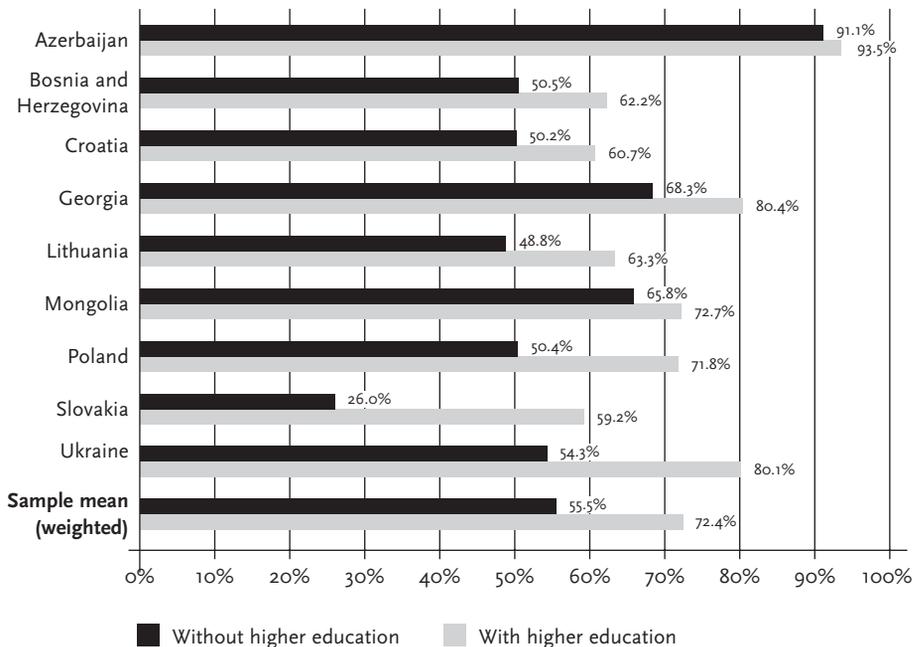
Private tutoring and social inequities

The findings of the study suggest that private tutoring is not accessible to all students. Approximately 73 percent of the respondents in the total sample believe that private tutoring is expensive. The high cost of private tutoring may prevent some students from using it. The data reveal that students who perceive their family welfare as below the national average take private tutoring less frequently than students who estimate their family welfare as average or above average. In the total sample, private tutoring lessons were used by 41 percent of all students who estimated their family welfare as above the national average, compared to approximately 28 percent of students who indicated that their family welfare was below the national average. Among non-private tutoring users, almost a half (46 percent) estimated

their family welfare as below the national average, further confirming the limited access of private tutoring to families from lower socioeconomic groups. Not only are students from better-off families more likely to use private tutoring, they are also more likely to hire better tutors. In the total sample, approximately 70 percent of the respondents believed that students of wealthy parents could hire better tutors.

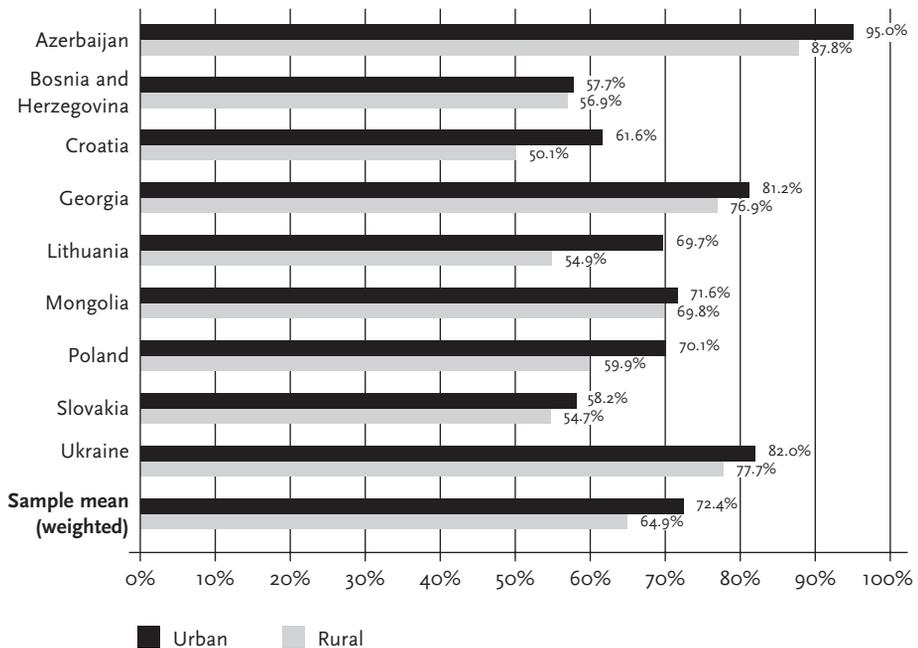
In addition to socioeconomic differences, there is evidence that private tutoring is more widespread among students whose parents have some higher education experience (i.e., higher education degrees or incomplete higher education). Among private tutoring users in the total sample, approximately 72 percent had parents with higher education, compared to 55 percent of students whose parents do not have any higher education (a difference of 17 percentage points). While the difference between parents' education level among private tutoring users was minimal in some countries (e.g., Azerbaijan and Mongolia), it considerably exceeded the international mean in Slovakia, Ukraine, and Poland (see Figure 4.5). It is possible that more-educated parents recognize the potential benefits from investments in private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses.

FIGURE 4.5
Private Tutoring Users by Parents' Educational Level
 (With or without higher education experience)



Generally, there are no major differences in the use of private tutoring by urban/rural areas. The only countries where the urban/rural divide exceeds the sample mean (7.5 percent) are Croatia, Lithuania, and Poland (see Figure 4.6). In Lithuania, the rural/urban divide is especially pronounced in the use of private tutoring lessons, with the proportion of students from urban areas exceeding the number of students from rural areas by approximately 17 percentage points. In Croatia and Poland, however, the rural/urban divide is due to the predominantly urban location of preparatory courses, which makes preparatory courses inaccessible for many students from rural areas. In Croatia, for example, the proportion of students from urban areas attending preparatory courses exceeded the number of students from rural areas by 11 percentage points.

FIGURE 4.6
Private Tutoring Users by Their Geographical Location (urban/rural)



Private tutoring and corruption in education systems

When teachers are under pressure to secure sufficient financial resources to survive and provide for their families, they may be tempted to engage in unethical behavior.

The existence of a wage differential and the fact that classroom teaching can only be imperfectly monitored are likely to encourage school teachers to teach school lessons poorly in order to create a demand for income-generating private tutoring after school hours (Biswal, 1999). While there were many cases of corruption in the education area during the socialist period,³ the unethical use of private tutoring as an income-generating activity among teachers was a new phenomenon of the transitional period.

Private Tutoring and Corruption in Schools

They [teachers] are the monopoly suppliers of their services to the students, they have the full discretion in what they supply, and they are hardly held accountable for their actions. This gives rise to a situation where the teachers try to extract students' consumer surplus by shirking at school and supplying tutoring outside the school for a fee.

Biswal, 1999, p. 223

An overview of qualitative data on private tutoring practices in the nine former socialist countries reveals two types of unethical use of private tutoring: (1) “compulsory” private tutoring explicitly offered by school teachers to their own students, and (2) a more covert “referral system” of potential tutees among teachers from different schools. The first type of unethical use of private tutoring involves teachers pressuring (and sometimes blackmailing) their own students to take supplementary private tutoring with them after school hours, often threatening students with lower grades if they refuse. This practice seems to be particularly widespread in Azerbaijan and Georgia, and to a lesser extent in Mongolia and Ukraine. According to the quantitative data collected for this study, these countries have the largest proportions of students tutored by their own class teachers, including approximately 40 percent of students in Mongolia, 25 percent in Azerbaijan, 20 percent in Georgia, and 17 percent in Ukraine, compared to less than 10 percent in Croatia and Poland. Although the incidence of teachers tutoring their own students may be partially explained by other reasons (such as the lack of other teachers/schools in small towns and rural areas),⁴ its pervasive nature in some countries is a clear indication of unethical behavior among some teachers.

TABLE 4.6**School Teachers Working as Private Tutors**

(Percentage of students whose private tutors were school teachers)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Your class teacher</i>	<i>Other teacher from your school</i>	<i>Teacher from another school</i>
Azerbaijan	25.6	16.5	36.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	12.4	12.4	17.6
Croatia	8.8	8.1	50.2
Georgia	19.3	8.6	16.3
Lithuania	16.6	22.1	40.7
Mongolia	39.2	13.6	19.8
Poland	9.4	7.9	30.6
Slovakia	10.9	11.8	13.1
Ukraine	17.2	7.6	13.9
Sample mean (weighted)	20.0	12.5	26.5

Another variation of “compulsory” private tutoring occurs in higher education when lecturers/professors offering preparatory courses act as the monopoly suppliers of their services to potential university students. Often, these people are familiar with university entrance procedures and content of examinations, creating an environment highly susceptible to corruption. This pattern is particularly evident in countries, where higher education admissions are decentralized, with each university developing its own entrance examinations and making its own decisions about student admissions. In some countries (e.g., Slovakia, Ukraine, and Poland), university lecturers responsible for developing, administering, and evaluating entrance examinations also work as private tutors. In this context, they have the full discretion in what they supply, and they are rarely held accountable for their actions. Even if no information about examinations is leaked through preparatory courses and private tutoring lessons, the mere existence of university-linked tutoring exerts tremendous pressure on university applicants who are seeking to improve their admission likelihood in competition with their peers.

A second type of unethical use of private tutoring is more discrete and involves an elaborate “referral scheme” between teachers from different schools. Most commonly, teach-

ers from several different schools agree to refer their students to each other for private tutoring. This is especially common in countries where teachers are either legally prohibited or publicly discouraged from tutoring their own students, which is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Poland. According to the quantitative data, these countries have the largest proportions of students whose tutors are teachers from other schools, including approximately 50 percent in Croatia, 40 percent in Lithuania, and 30 percent in Poland. As a physics teacher from Poland describes: “There are pathological examples of situations where two teachers are involved [in organizing private tutoring]. . . . They work in different schools but reciprocate by sending students to each other for tutoring. This is how they make some extra money to support their poor salary.”

Everybody knows about it and no one is doing anything about it. Our teachers offer tutoring in the worst possible way. . . . “If I teach math in this school and am not allowed to tutor my own students, then I will tutor students from other schools. I will tell them who they should hire as tutors and I will know who will send students to me in return. . . .” It is a smoothly run affair.

(Secondary school teacher in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Conclusions

Private tutoring has emerged as a major phenomenon in all countries of the region. It differs in scope and in specific characteristics, but also has common features. Some tutoring is of the one-to-one variety, but other tutoring is in large classes particularly for preparatory courses. In all countries, both mainstream teachers and university personnel provide tutoring. Private tutoring affects mainstream schools in a variety of ways. On a positive side, it may increase student motivation to learn by offering more innovative and individualized learning opportunities compared to the ones available in mainstream schools. It can also help students to prepare for university entrance examinations and to improve their grades at school. On a more negative side, private tutoring may upset the complex dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream schools, disrupt school curricula, exacerbate social inequalities, and invite corruption.

Having examined some of the characteristics and implications of private tutoring, the question arises why tutoring is more evident in some societies than in others and what

forces determine these variations across different countries. The findings of this study suggest that both supply and demand for tutoring are driven by multiple factors, and seem to be strongest in countries where all the factors are present. For example, the scope of private tutoring does not exclusively depend on one single factor such as the existence of high-stakes examinations or competitiveness within the education system. Neither does it exclusively depend on the low quality of mainstream education or inadequate teacher salaries. It is precisely a combination of these different factors that makes private tutoring more pervasive in some countries than others. Azerbaijan, for example, is among the societies with the greatest scope and intensity of tutoring. It also has the lowest public trust in mainstream education (as measured by the percentage of students who feel that good quality education cannot be attained without tutoring), and the lowest teacher salaries (as a percentage of minimum subsistence levels). By contrast, Croatia has the lowest scope and intensity of tutoring, perhaps reflecting the fact that it has no high-stakes examinations, has relatively high teachers' salaries, and has much smaller proportions of students who do not trust the systems. These and other elements are exposed more fully by the individual country chapters that follow.

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Notes

1. For example, Azeri language and literature were included on higher education entrance examinations for all five occupational groups, mathematics and foreign languages for three out of five groups (including some of the most highly demanded programs such as economics, management, and law), and history and geography for two groups (including highly demanded programs such as international relations and law).

2. The chapter on Azerbaijan explains that nonattendance related to private tutoring is rarely documented in official school statistics. Interviews with students and teachers reveal that student absence is not usually recorded officially. Fearing that they will be reprimanded for school nonattendance by the school authorities, students pay bribes to their teachers or school directors to conceal their absence.

3. During some periods, even the official press documented many corruption cases in education, especially instances of bribery in university entrance examinations (Jacoby, 1974).

4. In most of the countries in the study, the incidence of teachers tutoring their own students varied significantly by rural/urban areas. For example, the proportion of students tutored by their own teachers in rural areas and small towns was twice that in urban areas in Croatia, Lithuania, Mongolia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was three times higher in Slovakia, and six times higher in Poland. By contrast, there were no significant variations by urban/rural areas in Azerbaijan (e.g., 24 percent of students from big cities and 30 percent of students from small towns were tutored by their own teachers) and Ukraine (e.g., 21 percent of students from big cities and 15 percent of students from small towns were tutored by their own teachers). In these countries, it was not the lack of availability of tutors in rural areas that forced students to take private tutoring lessons from their own teachers, but rather a possibility of a widespread corruption in the country in general and the education system in particular. According to the Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International, 2005), Azerbaijan and Ukraine were near the bottom of the international corruption perception ranking, with Azerbaijan ranking 140 and Ukraine 107 out of 158 countries.

Chapter 5

Implications for Policy and Practice

Iveta Silova and Mark Bray

Among the nine former socialist countries examined in this study, private tutoring is a widespread but underrecognized phenomenon with social, economic, and educational implications. In some respects, private tutoring may be considered beneficial. It is an avenue for private investment in human capital, provides incomes for underpaid educators, and can be a constructive out-of-school activity for under-supervised youth. However, private tutoring can also exacerbate social inequalities, distort curricula, and invite corruption. The question then becomes how the positive dimensions can be encouraged and the negative dimensions discouraged. On the whole, the positive sides can perhaps be left to look after themselves—families able to afford private tutoring will do so on their own initiative. More important is the need to ameliorate the negative dimensions of private tutoring.

Because the nature of private tutoring varies, different policies are needed for different societies at different points of time. International review of research on private tutoring suggests that there is a range of government responses to tutoring in different countries

(Bray, 2003, 2005; Baker and LeTendre, 2005). Some governments have taken direct action and have sometimes had some success. Other governments feel constrained and helpless, and still other governments decide not to take interventionist stances but to leave matters to market forces. Typically, it is possible to distinguish the four main policy responses to private tutoring as follows:

▶ **Ignoring private tutoring**

Some governments have felt unable or unwilling to do anything about private tutoring and have chosen to ignore it. These governments may be divided into two groups. In one group are governments that are weak and simply do not have the capacity to police tutorial operations (e.g., Sri Lanka and Nigeria). In the other group are governments that do have capacity to monitor and regulate tutoring, but define it as outside their sphere of responsibility. They do this either because the sector is small and considered insignificant or because they prefer to leave matters to market forces (e.g., Canada and the United Kingdom).

▶ **Recognizing and regulating private tutoring**

Some governments (e.g., Mauritius and Hong Kong) have been willing to play some interventionist role and have sought to regulate the market in order to limit the negative dimensions of private tutoring. Governments wishing to regulate tutoring use various approaches. Regulations may be restricted to noneducational facets such as the availability of fire escapes and adequate ventilation. More extensive regulations might cover fees, class sizes and syllabi, and be backed up by inspections and sanctions. The usual starting point is the legal framework, which must define supplementary private tutoring and tutorial schools with sufficient clarity. Governments then decide what resources they are prepared to put into monitoring and enforcing their regulation.

▶ **Actively encouraging private tutoring**

A few governments (e.g., Singapore and South Africa) perceive private tutoring to have valuable dimensions which deserve active encouragement. Their policies are based on the argument that tutoring provides instruction that is tailored to the needs of the students and contributes to development of human capital, which benefits not only individuals but also whole societies. Encouragement could remain at the policy level, or it could move further to subsidies, dissemination of information to link potential tutors and clients, training courses for tutors, and taxation incentives.

► **Prohibiting private tutoring**

The most extreme approach to private tutoring is a total ban. This approach prohibits all private tutoring of a commercial nature, though it would normally permit voluntary or publicly provided remedial tutoring for slow learners and others in need. Most commonly, such policies are based on recognition that private tutoring fosters social inequalities. Official bans on private tutoring have been announced at various times in Cambodia, Mauritius, Myanmar, and South Korea. However, the bans were not effective in any of these cases, because the governments were unable to enforce them.

The findings of this research have revealed that governments and policymakers in the nine former socialist countries examined by this report have long traditions of ignoring private tutoring. Across the region, society as a whole has been well aware of the existence of the shadow education system, but tutoring has rarely been recognized in government documents on educational reform. This is partly because governments do not control tutoring and are even somewhat embarrassed by it. It also reflects the lack of surveys and other information. In most of the countries covered by this study, this research was the first of its type on private tutoring. It is not surprising, therefore, that governments have taken no action to examine the private tutoring phenomenon and to address its educational, social, and economic consequences.

Because private tutoring appears to be expanding across the region, it is likely to be more difficult to ignore in the future. Governments that do not currently have specific policies on tutoring may find themselves under increasing pressure to devise responses. Before governments take any actions, they should calculate the costs these actions will entail, since in some settings the costs of control might outweigh the benefits. While any specific policy action is always context-specific and needs to be devised with the involvement of major education stakeholders in each country, the following broad recommendations should be considered:

► **Raising public awareness about the phenomenon of private tutoring**

The first recommendation from this study is that the whole phenomenon should be given much more attention—by governments, the media, professional associations, and society as a whole. In this respect, to extend the metaphor, private tutoring should come out of the shadows and be seen more clearly in the light. The data from this study can provide a starting point. Readers might wish to consider why tutoring is more prevalent in some countries than others, how it affects society, education, and the economy, and in what directions the sector is evolving.

► **Regulating private tutoring to reduce inequities and corruption**

Some respondents and informants for this study suggested that governments should regulate access to and the quality of tutoring (see Table 5.1 for policy options). This suggestion may not always be realistic, because much tutoring is undertaken on an informal basis (i.e., through private arrangements between tutors and their clients). Moreover, even if it were possible to regulate all forms of tutoring, it is doubtful whether this task should be a priority for scarce government resources in all countries of the study. An alternative suggestion is that governments should prohibit tutoring (see Table 5.1). Again, this seems an impossible task, especially in the post-socialist climate of the countries in question. Nevertheless, it would seem very desirable for governments to prohibit teachers from undertaking paid private tutoring for their own students in mainstream schools. This would reduce the dangers of teachers favoring their private tutees when awarding grades. It would also reduce the danger of teachers covering only half the lesson during school time with a promise of the other half for the students who join the private classes. Similarly, university professors developing and/or administering university entrance examinations should be discouraged from offering private tutoring lessons to their potential students to lessen the corruption at the entrance to higher education institutions.

► **Ensuring adequate salaries for teachers**

Insofar as tutoring is driven by the need for teachers to earn supplementary incomes in order to feed their families and secure minimum standards of living, the study underlines the importance of teachers being paid adequate salaries for their mainstream duties. Teachers' salaries must of course be considered alongside salaries of other employees and within budgetary frameworks; but when teachers are forced to seek supplementary incomes through tutoring, the whole fabric of society, including the commitment to fee-free education, is called into question.

Above all, this study demands discussion and debate. Governments will only act when pressured to act; and society will only see the dangers of existing practices when hard evidence is placed in the public arena. If the research stimulates debate and further investigation of issues and possible solutions in specific societies, then it will have achieved its major objective.

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward users	Government legislative bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finance and organize public campaigns on the ban of private tutoring through speeches, newspaper articles, television programs, websites, and pamphlets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigate the reasons why consumers demand private tutoring in order to design appropriate policy responses Develop clear legal framework defining supplementary tutoring Develop regulations prohibiting unethical use of tutoring Finance and organize public campaigns explaining state regulations on private tutoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finance and organize public campaigns on the benefits of private tutoring through speeches, newspaper articles, television programs, websites, and pamphlets Develop a clear legal framework defining supplementary private tutoring and tutoring centers Develop regulations prohibiting unethical use of tutoring Develop mechanisms for linking tutors/centers with potential tutees
	Government executive bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide opportunities for slow learners and disadvantaged students to attend state-financed or voluntarily provided supplementary classes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide opportunities for students who cannot afford private tutoring to attend state-financed, fee-free supplementary classes in mainstream schools and/or tutoring centers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide opportunities for students who cannot afford private tutoring to attend state-financed, fee-free supplementary classes in mainstream schools and/or tutoring centers

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward users	Teachers' associations/ Unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the campaign on the ban of private tutoring by advocating for state-financed or volunteer-provided supplementary classes • Encourage teachers to offer remedial support to disadvantaged students on an unpaid basis during or after school hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce state-funded supplementary classes for students who cannot afford private tutoring • Encourage teachers to offer remedial support to disadvantaged students on an unpaid basis during or after school hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce state-funded supplementary tutoring in schools and/or tutoring centers for students who cannot afford it • Establish an association of private tutors in order to develop professional standards in the field and address emerging consumer needs
	Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer state-financed or voluntary remedial classes for disadvantaged students during and/or after school hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer state-financed or volunteer-provided tutoring to disadvantaged students in mainstream schools and/or tutoring centers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer state-financed or volunteer-provided tutoring to disadvantaged students in mainstream schools and/or tutoring centers
	Non-governmental organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finance and organize public campaigns on the ban of private tutoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finance and organize public campaign for state-financed or volunteer-provided tutoring for disadvantaged students • Organize public campaigns explaining the unethical use of private tutoring (e.g., teachers tutoring their own students) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finance and organize a public campaign explaining the benefits and possible negative implications of tutoring • Disseminate information on different tutoring possibilities • Offer tutoring subsidies for disadvantaged students

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward tutors	Government legislative bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pass regulation prohibiting private tutoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigate the reasons why tutors offer private tutoring in order to design appropriate policy responses Collect data on the incomes of tutors for the purposes of collecting taxes and determining the salaries of mainstream teachers Consider introducing taxation on private tutoring Pass regulations on private tutoring to ensure quality (e.g., licensing tutors and/or tutoring centers) and reduce corruption (e.g., banning teachers to offer private tutoring to their own students) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop state regulations on private tutoring to ensure safety and quality (e.g., non-educational faucets may include the availability of fire-escapes and adequate ventilation, while educational faucets may regulate fees, class sizes, syllabi, etc.) Develop state regulations on private tutoring to reduce corruption (e.g., banning teachers to offer private tutoring to their own students) Introduce taxation of private tutoring
	Government executive bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitor implementation of the ban on private tutoring through inspection and sanctions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Control and monitor activities of licensed tutors and tutoring centers Ensure implementation of state regulations on private tutoring through monitoring and inspection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure implementation of state regulations on private tutoring through monitoring and inspection Encourage professional development courses for tutors

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward tutors	Teachers' associations/ unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor implementation of the ban of private tutoring • Advocate for the need to offer state-funded or volunteer-provided supplementary classes for disadvantaged students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a code of ethical conduct for teachers, which may include action by teacher unions, in which teachers tutoring their own students would be considered unprofessional • Monitor implementation of ban on private tutoring by teachers of their own students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize professional development courses for tutors • Develop professional standards for tutoring • Develop a code of ethical conduct, prohibiting teachers from tutoring their own students • Monitor implementation of the ban of private tutoring by teachers of their own students
	Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stop offering private tutoring lessons • Offer state-funded or volunteer-provided supplementary classes for disadvantaged students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apply for and obtain private tutoring license • Follow ethical code of conduct when offering private tutoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apply for and obtain private tutoring license • Follow ethical code of conduct when offering private tutoring • Attend professional development courses for tutors
	Nongovernment organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor implementation of the ban on private tutoring and organize volunteer-provided supplementary classes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor implementation of the ban of private tutoring by teachers of their own students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disseminate information on private tutoring opportunities

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward mainstream education system	Government legislative bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop education legislation that may reduce “exam fever” Increase salaries of teaching staff (when below national averages and/or subsistence minimum) and/or provide other incentives for underpaid teachers (e.g., professional development opportunities, benefits) Make education system less elitist by promoting uniformity of standards for all schools (public and private) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop education legislation that may reduce “exam fever” Increase salaries of teaching staff (when below national averages and/or subsistence minimum) and/or provide other incentives for underpaid teachers (e.g., professional development opportunities, benefits) Make education system less elitist by promoting uniformity of standards for all schools (public and private) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure that private tutoring is not excessive by providing adequate teacher salaries, reducing “exam fever,” introducing standards for all schools, etc.
	Government executive bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assess the existing curricula in mainstream schools to ensure that it can be covered appropriately within the regular school hours without demanding supplementation If necessary, revise curricula to ensure that it is not overloaded Develop standards for all schools to make education system less elitist Made education system less competitive by reducing streaming by ability and performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assess the existing curricula in mainstream schools to ensure that it can be covered appropriately within the regular school hours without demanding supplementation Assess the existing curricula in terms of its correspondence with school leaving/university entrance examinations If necessary, revise curricula to ensure that it is not overloaded Develop standards for all schools to make education system less elitist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure that private tutoring is not excessive by assessing the existing curricula in terms of its load (i.e., the ability of teachers to cover the curricula during regular school hours) and its correspondence with school leaving/university entrance examinations

TABLE 5.1
Policy Options (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institutions</i>	<i>Prohibiting private tutoring</i>	<i>Regulating and monitoring private tutoring</i>	<i>Actively encouraging private tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward mainstream education system	Teachers' associations/unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage teachers to be more supportive toward slow learners and disadvantaged students during/after school hours Advocate against school/student ranking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage teachers to be more supportive of slow learners Promote more individualized student assessment to avoid student ranking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage teachers to be more supportive of slow learners
	Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure that the curriculum in mainstream schools is not overloaded Make mainstream classes more interesting by using student-centered learning methods and individualized assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offer additional support to students with learning difficulties and disadvantaged students Make mainstream classes more interesting by using student-centered learning methods and individualized assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide the necessary additional support to slow learners Use more individualized teaching and assessment methods
	Non-governmental organizations		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conduct monitoring studies on the scope, shape, and implications of private tutoring for mainstream schools, society, and economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conduct monitoring studies on the scope, shape, and implications of private tutoring for mainstream schools, society, and economy
Planned targets	Complete ban		Regulation and monitoring	Active encouragement
Achieving Equity	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Reducing Corruption	+	++	++	++
Raising Quality	+/-	++	++	++

Note: This table was initially developed by Dzenana Husremovic and Dzenana Trbic for the national report on private tutoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The table was revised to reflect private tutoring implications for policy and practice internationally.

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Part II

Country Reports

Chapter 6

Azerbaijan

Iveta Silova and Elmina Kazimzade

Private tutoring is not a new phenomenon in Azerbaijan. It existed during the Soviet period (1918–1991), survived the Nagorno Karabagh conflict (1988–1994),¹ and has blossomed during the post-1991 period of Azerbaijan’s independence and transformation. While private tutoring has persisted throughout these turbulent times, the social perception of private tutoring has evolved. Reflecting on the differences in the public perception of private tutoring during the Soviet period and after independence, a veteran literature teacher from Baku noted that “during the Soviet period private tutoring was a shameful activity students were hiding from others. Today, students are bragging about how many private tutors they hire.” Remarkably, private tutoring moved from being associated with a student’s academic ineptitude during the Soviet period to symbolizing a student’s intellectual sophistication and economic status in the post-Soviet context.

While private tutoring has been a neglected topic of education policy analysis in Azerbaijan, its importance has been increasingly recognized. The role of private tutoring has become particularly important in the context of increased demand for higher education during the transformation period. Given the strong linkage between education and the employment market, private tutoring is often seen as one of the best investments that parents can

make for their children's future. In addition to the "diploma disease," higher education has increasingly appealed to Azerbaijan's youth for other reasons, including the possibility of avoiding army recruitment among male students. According to the State Student Admission Commission (SSAC, 2004), the number of applicants for higher education entrance examinations had more than doubled since 1992, rising from 40,000 in that year to 77,000 in 2000 and over 90,000 in 2004. Of the 70 percent of secondary school graduates who applied for higher education entrance examinations in 2004, only 26.4 percent were able to gain places (SSAC, 2004). In this context of rising demand for higher education and limited opportunity, many secondary school students see private tutoring as a valuable way to advance to higher education.

While private tutoring may have many positive effects, such as enhancing human capital, providing constructive after-school activities for students, and generating additional income for tutors (often underpaid teachers), it also produces a number of negative effects. For example, private tutoring may distort the public school curricula, put pressure on students, exacerbate social inequities, and facilitate the spread of corruption in the education system. In the context of educational decentralization and free market reforms in Azerbaijan, should private tutoring be welcomed or controlled? Is it a useful complement to mainstream schools or the sign of a rapidly deteriorating education system? This chapter analyzes the complexity of the private tutoring phenomenon in Azerbaijan, examines its consequences for the education system, and identifies challenges that confront education stakeholders and policymakers as they decide how to respond to this rapidly changing, although hardly new, phenomenon.

This study is the first in Azerbaijan to document thoroughly the general characteristics of private tutoring (scale, cost, geographic spread, and subjects), the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring (quality of secondary education, higher education entrance examinations, and education financing), and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the education system. The study draws from both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data result from a survey of 913 first year university students and 1,019 secondary school students from different regions of Azerbaijan, including the capital Baku and more rural areas of Gandja and Lenkaran. Qualitative data derive from document analysis, focus group discussions, and interviews with students, parents, teachers, tutors, and education officials.

Education Reform during the Transformation Period in Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan's general education system consists of 11 years of compulsory education. In the 2004/05 academic year, 4,553 general education schools enrolled 1,634,341 students. The vast majority of these schools were public schools, with only 11 private schools operating in the country (State Statistical Committee, 2005).² During 2004/05, private schools enrolled only 0.3 percent of the student population.³ After graduation from secondary schools at grade 11, students can continue their studies in vocational schools and/or higher education institutions. In 2004/05, there were 60 vocational schools (including five private schools) with 54,600 students, and 42 higher education institutions (15 private) with 121,500 students (State Statistical Committee, 2004). In order to gain admission to vocational schools and/or higher education institutions, students must pass a centralized higher education entrance examination, which is administered by the State Student Admission Commission (SSAC). The results of this examination determine student admission to all vocational and higher education, including specific vocational and higher education institutions and study programs. This centralized university entrance examination system was introduced in 1992 in the context of anticorruption measures in higher education admissions.⁴ The SSAC introduced controls over admissions to the five broad occupational areas of vocational and higher education institutions through the national testing of graduates in 32 regions.⁵

The transformation period brought serious problems and major changes to the education system, most of which were related to the rise of private tutoring. The main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring include: (1) educational factors (e.g., deteriorating quality of education in public schools and introduction of centralized university entrance examinations), (2) economic factors (e.g., declining education expenditures and salary differentials among teachers), and (3) sociocultural factors (e.g., the high social value of education). Analysis of these educational, economic, and sociocultural factors helps to explain the context within which private tutoring began to boom.

Educational factors

Although the state guarantees free compulsory education for all, numerous studies suggest that the education sector no longer produces general school graduates with the minimum standards needed to meet the skill and knowledge demands of the market economy or the minimum qualifications required by post-secondary education institutions (World Bank, 2002). For example, the results from the State Student Entrance Examination clearly reflect the low quality of general education, with more than half students scoring below 300 points (the

failing mark) and about one-third unable to score more than 100 points (SSAC quoted in World Bank, 2002). This indicates that far too many general school leavers fail to achieve a satisfactory level of knowledge on the State Student Entrance Examination. On the one hand, the quality of education in schools has deteriorated during the transformation period. On the other hand, school curricula have become increasingly incompatible with centralized university entrance examinations. Combined, these educational factors have contributed to the growing demand for private tutoring.

Declining education quality in public schools

Among the main factors affecting education quality are (1) outdated, teacher-centered curricula and teaching methods, (2) poor learning environments (as marked by shortages of textbooks, reading and teaching materials, supplies and equipment, and poor physical infrastructure), and (3) an ineffective system of teacher development (in-service and pre-service teacher education). The school curriculum is largely scientific and subject-driven, in contrast to the learner-centered and outcomes-based approach that is the dominant paradigm in OECD countries and most of the developing world (CITO Group, 2003). The primary focus of the curriculum is on teaching facts rather than developing skills that allow students to apply knowledge in various situations. Curricula are generally overloaded, consisting of a large number of subjects (already reduced, but still 26 in 2005). Typically, curriculum developers work in isolation, “designing curriculum content based on their scientific background, and have no feeling for what is really needed in the evolving society” (CITO Group, 2003). Teaching methods have generally been based on rote learning rather than active, problem-solving skills.⁶ Even where there is a desire to move away from this model, administrators face a lack of resources. Although the Education Reform Program (1999) aimed to revise the general education curriculum and strengthen the skills and teaching methods of the teaching force through the provision of teacher professional development opportunities in interactive teaching methods, the implementation process remained slow.⁷

The quality of the learning environment in most schools has deteriorated considerably, contributing to inadequate learning outcomes, low attendance, and poorly trained school leavers. According to the World Bank (2002), this is largely due to the lack of access to textbooks and reading materials, the shortage of basic teaching and learning materials and equipment, and deterioration of physical facilities. The quality of education is also uneven across the country, with rural schools facing more serious shortages of educational materials⁸ and having poorer physical facilities.⁹ Urban areas such as Baku suffer from an acute shortage of school buildings because new school buildings have not been constructed to accommodate a growing population. As a result, an increasing number of schools (75 percent) have adopted two and sometimes three shifts per day. Because of the poor physical

learning environment, qualitative reports suggest, teachers and students are demoralized and have little incentive to remain in schools.

A further problem has been deterioration of the quality of both in-service and pre-service teacher education. In the area of in-service training, resource constraints restricted the provision of effective in-service training during the 1990s.¹⁰ For example, the 2002 Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA) study by the Ministry of Education indicated that about 15 percent of teachers in rural areas never attended in-service programs (MOE, 2002, p. 53). Despite some attempts to pilot demand-driven, school-based teacher training models, the state in-service training process remained rather mechanical and was more supply-driven than demand-driven, showing deficiencies in quality and effectiveness (World Bank, 2002; Crawford, 2000). Pre-service teacher education suffers from limited awareness of the range of possible methodologies (e.g., modern teaching and learning methodologies) and limited qualifications and experience of teacher training staff to introduce major changes (World Bank, 2002). As a result of constrained professional development opportunities and ineffective initial teacher training, teacher professionalism and morale have suffered, further contributing to the decline of education quality in schools.

Incompatibility of school curricula and centralized university entrance examinations

The declining quality of general education has become particularly evident with the introduction of the centralized university entrance examinations, which shows that secondary school grades are not compatible with centralized examination scores. According to the State Student Admission Commission (2004), only 19.5 percent of all applicants with excellent grades in secondary school scored similarly during the university admission examination. Most applicants (97 percent) with fair/satisfactory grades in school scored between 0 and 200 (which was below the average satisfactory level).

While the introduction of centralized university entrance testing brought a new approach to the assessment of learning outcomes, the school-based assessment system did not substantially change.¹¹ Given the absence of a national student assessment system, mastery of basic learning competencies is equated with high grades. Nearly all assessment of student learning in grades 1-11 is classroom-based, carried out by teachers evaluating their own students. The purpose of the assessment is to ascertain what students can remember rather than their learning abilities. The school-based and teacher-centered system does not provide a sufficiently clear picture of what students actually know, understand, and are able to do in terms of nationally set standards (World Bank, 2002). While all questions included on the centralized testing examinations are entirely based on the school curriculum,¹² it is not surprising that the majority of “good” students do poorly on centralized university entrance examinations given the glaring discrepancy in assessment approaches used in schools and SSAC.

Economic factors

During the early years of the transformation period, a sharp drop in state fiscal revenues led to declining state education expenditures. Between 1992 and 1995, the share of the education budget as a percentage of GDP fell from approximately 7 percent to 3.5 percent. In 1995, government spending on education was only 27 percent of its level in 1992 (World Bank, 2002, p. 57). After the initial sharp drop in public spending on education, considerable efforts were made to protect education expenditures. With the economic recovery of the mid-1990s, investments in the education sector increased, but remained low compared to pre-independence levels.¹³ Among the most adversely affected have been teachers. During the transformation period, teacher salaries declined rapidly, and in 2005 they remained below the national average salary. Despite salary increases at the beginning of the decade, teachers' salaries averaged US\$20-25 per month¹⁴ and constituted an estimated 69.2 percent of the subsistence minimum (Sigma, 2005).

While state expenditure on education has declined, private spending on education has increased considerably. However, according to the World Bank (2002), a growing number of poor families cannot afford the increasing cost of education, particularly that of high quality education. For example, the Poverty Assessment Report (World Bank, 1997) found that reduced real government spending on critical economic categories had been partly replaced by increased private spending for education, especially in the form of informal payments (including payments for private tutoring).¹⁵ Sharp increases in out-of-pocket payments highlight problems not only of deteriorating education quality, but also education access and the transparency of the education system.

Sociocultural factors

A rapidly escalating number of secondary school graduates taking university entrance examinations (e.g., in 2005, over 70 percent of all secondary school graduates) indicates that education prestige has remained high during the transformation period. Those who see education as a way of escaping the hardships of the transformation period may invest in private tutoring to ensure that their children enter higher education institutions and have access to better paying jobs. This has been confirmed by qualitative studies examining parent opinions about the level of education they consider sufficient for their children (Sigma, 2000; UNICEF, 1995). For example, one study indicated that most respondents in large cities (78.2 percent of all respondents in this group) as well as in regional centers (77.3 percent) and villages (65.5 percent) wanted their children to receive higher education (Sigma, 2000). The high prestige of education in Azerbaijan has also been noted by some foreign experts. For example, a report by a UNICEF mission (1995) stated that "there is very strong

family tradition [of valuing education] in the country. Families are ready to sacrifice a lot to ensure that their children receive high quality education.” While many parents realize that having a higher degree is not a guarantor of employment, they believe that it may be the best investment a family can make to prepare its children for the future.

Findings: The Private Tutoring Epidemic

Based on the data from quantitative and qualitative surveys, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring, the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring, and its educational, social, and economic impact.

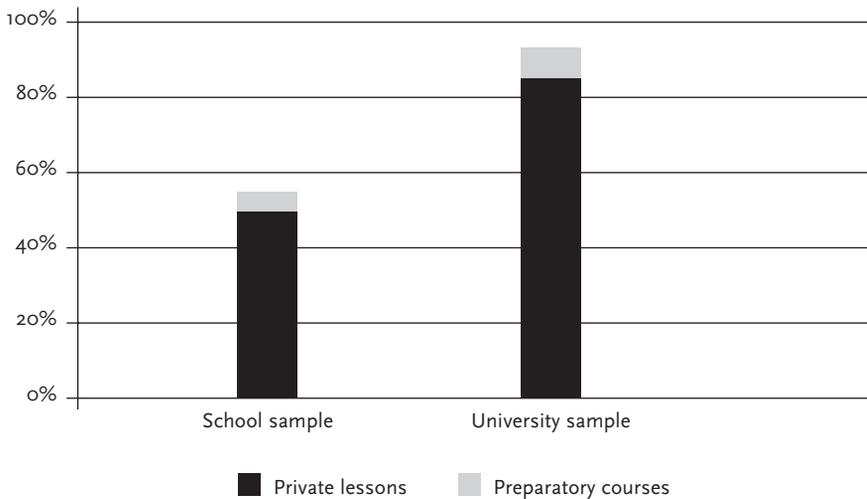
General characteristics of private tutoring in Azerbaijan

For most students in Azerbaijan, education neither begins nor ends with schooling. The majority (61.8 percent) of surveyed school students received supplementary private tutoring in addition to learning in mainstream schools. Of all surveyed school students, 57.1 percent received private tutoring lessons and another 4.2 percent attended private tutoring courses¹⁶ (see Figure 6.1). These findings confirm data from a survey conducted by the State Statistical Agency (2002), which estimated that 56.3 percent of students received some form of private tutoring. Of those school students taking private tutoring lessons, the majority (93 percent) reported starting private tutoring lessons in secondary schools, with 55 percent of students hiring tutors from grade 10 and 38 percent from grade 11. A small group of students used private tutoring in earlier grades, with 5 percent of students using private tutors from grade 9, 1.5 percent in primary school (grades 5–8), and 0.7 percent in elementary school (grades 1–4). Generally, the number of students attending private tutoring lessons increases with the grade, going from 52.7 percent of grade 10 to 60.8 percent of grade 11, for example.

The fact that the majority of students begin to receive private tutoring in the last two grades of secondary school suggests its connection to high-stakes testing, i.e., centralized university entrance examinations. This connection becomes even more apparent after reviewing the findings from the university student sample. Of all surveyed freshmen, 91.8 percent reported using private tutoring lessons in secondary school and 6 percent joined private tutoring courses as supplements to mainstream schooling (see Figure 6.1). This represents a worrisome pattern that university enrollment is unlikely to be achieved without supplementary private tutoring. As data from the university survey confirm, the vast

majority of respondents (89.2 percent) perceived private tutoring as having either “a great” or “some impact” on their university entrance examination results.

FIGURE 6.1
The Scale of Private Tutoring, Azerbaijan (Percentage of secondary school and university students who reported using private tutoring in secondary school)



Geographic spread of private tutoring

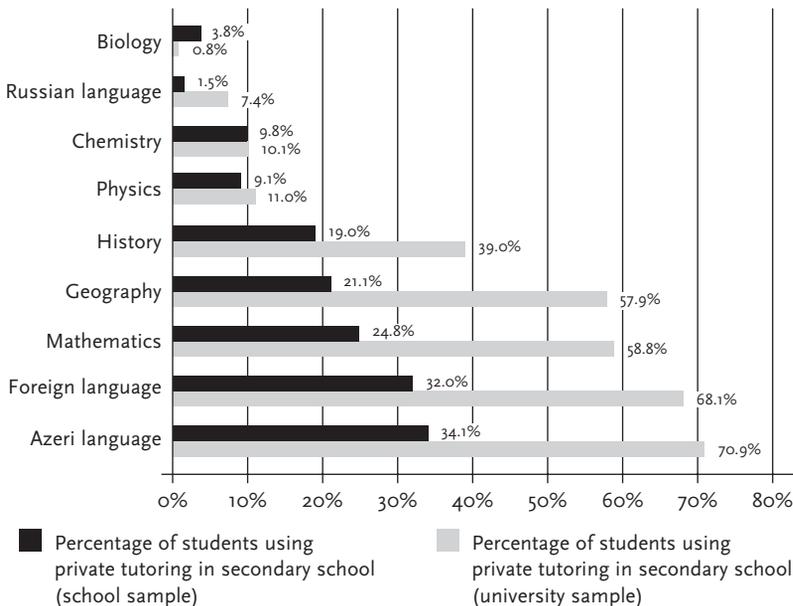
Private tutoring has no geographical borders in Azerbaijan. It is widespread across the country, in both urban and rural areas. For example, 58.8 percent of secondary school students from Baku, 57.4 percent from Lenkaran, and 53.6 percent from Gandja reported using private tutoring in the last two grades of secondary school. Data from the university sample revealed that approximately 90 percent of all surveyed students, whether they graduated from urban or rural schools or not, used private tutoring to prepare for university entrance exams. For example, 91.4 percent of students from Baku and 90.5 percent of students from rural areas used private tutoring to enter universities. While the use of private tutoring seemed to be fairly equal across different geographical areas of the country, university admissions seemed to favor students from urban areas. In particular, the university student sample revealed that approximately 75 percent of university students came from large urban areas. This may be explained by a variety of factors, including the aspirations of students, the quality of mainstream schooling, as well as the quality and frequency of private tutoring use.

Academic subjects

Among the most popular academic subjects studied through private tutoring are Azeri language and literature, foreign languages, mathematics, geography, and history (see Figure 6.2). While the use of private tutoring in the first three subjects (Azeri language, foreign languages, and mathematics) generally corresponds to international patterns (i.e., the subjects needed for educational and socioeconomic advancement), geography and history are usually not among the top choices for private tutoring in other education contexts. In Azerbaijan, these subjects are important because they are included on the centralized university entrance examinations and bear more weight compared to other subjects, thus allowing students to collect more points. For example, Azeri language and literature are included on higher education entrance examinations for all five occupational groups, mathematics and foreign languages for three out of five groups (including some of the most highly demanded programs such as economics, management, and law), and history and geography for two groups (including highly demanded programs such as international relations and law). Interestingly, the use of private tutoring in the sciences is less widespread, with only about 10 percent of students attending private tutoring lessons in physics and chemistry, and less than four percent in biology.¹⁷

FIGURE 6.2

Percentage of Students Taking Private Tutoring in Specific Subjects, Azerbaijan
(University and secondary school student sample)



The intensity of private tutoring use

University and school samples suggest that students spend an average three to four academic hours¹⁸ a week (equivalent of four to five regular hours) on one subject with a tutor, with over 60 percent of students spending three or more academic hours a week with a private tutor. The majority of the surveyed university students (79 percent) reported that they used private tutoring in three or more subjects on a regular basis throughout the last school year to prepare for entrance examinations. On average, this equaled 9–12 academic hours a week (the equivalent of 12–16 regular hours a week), which students spend studying in addition to the regular school load. While there is a discrepancy in the reported intensity of private tutoring use among university and student samples, the fact that the university student sample used private tutoring more frequently may indicate that they were successfully admitted to higher education institutions partly because they spent more time with tutors while preparing for university entrance exams.

The size of private tutoring groups

Data from the survey of university and school students revealed that only 17–18 percent of all surveyed students attended one-on-one private tutoring lessons. The majority of students attended private tutoring lessons organized for groups of two to five people (see Table 6.1). For example, approximately one-third of all respondents attended lessons organized for groups of two to three people, and one-quarter studied in groups of four to five people. In addition, 20.7 percent of university students and 26.5 percent of school students reported studying in groups of six or more than six students during private tutoring lessons.

TABLE 6.1

The Size of Private Tutoring Classes, Azerbaijan
(Percentage of university and school student sample)

<i>The size of private tutoring classes</i>	<i>University sample (%)</i>	<i>School sample (%)</i>
Individual lessons (one-on-one)	18.5	17.1
Group of two to three people	34.6	32.3
Group of four to five people	26.2	24.1
Group of six and more than six people	20.7	26.5

The private tutoring courses offered by institutions are much larger than the private tutoring lessons. According to teachers in institutions offering private tutoring courses, the average size is about 20 students. However, data collected for this study reveal slightly smaller private tutoring courses. For example, 51.0 percent of the university sample who reported that they had enrolled in private tutoring courses studied in groups of 5 to 10 students, and 34.5 percent were in groups of 10 to 20 students. Closely resembling the average size of mainstream school classrooms, private tutoring courses were less attractive to students because of their larger size.

The costs of private tutoring

The cost of tutoring varies significantly by type, with courses offered by institutions being considerably cheaper than individual lessons. Private tutoring courses are usually more popular with low-income families who can afford to pay 250,000 manat (approximately US\$50) per year for a full private tutoring course package consisting of three or four subjects. Generally, however, students prefer private tutoring lessons, which cost much more. On average, school students reported spending US\$157 per year for one subject and US\$434 for all subjects. The costs for private tutoring lessons varied significantly, with almost 5 percent of all surveyed students paying more than US\$1,000 per year. University students reported spending higher amounts on private tutoring during the last year of secondary school, with an average of US\$180 per subject and US\$600 for all subjects. There are several explanations for this difference. First, the sample of school students was more varied geographically and included a higher number of rural students, whereas the majority in the university sample came from Baku. Given the higher socioeconomic level of households in the capital city, it is likely that urban students spent more on private tutoring compared to rural students.¹⁹ Second, university students constituted a select group who may have successfully entered universities partly because they had spent more money on private tutoring, or tutoring of higher quality.

Private tutoring costs differ by geographical areas. Lessons are most expensive in the capital, Baku, with some tutors charging US\$10–25 per academic hour, and least expensive in rural areas, with tutors charging on average US\$1–3 per academic hour.²⁰ Finally, private tutoring costs also depend on the type of tutor, with the most expensive tutors being affiliated with the State Student Admission Commission as test writers. A survey of test writers revealed that the majority charged US\$25 per academic hour of tutoring. According to interviews with students, test writers were among the most popular because of their intimate knowledge of test content and direct participation in test design. Given the highest fees, however, their services were available to only a few students.

The producers: Who offers private tutoring and why?

From a legal and taxation viewpoint, private tutoring courses have been institutionalized and income is regularly reported to tax authorities based on a transparent accountability system.²¹ Private tutoring courses are offered by several institutions, including universities, private agencies, and a tutoring center established by the SSAC. The majority of teachers of private tutoring courses are university lecturers and professionals from the respective fields of study, although some are school teachers. Many instructors use these private tutoring courses as a springboard for individual private tutoring. For many of them, private tutoring courses present a great opportunity to build a clientele base and become known among potential tutees.

Of all surveyed students taking individual private lessons, over 70 percent reported that their private tutors were teachers (72.3 percent of the university sample and 79.8 percent of the school sample). Private tutors from higher education institutions seem to be much less popular, with only 11.7 percent of university sample and 8.2 percent of school sample using private tutoring services offered by university professors and lecturers. Data from student questionnaires further confirm these findings, with 78.2 percent of students “disagreeing” or “strongly disagreeing” that university lecturers are better private tutors than secondary school teachers. Reflecting how private tutoring has changed over the last decade, interviews and focus groups suggested that the popularity of tutors shifted from university professors/lecturers to school teachers in the beginning of the 1990s. This, incidentally, coincided with the creation of the State Testing Committee in 1992, which took control of all university entrance examination procedures in an effort to fight corruption in universities.²² As a consequence, university professors, who were previously powerful in influencing university admission outcomes, lost much of their popularity as private tutors.

A survey conducted by the State Statistical Agency (2002, p. 140) indicates that approximately 45 percent of all teachers (including primary and secondary school teachers) are involved in private tutoring, with more in urban areas (approximately 47 percent) and fewer in rural areas (approximately 38.6 percent).²³ Interestingly, 40–50 percent of students from the present survey reported that their private tutors were teachers from their own schools. Approximately one-third of all surveyed students reported that their tutors were teachers from other schools. Of the school sample, 25.6 percent of students reported that their tutors were their “class teachers” and 25.5 percent reported that their tutors were other teachers from their own school. While some teachers may be genuinely interested in helping their own students, the majority of interviewed students explained that their teachers forced them to take private tutoring lessons, threatening with lower grades.

The consumers: Who takes private tutoring and why?

The majority of students taking private tutoring are secondary school students. Students seeking the services of private tutors are typically good learners, with the majority (87.6 percent) getting the highest marks in school (i.e., four and five based on a five-point grading scale). This contradicts the usual assumption that private tutoring is a form of remedial assistance for weak students, which had been widespread during the Soviet period. In fact, 78.0 percent of the school sample and 89.2 percent of the university sample disagreed with the statement that “only low achieving students take private tutoring.” In the context of Azerbaijan, it is good students who find it necessary to use supplementary private tutoring in order to compensate for the shortcomings of the education system and prepare for university entrance examinations.

The likelihood of students taking private tutoring is partially dependent on the education level of their parents. The higher the education level of their parents, the more likely it is that students will take private tutoring. For example, about 60 percent of students taking private tutoring lessons have parents with higher degrees, compared to 40 percent of students with parents having no formal education (i.e., no diploma). While the mother’s professional occupation has no statistically significant relationship to the probability of students taking private tutoring, the father’s occupation shows a significant positive relationship. This could be explained by cultural factors—fathers are often perceived as the main breadwinners in families and therefore make the financial decisions with regard to the overall family expenditures, including private tutoring.

Gender differences among students using private tutoring are only modest, with 55.3 percent of female students and 59.9 percent of male students from the school sample attending private tutoring lessons. The 4 percent gender difference favoring male students may be explained by two factors. First, qualitative data suggests that some families (especially large ones) prefer to invest in the education of their sons rather than daughters, believing that boys have a better chance of getting well-paid jobs and later supporting their families. Second, some families view private tutoring as a mechanism to increase their sons’ opportunities to enter higher education institutions in order to avoid military service.

Individual lessons vs. private tutoring courses

The vast majority of students engaged in private tutoring prefer to take lessons offered by individuals rather than courses offered by institutions, even though the latter are much cheaper. Generally, students believe that individual lessons are more effective than courses in preparing students for university entrance examinations. For example, the majority of surveyed students (over 60 percent) stated that they would prefer to attend individual lessons instead of courses in order to prepare for university entrance examinations. Over 75 percent of students thought that individual private tutoring lessons would have a greater positive

impact on examination outcomes. Students cite large class size and traditional approaches to teaching and learning as the main reasons for not choosing private tutoring courses.

The main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring

The high demand for private tutoring is driven by multiple stakeholders, including the students (and their desire for quality education) and tutors themselves (and their drive for more adequate financial compensation).

Private tutoring as a compensation for the low education quality in public schools

The majority of the respondents offered education-related explanations as the main reasons for their use of private tutoring. Of all the surveyed students, the vast majority (90 percent of the school sample and 93.9 percent of the university sample) agreed with the statement that “students use private tutoring to increase their chances of entering higher education institutions.” Furthermore, the majority of the respondents (54.4 percent of the school sample and 64.5 percent of the university sample) believe that students who use private tutoring are more likely to enter universities compared to students of equal ability who do not use private tutoring. Overall, students report a combination of reasons for taking private tutoring. The most frequently mentioned reason is “to better prepare for university entrance examinations only,” followed by “filling a gap in knowledge,” “memorizing and systematizing topics learned earlier,” and “better understanding topics taught at school” (see Table 6.2). This indicates that students have limited confidence in the quality of education provided in public schools and, therefore, are partially seeking private tutoring to meet their educational needs. Of the university sample, 75.9 percent of the respondents stated that the low quality of teaching in schools was the main reason for their decision to take private tutoring.

TABLE 6.2

The Main Reasons for the Use of Private Tutoring in Secondary Schools, Azerbaijan
(Percentage of university and school samples)

<i>Main reasons for private tutoring</i>	<i>University sample (%)</i>	<i>School sample (%)</i>
To better prepare for the university entrance exams only	36.5	27.8
To fill a gap in knowledge	37.2	21.5
To remember and systematize topics learned earlier	28.8	16.3
To better understand topics taught at schools	24.1	14.5
My friends took it, that is why I decided to take private tutoring	3.7	6.2
Parents made me take private tutoring	1.2	0.6

Private tutoring is perceived at least partially to compensate for these shortcomings of the mainstream education system. According to the survey results, every second student agrees with the statement that “private tutoring is the only way to get high quality education” (52.7 percent of the school sample and 59.5 percent of the university sample). Interviews with students explain that private tutoring offers a more individualized approach to learning, which is rarely present in public schools. For example, students suggest that private lessons are usually interactive, teaching students to analyze facts, organize data, think critically, and draw conclusions. Furthermore, interviews with tutors and students indicate that private tutoring aims to ensure the psychological readiness of students for centralized examinations, promptness of intellectual reaction, public speaking, presentation skills, professional orientation, and other skills important for both the higher education admission processes and the future labor market. More importantly, good tutors foster students’ desire to learn, which many students lack in secondary schools.

We are now observing the growth of private tutoring in our country. The worse the education quality in school, the better for my business. The tendency toward paying for education is obvious and private tutoring is becoming more and more popular.

From an interview with a private tutor (January, 2005)

Private tutoring as indispensable income generation activity for teachers

In Azerbaijan, as in many other countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the rise of private tutoring has been at least partially triggered by the declining socioeconomic status of teachers. Qualitative research conducted by Sigma (2000) found that the overwhelming majority of teachers interviewed (79.9 percent) identified their living standards as “low” or “very low,” with 56.1 percent and 23.8 percent respectively. Teachers explained that financial constraints and a shortage of work force them to supplement their meager salaries through other income-generating activities, including private tutoring. As our qualitative research indicates, some teachers are so distraught by their economic destitution that they resort to unethical behavior by forcing their students to take private tutoring lessons with them. Many interviewed teachers stated that they would not offer private tutoring lessons if their salaries were only slightly higher.

*If my salary was sufficient to meet my basic needs, which are really modest,
I would gladly stop this slave tutoring work. . . .*

From a focus group with school teachers (January 2005)

Educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring

Private tutoring has major implications for educational, social, and economic development. This section examines the impact of private tutoring on (1) mainstream education, (2) social inequalities, and (3) the economic sphere.

Private tutoring and the threat to mainstream schools

Private tutoring has a mixed impact on schools. On the one hand, it provides some students with a chance to extend their learning and gain additional knowledge and skills outside school. On the other hand, it has a number of potentially negative effects. First, qualitative data suggest that private tutoring may decrease student motivation to learn in school. Interviews with teachers indicate that some students become disinterested in school, thinking that private tutoring is a more effective and engaging way to prepare for centralized university examinations. Students explain that private lessons are usually student-centered and interactive, which is uncommon in mainstream schools.

Second, private tutoring may increase school nonattendance. While this is not officially documented,²⁴ numerous interviews with school directors, teachers, and students reveal that school nonattendance increases shortly before the end of the school year (especially in the last grade of secondary school), when students begin skipping classes to attend private tutoring lessons during school hours. Some students pay bribes to their teachers or school administrators to be excused from school and instead attend private tutoring lessons. Many interviewed teachers and education officials reported instances of empty classes in secondary schools, when students would leave schools en masse to attend private tutoring lessons instead. Although this practice may not be widespread across Azerbaijan's education system, the reported cases of school substitution by private tutoring indicate a lack of public confidence in the mainstream education system.

Third, private tutoring may lead to physical exhaustion among students and teachers. On average, students spend 28 hours at school (38 lessons) and an additional 12–16 hours in private tutoring lessons every week. Combined, this constitutes over 40–44 hours a week, which equates to more than a full working week of an adult. Exhausted, many students relax in

school, saving their energy for private tutoring lessons. While “the private tutoring fatigue” is especially common among students, teachers are also affected. Given that most private tutors are school teachers, they offer private tutoring lessons in the evenings. Tired after the full day of teaching (often up to 12 hours a day) and demoralized because of low salaries (69.2 percent of the subsistence minimum), teachers are likely to invest less time in preparation for the following school day. According to the interviews, teachers feel motivated to invest more time into preparing for private tutoring lessons because it is more rewarding both financially and educationally.

Private tutoring is killing the [public] school. I would like to learn more than the four subjects required at the university entrance testing, but I don't have time for it and school teachers are not really interested in teaching us during the last two years of school. I would like to get involved in some extracurricular activities and to spend more time with my schoolmates, but it is not possible. I feel imprisoned by private tutoring lessons. My dream is a school where supplementary private tutoring is not necessary after school hours.

From a focus group with school students (January 2005)

Fourth, mainstream education is beginning to lose one of its most important functions—youth socialization and civic awareness. Exhausted after many hours of studying at school (during regular school hours), attending private tutoring lessons (after school hours), and preparing for school and tutoring lessons at home (in the evenings and mornings), many students have neither interest nor energy to engage in extra-curricular activities. Interviews with teachers highlight that some of the most socially active students become disinterested in extra-curricular activities during the last two grades of secondary school. Their full and undivided attention is given to private tutoring in a mad race for positive results on centralized higher education entrance examinations.

Finally, and more importantly, private tutoring may lead to the distortion of the official school curriculum, which is particularly prominent in education systems where private tutoring is provided by teachers who already have responsibility for their students in the mainstream education system (Bray, 1999). On the one hand, teachers interviewed in this study said that the school curriculum is overloaded and that they could not possibly cover all of it during regular school hours. They explained that private tutoring was necessary to ensure that students master everything prescribed by the state program. On the other hand, the majority of the students in this study indicated that curricula in fact are not overloaded

(see Table 6.3), which may indicate that school teachers teach below their capacity level and intentionally do not cover the full curriculum during school hours, to increase the demand for private tutoring. Knowing that some parts of the curriculum are essential for student success on the centralized higher education examination, teachers may deliberately omit some topics from their public school lessons.

Private Tutoring Fever:

A Typical Day from a Secondary School Student's Life

During the last year of secondary school, my daily schedule was completely full, keeping me busy from early morning until late at night. My parents hired four tutors for me to cover the basic subjects required for the centralized higher education examinations for my occupational area—Azerbaijani language, English language, mathematics, and history. The most important subject was mathematics because you can receive the greatest points for the correct answers.

I spent the entire last year of secondary school on the road, traveling from one tutor to another and I always wanted to sleep. I lived each day as a robot, automatically going through the same routine day after day—weekdays, weekends, and holidays. Usually, I got up at 6 a.m. in order to prepare my homework for private tutoring lessons. Closer to the entrance exams, however, I sometimes put on the alarm clock for 3 or 4 a.m. to make sure that I prepared well for my private tutoring lessons. By 8 a.m., I was dressed and ready to go to school. I usually went to school for the first couple of lessons and then left school to study with tutors until the rest of the day. I was at home after 9 p.m. and did school and private tutoring homework until midnight. The last month before university examinations I went to my tutors every day, like to a real job. I had only one idea in my head—to pass tests and enter the university, nothing else.

Private tutoring lessons involved a lot of drilling and memorization, but I also opened a lot of new and interesting things for myself that I had never learned at school. Some teachers simply ignored us during the last two years of secondary school, especially if we did not take private tutoring lessons with them. I practically did not see my schoolmates during the last year of secondary school. Half of the class was absent, having paid teachers for not marking their “absence” in the class journal. Everyone thought that time was better spent with private tutors, not with teachers at school.

I had a conflict with some of my school teachers because I refused to take private tutoring from them. Having found out that I had another tutor,

a teacher of mathematics expelled me from the class and told me and my parents that we did not understand who the real tutor was—“You can’t even distinguish the real from the forgery!” Throughout the whole year, I had problems with this teacher and I was afraid that he would get back at me during final examinations.

This year was difficult on my family in terms of family finances. My parents saved money on everything they could to pay for my tutors. Of course, they tried to choose the best tutors, whose services are very expensive. We paid tutors approximately \$200 per month, which is a large sum of money for my not very rich family. Although my parents tried to hide it from me, I knew that they had to sell some valuable things from our house that year. Now my brother is graduating from school and the “tutoring fever” has plagued our home again. My parents have decided to hire the most expensive and prestigious tutors, who have a 100 percent rate for their students enrolling in universities. If my brother gets high scores on the exam, there is a chance that he will study in a state-financed higher education group. It was not the case with me and we now need to pay up to \$600 per year for my higher education.

Looking back, I think that going to school was a waste of time. I would have been better off studying with private tutors only.

Private tutoring and social inequities

A widespread system of private tutoring puts some students at a disadvantage. The findings of this study indicate that higher education is largely inaccessible to those who have not taken private tutoring during the last grades of secondary school. Of all surveyed university students, the vast majority (over 91 percent) took private tutoring and only 8 percent did not take tutoring lessons to prepare for centralized entrance examinations. Clearly, this puts some students at a disadvantage, especially those who cannot afford to pay for increasingly expensive private tutoring lessons.

Approximately one quarter (23.5 percent) of all respondents indicate financial reasons for not taking private tutoring, explaining that private tutoring is too expensive. Indeed, the number of students not taking private tutoring is slightly higher among those students who estimate their family welfare as “bad” or “below national average.” Of the respondents reporting their family welfare as “below the national average,” 55.6 percent do not take private tutoring, whereas the number is somewhat lower (37.8 percent) among students reporting their

family welfare as “good.” Even if poorer families use private tutoring, they are likely to spend much less on it, compared to wealthier families. According to the findings of the household survey data (World Bank, 2001), the non-poor spend six times more than the very poor on various educational services, including private tutoring. This means that poorer families not only have less access to private tutoring, but also have less access to quality private tutoring. In particular, the majority of the respondents (68.9 percent) in the present survey agreed that students of wealthier parents can hire better tutors. While household income levels show little disparity in enrollment rates in primary and secondary education, there are large disparities in enrollment at the higher education levels, especially for upper secondary and higher education. According to a World Bank report (2002), about 30 percent of students in higher education come from the richest quintile, while only 12 percent came from the poorest quintile (p. 62). Given the relationship between private tutoring and higher education admissions, it is possible that the very poor are less likely to access quality secondary education, receive private tutoring, and attend post-secondary education.

In addition to socioeconomic inequities maintained or exacerbated by private tutoring, there is evidence of emerging rural/urban inequities. Indeed, students in Baku spend on average 40 percent more than students in Gandja and Lenkaran on private tutoring. Furthermore, Baku residents dominate the group of students who spend over US\$1,000 per year on private tutoring, with students from the capital city constituting 81 percent of those who paid more than US\$2,000 per year and 88 percent of those who paid between US\$1,000–2,000 per year. This is not surprising, given that urban areas have a higher concentration of the wealthiest strata of the population. Undoubtedly, students from rural areas are at a disadvantage, spending considerably less on supplementary private tutoring. This is confirmed by other quantitative studies (Sigma, 2000), which found that private tutoring was unaffordable for 48.6 percent of families in large cities, 60.0 percent in regional centers, and 61.8 percent in rural areas (p. 54). Furthermore, the academic disadvantage of students from rural areas is evident in centralized higher education entrance examination scores. The further the school is located from the capital city, the smaller the percentage of students scoring high on the centralized exam. For example, 6.1 percent of high achievers come from Baku, whereas the number is much lower in rural areas, at approximately 2 percent (SSAC, 2004).

To summarize, this research suggests that students from poor and rural areas are more likely to have been affected by a deterioration of the educational quality during the transformation period. Having less access to private tutoring, students from poor families and rural areas have less access to quality education, resulting in inequitable higher education admission and possible effects on labor market outcomes.

Private tutoring and corruption in schools

This research and other studies (World Bank, 2002; Sigma, 2000) suggest that there is an emerging relationship between private tutoring and corruption in secondary schools. Corruption is correlated to the existing low wages in the education sector, making poorly paid teachers more susceptible than well-paid teachers to accepting bribes or to teaching below their capacity to gain extra income through supplementary private tutoring. Our survey results reveal that 71.1 percent of university students believe that the main reason for private tutoring is for teachers to receive additional financial income. Similarly, interviewed teachers admit that difficult financial situations force them into private tutoring. In order to make ends meet, many teachers artificially create demands for tutoring through the lowering of student grades, distorting the official curriculum, and sometimes blackmailing their students. For example, teachers explained that the school curricula is so overloaded that they cannot possibly cover it during school hours, which provides them a convenient opportunity to “strongly encourage” and “require” their students to attend private tutoring lessons after school hours to cover the rest of the curriculum. Often, teachers do not use classroom time to cover those parts of the curriculum that they know are key for the centralized university entrance examination. Similarly, interviews with students confirmed that teachers do not always teach the whole curriculum at school (see Table 6.3). It is much more profitable to do it outside of school, for fees (Sigma, 2000).

Since approximately half of all surveyed students use their own teachers as tutors, it is likely that corruption is fairly widespread in secondary schools. The majority of students reveal that it is common for students to ask their class teachers to provide private lessons (64.6 percent of the university sample and 60.8 percent of the school sample) and state that their class teachers encourage students to take private tutoring lessons with them (55.8 percent of the university sample and 60.4 percent of the school sample). Students also indicate that teachers treat students who get private tutoring better than students who do not get such help (see Table 6.3). Interestingly, this fits the Transparency International Azerbaijan findings, which reveal that over 50 percent of respondents admit that they have had personal experiences with extortion in the education area (p. 8). In fact, 54.7 percent of the respondents think that it is impossible to receive education services without paying a bribe (p. 27) and 49 percent admit paying a bribe themselves (p. 31). Ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world,²⁵ Azerbaijan is becoming accustomed to corruption, with a considerable portion of the Azeri society viewing it as a normal phenomenon of everyday life (Transparency International Azerbaijan, 2004). Interestingly, teachers compelling students to study with them has in a way helped to institutionalize corruption at the secondary education level by masking financial extortion under the name of private tutoring.

TABLE 6.3

Student Statements Regarding Corruption-Related Issues, Azerbaijan (Percentage of university and school sample agreeing or strongly agreeing with a statement)

<i>Corruption-related statements</i>	<i>University sample (%)</i>	<i>School sample (%)</i>
It is common for a student to ask his/her class teacher to provide private lessons for him/her.	64.6	60.8
Class teachers encourage students who have problems with a subject matter to take private lessons.	55.8	60.8
One of the main reasons for private tutoring is so that teachers can receive additional financial income.	71.1	56.6
Students use private tutoring because the school curricula are overloaded.	29.7	33
Students use private tutoring because the school curricula do not cover everything that is required on university entrance exam.	68.5	56.3
Students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly.	53.2	32.7

Private tutoring and the shadow economy

Given that 57.1 percent of students surveyed report using private tutoring lessons in secondary school, and taking into consideration that average costs are about US\$434 per year, annual revenues of private tutoring in Azerbaijan could be as high as US\$57 million.²⁶ One result of this direct expenditure on private tutoring lessons is that it gives substantial income to large numbers of tutors. While some of these tutors already have other sources of income (e.g., working as teachers in public schools), others have no alternative sources of income. In these circumstances, private tutoring becomes an important income generating activity for many people who otherwise might have been unemployed. Because most individual and small group tutoring is a shadow activity (i.e., not legalized), the revenue received by these tutors is beyond the reach of government tax collectors. If taxed, this amount of revenue would have been over US\$10 million in 2004 alone.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The rise of private tutoring in Azerbaijan stems from major shortcomings in the mainstream education system. While private tutoring may have positive effects for individual students (i.e., providing an opportunity to learn more outside school), its overall impact on the mainstream education system in Azerbaijan is destructive. As this chapter illustrates, private tutoring distorts school curricula, puts enormous pressure on students, exacerbates social inequities, and accelerates the spread of corruption in the education system. Despite strong indications that the education system is in serious distress and that education stakeholders are losing trust in schools, Azerbaijan's education policymakers have largely overlooked the private tutoring phenomenon and discounted the seriousness of its effects on mainstream education. With market forces reigning in all spheres of private and public life in Azerbaijan, some government officials have argued in favor of a "marketization" of education, saying that markets (including private tutoring) are best left to regulate themselves. Left unmonitored and unregulated, however, the private tutoring epidemic may have unprecedented negative effects on the already strained education system. As this study illustrated, private tutoring has begun not only to supplement, but also substitute, mainstream education for many of Azerbaijan's students. Students who cannot afford private tutoring find themselves at a major disadvantage when applying to higher education institutions.

It is important that Azerbaijan's policymakers consider more active involvement in monitoring and, perhaps, in regulating private tutoring. While specific policy action should be thoroughly discussed with the involvement of major stakeholders, the following broad recommendations should be considered:

► **Public awareness raising about the nature, scale, and implications of private tutoring for the mainstream education system**

One reason for the escalating practice of private tutoring is public unawareness about its scale and negative effects on the mainstream education system. It is important that major education stakeholders (e.g., parents, teachers, and school administrators) and education policymakers (e.g., ministry and government officials) are better aware of the potential threats that private tutoring has for the education system. Given that private tutoring has begun to substitute classroom instruction for many students in Azerbaijan, the question is: *Why do you need public schools when you have private tutors?* While few doubt the indispensable value of mainstream education, it is important that major education stakeholders realize the negative impact of private tutoring on schools.

► **Efforts to regulate the nature, form, and quality of private tutoring**

In the long-term, Azerbaijan policymakers should strive for basic regulation of private tutoring. This means that the ministry could regulate the nature, form, and quality of private tutoring offered to students. Given a growing demand for private tutoring, some form of government control is necessary to alleviate the negative impact of private tutoring on mainstream schools and students. In particular, it is imperative to consider such regulatory actions as (1) prohibiting teachers from tutoring their own students for financial gain and from offering private tutoring lessons during school hours, (2) resuming the Soviet practice of organizing *free* private tutoring lessons for disadvantaged students, and (3) enforcing taxation on private tutoring, which could significantly increase the state education budget and aid necessary education reform initiatives.

► **Efforts to reduce the demand for private tutoring through improving the quality of mainstream education**

While public awareness and basic regulation are important in addressing the negative impact of private tutoring on schools, real changes can be achieved in a sustainable manner only if the quality and relevance of mainstream education is improved through such systemic efforts as developing new curriculum and standards, ensuring adequate teacher remuneration, and improving the overall learning environment in schools.

► **Efforts to reduce the demand for private tutoring through decreasing competitiveness among students**

The demand for private tutoring can be reduced by decreasing the culture of competitiveness among students. When the demand for private tutoring arises from social competition and a desire by parents to get their children ahead, it can be reduced by (1) avoiding public ranking of schools and students, which is presented as a measure of transparency by the SSAC in their paper and online publications of centralized university entrance examinations, and (2) avoiding an exclusive reliance on centralized test scores for university admissions and taking into consideration other student learning and civic experiences.

► **Continuous monitoring of the nature, scope, and impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system**

It is important to monitor systematically the nature, scale, and impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system. Such information will not only raise awareness among education stakeholders about the effects of private tutoring, but

will also help in the planning of a reformed education system. While monitoring is a nonintervention strategy, it is the least that can be done concerning the worrisome trends of private tutoring in Azerbaijan. It is crucial that policymakers are aware of changes in the private tutoring market and use this information for reforming the mainstream education system.

From the policymaking and planning perspective, the issue of private tutoring can no longer be ignored. Given its unprecedented scale and negative impact on the education system, private tutoring deserves much more attention than it has been given thus far in Azerbaijan. Although any decision regarding private tutoring is likely to involve politics, it is important to ensure that it is developed in deliberation with the major education stakeholders and based on a thorough examination of the existing data, a systematic evaluation of available policy options, and careful assessment of potential policy outcomes. It is crucial that not only the symptoms but also the causes of private tutoring are addressed in order to alleviate the adverse effects on mainstream education and society at large.

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Notes

1. Although there was no formal declaration of war, there was large-scale combat between Azerbaijani and ethnic Armenian forces over the Nagorno-Karabagh area, which is situated in south-western Azerbaijan and has a predominantly Armenian population. The result has been many thousands of deaths and over one million refugees and displaced persons. Since the ceasefire in 1994, there have been no major outbreaks of violence, yet there has also been no significant movement toward creating a basis for a lasting peace. As a consequence of the conflict, Azerbaijan and Turkey maintain a complete blockade on Armenia and Nagorno-Karabagh, few refugees or internationally displaced persons have returned to their homes, and economic and social development remains static. The conflict disrupted educational opportunities for the majority of children in the Nagorno-Karabagh area and strained the mainstream education system in Azerbaijan as it had to accommodate children of over one million refugees and internally displaced persons.

2. One private school has six different branches across the country.

3. *The Education for All (EFA) Azerbaijan report* (2000) stated that there was no demand for private schools, because “the state provides every citizen with the right to a free and compulsory general secondary education.” The report (2000) further explained that, “as a result [of state provision of free compulsory general education], the private sector is active only in post-secondary education.” In practice, however, vagueness in the legislative guidelines with regard to establishing private schools has discouraged development of the private sector in education.

4. During the Soviet period, higher education admissions were administered by each higher education institution based on relatively subjective oral and written student examinations. In an

effort to break away from the Soviet practices and fight corruption, the Popular Front of Azerbaijan asked the Turkish government for assistance with the introduction of centralized university examinations. The subsequent establishment of the State Student Admission Commission (SSAC) severely limited the freedom of higher education institutions in administering student admissions and thus reduced corruption at the level of university entrance (i.e., a common practice of paying for university placements).

5. When applying for the centralized university entry examination, applicants could choose up to 15 occupations, divided into five main occupational groups. The groups were (a) mathematics, physics, engineering, chemical technology, architecture, art and design; (b) economics, management, and geography; (c) humanities, art and music; (d) medicine, biology, chemistry and sports; and (e), sociology, psychology and pedagogy. According to SSAC (2004), the most popular occupational groups were the first and the second, while the least popular was the fifth.

6. One study revealed that nearly 95 percent of the students had experienced a passive learning process (i.e., passive listening and questions and answers), and that interactive methods were not widely used by teachers (Crawford, 2000).

7. Since 1999, the Ministry of Education has attempted to gradually introduce a new general education curriculum designed to better prepare students for participation in Azerbaijan's rapidly changing economy and society. This reform has also been supported through the Education Reform Project (LIL) assisted by the International Development Association (IDA) that started the curriculum reform process for selected grades. The overall education reform plan includes comprehensive changes in curriculum, teacher training and institutional reform within the sector. In 2002 the Education Reform Project was reviewed, and a Ten Year Strategy funded by the World Bank was launched. The design presented three stages, with the support of a World Bank loan of approximately US\$73 million (phase I of \$18 million, phase II of \$25 million, and phase III of \$30 million).

8. According to the World Bank (2002) estimates based on qualitative reports, only about 60–70 percent of the students in grades 5–11 in rural areas had core textbooks. Moreover, the limited textbook supply tended to be old, based on obsolete knowledge and of poor condition.

9. In some cases, especially in rural areas, deteriorated school buildings may present a serious hazard since many are in need of major repair (e.g., roof, heating, water, sewerage). Many rural schools also lack regular electricity (World Bank, 2002).

10. In-service teacher training is provided in Baku by the Baku In-service Education Institute and outside Baku through 12 regional affiliates of the Azerbaijan Teachers Institute. However, most of these teacher training centers are poorly staffed and ill-equipped to deliver effective teacher training (World Bank, 2002).

11. Over the past decade, the SSAC has brought a new approach to assessing student learning outcomes. Test questions are designed to assess student learning competencies based on specific criteria, including student knowledge of subject terminology and factual information, as well as student ability to generalize, explain, calculate, predict, and recommend actions.

12. According to the head of the Testing Methodology Department of the SSAC, Rahim Guseynov, the questions included in centralized tests completely matched school curricula and any changes in school curriculum were immediately reflected in university admission tests.

13. The World Bank (2002) estimated that state expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP was 3.7 percent in 2001.

14. The norm for teaching is 12 hours for which teachers are paid between AZM 80,000 to AZM 120,000 (on average about between US\$20–25). However, the average load for teachers in urban areas is 18 hours and some teach up to two loads (24 hours) to double their income. School directors are the main authority to increase the number of teaching hours, based on the school needs and other non-transparent criteria (World Bank, 2002).

15. The World Bank poverty assessment report (quoted in World Bank, 2002) indicates that private spending on education considerably increased during the 1990s, mainly because of informal payments. As the World Bank report (2002) highlighted, informal payments exist on both the supply as well as the demand side. On the supply side, they include buying jobs and paying to have more hours of teaching, which then translates to more income. On the demand side, they range from paying to get into better schools or better classes with the best teachers within schools, to paying for the basic needs, grades, absenteeism, and private tutoring.

16. Given that the vast majority of students use private tutoring lessons, as opposed to private tutoring courses, this section will primarily focus on private tutoring lessons.

17. For the university sample, the low percentage of students using private tutoring in sciences (biology, chemistry, physics, etc.) can be explained by the fact that the study did not target students from higher education programs that include science subjects on centralized university entrance examinations (i.e. programs I and IV). The students surveyed were from higher education programs II and IV, which require the following subjects on entrance exams: mathematics, geography, foreign language, and native language/literature (for the second group) and mathematics, history, foreign language, and native language/literature (for the fifth group).

18. In Azerbaijan, one academic hour equals 80 minutes. This is a typical duration of both university and private tutoring lessons.

19. See the section on equity for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

20. Research on “formal and nonformal payments in the educational system of Azerbaijan,” which was conducted by Sigma (2000) shows higher costs of private tutoring lessons, with foreign language and math tutors charging up to US\$30–40 per academic hour in Baku and US\$10 per academic hour in rural areas.

21. For institutions offering private tutoring courses, the formula for distribution of incomes looks like the following: 18 percent Value Added Tax, 49 percent payment to the teacher, 33 percent income of the institution offering private tutoring courses.

22. During the Soviet period, corruption was widespread in universities, and the three countries in the Caucasus were infamous for selling university admissions.

23. The survey covered a sample of 1,708 teachers.

24. Interviews with students and teachers reveal that student absence is often not officially recorded. Fearing that they will be reprimanded for school nonattendance by the school authorities, students pay bribes to their teachers or school directors to conceal their absence.

25. According to the Transparency International Report (2004), Azerbaijan is ranked 140 of 145 countries in a Corruption Perception Index. Of a maximum score of 10 (with 10 being least corrupt and one being most corrupt), Azerbaijan scored less than two.
26. Of all secondary school students (231,000), 57.1 percent (131,901 students) pay, on average, US\$434 a year on private tutoring for a total of US\$57 million a year.

Chapter 7

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dženana Husremović and Dženana Trbić

Despite a long history of private tutoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), dating back to its Yugoslavian socialist days, prior to the conduct of the research reported in this chapter very little systematic data were available on its scope, form, and function. In addition to uncovering some of the private tutoring culture in BiH, the chapter seeks to answer an equally important set of questions related to what private tutoring can tell us about the mainstream education system in the country. Private tutoring is inextricably linked to the mainstream education system. What does the fact that 32 percent of BiH school students engage in four or more hours of private tutoring a week say about the quality of the BiH mainstream educational process? In what subjects do students pursue tutoring, and what does this say about examination cultures, university admissions, and a larger role of education in the political economy? What do the findings imply about corruption in schools, educational fatigue, and social inequality? Lastly, what is the impact of private tutoring, both good and bad, on education and the economy in BiH?

This study draws on both quantitative and qualitative data, including a survey of 1,007 first-year students from the University of Sarajevo,¹ as well as focus group discussions and individual interviews with students, teachers, tutors, and education officials (see

Chapter 3 for a more in-depth discussion of data collection and analysis). The chapter proceeds by setting the educational context in BiH and exploring factors related to the rise of private tutoring. It then discusses the research findings before ending with policy recommendations.

The Context: Private Tutoring and Education Transformation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Once a republic of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina became an independent state in 1992. Independence was followed by three and a half years of war that ended in 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Following this agreement, the country was divided into two entities—the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was further divided into 10 cantons, the governments of which are responsible for educational provision. In the decentralized system, the Federal Ministry of Education has limited control over educational activities in the cantons. The Republic of Srpska, however, has a centralized education system run by the Republic's Ministry of Education.

In addition to this complicated structure of fractured authority, the area around the town of Brčko in northern Bosnia was the subject of international arbitration and has been recognized as a separate district with its own governmental responsibilities, including education. Altogether, there are 12 different systems of education with separate budgets in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is little or no cooperation between the country's 12 educational systems, and no centralized agency compiles or systemizes data from all regions, or supervises government institutions at the lower levels. In 2000, the European Commission and the World Bank formed the Agency for Evaluation and Standards and the Agency for Curricula to introduce more order and coordination to the country's ministries of education.² The Agency for Curricula has still not been formed, and the Agency for Standards and Evaluation has not yet considered regulating private tutoring.

Further complicating educational provision are inadequate needs assessments and demographic data. Millions of people were killed or displaced during the war, and there has been no census since 1991. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (2000), the country's population is about four million and is comprised of 37.1 percent Serbs, 48.0 percent Bosniaks,³ 14.3 percent Croats, and 0.6 percent others. However, a new census is needed to confirm these numbers, as well as to count the number of students, teachers, and schools in the system.

Education, of course, does not operate in a vacuum devoid of context. The following sections examine educational, economic, and sociocultural factors driving the demand for private tutoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Educational factors

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, general education consists of nine years of compulsory schooling. After the completion of compulsory education, students can continue their education in one of three types of secondary schools: four-year grammar schools, four-year vocational and technical schools, and three-year vocational schools. In grammar schools, students mainly receive education preparing them for continuing education at universities, while in vocational schools students acquire knowledge and skills that enable them to gain employment after completing their secondary education. Although secondary school is not obligatory, the students who decide to enroll are obliged to attend lessons, and teachers keep strict attendance records. Admission to secondary school depends on results in primary school and the results of a secondary school entrance examination. Students who do not succeed in enrolling in their desired school may choose to attempt to enroll in another, which might be less attractive and have an insufficient number of students. About 30 percent of students enroll in grammar schools, while the others enroll in four-year and three-year vocational schools.

Curricular changes in secondary schools

During the early 2000s, the secondary school curricula in BiH went through radical changes, especially in professional school curricula. Through the European Union Vocational Educational Training (EUVET) project, BiH reduced the number of vocations in professional schools from 460 to 100. These professions were grouped into 13 categories to coordinate qualifications with those attained by students in European Union countries. The EUVET reform did not include general secondary education, or grammar schools, but this is expected in the future.

The curricula for grammar schools are different in the BiH Federation and the Srpska Republic. In some cantons, students attend classes under the classic grammar school program, with 13 to 14 obligatory subjects and final results measured by the average grade for all subjects. In the Sarajevo canton, all students have subjects in general education for the first two years, and then choose a field of study—languages, social studies, mathematics, information technology, sciences, and/or sport. The subjects in the junior and senior years of secondary school depend on the chosen fields. Despite education reforms, the mainstream education system remains teacher centered.

School leaving examination (Matura)

Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have a national school-leaving examination of the type commonly administered to all students in other countries. To graduate from grammar school, students need to take the *matura* examination, which is organized by individual schools. As a part of this examination, students first write a paper on a subject of their mother tongue, followed by written work in the academic area they have chosen, which they then defend in front of a school commission. The *matura* examination grade is the average grade of all three parts. In vocational schools, students also take a final examination consisting of a professional paper and a defense in front of a commission.

University admissions

In contrast to many other countries in the region, BiH does not base university admissions upon centralized entrance examinations. Decisions about university admissions are made based on two criteria: students' secondary school records (which constitute 40 to 60 percent of possible points) and the results of university-specific oral and written entrance examinations (40 to 60 percent of possible points). Entrance examinations usually test knowledge in academic subjects important for the chosen study program. The tests are designed by university faculty members based on textbooks used in secondary schools. Students can also get additional points for winning one of the first three places in Olympiads (mathematics, physics, democracy, etc.), and for being awarded the title of best student of their cohort. The number of university places is limited; in general, students with the most points get admitted. For example, if a faculty admits 45 students, then the 45 students with the highest point total will be admitted. There are usually two admission dates—July and September. The more prestigious departments and universities admit the planned number of students in the first round and do not invite applications for the second round of admission.

While there are no centralized high-stakes examinations, students in BiH must diligently prepare for the grammar school final examination (i.e., the *matura*) and for specific university faculty examinations. The university examinations can be very difficult, and the results are often uncorrelated to how a student performed in secondary school. Therefore, in order to be in the best position at the time of university entrance examinations, students start calculating their grade averages in key subjects in advance. This pressure builds around the time of the final *matura* examination, a “race for grades” commences, and private tutoring levels rise.

Required remedial classes

The educational systems of BiH provide mandatory supplementary classes for remedial students. Traditionally, if more than 50 percent of the students in a class are having

problems mastering the subject matter, the teacher is obliged to organize so-called “remedial classes” in that subject. Remedial classes are held after regular school hours and are an opportunity for the teacher to do additional work with struggling students. Teachers do not receive additional remuneration for their work with remedial classes, because it is included in their regular salaries. According to information obtained in interviews with school psychologists, remedial classes were organized more often before the war than today. Because the remedial classes do not give them extra income, teachers avoid having to teach them by tutoring their students or recommending students to seek out private tutoring for fees. On their side, students try to avoid remedial classes because of the social stigma associated with them. Many students who want to avoid remedial classes pursue the more discrete route of private tutoring so that their classmates will not find out that they are struggling in school.

Legacies of the war

Children of returnees (refugees), who spent a certain period of their lives in other countries and have difficulties understanding their mother tongue, represent a unique population in BiH. In addition to language issues, many of these children began their schooling in a different education system (or none at all), and have found it quite difficult to adjust to the way of schooling in BiH. These children often have problems in school and are forced to seek private tutoring. This, of course, is to say nothing of the sociopsychological problems that some students have experienced because of the war. These issues also require extra help outside of school.

Economic factors

BiH belongs to a group of socialist countries that are going through an arduous transformation process from a socialist system. In BiH the war also left the economy in shambles. As a result of this recent history, a large number of pre-war businesses are gone, the economy is underdeveloped, and 40 percent of the population is officially unemployed. According to the World Bank (2004), half of the unemployed people work in the grey economy. Further adding to economic woes, BiH was ranked 82 out of 146 countries for corruption perception, with an index of 3.1 (Transparency International, 2004). The average salary for those who do work ranges from US\$245 to US\$367 (€200 to €330) a month, which is barely sufficient for covering basic living expenses of near US\$281 (€230) a month. Generally, teachers earn an average salary in the regions in which the schools are located, which is sufficient for basic living expenses only. Often, teachers have to support unemployed family members, which makes them opt for private tutoring in search of additional income. Educating students

in a climate of underpaid teachers, widespread corruption, and distrust is understandably difficult.

Cultural Factors

Although a spirit of collectivism was fostered in BiH during Yugoslavian socialist times, a need for individual achievement was also nurtured as an important characteristic, especially in urban areas. Good grades in secondary schools secured enrollment in the most prestigious university departments; quality higher education ensured higher social status and greater material gain. Today, a university degree is no longer a guarantee of employment, but Federal Employment Agency statistics⁴ indicate that the smallest proportion of BiH's unemployed still comes from those who have the highest educational qualifications. In this context, families believe that higher education degrees considerably increase the chance of employment. Consequently, investments in supplementary education in the form of private tutoring are strongly justified in the eyes of both students and their parents.

Findings: Private Tutoring Lessons and Preparatory Courses

Based on the data from quantitative and qualitative surveys, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring in BiH, the main factors underlying the demand for tutoring, and the educational, social, and economic impact of tutoring. For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to make a distinction, and treat separately, two forms of supplementary private tutoring—private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses (see the glossary for the distinction between the terms as used here).

Private tutoring lessons

Compared with other countries covered in this volume, BiH does not have a strong culture of private tutoring lessons. Of 972 respondents who answered the question whether they took private tutoring lessons while in secondary school, 32 percent answered affirmatively. Of these, 84 percent received tutoring in only one subject, 35 percent in two subjects, and only 5 percent in three or more subjects. However, respondents estimated a higher prevalence of private tutoring use among their classmates (see Table 7.1). In particular, 53 percent of students who responded to this question thought that over 31 percent of their classmates had

taken private tutoring lessons, while only 6.1 percent claimed that no one received private tutoring. What causes serious concern is that 11 percent of the respondents reported that over 90 percent of their classmates took private tutoring lessons.

TABLE 7.1
Proportion of Students Taking Private Tutoring Lessons in Respondents' Classes, Bosnia and Herzegovina

<i>Percentage of classmates taking private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
No one received PT	50	6.1
from 1 to 10%	139	17.0
from 11 to 20%	102	12.5
from 21 to 30%	95	11.6
from 31 to 40%	76	9.3
from 41 to 50%	117	14.3
from 51 to 60%	55	6.7
from 61 to 70%	73	8.9
from 71 to 80%	54	6.6
from 81 to 90%	36	4.4
over 90%	22	11.0
Total	819	100.0

General characteristics of private tutoring lessons in secondary schools

The largest number of students received tutoring in mathematics (66 percent). This was followed by foreign languages (10 percent) and physics (9 percent), while the proportion of students who received tutoring in other subjects was 5 percent and less. Private tutoring lessons were mostly taken in one subject, twice a week. Although private tutoring lessons were mostly held individually, i.e., the tutor worked with only one student at a time, there were significant differences in the way tutors worked. University lecturers preferred tutoring in large groups (more than five students per group), while students and professionals preferred individual, one-on-one tutoring. Fifty-five percent of the students who were tutored by their own teachers and 25 percent of the students who were tutored by other teachers from their schools (i.e., not their class teachers) reported that they had group instruction.

My mathematics teacher provides tutoring before tests and written examinations as a preparation. She indicates which problems will appear on the test and this is how I pass. It is the same with the matura, we are given 100 problems, of which five are on the matura, the rest you don't study. . . .

A student from Sarajevo

Private tutoring lessons were taken mostly throughout the school year and occasionally during summer holidays, mainly before examinations. Therefore, tutoring was primarily used as a form of examination preparation, with the goal of improving secondary school grades and preparing for the final *matura* examination.

Prices of private tutoring offered by secondary school teachers ranged from US\$6 to US\$12 (€5–10) for 90 minutes (two school classes), while university lecturers charged more. On average, final-year secondary school students paid around US\$171 (€140) for private tutoring a year. Two students reported that they paid US\$127 (€104) during one academic year to their teachers for private tutoring. The total amount of money reported by the students who took private tutoring lessons and who reported how much money they paid for private tutoring in the final year of secondary school (23 percent of the total sample) was roughly US\$40,500 (€33,100). According to data from the Federal Institute for Statistics (2004), during the 2003/2004 school year, 30,799 students finished secondary school in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If 32 percent of them received private tutoring lessons (as the data indicate), this was equivalent to around 10,000 final-year students pursuing private tutoring lessons. According to the survey, on average these students paid US\$171 (€140) for the tutoring that year. Based on this, a rough estimate on the amount of money spent in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on private tutoring lessons is US\$1.7 million (€1.4 million). This is a modest estimate, which refers only to the students in the final year of secondary school and does not include the money paid by students of lower grades of secondary schools, primary schools, or universities.

The consumers: Who takes private tutoring lessons and why?

Demographically, more women pursue private tutoring lessons (65 percent), and more students from rural areas (37 percent of students who pursued private lessons came from towns with fewer than 100,000 people, and only 31 percent of the students from Sarajevo). For these two groups, private tutoring presents a unique opportunity to break traditional gender stereotypes (in the case of female students) and compensate for lower quality of

education in rural areas, thus enhancing their chances of fair competition during university entrance examinations. Students from grammar schools (30 percent) and vocational schools (32 percent) seem to pursue private tutoring at the same rate. However, students who study in high-demand university programs such as economics, philosophy, criminal justice, political science, civil engineering, medicine, and law report taking more tutoring (34 percent) than students studying in low-demand programs such as electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, and natural sciences (26 percent).

It appears that parental education level is more important than family income in predicting the use of private tutoring lessons. Of the students who indicated that their family income was “good” or “very good,” 64 percent reported not using private tutoring lessons. The largest group of private tutoring users was comprised of students who reported being from “average” income families (46 percent). On the other hand, children whose mothers had higher education took more private tutoring lessons than students whose mothers did not have a higher education degree. For example, 37 percent of the students whose mothers had college education or university degrees received private tutoring lessons and 31 percent of the students whose mothers had secondary school diplomas, while only 22 percent of the students whose mothers had just primary school education received tutoring, and 13 percent of the students whose mothers had not completed primary school. The father’s educational level did not have a significant impact on whether a student took private tutoring. This might be explained by BiH culture, which is traditional and quite patriarchal. Mothers are generally responsible for raising the children, and the mother is often the only parent actively involved in the children’s education.

Parental occupation is also significant to the pursuit of private tutoring lessons. Students of working mothers take more tutoring (35 percent) than students whose mothers are unemployed (24 percent). If the mother has an occupation that requires a college or university degree (professionals, independent professionals, managers, and company owners) the proportion of children who take private tutoring ranges between 37 percent (children of company owners) and 42 percent (children of professionals), compared to 33 percent of children whose mothers work as clerks or other lower qualification professions. The employment and earnings of the father did not significantly change the percentage of students who take private tutoring.

The producers: Who is offering private tutoring lessons and why?

Of the students who responded to the question about their tutors, 68 percent reported that their tutor was employed in the mainstream education system as a teacher in secondary school or as a university lecturer. Twenty-six percent of the students reported that their tutors were professionals from the relevant subject, and only 6 percent of them had students for

tutors. The respondents' answers highlight the phenomenon of teachers employed in the BiH mainstream educational system providing private tutoring to students. Considering that most private tutoring lessons occur in mathematics and foreign languages, the largest number of teachers from these subjects tutor students. Apart from mathematics and physics, students often decide to take tutoring from secondary school teachers of chemistry and physics, although the number of students who had tutoring in these two subjects was small compared to those who had private tutoring lessons in mathematics.

In Sarajevo, students more often take tutoring from university lecturers and/or content-area professionals, while in other towns, the tutor is usually a secondary school teacher (see Table 7.2). Out of the total number of students from Sarajevo, 8 percent had tutoring with their subject teachers, while in smaller towns, 22 percent had tutoring with their subject teachers. The reasons for that pattern appear to be multifaceted. In Sarajevo, there is stricter monitoring of teachers, who might be more reluctant to offer tutoring lessons to interested students, and a larger supply of tutoring by university lecturers and professionals in specific subject areas of interest. In smaller, more remote communities, students have less choice in selecting a tutor.

TABLE 7.2
Distribution of Tutors by Geographic Location, Bosnia and Herzegovina

<i>Type of tutor</i>	<i>Location of secondary school</i>							
	<i>Sarajevo</i>		<i>Bigger town</i>		<i>Smaller town</i>		<i>Other</i>	
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Your subject teacher	13	8.2	0	0	26	22.0	4	23.5
Teacher from your school	9	5.7	4	17.4	20	16.9	4	23.5
Teacher from other school	26	16.4	10	43.5	15	12.7	1	5.9
University lecturer	46	28.9	5	21.7	29	24.6	2	11.8
Student	13	8.2	1	4.3	6	5.1	0	0.0
Professional from a field	52	32.7	3	13.0	22	18.6	6	35.3

If I teach math in this school and am not allowed to offer tutoring to my students, then I will tutor children from other schools. I will tell them to whom to go for tutoring, and I will know who sends children to me. We know about three schools in the city that do this, it's a smoothly run affair.

A teacher from a secondary school in Sarajevo

While in some countries the education authorities prohibit teachers from tutoring their own students (e.g., Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea), this decision is left to individual schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Few schools and universities have written regulations forbidding teachers from tutoring their own students; and even though teachers are forbidden to offer private tutoring lessons to students of their own schools, this prohibition does not usually apply to students from other schools. Often, school teachers make arrangements with their colleagues from other schools to refer their students to each other for supplementary private tutoring.

Preparatory courses

The organization of the system of higher education in BiH is such that each department operates its own entrance examinations. Of the total number of surveyed students who responded to the question about whether they took preparatory courses for the university entrance examination, 47 percent answered affirmatively. However, the largest number of those surveyed took preparatory courses through departments that had organized tutoring for the candidates. The students who did not take private tutoring courses at a university department mainly went to tutoring courses organized by secondary schools (Table 7.3).

In higher education institutions, preparatory courses are led by university workers (mostly lecturers); in secondary schools, teachers run the courses. Preparatory courses are usually held in groups with over 15 students and are mainly organized for single subjects. Preparatory courses organized by universities usually span 30 class periods and cost US\$61 (€50), while in secondary schools, preparatory courses span 20 to 30 classes and cost between US\$30 and US\$37 (€25 to €30). A small number of students reported that they prepared for the university entrance examination using private tutoring lessons that were not organized by educational institutions. Payments for preparatory courses organized by higher education departments are made through official channels (gyro account), and the lecturers are paid for tutoring through higher education institutions' accounting offices. In these cases, the incomes from tutoring are taxed.

TABLE 7.3**Types of Institutions Offering Private Tutoring Courses, Bosnia and Herzegovina**

<i>Institution type</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
University/Faculty	364	79.1
Secondary School	91	19.8
Private Company	1	0.2
Other	4	0.9
Total	460	100.0

Factors driving the demand for private tutoring

The reasons why students decide to take private tutoring in secondary schools vary (Table 7.4). Based on the survey results and qualitative data, the main reasons for private tutoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina include: (1) the quality of mainstream education, (2) preparation for school-leaving examinations, (3) preparation for university entrance examinations, (4) income generation for underpaid teachers, and (5) a growing consumer culture.

I could not learn at school because we would do the two easiest problems in the classroom and then I would get two problems with a star, which indicate difficult problems, on the test and then I couldn't understand them on my own.

A student from Sarajevo

Private tutoring and the quality of mainstream education

One clear reason for seeking tutoring arises from the quality of mainstream education. In the opinion of school psychologists we interviewed, as well as the opinion of students who took private tutoring, curricula are overloaded and teachers have to go from one unit to another at a speed that does not suit all the students. Thus, students who need more time to understand a unit do not have a chance to master the subject matter in the regular teaching process and have to seek additional tutoring. Some students who took private tutoring claimed that the teacher did not adequately explain certain subjects.

Private tutoring lessons and preparation for school examinations

A second major reason why students seek private tutoring is to prepare for school examinations, including tests, written examinations, and the *matura*. Interviews with tutors confirmed that the demand for private tutoring grows in the period of important examinations, especially before the *matura* examinations. Generally, students who had private tutoring think that the knowledge they gained in secondary school was not sufficient to pass the *matura* and university entrance examinations. In other words, they believed that passing these examinations was dependent on taking private tutoring. Compared to their peers who did not have private tutoring, they were somewhat more inclined toward the opinion that taking private tutoring was the only way to get a quality education. As opposed to their tutoring peers, 65 percent of the time students who did not have private tutoring believed that their knowledge was sufficient and thought that they received quality education without the need for extra help.

TABLE 7.4
Reasons for Taking Private Tutoring Lessons in Secondary Schools,
Bosnia and Herzegovina

<i>Reasons for taking private tutoring</i>	Count	Percentage
In order to better understand the topics that are taught at school	146	32.0
To memorize and systematize subjects/topics previously taught	30	6.6
To fill the gaps in knowledge	134	29.4
Only to better prepare for an examination	149	32.7
Parents made me take private tutoring	14	3.1
Other students received private tutoring and that is why I decided to take private tutoring as well	12	2.6

Preparatory courses and university entrance examinations

Students who took preparatory courses indicated that their main reason was to prepare for university entrance examinations (Table 7.5). About 80 percent of the students who took preparatory courses thought that it was a good investment that had a positive impact on university entrance examination results. Students who did not attend preparatory courses believed that their knowledge, skills, and efforts were enough for passing university entrance

examinations. Generally, these students did not think that their chances of passing university entrance examinations were reduced by not attending preparatory courses. According to them, supplementary private tutoring increased the chance for university enrolment for those students who did not have sufficient knowledge. However, they thought that their chances were not reduced by not taking supplementary private tutoring.

TABLE 7.5
Reasons for Taking Preparatory Courses, Bosnia and Herzegovina

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
To learn more about those topics that will be in the exam	218	47.7
To learn and understand topics covered at school	31	6.8
To fill the gaps in knowledge	123	26.9
Parents sent me to preparatory classes	11	2.4
Other students attended preparatory classes and that is why I decided to attend preparatory courses	7	1.5
Because preparatory classes are better than private tutoring	18	3.9
Because preparatory classes are cheaper than private tutoring	0	0.0
The education system is not good enough and preparatory classes have to be taken in order to gain additional knowledge or skills	38	8.3
Other	15	3.3

Private tutoring as a source of additional income for teachers

Although the survey did not inquire about the role of teachers in the demand for private tutoring, the qualitative data indicate that private tutoring represents a major way for teachers to procure additional income. The process of “motivating” students to pursue private tutoring can occur in the following way: a teacher “recognizes” students who could be candidates for receiving private tutoring and then these students are criticized and given poor grades until they are “motivated” to ask if the teacher will tutor them. If teachers cannot tutor their own students, they often send the student to colleagues and expect the colleagues to reciprocate by sending them students. With tutoring often taken twice a week, and with an average cost of around US\$23 (€19), teachers can earn an additional US\$12 to US\$18 (€10 to €15) per week per tutored student. Depending on the number of students, a teacher

can earn significant additional monthly income through tutoring. This opens the door for unethical behavior by teachers.

Private tutoring and a new consumer culture

An interview with a secondary school psychologist highlights an interesting case of private tutoring use by children of wealthy parents. Increasingly, secondary school teachers have to deal with a group of so-called “spoiled” students who come from wealthy families. As a rule, their parents are occupied with their jobs and acquiring material goods. Unable to devote enough time and attention to their children, these parents increasingly rely on new consumer culture values, teaching their children that everything can be bought. According to school psychologists, many wealthy parents prefer to pay for everything related to their children’s education and upbringing so that they do not have to think about and/or actively participate in their children’s school lives. If children have problems mastering the school curricula, parents hire private tutors in order to solve the problem. School psychologists and administrators note that these students often have arrogant attitudes toward their teachers, expecting good grades without making sufficient effort. If students are not happy with their grades, they blame their teachers: “Who gives you the right to fail me when I pay for private tutoring?” Social values such as knowledge, skills, and education are increasingly replaced by consumer culture values such as money, real estate, and other material things. In the process of changing values, students increasingly underestimate the value of education (i.e., “I am worth what I know”) and progressively more rely on material values (i.e., “I am worth what I own”). In this context, cultural aspects explaining the growth of private tutoring should be taken into account.

Educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring

It is clear that private tutoring represents a significant additional form of education to some students, and a business for some teachers in secondary schools. Official reforms have focused exclusively on the mainstream education system. To be sure, private tutoring taken by students has a positive impact on their human capital; from their point of view, private tutoring is a good investment. The larger question is how private tutoring affects the larger, mainstream educational process, as well as the society and economy as a whole.

Impact on the mainstream education system

Private tutoring is closely connected to the quality of teaching. If a teacher is not able to explain the subject matter to students, it is expected that some students will seek additional help. The largest problem occurs when teachers tutor their own students or the students

of their colleagues from other schools in order to augment their salaries. With the ratio between teachers' salaries and average salaries between 1.1 and 1.2,⁵ it is easy to see how widespread the teachers' need for additional income could become.

A different question relates to the impact of private tutoring on the motivation of students in the mainstream educational process. Some students rely entirely on the help of the tutor—from writing their homework to preparing for their tests—and they lose the motivation and work habits needed for independent studying. One student from Sarajevo said in the interviews: “For me, tutoring is normal. I do not have the work habit of studying.” If a significant number of students in the classroom have tutoring and are not motivated to participate in the learning process, this could influence the dynamics of the teaching process as a whole, with the students who use the mainstream system as their main source of education losing out.

In secondary school we often say that students were not taught anything in primary school. In universities, they say that students were not taught anything in secondary schools . . . and so it goes in circles. We do not have the same goals; we do not have a structure.

A secondary school teacher

Do teachers see the quality of the teaching process as the cause for using private tutoring? Yes, but not in the sense that their lessons are not of good quality. Instead, they believe that their predecessors who had taught students at earlier grades were not good enough. In this context, it is important to mention the post-war generations of students who attended primary schools during the war, when the quality of teaching was low because of the war conditions. Although the present generation of students attended primary schools after the war, many teachers continue to transfer the blame from one institution to another.

Lastly, the culture of work and the contents of subject matter are considerably different in the mainstream education system than in private tutoring. In the mainstream educational process, a student has to master a teaching unit in the context of wider schooling, while private tutoring is target-oriented toward a particular unit, with a specific goal. If private tutoring lacks organization where new topics are connected with previous knowledge, there is a great possibility that students will not be able to see the wider historical and sociocultural context of education. Further, school teachers must have pedagogical, methodological, and didactic knowledge and skills, but in private tutoring all people who consider themselves sufficiently competent can teach.

Impact on society

Private tutoring is primarily taken by students who estimate the socioeconomic status of their families to be average or above average. This is confirmed by the students' answers. On average, all students (i.e., both those who do and do not use private tutoring) agree that private tutoring is expensive and think that students from wealthier families can afford better private tutors (see Table 7.6). This raises the issue of equity in the mainstream education system. Are grades given based on the knowledge students obtain in mainstream schools or the knowledge they acquire through private tutoring? If students of equal abilities are in the same classroom, those who do not take private tutoring may be in disadvantaged position because the standards of success may be set by students who study with private tutors.

TABLE 7.6
Student Opinions Regarding Accessibility of Private Tutoring, Bosnia and Herzegovina

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Level of agreement</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Only students from wealthy families can afford private tutoring	I absolutely do not agree	110	11.4
	I do not agree	438	45.5
	I agree	335	34.8
	I absolutely agree	80	8.3
Students from wealthy families can hire better tutors	I absolutely do not agree	89	9.6
	I do not agree	183	19.7
	I agree	359	38.6
	I absolutely agree	298	32.1

On the other hand, private tutoring may provide an important mechanism for some groups to get ahead in an increasingly competitive education environment. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this is especially true for female students who use private tutoring services more frequently than male students. Although these figures are different from other countries where gender is not significant (Malaysia, Egypt, Malta, Taiwan, and Sri Lanka) or favors boys (Kuwait), the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina could be explained by the fact that parents find it important to educate their daughters in order to give them a chance for economic independence. During primary and secondary education, female students are generally more motivated and achieve better results than male students. Similarly, private tutoring provides a unique opportunity for students from rural areas to receive higher quality

education in order to be able to compete with their peers from urban areas during university entrance examinations.

Impact of private tutoring on the economy

Private tutoring organized in an informal way represents a shadow economy. A rough estimate of untaxed profits made by tutors of final-year secondary school students in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the 2003/2004 academic year is US\$6.3 million (€5.1 million). The total amount of money paid for private tutoring in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at all educational levels can be assumed to be in the tens of millions of dollars. Of course, failing to pay taxes on this money directly reduces much needed government revenues in a time of economic and political transition. On the other hand, this private tutoring increases human capital and raises the chances of students to gain higher education. Private tutoring, therefore, also represents a good investment for students and maybe the country.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In BiH, private tutoring of secondary school students represents a major educational, economic, and social phenomenon that has not been officially recognized, studied, or regulated. Parents and students recognize tutoring as an investment that has significant social and economic returns, namely university matriculation. The data presented in this chapter indicate that students who receive private tutoring are mainly from families of average or above-average social and economic status. All types of educators—from university students and university professors to teachers—engage in private tutoring, casting into doubt the quality of education provision and calling into question the ethics of the entire education system.

Many countries are facing the question of how to regulate tutoring. This chapter offers a few policy options in the context of BiH—official regulation/monitoring of all forms of private tutoring, establishment of private tutoring centers or the banning of private tutoring. However, they represent only the starting point for educational stakeholders in BiH. The main goals of the recommendations are: to ensure equal opportunity for all students to achieve desired school or academic success; to reduce or stop private tutoring as a form of corruption; to legalize and formalize tutoring; and to increase the quality of the mainstream educational process. Additionally, the proposed recommendations take into consideration the unique educational context of BiH, recognizing that, on the one hand, private tutoring represents important supplementary income for poorly paid school teachers and that, on the other hand, university admissions are often ambiguous, hypercompetitive, and vitally important to students' futures.

TABLE 7-7
Matrix of Policy Options for Bosnia and Herzegovina

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institution</i>	<i>Policy option: Complete ban</i>	<i>Policy option: Regulation and monitoring</i>	<i>Policy option: Opening centers for supplementary tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward users	Government legislative bodies	Financing and organizing of public campaigns on the ban	Financing and organizing public campaigns on introducing licenses for tutoring	Financing and organizing public campaigns on opening centers, financing web page on centers
	Government executive bodies	Involvement in the campaign, encouraging supplementary classes	Involvement in the campaign, encouraging supplementary classes for students who cannot pay for private tutoring	Involvement in the campaign, encouraging supplementary classes for students who cannot pay for private tutoring
	Teachers Scientific Council	Involvement in the campaign, insisting on supplementary classes	Introducing supplementary classes for students who cannot finance private tutoring	Introducing supplementary classes for students who cannot pay for tutoring in centers
	Teachers	Executing supplementary classes	Executing supplementary classes for students who cannot pay for tutoring	Executing supplementary classes for students who cannot pay for tutoring
	Nongovernmental organizations	Financing and organizing of a public campaign	Financing and organizing of a public campaign	Financing and organizing of a public campaign about opening state centers for additional education

TABLE 7.7

Matrix of Policy Options for Bosnia and Herzegovina (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institution</i>	<i>Policy option: Complete ban</i>	<i>Policy option: Regulation and monitoring</i>	<i>Policy option: Opening centers for supplementary tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward tutors	Government legislative bodies	Passing the regulation for a ban	Passing the regulation on banning PT for own students, regulating PT for others	Delivering rules on who can open a center, who can work in a center and other standards that will ensure the safety of students and quality of tutoring; delivering rules on opening state centers for additional education
	Government executive bodies	Monitoring implementation of the regulation on banning and issuing sanctions to violators	Delivering regulations on methods and contents of private tutoring; control and monitoring activities of licensed tutors	Developing regulations on methods and contents of private tutoring; controlling and monitoring activities of the state (and nonstate) centers
	Teachers Scientific Council	Monitoring implementation of the regulation on banning and sanctioning	Monitoring implementation of banning PT for own students; involvement in delivering plans for methods and contents of activities of tutors	Monitoring implementation of banning PT for own students; involvement in delivering plans for methods and contents of activities in centers
	Teachers	Stopping provision of tutoring	Applying for license	Stopping provision of private tutoring to own students, applying for work in centers
	Nongovernment organizations	Monitoring implementation of the regulation on banning and organizing voluntary tutoring	Monitoring implementation of the banning of PT for teachers' own students	Opening centers and employing tutors

TABLE 7.7
Matrix of Policy Options for Bosnia and Herzegovina (continued)

<i>Direction of activities</i>	<i>Responsible institution</i>	<i>Policy option: Complete ban</i>	<i>Policy option: Regulation and monitoring</i>	<i>Policy option: Opening centers for supplementary tutoring</i>
Activities directed toward the formal education system	Government legislative bodies	Passing a law on education and a regulation which will reduce “exam fever”; increasing salaries of teaching staff; introducing payment of supplementary classes per lesson	Passing a law on education and a regulation which will reduce “exam fever”; increasing salaries of teaching staff; introducing payment of supplementary classes per lesson	Passing a law on education and a regulation which will reduce “exam fever”; increasing salaries of teaching staff; introducing payment of supplementary classes per lesson
	Government executive bodies	Adopting curricula that are not excessively extensive; encouraging teachers to be more supportive toward students who have difficulties	Adopting curricula that are not excessively extensive; encouraging teachers to be more supportive toward students who have difficulties	Adopting curricula that are not excessively extensive; encouraging teachers to be more supportive toward students who have difficulties
	Teachers Scientific Council	Encouraging teachers to support students with difficulties	Encouraging teachers to support students with difficulties; building criteria for marking	Encouraging teachers to support students with difficulties; building criteria for marking
	Teachers	Providing individual educational support for students with difficulties, organizing more interesting lessons	Providing individual educational support for students with difficulties, organizing more interesting lessons	Providing individual educational support for students with difficulties, organizing more interesting lessons
	Nongovernmental organizations	Monitoring and advocacy for ban	Monitoring and advocacy for equity	Providing services

Regulation and monitoring

It is important to pass legislation that would (1) regulate the tutors, i.e., determine who can offer private tutoring and ban tutoring of one's own students; and (2) regulate the content, methods, and processes of private tutoring. Tutors who wish to provide tutoring should be required to get a license/permit from an official institution, and the relevant ministries would initiate a campaign of informing the public on the new private tutoring policies. This solution might include establishing a tutors' association that would be the executive body in charge of licensing, monitoring, and evaluating tutors' work.

The advantage of this policy option is that it is likely to increase the quality of private tutoring and ensure supplementary education for all the interested parties. However, this option has its weaknesses. Monitoring of private tutors itself is very complex, which would require financial investments in order to be successfully enforced. It would require the development of a clear strategy and instruments for monitoring and evaluation. It would also require establishment of new structures within the governmental executive bodies, which would be responsible for regulating, monitoring, and evaluating private tutoring. Finally, legalization and taxation of private tutoring might lead to increased prices in the private tutoring market. Importantly, introduction of these activities does not in itself guarantee full control over the private tutoring market. It is possible that many forms of private tutoring (especially one-on-one tutoring) would continue to go unnoticed and unregulated because of their elusive nature.

Opening tutoring centers

The Ministry of Education should pass a regulation on opening tutoring centers with clear instructions as to who can offer private tutoring, in what way, and under what conditions. The government should also stipulate a range of prices for tutoring, which would have to be followed by the centers. This recommendation also includes a campaign for informing the public and raising the awareness of the users as to the importance of using regulated tutoring centers as opposed to using nonregulated tutoring. The government could maintain a web page with all the information on registered centers, their locations, working conditions, and activities.

The advantage of this policy option is that it would be much easier to monitor and evaluate activities of centers than of individual tutors. The disadvantage of this option is that it would require significant financial means to establish state-funded centers, as well as departments within government structures to monitor and evaluate the activities of the centers. The price of tutoring might significantly increase.

Reforming mainstream education

Finally, increasing the quality of the mainstream educational process is clearly related to reducing the negative aspects of private tutoring. First, the present level of teachers' salaries certainly has an impact on the quality of the mainstream educational process. Although it is difficult to increase motivation by paying greater salaries, government officials should consider other ways of materially motivating teachers. For example, teachers in Egypt are offered free professional training, payment for additional examinations, help resolving housing issues, and similar nonmonetary incentives (Bray, 1999). Second, because grading is not uniform due to differences in the quality of schools, students do not have an equal chance for enrolling in secondary schools or universities. This problem could be reduced by introducing a single *matura*, which would be the main criteria for university enrolment. Education officials should promote unification of grading standards as a means of leveling the educational playing field and decreasing the need for private tutoring. Third, curricula should not be overloaded. The introduction of new or evolving content should also include the removal of old or irrelevant content.

To be sure, regardless which solutions are chosen, there will always be students who cannot afford additional education through private tutoring. Teachers' Councils should promote and organize supplementary classes for poorer students who have difficulties mastering subject matter. They should also organize a campaign for changing attitudes toward supplementary classes. Teachers Councils can also organize additional help for students with difficulties by recruiting students who are good in certain subjects for peer tutoring.

The European social and economic system toward which Bosnia and Herzegovina strives carries with it even more competition for better schools, better universities, and better work places. Motivation to achieve will only grow. To raise all children in the educational system they deserve, one adequately provided for by the State, the recognition and regulation of private tutoring has to find its place on the agendas of government and nongovernmental reformers.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. It was decided that only the students of one university participate in the research because students from the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina study at the University of Sarajevo, as the oldest university in the country, while other universities are attended mostly by the students from regions where the institutions are located. Out of the total number of respondents, about half completed secondary schooling in Sarajevo, while the others did so in other parts of the country.

2. According to the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003), the Standards and Assessment Agency establishes standards of students' achievement and of assessment of the degree of their accomplishment; conducts assessment research with the aim of assessing development and presenting results of the research; advises the relevant educational authorities dealing with the prescribed standards and their implementation; establishes and maintains mechanisms of reporting on the situation in schools in the territory of BiH; establishes contacts with bodies that have similar functions in other countries with the aim of ensuring that obligatory standards are not below the level of standards applied in those countries; offers assistance on recognition of domestic certificates and diplomas in other countries; and implements other activities regarding implementation of standards (Article 47). The Curriculum Agency is an independent expert body responsible for implementing the common core curriculum for all levels of education. The Curriculum Agency is responsible for implementation, follow-up, evaluation, improvement and development of the common core curriculum, in accordance with the standards defined by the Framework Law and standards in the framework of European integration (Article 48).

3. Bosniak has replaced Muslim as an ethnic term, in part to avoid confusion with the religious term Muslim (i.e. an adherent of Islam).

4. <http://www.fzs.ba/>.

5. The average salary of a secondary school teacher differed from canton to canton. It was highest in the Sarajevo canton, with the total net earnings at KM880 (€440), including monthly meals allowance. Teacher salaries without the monthly meals allowance were around KM680. In other cantons, the monthly net income ranged between KM650 and KM800, with the monthly meals allowance and KM500-650 without it. The consumer basket in the country averaged at KM460. The salary/consumer basket ratio was between 1.4 and 1.9. Therefore teachers had from KM190 to KM 420 a month for other expenses (utility bills, school fees, clothes, etc.), which is mostly insufficient.

Chapter 8

Croatia

Zrinka Ristić Dedić, Boris Jokić, and Lana Jurko

Private tutoring has never been systematically studied in Croatia. Further, the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports has neither publicly defined its position on private tutoring nor in any way regulated it. Additional education offered by private companies or public institutions is treated like any other business and is not overseen by the ministry. Also, the ministry does not prohibit teachers employed in public schools from giving private lessons. This *laissez faire* approach may be attractive to the government given the complexity of the phenomenon and the difficulties that arise from trying to control it. However, the public perceives private tutoring as a growing problem.

Examination of the scope, structure, and impact of private tutoring reveals much about the efficiency of the mainstream education system, the quality of teaching in schools, the suitability of the assessment system, and educational fatigue. To investigate private tutoring in Croatia, we surveyed 995 first-year students at the University of Zagreb and the University of Rijeka as well as 586 third-year students in gymnasium secondary schools in Zagreb. Announced changes in external assessment and the state *matura* (high school exit examination) have increased the need to monitor private tutoring. The chapter concludes

with a discussion of ways to regulate private tutoring and offers concrete policy recommendations.

Croatian Educational, Economic, and Social Context

Private tutoring is a complex phenomenon with many possible causes and effects. Social, political, and educational contexts define the private tutoring scene of each country, making it difficult for policymakers to replicate existing approaches and solutions in their own systems. The Croatian case is no exception to this observation, making the examination of educational, economic, and social factors imperative for effective policy analysis.

Educational factors

In Croatia, general education consists of eight years of compulsory education; secondary education has four noncompulsory years (Grades 9–12). There are two paths within Croatian secondary education: one that provides knowledge and competences for specific trades (vocational education), and another that prepares students for higher education (gymnasium education). The latter lasts for four years, while vocational programs can last for four years (technical, medical, and economics schools) or three years (industrial and trade schools). The division of students into the two paths is based on grades achieved in primary school. Generally, gymnasium programs are more attractive, and access is limited by quotas. Candidates who are not successful in entering a gymnasium can choose a vocational school or drop out of the system.

Croatia has never had a standardized national assessment of achievement at any level of education. Student assessment is fully decentralized and carried out at the level of individual schools. Examinations, both written and oral, are administered and graded by individual teachers, and there are no defined standards for specific subjects at certain grade levels. Students often feel that such subjective assessment is unfair and unreliable. Over half the students surveyed in related research believed that teachers often give grades based on students' grading histories, while 49.5 percent of the students feared examinations (Bezinović and Ristić Dedić, 2004). Gymnasium education ends with a school-organized and evaluated *matura* examination. The *matura* examination also includes a final paper on a selected topic, as well as passing an examination in two compulsory subjects and one elective subject. The gymnasium diploma allows access to tertiary education, but does not have great value in the job market. Education in four-year vocational schools ends with an internal examination that

includes a final paper, a test in the Croatian language, and one vocational subject. The three-year vocational school ends with an internal examination primarily aimed at employment in the profession, and opportunities for continuing education are limited.

In the 2004/05 school year, 26.3 percent (50,418) of all secondary school students attended gymnasiums (Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, 2005). Nearly half of the students (44.5 percent) attended four-year vocational institutions, while 25.8 percent attended three-year vocational schools. The vast majority of students attended public schools. This study focuses mostly on gymnasium schools (hereafter referred to as secondary schools) and students as they are represented in both the university and school samples. Data from 2004/05 show that 31 private secondary schools in Croatia enrolled around 1,700 students. This accounted for only about 0.01 percent of all secondary school students.

In examining the educational factors that influence the demand for private tutoring within Croatian secondary education, three factors emerge: (1) overloaded and excessively demanding curricula, (2) increasingly competitive higher education and an incompatibility of higher education entrance examinations with the content and rigor of secondary school, and (3) the declining status of the teaching profession.

Overloaded curriculum and teaching in secondary education

Teaching methods and curricula have changed little since Croatia gained independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. Most of the changes that did occur have related to removing socialist ideology. Students may take about 14 subjects in every school year, and between 21 and 22 subjects over the four years of secondary school. In the course of secondary school, a student may select from one to three optional electives, depending on the number of teaching hours of their specific programs. Optional subjects occupy only two lessons per week, while the timetable in schools generally has 31 to 33 lessons per week. With such overloaded timetables, students must prepare for school at home: 45.5 percent of students in our sample spent more than three hours per day preparing, while 35.4 percent spent between one and three hours per day preparing (Bezinović and Ristić Dedić, 2004).

In addition to overloaded compulsory content and limited optional content, schools are overloaded in specific subjects. More than 75 percent of students felt they were overburdened with the number of lessons, while 33 percent perceived the educational program as too demanding. Many felt that insufficient attention was given to acquiring competences, developing cognitive skills, and applying content. Furthermore, many school programs were considered inadequate in development of personality, creativity, and nonacademic interests. With classes averaging 30 students, teaching is neither individualized nor student centered. Private tutoring is often seen as a faster, more efficient, and more exciting route to meeting students' academic needs. Combined, overloaded, and excessively demanding school

curricula, lack of individualized learning, and limited optional content are among the main factors driving the demand for private tutoring. The research reported here shows that over 70 percent of gymnasium students believed that taking private tutoring was related to overloaded curricula, low-quality teaching, and insufficient explanation of course content.

Increasingly competitive higher education

Croatia has six universities with 85 faculties, arts academies, and colleges of higher education. It also has six polytechnics and six independent public higher education colleges. The gross enrolment ratio for tertiary education is approximately 40 percent (UNESCO, 2005). The University of Zagreb is the oldest and largest university, having around 60,000 students in over 30 faculties. In 2004/05, 12,663 new students enrolled at the University of Zagreb. Higher education institutions have autonomy to determine criteria for student enrolment into their institution. Universities, colleges, and polytechnics determine the criteria on which they base their selection of candidates for enrolment. Common criteria include previous achievement, type of completed education, entrance examinations, specific knowledge, skills, and competences. Each person that meets the institutional criteria has the right to enroll if the institution has not reached its maximum capacity. If the number of students who meet the enrolment criteria outstrips the capacity of the higher education institution, the right to enrolment goes to those students who have achieved better results in the process. Typically, secondary school grades carry 40 percent of the enrolment score and the institutional entrance examination carries 60 percent. Some higher education institutions do not organize entrance examinations if the number of candidates is lower than the number of open places. Students may also apply to more than one department or higher education institution, but they must take all examinations.

Generally, higher education entrance examinations are not compatible with the content and rigor of secondary school. Preparatory courses prepare candidates for certain faculties, and often bridge the gap between what is learned in school and what universities require. At the university level, the total number of available places increased by 3.6 percent from 2002/03 to 2004/05, while in the same period the number of applicants increased by 10.8 percent.

The declining status of the teaching profession in Croatia

In 2003/04, 20,077 teachers were employed in Croatia's secondary schools (including vocational schools).¹ Over 70 percent of the teachers were female, and the profession had a generally low social status. In 2005, teacher incomes ranged between US\$650 and US\$730 (€530–€600) per month. A teacher with 30 years of experience had a salary 20 percent higher than that of a beginner. Although the education sector, where the great majority of teachers

had higher education degrees, represented the best educated sector in the country, teachers' incomes were lower than the country average. In 2005, the average salary in Croatia was about US\$700.² There was a deficit of adequately qualified teachers in some subjects, e.g., in foreign languages, especially in smaller communities. The status of teachers is illustrated by the fact that general strikes are announced almost every year. Teachers' unions often characterize teachers as unmotivated, underpaid and insufficiently respected while at the same time being expected to bear all educational reforms.

Economic factors

*I am sure that the number of children who take private tutoring is growing.
With the high competition among the unemployed for a small number of
available jobs, employers prefer to recruit those who are better educated.
Competition in secondary schools is surely high in order for the students
to achieve their ambitions and enter universities.*

State Secretary for secondary education

The increased interest in higher education demonstrates the strong ties between education and the economy. Due to the high rate of unemployment, employers increasingly demand candidates to have higher education degrees. Among the unemployed, the least represented are those with higher education. Among the registered unemployed, the majority have completed three-year vocational school (39.7 percent) or four-year secondary education (24.5 percent), while the smallest numbers are those with some tertiary education (2.8 percent) and a completed university degree (3.8 percent).³ Furthermore, higher education is generally connected to better social status and a higher monthly income. For the employed, monthly net salary is highest among those who completed higher education. In this group, salaries increased by nearly 300 percent between 1994 and 2001.⁴ On the lower end of the salary scale, the salary of unskilled workers in 2001 was only 38 percent of that of workers with higher education. As a possible consequence of this situation, many parents and students firmly believe in the necessity of private tutoring as a means to achieve high school grades and enroll in higher education.

The poor social and economic status of teachers also contributes to the development of private tutoring. For employed teachers, private tutoring represents additional income,

while for university students, young teachers and others with a higher degree, it can be the only source of income while they wait for full-time employment. The state secretary himself is aware of this issue:

Since the unemployment rate is quite high in the country, we unfortunately have a number of teachers who have completed their studies but cannot enter the job market. These are most commonly young people, who have to find a way to survive. It would be illusory to expect them to register a company and pay taxes; they are in a situation where they must find a way. One of the ways is private tutoring. This is an ethical issue which we must certainly understand as humans, although if we look at it from the formal point of view it is part of the gray economy and something that should not function in society.

Social factors

In addition to educational and economic factors, social factors play a role in determining the scope and nature of private tutoring. Croatia suffers from a general lack of trust in the mainstream education system by students and parents, and a form of apathy on the part of teachers. This lack of trust in public institutions is characteristic for transitional societies undergoing the painful adoption of new economic and social systems. The feelings are often contradictory, as people seem both proud of the traditional values of the education system (“it has been producing good results for decades”) and critical of the system for its inadequacies (“we are lagging behind the world; something has to be changed”). In a social and cultural environment in which being educated is increasingly important, parents and students often turn to private tutoring as a way to improve life chances and compensate for the deficiencies of mainstream education.

Findings: Uncovering Private Tutoring in Croatia

Based on the data from our quantitative and qualitative surveys, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring and its educational, social, and economic impact on the mainstream education system. Two basic forms of supplementary private tutoring are offered to students in Croatia: private tutoring lessons and organized preparatory courses. The latter mainly focus on preparation for university entrance examinations. These two forms of private tutoring differ in their legal regulation, form (individual/group), and purpose.

Private tutoring lessons

Private tutoring lessons are not legally regulated, and tutors do not pay tax on their earnings. The state secretary for secondary education confirmed that there was no single ministry guideline on private tutoring.

The scope of private tutoring lessons

Among the respondents in the university sample, 27.8 percent reported using private tutoring lessons during their final year of secondary schooling. This included 29.6 percent of students enrolled in high-demand programs (such as economics, journalism, social work, computer science, and psychology at the University of Zagreb, and economics and psychology at the University of Rijeka), and 24.4 percent of students enrolled in low-demand programs (such as mathematics, physics, chemical engineering, and technology at the University of Zagreb, and physics and mechanical engineering at the University of Rijeka). However, these respondents estimated a larger scope of private tutoring use among their peers. On average, the surveyed university students estimated the percentage of students taking private lessons in the last year of secondary education to be 39.1 percent. The reporting of a smaller percentage of private tutoring attendance by the university sample could be a result of their higher academic abilities (based on their successful admission into higher education), whereas their estimate of private tutoring lessons by their peers may be more realistic indicator of the scope of private tutoring lessons in Croatia.

To get a clearer picture, third-year (junior) secondary school students were asked about private lessons during their previous year of schooling. The results indicated a higher number of students who took private lessons in comparison to those in their first year of university – during the second year of the gymnasium, 54.5 percent of public school students and 48.7 percent of private school students reported taking private tutoring lessons in at least one subject. There appeared to be no statistically significant difference in the number of public and private school students receiving private tutoring lessons. This finding was unexpected, as private schools often provide additional lessons or consultations to all their students, and suggests that even students in high quality private schools do not receive all the education they need during regular teaching hours.

Academic subjects

The majority (63.8 percent) of university students enrolled in high-demand university programs reported taking lessons in only one subject, most frequently mathematics, during their final year of secondary school. A smaller number of the users took lessons in two (19.4 percent) or three subjects (16.8 percent). By subject, mathematics saw the greatest number of students taking private tutoring lessons in their last year of secondary schooling (88.8

percent). Fewer students took private tutoring lessons for physics (18.9 percent) or Croatian language and literature (16.3 percent), while all the other subjects had a frequency of less than 10 percent of reported usage among the university sample.

In the school sample, the majority of students from public schools who took private lessons did so in one subject (60.1 percent), while fewer (31.7 percent) took lessons in two subjects. Students receiving tutoring most frequently took lessons in mathematics (77.3 percent), followed by physics (30.9 percent), chemistry (21.2 percent), and foreign languages (18.0 percent). The dominance of mathematics among other subjects in private tutoring can be interpreted as reflecting developmentally inappropriate subject curricula; its cumulative and complex nature, possible lower quality of teaching as a consequence of teaching staff shortages or inadequately qualified teachers; and the presence and importance of the subject on school leaving or university entrance examinations.

Reasons for taking private tutoring lessons

The reasons for taking private lessons varied according to the level of the education system in which the student was enrolled.⁵ Given that a large majority of the respondents listed mathematics as the main subject for which they took private tutoring, the following analyses and conclusions are drawn from students' responses about this subject. Students in their final year of (senior) secondary education took private lessons in mathematics primarily to fill gaps in their knowledge (46.5 percent) and prepare themselves better for university entrance examinations (38.9 percent), while students in their second year (sophomore) of secondary education took private lessons in mathematics to prepare for school examinations (53.0 percent) or to improve their grades or get a passing grade (41.3 percent). In Croatia, it appears that grades and examination preparation contributed equally to demand for private tutoring lessons. As expected, in the second year of secondary education taking private lessons was not connected with university preparations. This finding is related to the observed short-term orientation of Croatian students—the vast majority believed that it was too early to think about university entrance examinations during the middle of secondary school.

FIGURE 8.1

Reasons for Private Lessons in Mathematics in Final Year of Secondary Education, Croatia (University sample)

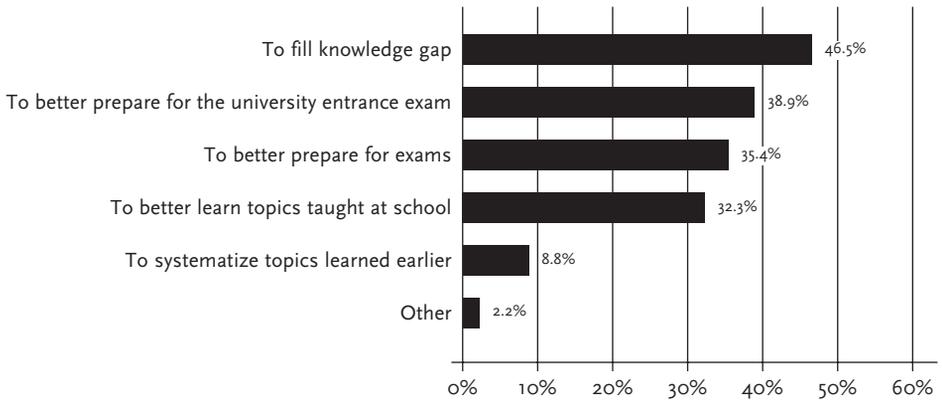
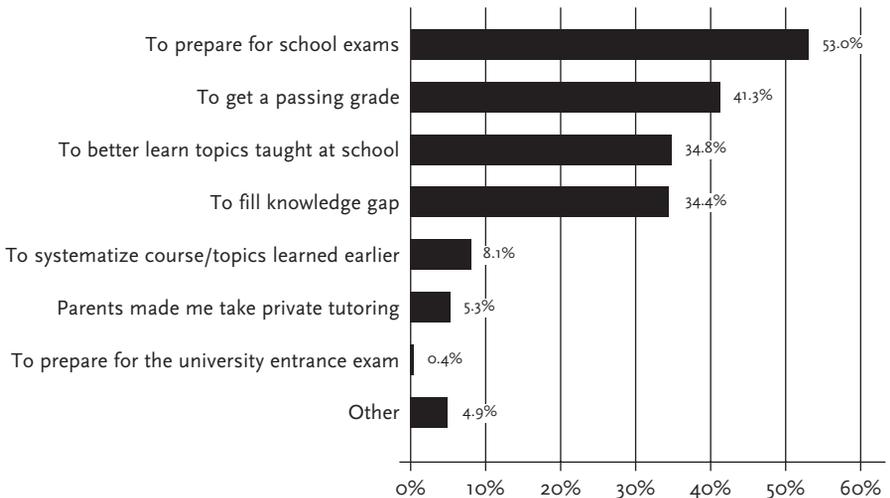


FIGURE 8.2

Reasons for Private Lessons in Mathematics in Second Year of Secondary Education, Croatia (School sample)



Intensity, cost, and impact of private tutoring lessons

University sample

The great majority of mathematics private lessons taken during the final year of secondary education are individual (72.1 percent) and in general irregular. Only 10.2 percent of university students who reported taking private mathematics lessons in their final year of secondary school took private lessons on a regular basis throughout the school year, while 11.5 percent took them regularly in the last semester. In contrast, 36.7 percent of students took lessons occasionally throughout the school year and 38.9 percent occasionally in the last semester. Regarding hours per week, 26.5 percent took lessons less than one hour a week, 22.1 percent one hour a week, and 30.1 percent two hours a week.

An average of US\$109 (€87) was spent on mathematics private lessons in the final year of secondary education. Of course, because of the lesson frequency spread, there was also a wide spread in the amount of money spent per school year, with some students spending as much as US\$407, while those who took lessons regularly in the last semester spent US\$244, and those who only occasionally took lessons spent an average of US\$82.

Private lessons in mathematics appeared to be useful—38.5 percent of those who reported taking private mathematics lessons considered this additional tutoring to have had a significant impact, while 42.9 percent believed that it had had some impact on the results of university entrance examinations. The perceived efficiency of private lessons, as might be expected, was higher among students who had taken lessons regularly, especially among those who had worked with the tutor regularly in their final semester. As many as 61.5 percent of those students believed that the private lessons in mathematics had had a significant impact on their university entrance examination results.

Secondary school sample

Private tutoring lessons at this level are almost always individual (95.5 percent), and they are most frequently organized (45.3 percent) near the end of the semester, during the period of school examinations. Many students take private lessons only occasionally, when having a problem with some specific topic (38.9 percent), while a relatively small percentage (14.6 percent) take lessons regularly during the whole school year. Those who engage in regular private tutoring lessons take one or two lessons a week, which on average cost more than US\$8 (€6.7) a lesson. More than half (53.8 percent) of the second year secondary school students who reported taking private tutoring lessons in mathematics believed that the lessons had had a significant impact on their grades in this subject, while 40.9 percent believed that it had had some impact.

The highest estimate of the efficiency of private lessons was given by students who took lessons in mathematics only occasionally, when they had a problem with some specific topic, and the worst estimate of efficiency was given by those who took lessons regularly throughout the whole school year. This can be explained by considering the reasons students gave for taking private lessons in relation to how often they took them. Taking lessons regularly was often correlated with the need to achieve passing grades, while those who took private lessons only occasionally usually did so to improve their understanding of specific topics. It seems that if private lessons are taken to better understand a topic in-depth, they are more often perceived as being effective than if they are taken as continuous, general support during the whole school year.

Consumers

University sample

In the high-demand program of economics, more students reported taking private lessons than in other high-demand programs. Students enrolled in high-demand programs who were state financed took private lessons somewhat less frequently (26 percent) than those who partially financed their own studies (33.2 percent), probably due to the fact that the former group was more successful in secondary education. Further predicting the likelihood of taking private tutoring lessons, the increase of the mother's educational and professional status was positively correlated to an increased frequency in taking private lessons. For example, 38.1 percent of students whose mothers were professionals took private lessons, compared to only 17.4 percent of students whose mothers were unemployed, or (23.7 percent) of those whose mothers were skilled workers.

A similar socioeconomic relationship can be observed between the material (economic) status of the family and frequency of private tutoring lessons, with 34.1 percent of well-off families and 30.1 percent of students from average income families reporting having taken private tutoring lessons in secondary school, but significantly less private tutoring among families with low economic status (8.7 percent). Such data indicate a greater availability of additional tutoring for students of a higher socioeconomic status than for those from poor or uneducated families. While more information is needed on the subject of who takes private tutoring and why, these data indicate a troubling picture of unequal access to vital education. However, this inequity does not appear to extend to other variables, as no statistically significant differences in private tutoring behavior were found between girls and boys, by the type of school, year of completing secondary education, size of hometown, or education and professional status of the father.

Secondary school sample

In analyzing the responses of gymnasium students, a correlation emerged between the educational and professional status of parents, the economic status of the family, and private tutoring behavior. Almost 66 percent of students from well-off families took private lessons, compared to only 39.4 percent of students from families with low economic status. The percentage of students who took private lessons rose with an increase in the educational level of both parents, so that the greatest number of private tutoring users was among those whose parents have completed higher education. Students whose mothers were top managers took private lessons most frequently (82.4 percent), followed by students whose fathers were owners of companies (68.6 percent) or craft shops (67.3 percent). These results suggested that private lessons might reflect or exacerbate social inequality, as they were more often utilized by the privileged.

Producers

As the private lessons industry is not regulated, becoming a tutor is as easy as fastening a notice on a school bulletin board or advertising in the newspapers or at the local grocery store. However, the research shows that most tutors have some teaching experience. Tutors are sometimes secondary school teachers, university students, higher education professors, and other professionals, but secondary school teachers are the most common tutors. Forty-seven percent of students in the final year (seniors), and half of the students in the second year (sophomores), of secondary schooling had secondary school teachers from schools they did not attend as tutors in mathematics. A smaller proportion of students were tutored by professionals who were not teachers (18.1 percent of students from the final grade and 17.0 percent of students from the second grade of secondary school), while for the lower levels of secondary education, university students frequently served as tutors (17.4 percent).

Tutors mostly find clients through word of mouth. Most students reported having found their tutors through recommendations given by friends or colleagues (45.7 percent) or through their parents (45.4 percent). This is a form of market regulation, as tutors that are not good enough do not often receive recommendations and therefore find themselves without students. However, the market is not completely free, as 9.3 percent of final year secondary school students are tutored in mathematics by their own teachers and a further 9.3 percent by other teachers from their schools. These results indicate the possibility of unethical conduct on the part of some teachers who might coerce their own students into taking private lessons from them.

In general, such an arrangement of teachers charging their students for extra lessons seems to be limited to final-year secondary school students (usually as a preparation for the upcoming university entrance examination). Among second-year students, 0.4 percent

report being tutored by their own teachers and 5.3 percent by other teachers from their schools. There is some indication, obtained through interviews with private tutors, of a different form of dubious practice in Croatia. Examples emerged in our interviews of teachers recommending their colleagues to their students as private tutors and then expecting the same favor in return. This practice of reciprocal recommendation among the teachers is not common, but 9.8 percent of students reported finding a tutor through the recommendation of their own teachers.

Preparatory courses

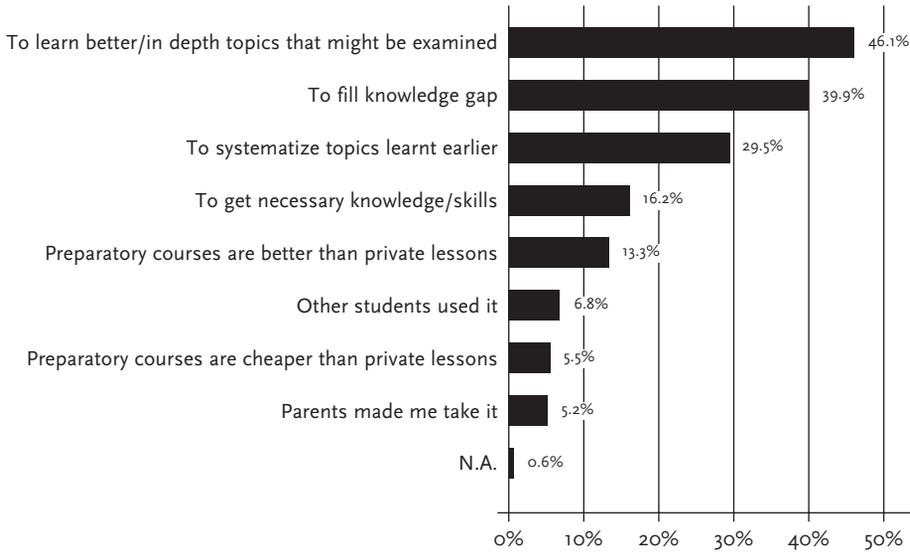
Preparatory courses can be divided into three categories: (1) those provided by privately owned companies, (2) those provided by public institutions dealing with adult education, and most alarmingly, (3) those provided by university teachers themselves.⁶ There has been a boom of privately owned tutoring companies in the last 10 years. Most of these companies are based in Zagreb and advertise their services in the press, on the bulletin boards of schools, on the street, and over the Internet. To obtain a full picture of private tutoring in Croatia it is necessary to know whom these companies employ and how they tutor students.

The scope of preparatory courses

Students enrolled in high- and low-demand university programs differ significantly according to whether they attended preparatory courses. Significantly more of those that enrolled in high-demand programs (46.5 percent) attended preparatory courses compared to students who enrolled in low-demand faculties (33.4 percent). The methods we used, however, did not provide data from which we could determine whether the preparatory courses helped the students on their entrance examinations, and we therefore do not know how large a role these preparatory courses played in admission. It is possible that the students in high-demand programs expected greater competition for enrolment and attended preparatory courses to gain an advantage.

Reasons for attending preparatory courses

Three main reasons for attending preparatory courses surfaced in our research: (1) to learn examination topics better or more deeply, (2) to fill gaps in knowledge, and (3) to remember and systematize course topics learned during secondary school.⁷ Some students in the sample also emphasized the deficiencies of the education system as the reason for their attending preparatory courses. They explained that preparatory courses helped them to acquire the knowledge and skills required for the university entrance examinations which they had been unable to master during school years.

FIGURE 8.3**Reasons for Attending Preparatory Courses among Students Enrolled in High-Demand Higher Education Programs, Croatia****Characteristics of preparatory courses**

The greatest number of students (91.2 percent) who attended preparatory courses and later enrolled in high-demand university programs attended modular courses aimed at preparing the students for particular faculties by combining specific groups of subjects that would appear on the entrance examinations. In 87.9 percent of the cases, the courses included all the subjects examined on the entrance examination, most commonly two or three subjects. Most of these courses had groups of 16 to 30 students. Commonly, the modular courses had 90 hours of teaching and cost US\$285 (€233). Most students began to attend preparatory courses three to six months before the university entrance examination (57.8 percent of the respondents attending spring courses), and a smaller number in the last month before the entrance examination (29.2 percent of the respondents attending summer courses). Only 7.5 percent of the students who attended preparatory courses and enrolled in high-demand programs believed that the courses did not affect the result they achieved on the entrance examination. More than half of the students (52.9 percent) believed that it had some impact, while 35.1 percent believed that the impact was significant.

Producers

Most of the providers of preparatory courses are registered institutions or companies. They are taxpayers, but their activities are not legally regulated as an educational activity and the Ministry of Education has no influence over them. These institutions have been registered as legal entities within the Croatian Chamber of Commerce and are treated like any other business. Courses organized by registered institutions or companies are mostly preparatory for university entrance examinations. Some institutions offer individual lessons, generally as additional instruction for all levels of secondary education, and a few are organized as agencies that match individual tutors and students.

In their advertising, the companies commonly use different methods to recruit more students. They often use the percentage of their former students who passed the threshold on the entrance examination. They also give themselves names which make them appear to be schools, institutes, centers of knowledge, and/or advisory centers. The companies offer a variety of courses for a number of faculties. Compared to public institutions that offer preparatory courses, private companies offer a greater variety of courses and include some extra services such as career advice. The most common courses are for the faculties of economics, law, philosophy, and medicine, but some companies also offer special courses for academies of art, drama, and music. Generally, the courses last between 40 and 120 hours in the specific subjects that are obligatory for the entrance examinations. These are often taught on a modular basis, although some “schools” allow for just the subjects that the students feel they need.

According to our research, 67.5 percent of preparatory course tutors are secondary school teachers, 23.4 percent are university professors, and 16.0 percent are professionals who are not otherwise involved in the education system. These tutors use actual past examination papers, tests, or test questions to prepare students. These materials are publicly available and can be bought from some faculties for a reasonable price. Most of these tutors drill the students on the tests and teach them skills and tactics for passing an examination. Little time is dedicated to deeper understanding of content.

Consumers

The students enrolled in high-demand studies most commonly attend the University of Zagreb (53.7 percent), especially the programs in economics and psychology, and the majority (66.5 percent) live in Zagreb.⁸ Among those in the sample who used preparatory courses, there was no difference according to gender, year of graduation from secondary school, or the type of secondary school they attended. Also, the data did not indicate significant differences according to the educational and professional status of the students’ mothers or the estimated economic status of their families. However, the educational and professional level

of the father was correlated with the attendance of such courses: the higher the educational status of the father, the greater the likelihood that a student will attend preparatory courses. The percentage of students who attended these courses was highest among students whose fathers were top managers (61.9 percent) or owners of companies (58.1 percent), while only 35.5 percent of students whose fathers were skilled workers attended preparatory courses.

Perceived impact of supplementary private tutoring: educational and social aspects

Private tutoring occurring in the shadow of the mainstream education system is a reflection of perceptions of Croatian schools. Our respondents related private tutoring attendance directly to problems in mainstream schooling (Table 8.1). There was a general belief (over 80 percent) that the education system should be adequate and that no student would need private tutoring. Survey participants were also in strong agreement that students used private tutoring because their teachers did not explain the subject matter thoroughly and classes were too large. The level of agreement with these statements was especially high (over 70 percent) among third-year students of public gymnasiums.

In the respondents' opinion, it was not only remedial students who took private tutoring. In fact, most participants agreed that students received private tutoring to increase their chances to enter university or to improve their school grades. It appeared, however, that private tutoring was not seen as the only path to school success and a good education. Many respondents felt that it was possible to be a successful student without private tutoring, and that private tutoring was not a guarantee for successfully passing the entrance examination to higher education.

TABLE 8.1**Attitudes Toward the Connection between Private Tutoring and the Quality of Mainstream Schooling, Croatia**

	<i>Students in high-demand university programs* (%)</i>	<i>Students in public secondary schools* (%)</i>
Education system should be such that no one would need private tutoring.	84.4 (42.3)	88.8 (54.9)
Students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly.	66.9 (16.4)	72.9 (30.9)
Students use private tutoring because the school's curricula do not cover everything that is required on the university entrance examination.	63.1 (16.0)	—
Low quality of teaching in schools is the main reason for the decision to take private tutoring.	62.1 (16.0)	71.9 (28.2)
Students use private tutoring because the school curricula are overloaded.	59.2 (13.1)	73.5 (30.7)
Currently, private tutoring is the only way to get high quality education.	20.2 (4.0)	28.0 (5.2)
Taking private tutoring is the only way to get good grades.	—	20.6 (4.0)
It is difficult to be a successful school student without receiving additional private tutoring.	12.6 (1.9)	21.4 (3.6)
Taking private tutoring is the only way to pass the university entrance examination.	10.3 (2.3)	—

Note: * The numbers present a combined percentage of students answering “agree” and “strongly agree,” with the percentage of “strongly agree” in parentheses.

Private tutoring and the perceived impact on education equity

In general, private tutoring is expensive. Among students in high-demand programs, 80.6 percent agreed that “private tutoring is expensive”, as did 64.7 percent of students in public secondary schools. The high cost of private tutoring prevented many students from low-income families from using it. As children from high-income families use private tutoring more frequently, private tutoring may reflect and/or exacerbate educational access and social inequalities. However, one-third of respondents perceived that students from families that were not wealthy also received tutoring. This perception may be a consequence

of the perception that private tutoring is ubiquitous. Respondents do acknowledge that an increase in the economic status of a family increases their access to a better tutor. This belief was shared by 71.0 percent of university students and 60.3 percent of public secondary school students.

Private tutoring and the perceived impact on mainstream schools

Private tutoring is a complex phenomenon which has numerous implications for the mainstream education system and the society as a whole. Interviews with the state secretary for education and several private tutors on what the consequences of private tutoring are for individual students, teachers, and the education system suggested that respondents felt that the wide scope of private tutoring sent a message about the school as an institution of poor quality in which teachers are not capable of adequately teaching students in the regular school day. The school is perceived as overburdening children and forcing them to do additional work outside of the system. The perception of superior private tutoring strengthens the belief that schools are of poor quality.

In the respondents' opinion, private tutoring can help students to get a better grasp on subject content, to learn more, and to achieve better examination results. However, private tutoring may also strengthen students' feelings of incompetence and obstruct them from developing skills for independent learning. Many people also think that taking private tutoring is a form of external control that is reflected in the extrinsic motivation for learning.

Widespread private tutoring also has a negative impact on the image of teachers. A perception emerges that teachers are insufficiently professional and unable either to satisfy the individual needs of their students or teach all the necessary knowledge and skills during regular hours. Perceptions are especially negative about teachers who provide private tutoring while they are within the education system.

Lastly, some respondents perceived private tutoring as a panic measure in which students frequently expect miracles to happen. As a result, the students are much more interested in passing the examination than in building their knowledge and competences through tutoring. One mathematics tutor described this well:

I know for certain that a great number of my colleagues feel very negatively about private lessons. There is nothing worse for them than being asked to provide private lessons, and due to a number of circumstances such as social or family ties they cannot refuse. The fundamental reason for not wanting to provide private lessons is not in the fact that it is difficult for some students or that they do not know the basics, but in the fact that students want quick drilling of the mathematical processes in order to achieve a better grade.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The results of this research unambiguously point to the pervasiveness of private tutoring in Croatia and the need for both monitoring and intervention. The Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports has not recognized the phenomenon and the associated problems. The overall impression is that the shadow system of private tutoring is gaining momentum. The research shows that the private tutoring area is highly developed, has a substantial number of providers, has multifaceted marketing strategies for services, charges prices that are fairly stable and correspond to the status and educational levels of the suppliers, and is present at different levels of the education system. The most common forms of tutoring are one-to-one lessons and organized preparatory courses for university entrance examinations.

The data showed that 54.5 percent of students in the second year of secondary education received private tutoring lessons in at least one subject. This high percentage points to many problems related to the efficacy of the education system, the quality of teaching in schools, the adequacy of the assessment system, and the overall burden on students. Equally alarming, 46.5 percent of first-year university students in high-demand programs had attended preparatory courses for their university entrance examinations in the final year of secondary education. The high percentage of students attending preparatory courses could be a signal of a disconnect between secondary and higher education and a symptom of incongruence between what is learned in school and what is required by universities.

The scope and seriousness of the phenomenon requires action. Before any policy change can occur, the Croatian government must undertake a careful and thorough cost-benefit analysis of future policy actions. The right to take additional private tutoring should not be denied to students if better solutions cannot be found within the mainstream schooling system. Teachers should not be denied supplementary incomes unless their remuneration for mainstream teaching can be increased.

In considering possible policy approaches, neither formal support nor outright prohibition seem appropriate. Formal encouragement, e.g., by allocating subsidies for organizing preparatory courses or by helping schools to inform students about available private tutors, could result in an increasingly uncontrollable private tutoring market. Prohibition, on the other hand, is not practical given the high demand for supplementary education and the shadowy nature of provision. The ministry would therefore be wise to implement less extreme measures that limit the negative effects of private tutoring without making radical changes to the education system. Based on the literature reviewed and data presented here, we recommend the following specific approaches:

- ▶ The Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports should organize comprehensive and longitudinal monitoring of private tutoring, which would give systemic data about the form, scale, and impact of private tutoring on the Croatian education system. This measure is especially important in the light of the proposed reform of the external exit examination assessment procedure. An overly competitive system of externally assessing students' achievement could cause an increase in the demand for additional private tutoring. From the vantage point of private tutoring, the suggested reform of external evaluation should not contain overly high-stakes tests or raise unnecessary competitiveness between schools.
- ▶ The ministry should clearly define its position on private tutoring, and include private tutoring in its laws and regulations.
- ▶ Although (and perhaps because) the number of teachers giving private lessons to their own students is small, the ministry should immediately issue a formal prohibition of this form of private tutoring. By formally acknowledging the existence and threat of tutoring one's own students, such a document would hold considerable symbolic value.
- ▶ The ministry, in cooperation with the unions, should develop a code of ethics for teachers in which they should emphasize the need for complete teacher professionalism. This code would unambiguously define all non-ethical behavior related to private tutoring.
- ▶ The ministry should promote additional consultations where teachers would work with their own students free of charge as a part of their regular activities and job descriptions.
- ▶ The ministry should give infrastructural, financial, and moral support to schools, teachers, and bodies that organize additional free-of-charge tutoring for needy students.
- ▶ The ministry should enforce the registration of private firms providing preparatory courses and other educational services, not only as legal entities but also with the Ministry of Education. This would result in the better control and monitoring of such services, and students and parents might have more confidence in the quality of these services.

- ▶ The ministry should develop an accreditation system for private firms dealing with education. This system could be developed through the National Center for the External Evaluation of Education.
- ▶ The ministry should take special note of the negative effects of private tutoring on social injustice and the effects of private tutoring on educational access. The system of high-stakes examinations should be organized in such a way that all students have equal opportunities to prepare themselves for school tests during regular teaching hours.

The majority of these proposed solutions concentrate on private tutoring producers. Should the government wish to concentrate on consumers, it should develop and implement different strategies. These strategies might include unburdening the curriculum, raising the motivation of students by introducing innovative teaching processes in schools, implementing learner-centered teaching approaches, and/or reducing the elitism within the education system by decreasing the variations in the quality of different schools. Overall, concentrating on consumers would demand deeper, systematic change.

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Notes

1. Republic of Croatia, Central Bureau of Statistics: data for school year 2003/04.
2. Republic of Croatia, Central Bureau of Statistics: February 2005 data.
3. Source: news release, Croatian Employment Services, 2005.
4. Source: Croatian Chamber of Commerce.
5. Data shown are for the total sample (regardless of whether respondents were enrolled in high- or low-demand studies, or attended state or private schools).
6. We found only one such case advertised on the Internet; but the fact that it existed was already alarming since it presented a conflict of interest.
7. The data shown relate to students of high-demand studies.
8. This report has limited its presentation of results to students enrolled in high-demand studies. The actual ratio between high- and low-demand studies in Croatian universities is not known, so the results are analyzed separately. It has been assumed that the subsample of students enrolled in high-demand studies is more representative of the overall demand for private tutoring.

Chapter 9

Georgia

Anna Matiashvili and Nino Kutateladze

Private tutoring is a widespread phenomenon in Georgia, taking place at all levels of general secondary education and starting as early as the initial grades of elementary school. Like other countries that inherited the Soviet education system, the practice of private tutoring in Georgia is related to competitive university entrance examinations. Private tutoring has traditionally been seen in Georgia as the best way to succeed in entrance examinations and as a wise investment for families who want their children to move successfully from secondary school to university. Private tutoring has also become a response to the poor quality of education offered by the school system and an opportunity for poorly paid teachers to earn additional incomes.

Private tutoring is a complex phenomenon that may have far-reaching social and educational implications. On the one hand, private tutoring can help students to gain knowledge and assist nations in adding valuable human capital. On the other hand, it can exacerbate social inequalities and interfere with the educational processes of mainstream schooling (Bray, 1999; Bray, 2003). Private tutoring is also linked to an untaxed shadow economy in education and to questionable educational ethics.

In Georgia, private tutoring raises serious equity concerns. Deficiencies in the public education system cause the majority of secondary school students to seek extra help from private tutors in order to enroll in universities. These investments in private tutoring represent major financial burdens for Georgian households. The Household Education Expenditure Survey, carried out by the State Statistical Agency (2001), estimated that household spending for private tutoring was about GEL11.6 million (US\$5.7 million, €4.6 million) for a period of nine months, or 9.5 percent of total public spending in the education sector in 2000. Since the poor are less able to pay for private tutoring, and particularly for tutoring of high quality, they are the most affected by the inadequate quality of mainstream schooling and face limited access to higher education.

Notwithstanding its extensive scope and adverse effects, private tutoring has been ignored by the Georgian government for many years. There are no legal frameworks or regulations concerning private tutoring. It does not appear on the policy agenda of the Ministry of Education and Science, and the government has not declared any official position on the issue. Some studies conducted in Georgia have touched on the basics of the problem and have underlined its prevalence in the current system, but they have not given the issue the attention it deserves.

The research presented here represents a first comprehensive attempt to examine private tutoring in Georgia and lays the groundwork for further analysis of the issue. One of the main aims of the research is to promote public debate. This chapter estimates the scope and nature of private tutoring and analyzes key factors underlying the demand for tutoring. It also discusses the reasons for the government's neglect of the phenomenon and presents possible policy options for Georgia.

The data were collected in fall and winter of 2004 and included two different student populations: (1) first-year students at higher education institutions throughout Georgia (university sample), and (2) tenth-grade students of general secondary schools in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia (school sample). The university sample was drawn to cover different geographical locations (i.e., higher education institutions located in the capital city and regional areas) and programs that have different degrees of demand (i.e., high-demand and low-demand programs within universities).¹ A total of 839 university students were surveyed in six different universities in Georgia. The school sample was limited to the capital Tbilisi and included a total of 500 secondary school students from five districts. Within each district, schools were further sorted by the type of school (i.e., public/private). The first stage of sampling included the selection of five schools within each district with probability proportional to school size. A total of 25 schools were selected. After obtaining the lists of all tenth-grade students for each school, 20 respondents were selected in each school using the systematic sampling method, i.e., selecting every n^{th} student from the list.

Context: Educational Transformation and Private Tutoring Factors

According to the new Law on General Secondary Education (2005), primary school in Georgia includes grades 1–6, basic education goes up to grade 9, and upper secondary covers grades 10, 11, and 12.² As of the 2003–2004 academic year, the number of public general secondary schools was 3,131 and the overall number of students 647,942. Of all students, 152,041 studied in the capital Tbilisi. There were 156 private general secondary schools (74 of which were located in Tbilisi), which enrolled a total of 16,902 students. In addition, there were 65 secondary vocational schools, which enrolled 20,355 students (Ministry of Education and Science, 2004). Of the total student population in secondary schools, about 53 percent attended 675 urban schools while the rest attended 2,500 schools located in rural areas. Rural schools suffered from a lack of or limited access to better qualified teachers, limited resources, and limited opportunities for raising additional revenue from the community (World Bank, 2001). The number of public higher education institutions was 26, with 18 branches throughout the country. The number of private higher education institutions was about 150, of which most (87) were located in the capital city. The number of students in public higher education institutions was 123,866, while the number of students enrolled in private higher educational institutions was 29,388 (Ministry of Education and Science, 2004).

One of the positive legacies of the Soviet system is a highly educated population. Basic illiteracy is almost negligible and more than 20 percent of the adult population has higher education. Between 1990 and 1997, however, total enrollments dropped from 1,242 million to 924,000. This decline affected some age groups more than others. Preschool enrollment in public institutions declined from about 200,000 to 83,000, upper secondary enrollments (grades 10–11) from 105,000 to 70,000, and vocational education from 42,000 to 20,000 (World Bank, 2001). Decline in secondary education appears to be more accentuated in urban areas at about 14.5 percent versus about 9 percent in rural areas. Declining birth rates, exclusion of South Ossetia and Abkhazia³ from current statistics, internal migration, and an increase in private school enrollment account for some of the decline in enrollments. However, the magnitude of the decline could also be an indication of other factors, including educational, economic, social, and cultural factors.

Educational factors

Several educational factors relate directly to the size and shape of private tutoring. In Georgia, these factors include university entrance examinations and educational quality.

Competitive university examinations

Private tutoring to prepare for competitive university entrance examinations has a long history in Georgia. It is mostly provided in a one-on-one, individual format, usually in the homes of either the tutors or the tutees. According to other studies, such practices are particularly evident in systems where success in examinations can be improved by investing in private tutoring (Bray, 2003). Until 2005, candidates for admissions to Georgian universities had to take subject-specific examinations (typically in four subjects). The choice of subjects depended on the field of study. The examinations were usually organized in the summer prior to the beginning of the academic year. They were administered locally by the higher education institutions, which had examination commissions for each subject comprised of university faculty members. Examinations were written, oral, or both and required extensive and comprehensive knowledge, including knowledge of topics not covered by secondary schools.

These university examinations were highly subjective, and students had to compete for a limited number of state-funded places in different university programs. The level of competition for each vacancy varied by program and was as high as 1:15 for some programs. Quite often, secondary schools and vocational/technical institutions were unable to guarantee sufficient knowledge to meet the requirements of the university entrance examinations. However, this often did not matter, because the entrance examination process was subject to high levels of corruption. Parents had to pay bribes to members of the examination commissions or the university administration or use their connections to help their children secure admission to university, regardless of the children's abilities. Therefore, students often sought private tutoring from university professors who were members of the university entrance examination commissions since these professors knew, or at least were presumed to know, the content of entrance examinations and used their status to favor their tutees. Such professors usually commanded high prices for tutoring and were only available to the wealthiest and best-connected students.

In 2005, the government modified the policy on entrance examinations. Starting in that year, students were enrolled in the higher education sector based on results achieved on a centralized national examination after the completion of secondary school. Students wishing to continue their studies had to pass tests in Georgian language and literature, a foreign language (one of the four offered languages), and aptitude. The centralized national examination was administered by the National Examination and Assessment Center (NAEC). In spite of these measures, demand for private tutoring seemed to remain high, although reoriented and reshaped according to the new examinations.

Deteriorating quality of general education

Besides the competitive university entrance examinations, one of the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring has been the deteriorating quality of general secondary schools. While no official statistics enable a comparison of private tutoring usage over the years, qualitative reports have indicated that the demand for private tutoring has increased over the transition period while educational quality has been decreasing. Moreover, children start seeking the help of private tutors in a number of subjects as early as the first and second grades of elementary school. Although private tutoring has been a part of Georgian society for many years, the extent and scope of private tutoring has increased dramatically since the early 1990s. Such an increase in private tutoring is seen by some as an adequate and appropriate response to the poor quality of education offered by the mainstream school system. The deterioration in quality is related to outdated curricula and teaching methods, lack of teaching materials, insufficient financial resources, deteriorating infrastructure, and ineffective teacher training and professional development.

Economic factors

The increased demand for private tutoring has been also related to the difficult socioeconomic conditions of teachers during the transition period. In the early 1990s, Georgia suffered a deep economic recession caused by internal armed conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia and a brief civil war immediately after the country regained its independence from the Soviet Union. As a result of these political tensions, the economy collapsed; Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by 75 percent between 1990 and 1994. The economic downturn affected every sector, including education. Expenditures on education as a proportion of GDP declined from over 7 percent in 1991 to below 1 percent in 1994. The sharp decline in funding of the education sector has been one of the most severe in the region and unique in the history of education systems worldwide. The state budget for the sector in 1996 was only 5 percent in real terms of what it had been in 1989. Although a modest recovery has taken place since 1995,⁴ the percentage of GDP allocated for education was still only 2.4 percent in 1998, low by international standards (World Bank, 2001).

As a result of declining education expenditures, teacher salaries fell considerably, and teachers' living conditions worsened. The income of a full-time teacher remained as low as GEL80 (US\$45, €31.7) per month until 2005, whereas the average salary in Georgia in 2004 was GEL150 (US\$83, €59.4). Unfavorable conditions forced many qualified teachers to leave the system, and those who stayed sought additional sources of income. Private tutoring was an obvious and easy way for teachers to earn additional income. Many secondary school teachers encouraged their students to take additional classes with them, claiming that

mainstream classes were overloaded and that there was not enough time to cover the entire curriculum during the regular school hours. In this way, some teachers received additional income from the students the government already paid them to teach, raising serious ethical implications.

Sociocultural factors

Another factor influencing supplementary private tutoring in Georgia is related to the high value of education. Georgia has a long tradition of valuing education, which remained prestigious during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Even under difficult economic conditions and increased unemployment, which have seen many people with higher education doing work that did not match their qualifications, parents have remained willing to invest in education for their children. Many parents view private tutoring as the only way for their children to obtain high quality education and succeed in a competitive educational environment. This was confirmed by the qualitative survey for the present chapter, as well as by the student responses to statements regarding their reasons for taking private tutoring.

Moreover, interviews with students reveal that supplementary private tutoring has been associated with the economic status of families and viewed as a sign of students' high academic achievement in recent years. Secondary school students often brag to their peers about the number of tutors they have, and parents hire tutors to help their children prepare their everyday homework. This environment affects the credibility of mainstream schooling, since many of those students do not take mainstream school seriously and think that they can obtain quality education only through their tutors.

Governmental factors

The presence of private tutoring in Georgia is a response to complex issues in the education system and creates serious social, economic, and ethical concerns. Despite this fact, the government has not issued any regulations on private tutoring. Since the problem of private tutoring is not on the education reform agenda, it is difficult to discuss the official position of the government. Several factors account for the government's inability or unwillingness to deal with private tutoring. First, private tutoring forms part of a complex set of problems related to government inefficiency that will require extensive reforms. Second, teachers in Georgia are paid so poorly that they cannot subsist without supplementary earnings. Third, parents see tutoring as the only way to improve the educational performance of their children and to compensate for the poor quality of education provided by mainstream schooling. The government cannot propose any policies to regulate or prohibit the phenomenon unless

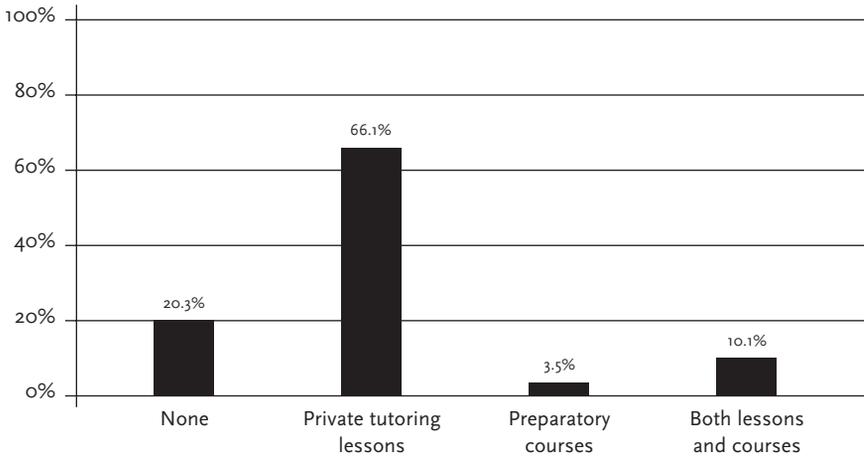
these proposals are accompanied by measures to improve teacher conditions and the quality of education in mainstream schools. Without public support, such measures would fail and result in additional social tensions.

Study Results

Based on the data from quantitative and qualitative research, this section examines the characteristics of private tutoring, the main factors underlying demand, and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system.

General characteristics of private tutoring

Nearly four-fifths (79.7 percent) of the respondents from the sample of university students had received some form of private tutoring. The most widespread types of private tutoring were individual one-on-one or small-group tutoring. Figure 9.1 shows that 66.1 percent of the surveyed university students received help from private tutors in secondary school, as opposed to the 3.5 percent of students who enrolled in preparatory courses offered by higher education institutions. Ten percent of the surveyed students attended both individual private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses. Among the sample of secondary school students, 53.4 percent received private tutoring in addition to mainstream schooling. Of the 46.6 percent of the secondary school students who reported that they did not take private tutoring, 23.4 percent claimed that it was too expensive. Focus group discussions revealed that students believed that private tutoring lessons provided more in-depth knowledge, were offered in smaller groups, and were, in general, more effective than preparatory courses. Students also explained that most of their private tutors were members of examinations committees at different universities. In addition, private tutoring lessons were historically more popular compared to preparatory courses.

FIGURE 9.1**The Scope and Types of Private Tutoring, Georgia (University Sample)****Size of private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses**

The majority of the university students in the sample reported taking private tutoring lessons individually (38.9 percent) or in small groups consisting of two or three students (31.9 percent). Approximately 15 percent of the university students received tutoring in groups of four to five, and 14 percent in groups larger than five people. Similarly, the survey of secondary school students revealed that the majority of students received private tutoring in the form of individual lessons, including 64.7 percent of students receiving one-on-one instruction in foreign languages, 53.6 percent in mathematics, and 38.0 percent in Georgian language and literature. Only a small percentage of the respondents took private tutoring in a group of more than four people, including 4.7 percent of students in foreign languages, 2.4 percent in mathematics, and 5.4 percent in Georgian language and literature. Typically, teachers provided instruction either in their own homes or in the homes of the students.

The size of preparatory courses varied. Among the university students, 26.8 percent reported that they had been in classes of 5 or fewer students, 40.2 percent in classes of 6 to 15 students, and 27.8 percent in classes of 16 to 30 students.

Academic subjects

The majority of surveyed university students used the help of a private tutor in one subject (30.6 percent) or two subjects (21.5 percent). Approximately 24 percent of students received private tutoring in more than three subjects. Among the secondary school students, 33 percent received tutoring in one subject and 41 percent received tutoring in two subjects. The situation was similar to that in the preparatory courses, where 49.1 percent took one subject and 23.1 percent took two subjects.

The research findings showed that private tutoring was mainly examination oriented. The choice of subjects for which private tutoring was sought in both samples coincided with the subjects required for the university entrance examinations. Most programs at higher education institutions in Georgia administered entrance examinations in Georgian language and literature, a foreign language, history, and mathematics. Among the surveyed university students, the most common subjects for private tutoring were mathematics (45.4 percent), foreign language (34.4 percent), native language (31.2 percent), and history (20.1 percent). The school sample provided similar data, with 50 percent of the students taking private tutoring in Georgian language and literature, 50.3 percent in foreign languages, and 52.3 percent in mathematics. Private tutoring in other subjects was less widespread, with only 6.3 percent of students from the university sample receiving private tutoring in physics, 1.7 percent in biology, and 1.7 percent in chemistry.

The intensity of private tutoring

Both private tutoring and preparatory courses are quite intensive. Among the surveyed university students, 64.7 percent reported that they received tutoring on a regular basis throughout the school year, and 17.1 percent reported that they received tutoring on a regular basis in the last semester. About 40 percent of the students worked with tutors for more than four hours per week, 35.9 percent of the students worked with private tutors for three to four hours per week, and 22.6 percent for two hours per week. The majority of students in preparatory courses (57 percent) were enrolled in courses one year or more before the examination, 18.4 percent three to six months prior to the examination, and 17.5 percent in the last month prior to examination.

Data from the secondary school sample showed that the majority of students similarly received lessons on a regular basis throughout the year: 95.3 percent in foreign languages, 90.7 percent in mathematics, and 89.6 percent in Georgian language and literature. About 50 percent of the school students received private tutoring for at least two hours per week in foreign languages and mathematics, and 42.8 percent worked with a private tutor in Georgian language and literature for three to four hours per week. The duration of one private

tutoring lesson was reported to average about 90 minutes. However, 24 percent of students reported that their lessons lasted about 120 minutes.

The majority of the school student sample started taking private tutoring lessons in grades 9 or 10. However, 28 percent reported starting private lessons in foreign languages earlier, mostly in grades 5 to 8. According to our qualitative data, many students started taking private tutoring lessons even earlier. However, tutoring became more intensive at the upper-secondary level.

Providers: Who offers private tutoring and why?

University professors seem to be among the most popular private tutors. As indicated above, many professors and lecturers are members of entrance examination commissions and are presumed to know the rough contents of university entrance examinations. According to our survey, 29.6 percent of the respondents took private lessons with professors of higher education institutions, 24.8 percent with professionals in the field, 19.3 percent with their own class teachers, and 16.3 percent with other teachers from the same school. Among the university students who were enrolled in preparatory courses, 64 percent were taught by university professors and approximately 17.5 percent either by professionals from the field of study or by secondary school teachers. The survey of secondary school students showed that 40 percent of the respondents received tutoring from university professors.

Consumers: Who takes private tutoring and why?

The gender breakdown showed slightly more females taking private tutoring than males, with 57 percent of females and 43 percent of males from both samples receiving private tutoring. Geographically, around 60 percent of students receiving private tutoring were from urban areas. This could be because urban life was more competitive or because urban areas had more families with higher socioeconomic status who could afford private tutoring (Bray, 2003).

Higher education in Georgia is financed from two main sources: the state and the private sector. State financing was the principal source for the students surveyed. About 60 percent of the university respondents received state funding for their higher education, whereas around 40 percent were self-financed. Eighty percent of respondents indicated that when applying to the higher education institutions of their choice, they were willing to take only state-funded places. Half of the surveyed university students were admitted to higher education institutions on their first attempt. One-third of the rest, who made subsequent attempts, were admitted to the study programs for which they had initially applied. Only

17 percent of the students surveyed were not admitted to the study programs of their first choice.

The majority of surveyed university students (57.9 percent) were enrolled in high-demand programs, namely economics, management, and law. This suggested that private tutoring may play an important role in helping students to gain access to such programs. Two-thirds of the surveyed university students believed that private tutoring had a great impact on their university entrance examination performance. However, university examinations were only one of several reasons for students seeking private tutoring.

Main Factors Driving the Demand for Private Tutoring

In the Georgian context, the main reasons for private tutoring are competitive higher education examinations and the poor quality of secondary education. Social factors such as parental or peer pressure did not seem to influence students' decisions. As Table 9.1 shows, competitive entrance examinations seemed to be the main reason for taking private tutoring. In addition, many students desired to fill gaps in their knowledge, to remember and systematize topics learned earlier, and to learn more fully the topics taught at school.

TABLE 9.1
Reasons for Using Private Tutoring Lessons, Georgia

<i>Reasons for using private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>University sample (%)</i>	<i>School sample (%)</i>		
		<i>Languages</i>	<i>Mathematics</i>	<i>Literature</i>
To learn more fully the topics taught at school	16.0	4.3	11.4	6.2
To remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier	24.1	3.8	3.3	0.8
To fill a gap in knowledge	38.8	57.0	34.2	28.8
To prepare better for the university entrance examination	61.5	26.2	41.0	55.6
Parents made me take private tutoring	0.5	0.8	1.2	0.0
Other students used private tutoring, that is why I decided	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

Private tutoring and university entrance examinations

The connection between university entrance examinations and private tutoring fits a larger global pattern of examinations prompting investments in supplementary private tutoring. The subjective perceptions of students also support the findings that tutoring in Georgia is oriented toward preparing students for competitive university entrance examinations. As illustrated in Table 9.2, the majority of students believed that private tutoring would increase their chances to enter university (83.4 percent of the university sample and 73 percent of the school sample) and that private tutoring was the only way to pass university entrance examinations (58.3 percent of the university sample and 53 percent of the school sample). Furthermore, the majority of respondents believed that students who received tutoring were more likely to enter university than students of equal abilities who did not receive tutoring (62.3 percent of the university sample and 61 percent of the school sample). Importantly, students believed that private tutoring had practically become a prerequisite for receiving state funding for higher education (which only 60 percent of students received). Some students mentioned during the interviews that they preferred to invest in private tutoring for a couple of years and get state-funded places than not to invest in private tutoring and pay for higher education for four or more years.

TABLE 9.2
Student Perceptions about Private Tutoring, Georgia

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Agree</i>	
	<i>University sample</i>	<i>School sample</i>
Taking private tutoring is the only way to pass higher education entrance examinations.	58.3	53.0
Students use private tutoring in order to increase their chances to enter university.	83.4	73.1
Students who receive private tutoring are more likely to enter university than students of equal abilities who do not receive tutoring.	62.3	61.2

Private tutoring and the quality of mainstream schooling

The poor quality of mainstream education emerged as another major reason for taking private tutoring lessons. Indeed, 48 percent of school students stated that the “low quality of teaching in schools is the main reason for deciding to take private tutoring.” Moreover,

41 percent of the school students agreed that “students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly.” About 56 percent of university students and 55 percent of school students said that they used private tutoring because they “would like to learn more.”

During the focus group interviews, students also mentioned the poor quality of mainstream education as one of the main reasons for using private tutoring. According to the interviewed students, classes were often large, sometimes with over 40 students, which made it impossible for teachers to pay sufficient individual attention to all students. Sometimes teachers only focused on “strong” students, and did not try to involve or encourage students with average or low academic achievement. This type of learning environment was contrasted with that of tutoring lessons, which were tailored more to individual needs and were often seen as more effective. Focus group interviews also revealed a lack of adequate textbooks and learning materials and a general feeling that teachers were incompetent. “I did not like anything at school,” reported one student. “Textbooks were not good, and lessons were very boring.” However, students also stressed that teachers had very poor financial conditions: “In a way I understand teachers. Because they do not have sufficient salaries or any incentives, they are not motivated to do their best in school.”

Impact of private tutoring

Being a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, private tutoring has both a positive and negative impact on students, schools, and society. In some circles, private tutoring is heralded as providing private investments in human capital formation, additional income for underpaid teachers, and constructive after-school activities for teenagers. On the other hand, private tutoring can exacerbate social inequalities, increase fatigue for students and teachers, and distort mainstream education. This section will focus chiefly on the negative dimensions of private tutoring since in Georgia they are especially troubling.

Private tutoring and educational inequities

The scope of private tutoring is partly shaped by the socioeconomic status (SES) of families. According to both the university and school samples, private tutoring is less accessible to students whose parents do not have higher education or are unskilled workers or unemployed. As shown in Table 9.3, the higher the parental education, the higher the chances that a child takes private tutoring. For example, approximately 70.1 percent of students who took private tutoring reported that their parents had higher degrees, compared to approximately 2.7 percent of students whose parents had only elementary or lower education.

TABLE 9.3
Percentage of Students Taking Private Tutoring by Family Socioeconomic Status,
Georgia (University sample)

<i>Parents' education and occupation</i>	<i>Received private tutoring (%)</i>	<i>Paid more than 300 GEL (US\$166 or €119) per year (%)</i>
<i>Mother's Education</i>		
Higher education	72.2	80.5
Secondary education	25.7	17.8
Elementary or lower	2.2	1.6
<i>Father's education</i>		
Higher education	69.2	81.0
Secondary education	28.0	17.4
Elementary or lower	2.8	1.6
<i>Mother's occupation</i>		
Professionals, managers, business owners, skilled workers	68.5	76.0
Unskilled workers, farmers, unemployed	31.5	24.0
<i>Father's occupation</i>		
Professionals, managers, business owners, skilled workers	81.3	81.7
Unskilled workers, farmers, unemployed	18.7	18.3

The connection between SES and private tutoring is similar in the school student population, where the higher the education level of their parents the more likely it is that students take private tutoring. Approximately 82.9 percent of the school students receiving private tutoring had parents with higher education compared to 2.3 percent of students with parents having general secondary education and 0.5 percent of students with parents having primary or basic secondary education. The students whose parents did not have higher education or whose parents were unskilled workers or unemployed also invested less in private lessons. According to student perceptions of their family status, only about 6 percent of students from low-income families paid more than 300 GEL (US\$166, €119) for private tutoring. Expensive tutoring was usually offered on an individual basis or in small groups,

and was more closely tailored to individual needs. This type of tutoring was more accessible to wealthier students, which increased social inequality.

Among the surveyed school students who took some form of private tutoring, almost all were from families with medium and above-medium family economic status. Specifically, 80 percent reported coming from families with medium economic status, 14 percent from good family incomes, and 2 percent from very good incomes. This compared to only 3 percent who claimed to be from poor families and 1 percent from very poor families. In terms of the type of tutoring, one-on-one or small-group tutoring is usually more expensive and more closely tied to individual needs. This type of expensive tutoring is most often only accessible to students from families with high SES (see Table 9.4). Combined, the data show the inequalities inherent in private tutoring. As private tutoring is increasingly tied to academic success, university admissions, and eventual favorable labor market outcomes, its prohibitive costs and uneven access have become mechanisms that maintain and possibly increase social inequalities.

TABLE 9.4
Student Perceptions of their Socioeconomic Status and the Use of Private Tutoring, Georgia (University sample)

<i>Perception of family status</i>	<i>Used private tutoring (%)</i>	<i>Paid more than 300 GEL (US\$166 or €119) (%)</i>
Good	18.8	21.9
Medium	69.0	72.2
Bad	12.1	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Private tutoring and mainstream schooling

A second possible negative impact of private tutoring is its effects on mainstream schooling. Both private lessons and preparatory courses are quite intensive. About 40 percent of students reported that they worked with tutors for more than four hours per week. Moreover, 64.7 percent of surveyed students reported that they received help from private tutors on a regular basis throughout the school year. This intensity of private tutoring creates concerns for mainstream schooling. First, nonattendance has become a serious problem at the upper-secondary education level. Students can often obtain a secondary school diploma in Georgia

without spending the required number of hours in school. Many students mentioned during our interviews that they rarely attended classes in the final grades, and instead focused on the final examinations. They were often able to arrange with teachers to come to school on test dates only, and thus earned their grades for the subject without full participation or involvement. Such arrangements were made on the assumption that students needed extra time with private tutors to study for examinations. Although this was not officially permitted, it was a common reality.

Such attitudes are related to student and parental opinions about the poor quality of mainstream schooling, i.e., secondary schooling in Georgia does not provide the quality of education necessary to meet the requirements of competitive university entrance examinations. Many students reported believing that secondary schools do not provide education that meets the requirements of the competitive university entrance examinations. Students explained that they did not need to attend schools since they “did not have time” or were too busy with private lessons that prepared them better for university examinations. Statements such as “I did not need to attend school,” “School was very uninteresting,” and “It would be a waste of time to attend classes” were made by students during the interviews. About 44.1 percent of the surveyed students of both samples agreed with the statement that “students use private tutoring because the school curricula do not cover everything that is required at university entrance examinations.”

The school program was too easy and I needed to prepare for university entrance examinations, which required much deeper and comprehensive knowledge.

Interviewed student

The above cases indicate that private tutoring for the purposes of preparing for entrance examinations might interfere and disrupt formal schooling. If teachers believe that the “good” students are getting what they need outside of classrooms, the teachers may be less motivated and less prepared to teach the students who do come to class. The possibilities for curriculum distortion and rampant truancy are already apparent and signal a crisis for mainstream education.

Private tutoring and corruption

Possibly most alarmingly, private tutoring is closely linked to corruption and unethical behavior by educators. According to the survey, the majority of students sought private tutoring

from university professors because these professors had access to the content of entrance examinations and were sometimes members of the examination committees. These professors usually commanded high prices for private tutoring and often used their status to favor their tutees during examinations. The latter observation not only raises ethical concerns but also causes equity problems. It puts students who cannot afford to hire university professors as their tutors at a disadvantage.

Private tutoring also raises ethical concerns at the secondary education level. As indicated above, 19.3 percent of university students reported that in secondary school they took private tutoring lessons taught by their own class teachers. The share of such students was slightly higher in the survey of secondary school students (20.3 percent in Georgian language and 13.2 percent in mathematics), which was confirmed during the focus group interviews with the students. Teachers earn supplementary income from students whom the teachers are already paid to teach, albeit at low levels of remuneration. Teachers often use their status and authority to pressure their students to take private lessons with them by saying there is not enough time to cover the entire curriculum in class. Aside from ethical considerations, this puts the mainstream students who do not receive additional tutoring at a clear disadvantage. During the interviews, secondary school students stated that teachers often assume that since most students receive some form of private tutoring, they can spend less effort and time teaching the class. The focus group discussions with university students indicated that teachers often favored their tutees in class.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Private tutoring has been almost completely ignored by education policymakers in Georgia. The government has not declared an official position on the issue, and it is not on the policy agenda of the Ministry of Education and Science. Because private tutoring is a part of complex issues related to the poor quality of mainstream schooling and the difficult socioeconomic conditions of teachers, any policy decision related to private tutoring would require the government to publicly acknowledge and address sensitive issues.

Recent reforms of the Georgian education system include some indirect measures that could affect private tutoring. For example, the university entrance examination policy was changed to allow graduates of general secondary schools from 2005–2006 on to enroll in higher education institutions on the basis of centralized national examinations. This policy will reduce the corruption that was present at individual university entrance examinations and might reduce the scope of private tutoring. However, it is impossible to predict the

exact consequences of this policy and its specific impact on the scope of private tutoring. The demand for private tutoring might remain high and its content might be reshaped according to the requirements of the new national examinations. Due to the fact that the centralized examinations will be stricter, more objective, and more competitive, there is a possibility that they will in fact increase the demand for private tutoring. As the Georgian education system makes a transition to the new centralized university entrance examinations, it will be important to monitor changes in the scope and nature of private tutoring.

One of the most effective ways to tackle the phenomenon will be through the development of a systemic approach to the broader context. On the one hand, the government should implement reforms to raise the quality of education in secondary schools (e.g., addressing the issues of curriculum, teaching materials, teacher training, and professional development), as well as offering additional educational services at the school level. On the other hand, it should improve the conditions of teachers by providing adequate salaries.

Parallel to the above measures, the government and civil society should ensure wider public participation in debates and discussions about private tutoring. It is essential that the public know about the possible negative implications of private tutoring and about ongoing reforms in the education sector. This will eventually change attitudes toward private tutoring as more people realize that private tutoring is not the only option in an effective education system. However, new attitudes and effective reforms will be difficult to achieve until the quality of education offered by mainstream schools is improved and students receive sufficient knowledge and skills from secondary schools before entering higher education.

Considering the complexity of the issue, any attempt to address private tutoring would require significant commitment by the government. Furthermore, the results of any implemented policies may become evident only in the long run, as is often the case with educational policy change. In the short run, the government should consider the following recommendations:

- ▶ **Develop a strategy for reducing the adverse effects of private tutoring.** The government should place private tutoring on the reform agenda and identify effective ways of addressing the issue.
- ▶ **Promote more research.** There is a need for in-depth research that will facilitate comprehensive understanding and analysis. It is important to collect systematic data on private tutoring, such as scope, providers, types, and gender and geographic distribution of private tutoring at different educational levels. The data should be regularly updated so that trends can be analyzed in the context of changing education policies.

- ▶ **Develop and enforce regulations.** Prohibition of private tutoring is unrealistic in the existing context, but the government should at least regulate the nature and forms of private tutoring. This might include prohibition of supplementary private tutoring during school hours and/or prohibiting school teachers from providing private lessons to their mainstream students.
- ▶ **Raise public awareness.** Few students, parents, school administrators, or teachers have a good understanding of the complexity of this phenomenon. In order to gain public support for policies, the government should promote debate on this issue.
- ▶ **Introduce incentives for teachers.** It is essential to raise the motivation and commitment of school teachers through the introduction of incentive mechanisms. Ideally, this should include both increased salaries and incentives in the form of the opportunities for professional development, attending relevant workshops, seminars, etc.
- ▶ **Provide additional education services in secondary schools.** Additional services are necessary to enrich the existing learning opportunities in mainstream schools and to widen the types of learning that the schools promote. At the same time, the focus of teaching should emphasize critical thinking and problem solving, particularly in the light of the reformed centralized national examination policy. Schools should be encouraged to provide additional support to their students after school hours to meet the demands of a competitive educational environment.
- ▶ **Introduce strict attendance policies in secondary schools.** Schools should enforce attendance policies, especially at the upper secondary level. Students should not be allowed to progress or graduate without full participation in classes throughout the academic year.
- ▶ **Legalize private tutoring through encouraging the establishment of special tutoring centers.** Based on the experience of other countries, such institutions are easier to regulate and governments may have a better control over the quality of tutoring provided as well as over the operation of these institutions.

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Notes

1. “High/low demand” of higher education programs was determined by the number of students taking university entrance examinations in certain fields of study. For example, business, law, economics, and information science were considered high-demand programs, whereas pedagogical studies and science faculties were considered low-demand.
2. The new Law on General Secondary Education requires the Ministry of Education and Science to ensure the gradual transition to 12-tier general secondary education starting with the academic year 2006–2007.
3. Georgia has been troubled by two internal secessionist conflicts resulting in the displacement of about 10 percent of its population. South Ossetia started a campaign to form a political alliance with North Ossetia in 1990 and eventually had an unsuccessful vote to secede from Georgia and unite with Russia in 1992. In 1991, the northwest province of Abkhazia also fought to break away.
4. Between 1995 and 1998, state education expenditure increased and its share in the total amount of public expenditure went up from 6.7 percent to 11.3 percent. Because GDP estimates were decreased by 35 percent since December 1999, it is difficult to provide comparable figures. According to the old estimates, the share of GDP allocated to education was 1.4 percent in 1999. With the new recalculated GDP, the share increases and was estimated at 2.4 percent in 1998 (World Bank, 2001).

Chapter 10

Lithuania

Virginija Būdienė and Algirdas Zabulionis

Private tutoring is not a new phenomenon in Lithuania. It existed during the Soviet period (1945–1991), despite being proclaimed illegal and unethical by the Soviet government. Officially, all educational services had to be provided by public institutions, and any form of private education was prohibited. The restoration of Lithuanian independence in 1991 saw the revival of the market economy and rapid development of private tutoring. By the 2000s, private tutoring had become an inseparable part of Lithuanian education, but it remained in its shadow.

The first attempt to assess the scope, characteristics, and impact of private tutoring in Lithuania was made in the academic year 2001–2002, when the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University undertook a survey of first-year university students.¹ The study confirmed that private tutoring was widely used in secondary schools to prepare for university entrance examinations. It also highlighted that private tutoring exacerbated social inequalities and interfered with educational processes in mainstream schools. In 2002–2003 and 2004–2005, the Education Policy Center conducted two more surveys to monitor the development

and capture the dynamics of the private tutoring market. These subsequent surveys covered different geographic areas, including universities in Vilnius, Kaunas, and Šiauliai.

In 2004–2005, the sample consisted of 810 first-year students from five universities, namely Vilnius University, Vilnius Pedagogical University, Kaunas University of Technology, Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, and Šiauliai University. Women students constituted 68.9 percent of the sample. The majority of the respondents (73.8 percent) had graduated from secondary school in 2004, and 19.7 percent had graduated in 2003. The sample included 41.8 percent of graduates from gymnasia, 57.7 percent from general secondary schools, and 0.5 percent from vocational schools. The respondents from high-, medium-, and low-demand programs numbered 319, 272, and 219 respectively. The surveyed students originated from various parts of Lithuania, and came from different socioeconomic and educational backgrounds (see Table 10.1).

TABLE 10.1
General Characteristics of the 2005 University Sample, Lithuania

		<i>Share of students (%)</i>
Geographic region of the country	Vilnius	31.6
	Other big city	22.4
	Administrative center	33.4
	Other	12.6
Type of secondary school	Gymnasium	41.8
	Secondary school	57.7
Gender	Female	68.9
	Male	31.1
Educational background of parents	University	60.3
	Post-secondary	30.4
	Secondary school or lower	9.3
Family welfare	(Very) good	26.6
	Medium	64.7
	(Very) bad	8.7
Demand for higher education study program	High	39.4
	Medium	33.6
	Low	27.0

The sample had a number of limitations and did not allow generalization for the whole cohort of secondary school graduates of Lithuania. Nevertheless, it indicated general

trends among university entrants, and provided an opportunity to take a closer look at the important phenomenon of private tutoring.

The Context: Economic, Social, and Educational Factors

Private tutoring cannot be analyzed alone: it is linked to more general problems of the shadow economy, corruption, ethics, and the quality of education in mainstream schools. Therefore, it is important to analyze private tutoring within the specific context of Lithuanian education reform.

Educational Factors

The demand for private tutoring is driven by different educational factors. It responds to the overloaded curricula in mainstream schools and the challenging national standards; and it is shaped by the changing structural and organizational aspects of the mainstream education system.

Overloaded curriculum

Formal education imposes a heavy burden on school students. The curriculum reform of the 1990s introduced new school subjects and substantially stretched the existing curriculum. In addition, schools have been encouraged to move from teacher-centered learning, which was common during the Soviet period, to student-centered learning (e.g., group work, project work, educational excursions), which may be more effective but is time consuming.

While these curricular changes have broadened students' academic horizons, they have burdened them with a lot of information, hindering proper acquisition of important school subjects. In response to this, academic profiling was introduced in the last two grades of upper secondary school (grades 11 and 12). Profiling permits secondary school students to focus on an academic area of their interest based on the requirements of higher education study programs that they would like to enter upon graduation from secondary school.² Although academic profiling has many positive sides (e.g., lightening the workload of students), it also has disadvantages. One of the strongest disadvantages is that academic

profiling may limit students' choices should they change their minds regarding future professional orientation. For example, "soft" profiling often starts in grade 9 when students are relatively young and undecided about their careers. If students fail to choose the right profile at this stage, their future academic options may become more limited. In this case, private tutoring becomes one of the most effective ways for students independently to master academic subjects that they may have rejected previously as a result of profiling but are required for entry to higher education programs of their choice.

School-leaving and higher education entrance examinations

One of the factors driving the demand for private tutoring is the reform of secondary school-leaving examinations (*matura*). In Lithuania, a new system of secondary school-leaving examinations—a state-level *matura*—was introduced in 1999. According to the amendment of the Law of Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2003), a secondary education level is attained upon completion of secondary school curriculum and passing *matura* examinations. Universities no longer organize their own entrance examinations, and instead select students based on *matura* examinations. Under the regulation of the Ministry of Education and Science (MOES), two years before the entrance competition, universities have to announce a list of *matura* subjects that will be used for student selection to higher education study programs. The system of the state-level *matura* examinations increased transparency of higher education admissions and allowed more flexibility for students to apply to different universities and different programs within one university. At the same time, the *matura* has intensified competition among students to enter prestigious programs. For example, one feature of the new high-stakes examination is a norm-based scaling of students' results. Student results are distributed on the scale of 1–100, and only the top 1 percent receives a maximum score (100). Such scaling works well for higher education admissions, and it forces students to perform their best. It also means, however, that even good students cannot guarantee getting the top scores. As a consequence, many students turn to private tutoring to increase their chances of getting the highest possible results on the *matura* examination.

Restoration of gymnasia

After Lithuania regained independence, its education system became structurally more diverse through the emergence and/or restoration of new types of schools. Among the newly restored types of schools are gymnasia, which are specialized secondary schools for academically talented, university-bound students who usually specialize in the humanities (classical

and/or contemporary languages and social sciences), practical arts (natural sciences, technology, and economics), and fine arts (art and music). Gymnasias were common during the prewar period, were closed during the Soviet times, and were restored after Lithuania regained its independence in 1991. Since independence, gymnasias have become among the most popular upper secondary schools for motivated students and innovative teams of teachers and school administrators. For students, gymnasias are attractive because they provide an in-depth specialized general education, offer more innovative teaching/learning methods, and set higher requirements. For educators, gymnasias offer higher salaries. Compared to other students from secondary schools, gymnasium students receive higher than average results on *matura* examinations. Gymnasias have become elitist, often taking the best and most motivated students and teachers from other types of secondary schools. For example, a parents' survey (2002) and a recent private tutoring survey revealed that better educated and richer parents are more likely to send their children to gymnasias than are families from lower socioeconomic contexts. Gymnasias do not exist in all municipalities, which is one of the reasons for internal migration in the country and a growing demand for private tutoring.

Education quality and professional qualifications of teachers

Insufficient professional qualifications of teachers might be one of the obstacles in provision of high quality education services for students in mainstream schools. The survey mentioned above (Būdienė, Zabulionis, and Želvys, 2002) indicated that only 25 percent of parents believed that there was no need for private tutoring because mainstream schools provided good preparation for *matura* examinations. Statistical reports reveal that a considerable number of teachers lack sufficient professional qualifications. In the 2004–2005 school year, about 87 percent of all teachers (including primary school teachers) had higher education degrees, but almost 6,000 teachers out of a total of 48,000 had no formal pedagogical or psychological competencies (Office of Statistics of the Republic of Lithuania, 2005, p. 108). The secretary of the Ministry of Education and Science, Alvydas Puodžiukas, assured the public that the situation would improve in a few years' time (interview in weekly magazine, *Veidas*, 2005). He explained that starting from September 1, 2007, teachers without pedagogical and psychological qualifications would not be allowed to work in educational institutions as stipulated by the Law on Education (2003). Teachers without the necessary qualifications who wished to continue working in the education sphere would have to attend special tertiary education courses, undergo pedagogical practice, and receive a certificate of pedagogical qualification.

Interrelation of Economic and Ethical Factors

Private tutoring has developed in response to the changing political, economic, and social context following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Lithuanian independence opened up new entrepreneurial opportunities, including the possibility of individuals engaging legally in service provision. In contrast to the Soviet period when all private business initiatives were banned, the newly emerged market economy has welcomed private service provision and led to the increase in private spending on education.

Private service provision in education

A private tutor has a possibility to acquire a business certificate, legally provide services (i.e., private tutoring lessons), and pay taxes. In practice, however, few tutors are eager to acquire business certificates and many prefer to conceal their private tutoring activities. For example, teachers (who are the principal providers of private tutoring) may conceal their work as tutors for professional and economic reasons. Professionally, teachers may not want to be seen engaging in what some people consider unethical behavior, especially when these teachers are tutoring their own students. Teachers fear that their professional commitment to teaching may be called into question when they fail to teach the required curriculum to their students during formal school hours but manage to do it perfectly well for payment through private tutoring lessons. Economically, teachers may not want to pay taxes on their income from private tutoring. The former minister of education and science, Algirdas Monkevičius, tried to take measures to decrease the scope of private tutoring after the release of the findings from the first survey on private tutoring. He explained that he only partially blamed teachers for providing paid services, and when interviewed by the *Veidas* weekly magazine he said the following:

Private tutoring services have existed for ages and certainly will continue to exist. This is assistance to those who are weaker in studies. It is normal that a school student who lacks abilities but is eager to achieve better results works individually. I see nothing wrong with a retired teacher providing these services for such a student. It is both a pleasure and financial benefit for a pensioner. But the problem is that the majority of private tutors are rendering these services illegally. Moreover, the main problem is that there are schools where teachers do not manage to explain the subject matter thoroughly during school hours, but are offering their services for an additional price to those who want to learn more. I even received a number of complaints from parents saying that teachers openly admit during their classes that they are teaching only as much as their salary presupposes and if students want to learn as much as required, they have to pay. This is an immoral and unethical situation.

Kucinskaite and Vernickaite, 2005

Increasing private spending on education

Although the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania stipulates that education is free of charge at state and municipal secondary, vocational, and postsecondary schools, Lithuanian parents spend significant amounts of money to improve their children's educational environments. The per capita expenditure on education in the household consumption structure increased from 0.3 percent in 1998 (1.4 Litas or LTL out of an average disposable income of LTL 422.5) to almost 1 percent in 2004 (LTL 4.5 out of an average disposable income of LTL 495.8) (Office of Statistics of the Republic of Lithuania, 1999; 2005). A survey of parents of school-aged students revealed that 90 percent believed that education costs had increased considerably (Būdienė, Zabulionis, and Želvys, 2002). Parents reported paying significant amounts for supplementary tutoring as part of the private costs of education.

Social Factors

Private tutoring can influence future success and have social implications for young people. According to Lithuanian critics, private tutoring creates and perpetuates social disparities because it is not affordable to all. Private tutoring is expensive and often unaffordable to children from low-income families, and this prevents children from low-income families from competing fairly with their peers from better-off families. Periodic monitoring of public opinion in Lithuania shows that the public in general trusts educational institutions. Education is the second most trusted entity in the country, surpassing the parliament and legal institutions. However, the scope of private tutoring may be evidence of existing gaps in education provision to all. If the mainstream education system was of higher quality or provided necessary extra help for students, private tutoring services might not be used on a large scale.

Regulatory Factors

In 2003, the first attempts were made to regulate by law private tutoring in Lithuania. The Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2003) introduced the concept of a “freelance teacher,” which was defined as a person licensed to engage in educational activity on an individual basis. A freelance teacher can provide nonformal education or implement program modules that supplement preschool curricula and/or formal education programs.

Freelance teachers have the right to work according to their individual programs, choose methods and forms of pedagogical activity, and provide informational, consulting, and in-service assistance. The law also sets obligations for a freelance teacher, including observing the norms of teacher ethics, learners' safety, having a workplace for teaching that meets health (hygiene) requirements, and implementing the teaching process agreed upon with the students. Importantly, freelance teachers are not allowed to teach their own students from mainstream schools.

Nevertheless, there is no special legal act properly regulating the activities of freelance teachers. Such teachers have to declare the money earned for giving private lessons following the general procedure set by the State Tax Inspectorate. The teacher's activity would become legal if the teacher registered as a private business or obtained an appropriate business certificate (just like a shoemaker or a tile layer would do). The advantage of the latter is that fewer documents are required than is the case for registering a private business. Moreover, the specialists working in the Tax Inspectorate state that business certificates for engaging in a freelance teacher activity have different costs in different cities. For example, a teacher providing private tutoring services in Vilnius has to pay LTL 500 (€145 or US\$187) for a business certificate valid for a year, whereas a teacher in the smaller city of Mazeikiai has to pay LTL 100 (€30 or US\$39). The State Tax Inspectorate reports that 834 educators had obtained business certificates for freelance teaching in 2004, and 782 in 2005.

I do not know of any teacher being punished for illegally providing private lessons to school students. These services are usually provided by educators in their homes and we cannot break into private apartments. But if we received any complaints, of course we would respond.

Official of the State Tax Inspectorate

According to the State Tax Inspectorate, few freelance teachers obtain business certificates, and it is almost impossible for the State Tax Inspectorate to prove that a person is engaged in illegal activities and is receiving nondeclared income. Indeed, the State Tax Inspectorate has never punished an educator for an illegal activity. While the law has legalized private tutoring, the majority of private tutors continue teaching school students after classes for money and do not declare their incomes. Furthermore, no legal acts enable state officials to control the activities of freelance teachers if they fail to comply with the norms of teacher ethics or if they provide low quality education services.

Findings of the 2004–2005 Survey on Private Tutoring

Based on the analysis of the 2004–2005 survey data, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring, profiles the main actors involved, and discusses the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system. A distinction is made between private tutoring lessons (offered by individuals) and preparatory courses (offered by institutions).

General characteristics of private tutoring

General characteristics of private tutoring include its scale, academic subjects, group size, intensity, and costs. These domains are each considered here in turn with reference to secondary education.

The scale of private tutoring

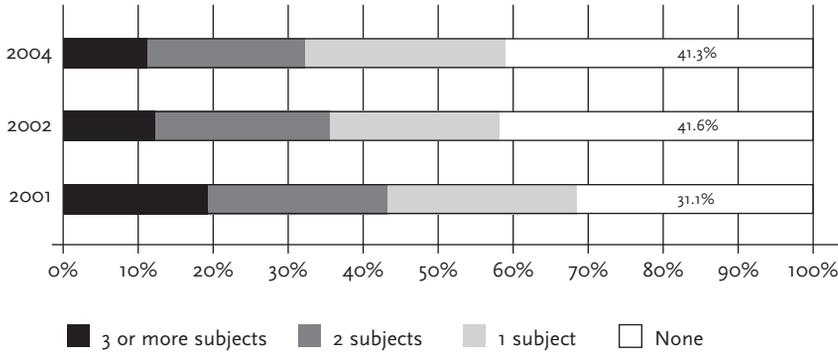
In the 2004–2005 survey on private tutoring, 61.9 percent of university students reported that they used private tutoring or attended preparatory courses in their final secondary school year. Individual private tutoring lessons (offered by school teachers or university lecturers) were more popular than preparatory courses organized by institutions. In particular, 51.9 percent of the respondents attended only private tutoring lessons, 6.2 percent used both types of private tutoring (i.e., lessons and courses), and only 3.8 percent attended only preparatory courses. As Figure 10.1 illustrates, approximately 60 percent of the surveyed students in the 2002–2003 and 2004–2005 samples engaged in private tutoring.

The 2004 sample shows that 11.1 percent of the surveyed students used the services of private tutors in three or more subjects, 21.4 percent in two subjects, and 26.3 percent in one subject. Data from the three consecutive surveys shows a slight decrease in the number of students taking private tutoring lessons in three or more subjects since 2001. This might be explained by the introduction of the state *matura* examinations and a new system of centralized university admissions, which made students' preparation for school-leaving/university entrance examinations more targeted. In particular, universities announce their admission requirements two years in advance, and students begin their preparations for *matura* examinations based on publicly accessible syllabi using private tutoring lessons and/or preparatory courses.

FIGURE 10.1

The Scope of Private Tutoring as Reflected in the Number of Subjects in which Students Received Private Tutoring Lessons, Lithuania

(Percentage of surveyed students in 2001, 2002, and 2004)



Note: The 2001 sample included students from one university only. Therefore, the first sample cannot be directly compared to the 2002 and 2004 samples, which drew from a more geographically diverse student population. The figure presents data only on private tutoring lessons, and excludes preparatory courses.

Academic subjects

Private tutoring lessons were most frequently taken in mathematics (44.5 percent), foreign languages (42.3 percent), history (37.2 percent), and Lithuanian language (32.2 percent) (see Table 10.2). Less popular subjects were biology, chemistry, and physics. Taking into consideration that the survey focused on first-year university students and examined their private tutoring experience in the last grade of secondary school (i.e., grade 12), it is highly likely that they used private tutoring services to get ready for the state level *matura* examinations in order to enter universities. Approximately 70 percent of private tutoring users stated that they used private tutoring lessons to prepare for the examination only. This explains the popularity of private tutoring in those academic subjects that are usually included on the state-level *matura* examination. For example, in order to enter high-demand study programs (e.g., management, business administration, economics, political science, international relations, law, social work, and sociology), all students need to take *matura* examinations in the Lithuanian language and a foreign language. Furthermore, the majority of the high-demand study programs also require examinations in history and mathematics.

TABLE 10.2

Academic Subjects Used for Private Tutoring Lessons, Lithuania

		Lithuanian Language	Foreign language	Mathematics	History	Biology	Chemistry	Physics
Geographic region	Vilnius	37.2	48.2	53.9	42.7	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Other big city	43.5	58.8	57.0	53.1	1.6	1.6	7.6
	Administrative center	31.7	40.2	43.3	34.5	0.9	0.0	1.8
	Other	18.8	20.2	23.4	19.5	3.1	1.0	1.0
Type of secondary school	Gymnasium	36.9	51.1	53.0	49.3	2.6	0.0	3.5
	Secondary school	29.8	36.7	39.0	28.9	1.8	1.8	2.7
Gender	Female	33.6	50.1	48.8	42.7	2.5	2.0	1.0
	Male	31.0	24.9	36.2	26.2	0.8	0.0	5.9
Demand of the study program	High	41.9	54.7	56.1	53.8	2.0	0.0	5.8
	Medium	23.7	29.7	33.6	19.8	0.7	2.1	2.1
	Low	31.8	41.6	43.0	34.3	4.3	1.1	1.1
Overall		32.2	42.3	44.5	37.2	2.1	1.2	2.9

A review of the higher education admission requirements for different study programs and universities reveals that almost all required *matura* examinations in the Lithuanian language (95 percent of study programs in the sample),³ 58 percent of programs required foreign languages, 56 percent required mathematics, 37 percent required history, and 21 percent required physics. This means that *matura* results in a foreign language, the Lithuanian language, mathematics, and history are universally required subjects for admission to most university programs and explains why private tutoring lessons in these subjects were the most popular among secondary school graduates.

Group size

Most of the surveyed students reported taking private tutoring lessons individually (56.3 percent) or in small groups consisting of two or three students (25.1 percent). Approximately

10 percent of the surveyed students received tutoring in groups of four to five, and 9.3 percent in groups larger than five people. Preparatory courses were typically offered to groups of 6 to 15 students (56.6 percent of the surveyed students). However, 11.8 percent reported studying in preparatory course groups of 5 or fewer students, 22.4 percent in classes of 16 to 30 students, and 9.2 percent in groups of more than 30 students.

Intensity of private tutoring use

The majority of the surveyed students (54 percent) received private tutoring on a regular basis throughout the school year, while 5.6 percent reported that they received tutoring on a regular basis in the last semester, and 23.7 percent worked with private tutors only occasionally in the last semester. Nearly half the surveyed students worked with tutors for two hours per week, 23.9 percent for one hour per week, 22.1 percent for three to four hours per week, and 6.1 percent for more than four hours a week. Most students attending preparatory courses (55.8 percent) enrolled one year before their examinations or earlier, and 31.2 percent three to six months prior to their examinations.

The cost of private tutoring

Private tutoring is a difficult topic for open discussion with teachers and students, and costs are the most delicate area of this discussion. One way to examine the costs is through mass media advertisements, which was done in the 2002 study on private tutoring. At that time, the costs of private tutoring lessons ranged from LTL 10–50 (approximately €3–15 or US\$4–19) per hour. The exact price of services depended on the subject (the most expensive being foreign languages), qualification of the tutor, and the geographic region. These costs did not greatly change between 2002 and 2005.

Another way to estimate the costs is by asking students directly. In the 2004–2005 survey, students were asked to estimate how much it cost them and their parents to hire private tutors in the last year of secondary school in one subject. This question was answered by about 80 percent of students taking private tutoring lessons and about 60 percent of students attending preparatory courses. The costs of private tutoring in one subject per year ranged from a few tens of Litas to LTL 4,000 (€1,339 or US\$1,727) for private tutoring lessons and LTL 3,000 (€870 or US\$1,122) for preparatory courses. This could be compared to the average monthly salary of a secondary school teacher of LTL 1,339 (approximately €388 or US\$500) in the third quarter of 2005 (Ministry of Education and Science, 2005). Thus the most popular private tutors could earn up to three average monthly salaries a year by providing private tutoring services to one student.

TABLE 10.3**Average Costs of Private Tutoring in One Subject Per Year, Lithuania**

		<i>Mean costs in €</i>	<i>Mean costs in US\$</i>
Geographic regions of the country	Vilnius	211.8	273.2
	Other big city	181.4	234.0
	Administrative center	105.8	136.5
	Other	94.2	121.5
Type of secondary school	Gymnasium	166.6	214.9
	Secondary school	134.7	173.8
Educational background of students' family	University	163.0	210.3
	Other postsecondary	132.4	170.8
	Secondary school or lower	108.6	140.0
Students' family welfare	(Very) good	173.0	223.2
	Medium	143.7	185.4
	(Very) bad	114.4	147.6
Study program demand	High	163.5	210.9
	Medium	163.9	211.4
	Low	117.5	151.6
Overall		151.1	194.9

Note: Similar analysis of the costs of preparatory courses was not possible due to the small number of respondents.

According to the majority of the surveyed students, private tutoring lessons are expensive. The percentage of students agreeing with this statement was higher among the non-users of private tutoring lessons (68.6 percent) than private tutoring users (56.1 percent). On average, a private tutoring user in Lithuania spent US\$195 for private tutoring lessons on one subject over a year. Private tutoring costs were higher among students living in the capital and other big cities as well as among students from economically well-off families and those with better educated parents. Students attending gymnasias reported spending more on private tutoring than children from other types of secondary schools (Table 10.3).

Consumers: Who uses private tutoring and why?

The scope of private tutoring is determined by different factors, including geographic location, type of secondary school, gender of the student, educational background of parents, socioeconomic status of families, and popularity of particular higher education programs (Table 10.4). The data analysis permits development of a “profile” of a typical student receiving private tutoring in Lithuania. Generally, it is a female student who graduated from a gymnasium in Vilnius or another big city. She typically comes from an economically better-off family, with at least one of her parents having graduated from university, and she aspires to enter a high-demand higher education program.

In particular, female students outnumber males, with 65.7 percent of female students and 52.6 percent of male students receiving tutoring. Females significantly outnumber males in the most popular academic subjects (e.g., foreign language, history, and mathematics). For example, the number of females taking private tutoring lessons in foreign languages was twice the number of males. One possible explanation is that traditionally more female than male students try to enter programs in humanities and social sciences where the *matura* scores in foreign language examinations are used in calculating the admission ranks. Another explanation may involve the differences between male and female participation in the classroom, with boys typically dominating discussion with the teacher’s approval. As evident from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), in 1995, 1999, and 2003 Lithuanian female and male students showed the lowest achievement differences among participating countries in mathematics. This means that female students did not need more supplementary education than males, at least in mathematics. However, this may mean that females use private tutoring as a way to reaffirm their knowledge of subject matter before examinations. Among preparatory course users, however, there were more males (5.3 percent) than females (2.9 percent).

Generally, private tutoring users come from economically better-off families. Private tutoring users constitute the majority of students who estimate their family welfare as above the national average (76.1 percent), as opposed to 44.3 percent of those who perceive their family welfare as below the national average. Importantly, the higher the educational level of parents, the more likely were their children to receive private tutoring. For example, private tutoring was received by 66.9 percent of students whose parents had higher education and by 52 percent of those whose parents had only secondary education.

TABLE 10.4

Factors Affecting the Scope of Private Tutoring (2004 Sample), Lithuania

		<i>Both forms of private tutoring</i>	<i>Private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Preparatory courses</i>	<i>Total (all types of private tutoring)</i>	<i>No private tutoring</i>
Geographic region of the country	Vilnius	10.3	52.1	3.6	66.1	33.9
	Other big city	8.8	61.9	1.9	72.6	27.4
	Administrative center	2.7	53.7	3.9	60.6	39.8
	Other	4.2	36.4	6.7	47.3	52.7
Type of secondary school	Gymnasium	5.0	60.7	4.1	69.8	30.2
	Secondary school	7.1	45.7	3.6	56.4	43.6
Student's gender	Female	6.2	56.6	2.9	65.7	34.3
	Male	6.5	40.9	5.3	52.6	47.4
Educational background of student's family	Higher education	6.8	57.2	2.9	66.9	33.1
	Postsecondary education	5.3	46.7	4.1	56.1	43.9
	Secondary education or lower	5.3	38.7	8.0	52.0	48.0
Family welfare	(Very) good	10.3	61.5	4.2	76.1	23.9
	Medium	4.8	50.7	3.3	58.8	41.2
	(Very) bad	4.3	34.3	5.7	44.3	55.7
Demand of the study program	High	7.2	61.8	1.6	70.5	29.5
	Medium	6.3	40.4	6.6	53.3	46.7
	Low	4.6	51.6	3.7	59.8	40.2
Overall		6.2	51.9	3.8	61.9	38.1

Note: Educational background of students' families was measured by the highest educational levels of their parents.

Whenever I hear the word “private tutoring,” I associate it with necessity because, as far as I know, the majority of grade 12 students are taking additional classes in subjects that will be included on their examinations. I believe that if I had children, I would do the same. . . . There is fierce competition between the university entrants. Not everyone wishing to enter universities manages to do so. Those who can afford it are searching for better tutors. Maybe it is slightly different and easier abroad, but here it is very difficult to enter the university. I think this leads to the situation where few students finish school without hiring private tutors.

Ingrida, a student

The majority of private tutoring users were gymnasium graduates. The data reveal that 69.8 percent of gymnasium graduates and 56.4 percent of regular secondary school graduates reported using private tutoring. Furthermore, gymnasium graduates took private tutoring lessons more frequently than students from other schools, with 60.7 percent of gymnasium graduates and 45.7 percent of regular school graduates taking private tutoring lessons. Since most gymnasia are located in urban areas, it is not surprising that the majority of private tutoring users come from the capital and other big cities. For example, the scope of private tutoring reached 72.6 percent in Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, and Panevėžys, compared to 47.3 percent in small towns and rural areas. Saulius Jurkevičius, a director of one of the most prestigious gymnasia in the country, admitted that many of the grade 12 students use private tutoring services. He explained that students use private tutoring not for remedial purposes (i.e., to compensate for a low quality of education in mainstream schools), but to increase their competitiveness. According to him, “the majority of gymnasium students are perfectionists and they seek to get the maximum out of everything. If they do not receive the highest possible scores on their *matura*, they think that they have wasted their time” (Veidas, 2005).

Furthermore, private tutoring users typically aspire to high-demand higher education study programs. These students set clear goals and have a strong motivation to pass the state-level *matura* examinations with the highest possible scores in order to enter the best universities and most popular programs. They use supplementary private tutoring to achieve their goal. In particular, according to the survey, 70.5 percent of students from high-demand programs took private tutoring lessons and/or attended preparatory courses. Private tutoring services were least popular among students from low-demand programs, with only 40.4 percent of them taking private tutoring lessons, 6.6 percent attending preparatory courses, and 6.3 percent taking both forms of private tutoring.

While the sample provided important information on the private tutoring users in Lithuania, it was limited to the first-year students of higher education institutions (i.e., those who passed the university entrance examinations). To address the sampling limitation and to obtain a more objective picture of private tutoring users in Lithuania (including students who did not necessarily enter universities), the respondents were asked to comment on the use of private tutoring among their classmates in secondary schools. The data regarding the respondents' former classmates confirmed the findings from the original sample. In particular, the data on the respondents' classmates confirmed that private tutoring was more widespread in the capital (57.5 percent) and other big cities (54.9 percent), and used least frequently in administrative centers (44.7 percent) and rural areas (32.3 percent). Gymnasium graduates reported a more frequent use of private tutoring by their classmates compared to graduates of regular secondary schools (see Table 10.5).

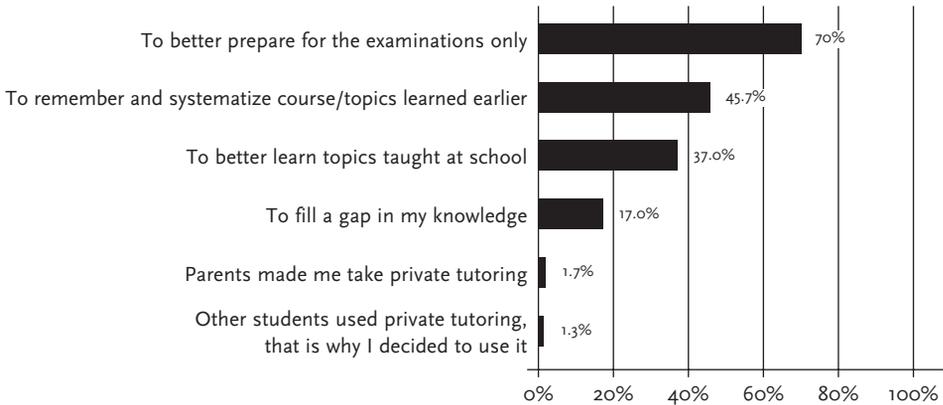
TABLE 10.5
Private Tutoring Use Among Students' Classmates, Lithuania

		<i>Percentage of students' classmates who used private tutoring</i>
Geographic region of the country	Vilnius	57.5
	Other big city	54.9
	Administrative center	44.7
	Other	32.3
Type of school	Gymnasium	57.5
	Secondary school	40.1
Overall		47.5

The majority of the surveyed students (88 percent) indicated that the main reason for taking private tutoring was to increase chances of entering university. Of all private tutoring users, 70 percent said that they took private tutoring to prepare for the *matura* examinations. Approximately 45 percent explained that they took private tutoring to remember and systematize the subject matter learned earlier, which could also reflect their efforts to better prepare for examinations (see Figure 10.2). An emphasis on examinations was also highlighted by the parent survey (Education Policy Center of Vilnius University, 2001), which reported that over half of the surveyed parents thought that students could not properly

prepare for the examinations without the help of private tutors. In addition to the examination-related reasons for private tutoring, the surveyed students mentioned an inadequate quality of education in mainstream schools as one reason for private tutoring. In particular, 71.7 percent of the respondents stressed that students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly, and 60.7 percent stated that the low quality of teaching in schools was the main reason for the decision to take private tutoring. This may be explained by the overloaded curriculum and/or inadequate qualifications of teachers in mainstream schools.

FIGURE 10.2
Reasons for Receiving Private Tutoring, Lithuania (Percentage of students)



Service providers: Who is offering private tutoring and why?

Secondary school teachers are among the most common providers of private tutoring lessons, and the second most common providers of preparatory courses. According to the survey, 79.4 percent of the respondents took private tutoring lessons with school teachers, including 16.6 percent with their own class teachers, 22.1 percent with other teachers from their schools, and 40.7 percent with teachers from other schools. Only 12.3 percent of the surveyed students took private tutoring lessons with higher education professors, and 7.2 percent with professionals in the field of study. Among the users of preparatory courses, 42 percent were enrolled in courses taught by university professors and 40.7 percent by secondary school teachers. Unlike other countries where university professors are among

the most popular private tutors (especially the countries like Ukraine and Georgia, where entrance examinations are held by individual universities), the Lithuanian private tutoring market is dominated by school teachers. This is because school teachers are perceived to have a much better knowledge of the school curriculum, which serves as the basis for the *matura* examinations. University lecturers are also considered to be reliable private tutors, but their fees are significantly higher and therefore they are less popular.

Social, educational, and ethical implications

Private tutoring is a complex phenomenon that has multiple effects on society and education. This section examines the impact of private tutoring on society and mainstream schools.

Social implications

Private tutoring has serious social implications. The findings of this survey reveal that children from economically better-off families and urban areas are more likely to study in gymnasias (i.e., elite schools), hire private tutors, and consequently have better chances to enter universities. In particular, the higher the educational level of the parents, the more likely it is that they have higher socioeconomic status, live in big cities, send their children to gymnasias, and use more private tutoring services. In this context, private tutoring contributes to the reproduction of social stratification.

Students from economically better-off families are more likely to use private tutoring than students from less affluent families. In particular, private tutoring users constitute the majority of students who estimate their family welfare as above the national average (76.1 percent), as opposed to 44.3 percent of those who perceive their family welfare as below the national average. Furthermore, the survey data show a direct correlation between the intensity of private tutoring use (i.e., the number of private tutoring lessons taken by a student) and socioeconomic status. The higher the family welfare, the higher the probability of students taking private tutoring in more subjects. About a quarter of students from all three categories of welfare⁴ took private tutoring lessons in one subject. Wider disparities emerged among students who took private tutoring lessons in two, three, and more subjects, with 48.1 percent of those students coming from economically well-off families, 28.8 percent from medium or economically average families, and only 14.7 percent from poor families. Students who perceived their family welfare as above the national average were more privileged and used three times more tutoring in two and more subjects.

Private tutoring is also affected by the educational level of students' parents. The higher the educational level, the more likely it is that the children use private tutoring. In particular, the mother's education is related to the type of school attended by the child and

to a more frequent use of private tutoring services. For example, gymnasias are attended by 49 percent of children whose mothers have higher education, 35.3 percent of children whose mothers have postsecondary education though not higher education, and 33.9 percent of children whose mothers have secondary education only. Less education correlates with lower socioeconomic status of families. In particular, mothers with higher education constitute 36.5 percent of mothers from the higher socioeconomic strata, 18.8 percent of mothers from the medium socioeconomic group, and less than 10 percent from the lowest socioeconomic strata. The tendency is self-evident—good education correlates with higher social standing. It is not only money that determines whether children from prosperous families value education (i.e., attend gymnasias and use private tutoring), but also the attitudes of their parents toward the importance of good education. This study has proved again that good education of students' parents is one of distinctive precursors of a family's socioeconomic status. It is not surprising that parents with higher levels of education have higher appreciation of the value of education (including private tutoring), and therefore view it as the main factor guaranteeing the future life success of their children. Furthermore, private tutoring is increasingly viewed as a matter of prestige, signaling the social standing of a family.

In addition to socioeconomic differences, private tutoring may increase the gaps between students from rural and urban areas. The survey indicates that the scope of private tutoring depends on the geographical location of a secondary school. The largest number of private tutoring users was in Lithuania's big cities⁵ and the capital, Vilnius. For example, the scope of private tutoring in the big cities (e.g., Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, and Panevėžys) reached 72.6 percent, including 61.9 percent of students taking private tutoring lessons, 1.9 percent of students attending preparatory courses, and 8.8 percent using both types of private tutoring. The scope of private tutoring was somewhat lower in the capital, reaching 66.1 percent, including 52.1 percent attending individual tutoring lessons, 3.6 percent enrolled in preparatory courses, and 10.3 percent using both types of tutoring. By comparison, private tutoring was used less frequently by students from rural areas, with 47.3 percent of students from small towns and rural areas using any form of private tutoring. Compared to their peers from urban areas, students from rural areas took private tutoring lessons less frequently (36.4 percent of students from rural areas compared to 52.1 percent of students from urban areas), but attended preparatory courses more often (6.7 percent from rural schools compared to 1.9 percent from big cities). These differences could be explained by the fact that the supply of individual private tutoring is much smaller in rural areas. Furthermore, the costs of private tutoring lessons may be more prohibitive for students from rural areas. Preparatory courses, on the other hand, are more popular in rural areas because they are cheaper and easier to locate.⁶ In his interview with the *Veidas* magazine, the former minister of education, Algirdas Monkevičius, said that private tutoring was more widespread

in the capital city and big cities and was unaffordable for rural children (Kucinskaite and Vernickaite, 2005).

Educational implications

The scope of private tutoring is a good indication of the extent to which mainstream education meets the needs of its students. The majority of the surveyed students (84 percent) believed that, ideally, the education system should be such that nobody would need supplementary private tutoring. The findings of the survey suggest that students seek private tutoring to address some of the shortcomings of the mainstream education system. First, the majority of the respondents reported that private tutoring was necessary to cope with the excessive study load in mainstream schools. According to 71.7 percent of private tutoring recipients, teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly. Students who used services of private tutors indicated (62.3 percent) that they used private tutoring because the school curricula were overloaded. Second, the scope of private tutoring is determined by the examination-driven nature of mainstream schools. Students use private tutoring in order to increase their chances to enter university (87.6 percent of private tutoring takers). Furthermore, 42.9 percent of private tutoring users indicated that they used private tutoring because they felt that school curricula do not cover everything that is required for the *matura* examination. Importantly, more than a third of private tutoring users (36.7 percent) felt that students who used private tutoring were more likely to enter university than students of equal ability who did not use private tutoring.

Finally, the scope of private tutoring may reflect the public perceptions of the quality of education of mainstream schools. The majority of private tutoring users (60.7 percent) stated that they did so because the quality of teaching in schools was low. More students who used private tutors (62.3 percent) than those who did not (33 percent) indicated that they used private tutoring because of the heavy school curricula. It might be that private tutoring users were slow learners who needed additional instruction and learning time not provided in mainstream schools. However, only 7.2 percent of private tutoring users (and the same percentage of those students who did not take any private tutoring) agreed that only low-achieving students took private tutoring. This fact suggests that the situation, involving a much wider school population, reflects a larger problem.

Ethical issues

Every second student who did not take private lessons and 44.5 percent of those who did indicated that one of the main reasons for the existence of private tutoring is that teachers demand additional financial income. In particular, 42.9 percent of private tutoring users and 34.6 percent of nonusers believed that it was common for students to ask their class teachers

to provide private lessons. Nevertheless, one-third of private tutoring users felt that “teachers should not be allowed to offer private lessons to their own students.”

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study confirmed that shadow education is a part of educational reality in Lithuania and it deserves a more thorough research and attention from education decision makers. While it is difficult to measure the scope of private tutoring and its educational, social, and economic implications, it is even more difficult to find adequate policy responses in order to raise public awareness and to plan measures for the amelioration of the current situation. In the Lithuanian context, several educational, social, or socioeconomic strategies can be employed to decrease the scope of private tutoring.

▶ **Reduce negative social implications of private tutoring**

It is important to monitor periodically the scope and social implications of private tutoring. Attempts must be made to reduce the impact of differences in family income on educational achievement by arranging more efficient individualized assistance to those students that need additional help at school. In addition, a mentorship program could be developed to help reduce gaps in achievements among students in schools (preferably at all levels, but at least at the upper secondary school level).⁷ Finally, the state could provide additional financing assistance to schools in rural areas and for socioeconomically underprivileged students.

▶ **Make the education system less elitist**

Equal standards should be applied to all schools, differentiation of school students according to their abilities should be avoided, and gymnasias and universities should be available to a wider circle of students. If the educational system is less elitist and competitive, parents will have much weaker incentive to hire a private tutor.

▶ **Encourage and train teachers to work more efficiently with low achievers**

Parents may be less inclined to hire private tutors if teachers spend more time with academically weak students during school hours and provide additional help after school hours.

▶ **Lighten the study load**

Additional learning becomes necessary when the school curriculum is overloaded. Seeking to ensure that students cover the official curricula in a timely manner, teachers are often forced to rush through complicated subject matter and cannot pay enough attention to low achievers.

▶ **Search for more attractive and efficient ways to facilitate learning in mainstream schools**

Some private tutors claim that their teaching style is more effective and interesting compared to the teaching styles of mainstream teachers. If it is really so, then mainstream teachers have to learn from private tutors. Private tutors provide services on a face-to-face basis, whilst school teachers work with big groups. In-service teacher training institutions should be encouraged to facilitate more courses for teachers on the topic of effective instruction, active training methods, constructivist and individualized teaching/learning methods in big groups of students. On the other hand, supplementary tutoring can be arranged in schools, if the schools are allowed to allocate some teaching hours for mentorship and individual consultations for students. This model could work well especially in rural schools, where private tutoring services are either unavailable or students travel long distances to the cities. Alternatively, these services can be made semiprivate to reduce the cost for households.

▶ **Raise public awareness**

It is possible to reduce the extent of private tutoring by speaking to the public about the negative consequences of private tutoring. If it is not possible to eradicate the phenomenon, attempts can be made to find such education financing models that would permit additional lessons for children in need, especially for low-income families.

▶ **Provide financial incentives to encourage centers of additional educational services**

Two ways to provide needed supplementary services could be considered. One would provide individualized, supplementary tutoring in schools; and the other would encourage centers of additional educational services to provide help to the students who need extra help in a mode of public/private partnership. The Law on Education (2003) provides a definition and conditions for the services of “help to the student.” It might be possible to develop a per capita funding system from the state budget for public and private institutions of extracurricular education. At the time of this research, public institutions were funded from the state or municipal budget (though these services were accessible on an uneven basis⁸). Private bodies or

nongovernmental organizations could deliver paid services or cover services from random project grants. In order to have more socially equitable services for all children who wish and need them, it may be effective to provide all students with extracurricular vouchers that could be used for extracurricular or supplementary educational services. This way, more services would be encouraged even inside mainstream schools.

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Notes

1. The study was based on a survey of over 700 first-year students from Vilnius University and qualitative data from phone interviews with tutors whose advertisements were found in Lithuanian newspapers.
2. Students' choice is limited to 12 subjects, including a minimum of two and a maximum of five subjects to be studied at an advanced level.
3. The survey revealed that 95 percent of programs required *matura* examination score in the Lithuanian language. It was the only *matura* examination that all Lithuanian secondary school students had to pass. This political decision was taken to preserve the culture of use of the Lithuanian language as both the national and state language. During the admission process in many higher education study programs, universities use the scores from the Lithuanian language examinations, but these scores are not given heavy weight when calculating the overall student's admission rank. These factors explain the lesser popularity of private tutoring lessons in the Lithuanian language (i.e., the subject is only fourth among the most popular subjects for private tutoring lessons) after mathematics, foreign languages, and history.
4. The three categories were good or very good (above the national average), medium (at the level of national average), and bad or very bad (below the national average).
5. Cities with a population of over 100,000 people.
6. Typically, rural students travel to big cities to attend preparatory courses, usually on weekends. The survey does not provide data on additional expenses associated with private tutoring, such as travel and accommodation for students who had to travel for private tutoring to other destinations than their home location.
7. Mentorship would be useful starting in primary school, since gaps in achievements already occur in primary school.
8. Extracurricular services are commonly provided in public institutions based on ability, e.g., for gifted students in music or arts. Most such institutions are located in big towns.

Chapter 11

Mongolia

Alison Dong, Batjargal Ayush, Bolormaa Tsetsgee,
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As in other postsocialist countries, the issue of private tutoring and its wide impact on education has not been sufficiently studied in Mongolia. This chapter reports on a study that was the first of its kind. The main goal of the study was to assess the pervasiveness of the private tutoring phenomenon in Mongolia and investigate its impact on mainstream education, society, and the economy. The specific objectives were to examine the reasons behind private tutoring, determine who participates in private tutoring, uncover the settings in which private tutoring takes place, identify which areas of academic study drive students to participate in private tutoring, and calculate the financial cost of private tutoring to households and the government.

The study was quantitative in approach, using stratified sampling to obtain responses from 1,476 first-year university and college students. The sampling variables were: (1) location—based on economic regions across the country, (2) type of institution—public or private, (3) category of institution—accredited or nonaccredited, (4) demand for particular academic

programs—high (business management, law, medical science, and computer technologies),¹ average (secondary school teaching and engineering), and low (natural sciences and agriculture), and (5) size of institution per student enrollment. Team members traveled to different regions to conduct the survey. Chapter 3 of this book provides more information on data collection and analysis methods.

Since the study was the first of its kind in Mongolia, local literature was not available as a guide to either research design or current conditions. The research design did not include qualitative analysis and did not allow for triangulation of findings from which more robust conclusions could be made. The study highlighted only one population of first-year university students. This neither speaks to other student populations that utilize private tutoring, nor explores perceptions of usage. Finally, it does not include a quantitative or qualitative analysis of an essential variable in the private tutoring formula, the tutors. To elicit truthful and accurate information from this group is particularly difficult because of the perceived corruption attached to private tutoring and the judgments made about those who provide it.

The Context: Educational, Economic, and Cultural Factors

Private tutoring is located at the nexus of divergent political, economic, and cultural influences. Both its causes and consequences concern these three areas. The following categories help uncover the factors that need to be considered when evaluating private tutoring in Mongolia.

Educational factors

Mongolia's education system is divided into the following levels: (1) preschool (3–7 years of age), (2) four-year primary school (8–12 years of age), (3) four-year lower secondary school (12–16 years of age), and (4) two-year upper secondary school (17–18 years of age) and/or one to two-year technical and vocational school (17–19 years of age). Higher education consists of four stages, including diploma (three years), bachelor (four to five years), masters (one or two years postbachelor), and PhD (three or four years).

Literacy and enrollment rates

Although 36 percent of Mongolians live below the national poverty line, Mongolia has maintained an ostensibly high literacy rate (UNDP, 2003). As of 2003, the literacy rate was 98 percent among the population of persons 15 years and older (World Bank, 2004). The gross enrollment rate in 2002 for the primary education level was 100.8 percent, yet significantly lower (83.7 percent) for the secondary education level. In 1990, the beginning of the transition period, Mongolia's graduation rate from higher education institutions was low, approximately 15 percent (government of Mongolia and UNDP, 1997). In the mid- to late 1990s, under the Asian Development Bank's Policy Reform Program, the legal and regulatory framework that prohibited the establishment of private schools and the privatizing of selected state higher education institutions was removed. This led to growth of higher education institutions (Asian Development Bank, 2003). As of 2002, there were 47 public institutions, 129 private ones, and 7 foreign-run enterprises. This led to an increase in higher education enrollment rates. The gross enrollment rate at the tertiary level in 1995 was 15.2 percent, increasing to 33.1 percent in 2000, and reaching 37 percent in 2002 (World Bank, 2002).

Secondary school-leaving and higher education entrance examinations

In the spring of their final year, secondary school students in grade 10 must take a school exit examination, which is administered by individual schools.² School graduates receive certificates for completion of their secondary education, and the average scores of the certificates are usually taken into account during higher education entrance examinations. Students wishing to enter higher education institutions must also take entrance examinations for the colleges or universities in which they wish to study. Each higher education institution has its own entrance examination format. Students are enrolled based on the results of university entrance examinations and their school certificate averages. All higher education is fee-based, but students can get scholarships from the Ministry of Education, private businesses, and individuals based on their university entrance examination scores and recommendations. To increase their chances of receiving scholarships, many students attend private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses in order to receive the highest possible examination scores. As a result, both school-leaving and higher education entrance examinations in Mongolia are associated with the supply and demand of private tutoring, especially preparatory courses organized by higher education institutions.

Gender ratio

Mongolia is unusual in that females outperform males. In general secondary education, female enrollment rates are higher than male ones and the dropout rate for males is twice that of females. Male repeaters, by a relatively small percentage, represent higher numbers

than females. More females than males graduate, but the males have demonstrated an upward trend in the proportion of graduating students during the second half of the 1990s and the initial years of the present century. The number of males who do not enroll in school at all is also significantly higher than that of females.

Economic factors

Although public expenditure on education in Mongolia is higher than in most former socialist countries, total spending in 2005 remained below the 1990 level of 11.5 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1995–96, it was only 5.8 percent of GDP, gradually increasing to 6.6 percent in 2000, and to 9.0 percent in 2004 (MOESC, 2004). Teachers' salaries are a part of the public education budget, and in 2002 constituted 37.4 percent of public education expenditures. On average, the base salary for a teacher in 2005 was MNT 81,500 per month (US\$68).³

In addition to their base incomes, teachers could generate considerable earnings through supplements, additional teaching hours, bonuses, and after-school activities. Supplements were received for taking on additional responsibilities, including: (1) working as a class teacher, (2) checking and grading student notebooks, (3) managing school-based resource centers, (4) leading on-site methodology workshops, and (5) grading standardized examinations. In addition, supplements could be received based on teachers' ranks (regular teacher, lead teacher, methodologist, and advisor) and relevant skills. Compensation for additional teaching hours applied to teachers in large lower and upper secondary schools with several classes per grade. Bonuses were based on performance and awarded to teachers when students won Olympiads, when teachers won Olympiads, and when teachers demonstrated good performance in outcomes-contracts.⁴ Fee-based after-school activities included private tutoring of students, preparation of students for examinations, moderation of clubs and after-school courses, nonformal education classes, and training for parents/adults. A full monthly income could potentially amount to MNT 103,647 (US\$86), significantly higher than the base salary.

Findings: Private Tutoring Lessons and Preparatory Courses

Prior to its transition to a market economy in the early 1990s, no studies of private tutoring were conducted in Mongolia. It is difficult therefore to know how deep are the historical roots of tutoring. The legal regulatory framework on private tutoring set forth by the govern-

ment of Mongolia is weak, but from the plethora of advertisements in college and university buildings it is clear that private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses are widely available. Based on the data from the quantitative survey, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring, the main factors underlying demand, and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system.

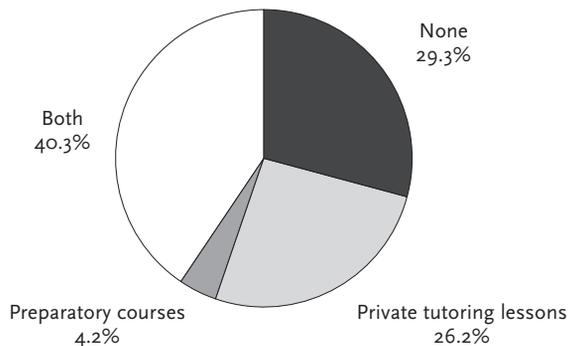
General characteristics of private tutoring

The scope of private tutoring

This study revealed that in Mongolia over two-thirds of students received private tutoring lessons and/or preparatory courses (see Figure 11.1). Among the students sampled, 66.9 percent received private tutoring lessons (including 26.2 percent of the respondents who received only private tutoring lessons and 40.3 percent who received private tutoring lessons in combination with preparatory courses), and 44.5 percent attended preparatory courses (including 4.2 percent of the respondents who attended preparatory courses only and 40.3 percent who attended preparatory courses in combination with private tutoring lessons). About 45 percent of the students surveyed felt that preparatory courses had greater impact than private tutoring, while 57.8 percent preferred to attend individual private tutoring lessons rather than preparatory courses.

FIGURE 11.1

The Scale of Private Tutoring in Mongolia (Percentage of students who reported receiving private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses)



Academic subjects

Table 11.1 lists the subjects for which students sought private tutoring lessons. The majority of the respondents (54.2 percent) received private tutoring lessons in mathematics. This was followed by chemistry (12.7 percent), Mongolian language (12 percent), foreign languages (4.7 percent), and physics (3.4 percent). Less than 1 percent of the surveyed students received private tutoring in history or biology. Of the students receiving tutoring in mathematics, 43.4 percent did so for the primary reason of preparing for an examination. Additionally, some students thought that receiving tutoring lessons in mathematics would help them to remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier (69 percent) and to better learn topics taught in school (73 percent). This suggests that mathematics may play a larger role on the examinations and that the content and methodology of mathematics in schools may not adequately address students' needs.

TABLE 11.1
Students Who Received Private Tutoring Lessons by Subject, Mongolia

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Number of students</i>	<i>Percentage of the total sample</i>
Mathematics	800	54.2
Chemistry	187	12.7
Mother tongue (Mongolian)	177	12.0
Foreign language	70	4.7
Physics	50	3.4
History	11	0.7
Biology	11	0.7
Other	22	1.5

In Ulaanbaatar, the capital, 40.8 percent of the students who received tutoring in mathematics enlisted university instructors, whereas in Darkhan, Erdenet, in other *aimags*,⁵ as well as in *soums*,⁶ 40 percent to 60 percent obtained mathematics tutoring from a school teacher. This was also the case for chemistry, the second most-widely tutored subject, with 38.6 percent using university instructors in the capital, and 40 to 100 percent using school subject teachers in all other locations. For Mongolian language, 62.5 percent of students indicated that their class teachers were their tutors. This suggests that when preparing for

the Mongolian language examination, students do not think that university and college instructors offer any clear advantage in the material they provide for the university entrance examinations.

Group size

The majority of the respondents (53.5 percent) took private tutoring lessons in groups of five or more students. The next most frequently occurring arrangement was two or three students per session, at 17.2 percent, with groups of four or five occurring 15.4 percent of the time and individual tutoring 13.9 percent. The only exception was in Erdenet where two to three student sessions were more common (41.9 percent). The size of private tutoring lessons was similar across all subjects. For private tutoring lessons in Mongolian language, 8.2 percent of students were individually tutored, 16.3 percent received tutoring in groups of two to three students, 10.2 percent with four to five students, and 65.3 percent with five or more. Chemistry sessions were largely conducted in groups of five or more, followed by equivalent numbers in groups of two to three and four to five, and only 16.3 percent being individually instructed. In mathematics, figures were 14.6 percent for individual and groups of four to five students, 16.2 percent for groups of two to three students, and 54.7 percent for groups of five or more students.

Preparatory courses were typically offered to larger groups of students. Only 15.7 percent of the surveyed students attended preparatory courses offered to small groups (i.e., up to five students). The majority of the students were enrolled in larger preparatory course groups, including 30.7 percent in groups of 6–15 students, 31.6 percent in groups of 16–30 students, and 21.9 percent in groups of more than 30 students. When asked about the effectiveness of preparatory courses, most of the surveyed students (72.2 percent) thought that preparatory courses had “some impact” on their university entrance examinations, including 23 percent of the students who studied in groups of 16–30 students, 22 percent of students in groups of 6–15 students, 16 percent of students in groups larger than 30 students, and 11 percent in groups of less than five students. With the majority of the students participating in preparatory courses offered to medium (between 6–15 students) and larger (between 16–30 students) groups, it is possible that students and their parents find medium to large groups yielding similar results at reasonable costs unlike more expensive courses with fewer students or individual tutoring.

Intensity of private tutoring use

Students began private tutoring and preparatory courses at different times of the academic year. Over three-fourths of the students attended private tutoring lessons in their last semester/trimester. Of the students attending private tutoring lessons, about 40 percent took

private tutoring lessons on a regular basis throughout the last semester/trimester, whereas 32.3 percent had tutoring only occasionally in the last semester/trimester. Some students, however, attended private tutoring lessons throughout the year, including 15.4 percent of the respondents attending private tutoring lessons regularly throughout the school year and 8.1 occasionally throughout the year. For preparatory courses, some students (17.4 percent) began as early as one year in advance of the higher education entrance examinations. According to the survey data, 39.8 percent began three to six months prior to the examination, yet others (28.9 percent) enrolled just two months in advance. It appears that for both forms of private tutoring (i.e., lessons and courses), half a year is deemed adequate by students for their preparations for school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations.

The duration of a tutoring period in Mongolia ranges from 45 minutes to one hour: 3.2 percent of the students surveyed had tutoring for one hour, 19.9 percent for two hours, 35.9 percent for three to four hours, and 41.0 percent for four or more hours a per week. The majority (78.5 percent) of students tutored in mathematics spent a minimum of three hours or more a week. This demonstrated the intense nature of mathematics and how students perceived it. It perhaps also explained either how difficult the mathematics portion of the university examination was or the inadequate quality of mathematics teaching in mainstream schools.

Private tutoring costs

Parents incurred heavy financial costs for tutoring. In one academic year, students in high-demand programs spent on average MNT 65,671 (US\$55) per subject, whereas students enrolled in average- and low-demand programs spent approximately MNT 50,000 (US\$40) per subject of private tutoring. The mean cost of private tutoring incurred by students in all three types of programs (i.e., high-, average-, and low-demand) was MNT 59,411 (US\$50). By location, Ulaanbaatar had an average cost of MNT 62,765 (US\$52), much higher than in Darkhan, where the annual average was MNT 35,888 (US\$30) for one subject of private tutoring. This was MNT 26,800 (US\$22) more than the amount spent for tutoring in Darkhan, and MNT 18,300 (US\$15) more than in other *aimag* locations.

The average cost of preparatory courses was MNT 32,932 (US\$27) per year. The highest average preparatory course costs were incurred by those students who were taught by “others” at MNT 44,179 (US\$37), followed by professionals in the field of study at MNT 39,548 (US\$33), and university lecturers/professors at an average cost of MNT 38,671 (US\$32) per course (see Table 11.2 for more detail). Preparatory courses were most expensive in the Ulaanbaatar (MNT 38,855 or US\$32), and least expensive in Erdenet (MNT 22,562 or US\$18).

TABLE 11.2

Cost of Preparatory Courses by Location and Type of Tutor, Mongolia

Type of tutor	Location of secondary school					Average cost (in MNT)
	Ulaan- baatar	Darkhan	Erdenet	Other provinces	Villages	
Professional from the field of study	39,957	15,000	20,000	46,000	29,600	39,548
Secondary school teacher	35,851	26,857	20,845	23,932	33,180	27,416
University professor/lecturer	39,475	53,667	50,000	32,800	31,667	38,671
University student	35,556	50,000	8,000	20,000	20,000	32,154
Other	69,538	—	—	33,889	10,000	44,179
Do not know	23,000	20,000	—	32,500	35,000	27,917
Average cost	38,855	30,333	22,562	27,051	34,349	32,932

The costs of private tutoring varied by program. Students enrolled in high-demand programs (e.g., business management) spent MNT 72,300 (US\$60) per subject of private tutoring in their final year of school, whereas students enrolled in low-demand programs (e.g., agricultural subjects) spent only MNT 35,000 (US\$29). Clearly, program demand played a crucial role in how tutoring rates were set. The amount of money spent for private tutoring also differed greatly from cities to the countryside. For example, students spent MNT 88,000 (US\$73) for private tutoring in business management in Ulaanbaatar, whereas private tutoring for the same subject cost only MNT 39,200 (US\$33) in *soums*.

Private tutoring costs varied by the type of higher education institutions which students chose to enter. For example, students entering public universities spent on average MNT 63,200 (US\$53) on private tutoring, which was MNT 12,600 (US\$10) more than the average amount spent by students headed to a private university or college. Students entering accredited universities and colleges spent on average MNT 61,900 (US\$51) for private tutoring, while students who were admitted into nonaccredited universities and colleges spent an average of MNT 43,000 (US\$36). Hence, students commonly spent more money on private tutoring before attending accredited schools.

This study found no direct relation between private tutoring costs and the source of university and/or college tuition fees. For instance, students whose parents were civil servants and were entitled to receive nonrepayable grants for university tuition, paid for private tutoring just the same as those who paid their own tuition fees. Yet, students who

paid their own higher education fees spent more on private tutoring than students whose fees were borne by the state.

Who is using private tutoring and why?

Private tutoring is more widespread in the capital city. Ulaanbaatar had the largest proportion of private tutoring users at 73.3 percent, with *soums* at 59 percent (see Table 11.3). Between those figures fell Darkhan, Erdenet, and other provinces, the two former being the second and third largest cities in Mongolia. Thus, the figures demonstrated that although students in *soums* were lower in proportion than their urban counterparts, they were still accessing private tutoring in substantial numbers.

TABLE 11.3
Students' Participation in Private Tutoring Lessons and Preparatory Courses
by Location, Mongolia (Percentage and count)

Location	Did you participate in private tutoring lessons or preparatory courses?		
	Yes	No	Total
Ulaanbaatar	73.3% (411)	26.7% (150)	100% (561)
Darkhan	64.2% (43)	35.8% (24)	100% (67)
Erdenet	65.2% (45)	34.8% (24)	100% (69)
Other provinces	75% (399)	25.5% (133)	100% (532)
Villages	59.0% (144)	41.0% (100)	100% (244)
Total	70.7% (1,042)	29.3% (431)	100% (1,473)

The scope of private tutoring increases with the level of higher education program demand. The higher the demand of a higher education program, the larger the scope of private tutoring. As Table 11.4 illustrates, the highest percentage of private tutoring was found among students in such high-demand programs as business and administration, with 72.8 percent of the surveyed students being tutored in one, two, three, or more subjects. These numbers were followed by medium-demand programs, including law (68.4 percent) and life and physical sciences (63.5 percent), while agriculture (one of the low-demand programs) ranked last at 59 percent. Students who took preparatory courses followed somewhat similar patterns, though health was slightly above education.

TABLE 11.4

The Scope of Private Tutoring by Study Program Demand, Mongolia
(Percentage of students taking private tutoring)

<i>Professional field</i>	<i>In how many subjects were you tutored during the last year of schooling to prepare for the university entrance examinations?</i>				
	<i>None</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 or more</i>	<i>Total</i>
Education	40.7% (98)	32.4% (78)	23.2% (56)	3.7% (9)	100.0% (241)
Business and administration	27.0% (135)	48.8% (244)	20.0% (101)	4.0% (20)	100.0% (500)
Law	31.6% (31)	26.5% (26)	29.6% (29)	12.2% (12)	100.0% (98)
Life and physical sciences	36.5% (31)	31.8% (27)	28.2% (24)	3.5% (3)	100.0% (85)
Computing	39.9% (59)	39.9% (59)	18.2% (27)	2.0% (3)	100.0% (148)
Engineering	38.6% (76)	33.0% (65)	24.4% (48)	4.1% (8)	100.0% (197)
Agriculture	41.0% (25)	29.5% (18)	23.0% (14)	6.6% (4)	100.0% (61)
Health	27.4% (40)	39.7% (58)	25.3% (37)	7.5% (11)	100.0% (146)
Total	33.6% (495)	38.9% (575)	22.8% (336)	4.7% (70)	100.0% (1,476)

Students sought private tutoring for various reasons (see Table 11.5). The foremost reason was to prepare for examinations (43 percent). This primary reason indicated how students perceived the importance of the university entrance examinations and the future outcome that it held. Students realized that the examination results would determine not only what they studied at the university but also their future earning prospects. The next most common reasons were: (1) to remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier, (2) to learn better topics taught at school, and (3) to fill a gap in knowledge. Over 55 percent of students surveyed felt that it was possible to pass secondary school-leaving examinations without private tutoring, but only 31.2 percent felt it was possible to do so for the university entrance examination without tutoring. Thus, students felt that to meet the demands of school-leaving and university entrance examinations they must step outside the mainstream school setting and receive external assistance from other individuals and institutions—public and private.

TABLE 11.5**Reasons for Taking Private Tutoring Lessons, Mongolia**

<i>Reasons for taking private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Number of students</i>	<i>Percent</i>
To better learn topics taught at school	288	19.5
To remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier	430	29.1
To fill a gap in knowledge	270	18.3
To better prepare for the examination only	635	43.0
Parents made me take private tutoring	102	6.9
My classmates took private tutoring and that is why I decided to do it	24	1.6

Who is offering private tutoring and why?

The demand for private tutoring and preparatory courses was being met by individuals in both the private and public sectors. For both types of private tutoring (i.e., private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses), the service providers included school teachers, lecturers and professors from higher education institutions, university students, and professionals in the fields of study. With the exception of Ulaanbaatar, school teachers constituted the majority of private tutoring lesson providers (72.6 percent). In particular, 39 percent of the surveyed students took private tutoring lessons from their subject teachers, 13.6 percent from other teachers in their schools, and 19.8 percent from teachers working in other schools. Compared to other countries in this volume, Mongolia had the highest number of students tutored by their subject teachers, which needs to be viewed within the Mongolian circumstances. Mongolia only has a population of 2.5 million and approximately 2 persons per square kilometer. Primarily nomadic herders, 43 percent of Mongolians live in rural areas or in *soums* or even smaller settlements (World Bank, 2001). The territory expands over vast land and suffers from harsh climates. All of these factors combine to make it very difficult to establish higher education institutions in remote areas and explain why the majority are in *aimag* centers. There are still a low number of institutions in *aimag* centers compared to Ulaanbaatar, Erdenet, and Dharkhan. The lack of universities and colleges in other areas of the country results in a shortage of professors and lecturers willing to teach in these remote locations. This perpetuates the problem of having secondary school students hire their subject teachers for private tutoring, and leaves them with little choice.

In Ulaanbaatar, however, the number of students taking private tutoring lessons from a lecturer/ professor of a higher education institution was much higher (40.6 percent) than

those being tutored by their class teacher (20.2 percent). In comparison to Darkhan and Erdenet, the numbers diverged considerably. Darkhan showed only 20 percent of students tutored by a higher education lecturer or professor, while Erdenet reportedly had no students using these types of tutors. It is possible that an absence of higher education institutions in rural areas left local students no choice but to use secondary school teachers. However, the fact that Erdenet university professors were second to Darkhan in being the highest paid tutors among all locations may help explain why there was a lack of use: students may simply not be able to afford the high charges of university professors and lecturers. In Erdenet, there were no university professors/lecturers as tutors in mathematics, chemistry, and Mongolian Language—the top three tutored subjects.

The fact that students in Ulaanbaatar were tutored by higher education lecturers/professors more frequently than students in other provinces reflected the strong advantage they had over their rural peers. In employing lecturers and professors of universities and colleges, students are more likely to be privy to topic content that may appear on the entrance examination or gain strategic test-taking skills that give them an advantage. There is a general belief that professors and lecturers in higher education institutions can provide information that is more directly tied to what will be asked of students on university entrance examinations. Among students surveyed, 66.1 percent felt that university professors and lecturers were better private tutors than secondary school teachers. This was particularly evident among students from Ulaanbaatar, with an 8.6 percent difference between the capital and Darkhan, the second highest population that shared this opinion. Uneven access to different types of private tutors across Mongolia may indicate a widening opportunity gap between Ulaanbaatar and other urban centers.

Perceived impact of supplementary private tutoring: educational and social aspects

Private tutoring and the education quality in mainstream schools

The findings of the study reaffirm the notion that the quality of teaching in mainstream schools does not seem to be sufficient to prepare students for higher education entrance examinations. A vast majority (86.1 percent) of the surveyed students felt that the educational system should be comprehensive to the point where no one would need private tutoring. In particular, the majority of the surveyed students pointed to the quality-related issues in mainstream schools, which create the demand for private tutoring. For example, 68.8 percent of the surveyed students felt that it was the low quality of teaching that necessitated private tutoring, and 63.6 percent felt that students elicited private tutoring because teachers

did not explain subject matter thoroughly enough. Approximately half of the respondents thought that private tutoring was necessary because the school curriculum did not cover everything that was required on the school-leaving and university entrance examinations. At the same time, 86.3 percent of the respondents somewhat and strongly agreed that students used private tutoring because they simply wanted to learn more.

In terms of the perceived impact of private tutoring, 66.9 percent of students believed that students who received private tutoring improved their chances of entering university compared to students of equal ability who did not receive private tutoring. Importantly, the majority (88 percent) of the surveyed students who received tutoring found that it had a beneficial impact on their higher education entrance examinations. In particular, 67.5 percent found it helpful to a certain degree, 20.5 percent thought it helped greatly, 7.9 percent did not know, and only about 4 percent felt that private tutoring did not help at all.

Private tutoring and socioeconomic inequities

In Mongolia, parents with higher educational levels provide more support to their children for private tutoring. For example, children of parents who had bachelors' degrees or higher ranged from 70.5 percent to 70.7 percent use of private tutoring, while students of parents who had only secondary education ranged from 62.6 percent to 65 percent use. It is possible that more-educated parents recognized the potential benefits of private tutoring and preparatory course investments. Parents and students often regard the rationale and prospective benefits for private tutoring very differently. For some, the reason may be "pure," i.e., simply appreciating the academic knowledge and skills the student gains. Conversely, for others it may be more utilitarian and related to future outcome on university entrance examinations.

Clearly related to parental support of private tutoring is their financial capacity to do so. For example, 77.8 percent to 83 percent of children whose parents were in management, professionals in the private sector, and company owners or shareholders received private tutoring. However, among students whose parents were skilled workers, herdsmen, and unemployed, a markedly lower percentage received private tutoring, between 54.4 percent and 64.4 percent. This indicates that for the poor it was more difficult to pay for private tutoring. Nevertheless, the surveyed students did not seem to feel that private tutoring was limited to wealthy elites. According to the survey findings, 23.7 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed and 47.1 percent somewhat disagreed that private tutoring was only for the wealthy elites. However, the majority of students believed that private tutoring was expensive, with 62.1 percent somewhat agreeing and 17.8 percent strongly agreeing that it was expensive, presumably causing their families to make sacrifices.

Private tutoring and rural/urban inequities

As stated earlier, the inequities between the larger cities of Darkhan, Erdenet, and in particular Ulaanbaatar showed that secondary students had a distinct advantage over their rural counterparts. Ulaanbaatar students have greater access to university professors and lecturers and more experienced secondary school teachers (according to rank and years of experience) who, as tutors, can better prepare them for both school exit and university entrance examinations.

Private tutoring and ethical issues

Almost 40 percent of all students receiving private tutoring indicated that their tutors were their subject teachers. Over three quarters of all surveyed students stated it was very common to ask their subject teacher for private tutoring. Students believed that teachers' central reason for offering private tutoring was for financial gain. The majority of the surveyed students (65.5 percent) recognized that teachers see private tutoring as means to gain extra income. Importantly, the majority of the surveyed students (65.2 percent) somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that teachers treat students who receive private tutoring better than those who do not take any. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, teachers realize that if tutored students are not treated well they will go elsewhere for their tutoring. Second, tutored students are entitled to better treatment because they have a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. Students were more divided on whether students' own teachers should provide tutoring. Fifty-four percent of respondents did not see anything wrong with teachers providing paid tutoring to their own students, while 45.6 percent felt that it should be prohibited.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Private tutoring, as a global phenomenon, has elicited a variety of responses from national governments. Given its complex political, economic, and social causes and effects, each approach has advantages and disadvantages. International research on private tutoring shows that governments respond to private tutoring with four main policy approaches: ignoring, prohibiting, regulating, and encouraging (Bray, 2003). The Mongolian government seems to be taking a *laissez-faire* approach. This research shows that private tutoring is widespread in Mongolia, but the government does not intervene. If the Mongolian government ignores the issue, one may wonder how this reflects its commitment to providing access and equity to all children, as ascribed by both national and international doctrines such as Education

for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In an industry that impacts the quality of teaching and the overall basis of a sound education, it is arguable that the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MOECS) should intervene to narrow the gulf in educational access. It should take a more active approach because the inadequate quality of teaching in mainstream schools reflects on the MOECS and its commitment to a sound and equitable education.

Given the scale of private tutoring in Mongolia, neither official prohibition nor active encouragement of private tutoring would likely be effective. On the one hand, official prohibition would not stop Mongolian parents from paying for private tutoring. Mongolian parents value education and make a strong effort to provide supplementary tutoring for their children whether they are wealthy or poor. Over 50 percent of parents who are skilled workers, herdsman, and unemployed manage to provide their children with private tutoring. This demonstrates that even for low-income parents, cost is not a prohibitive factor and it seems that if the poor are willing to exhaust all of their financial resources to purchase supplementary tutoring for their children, prohibition would not deter them. On the other hand, active encouragement of private tutoring is likely to increase inequities in the education area. As the findings of this study show, private tutoring could become dangerous by widening the gap between urban and rural students, particularly the Ulaanbaatar urban to Erdenet and Darkhan urban, and the mostly rural remainder of the country.

The government should consider recognition and regulation of private tutoring. However, any policy intervention should give careful consideration to Mongolia's unique circumstances. The following general recommendations should be carefully considered by policymakers:

► **Prohibiting teachers from tutoring their own students**

Most students who receive tutoring, with the exception of those in Ulaanbaatar, do so from their own class teachers. Secondary school teachers see themselves as underpaid and recognize private tutoring as a natural opportunity to earn additional income. Given the high cost of other types of tutors, such as university professors and lecturers in other areas of the country, students have no choice but to pay their secondary school teachers for tutoring. Outside Ulaanbaatar, there are fewer institutions (both secondary schools and higher educational institutions) from which a student can select a tutor. Students and parents understand the gravity of what is at stake—future professions and potential income. They become vulnerable to the demands of tutors and succumb to whatever is asked. This creates the possibility of manipulation between the two parties, which becomes particularly dangerous for students whose subject teachers are their tutors. Prohibiting teachers to tutor their own students would help

to reduce manipulation, while allowing teachers to tutor other students would still permit them to earn additional wages. Yet, if such an approach is adopted, a substantial level of corruption could be reduced. This approach seems to be the most viable for Mongolia, considering all circumstances.

▶ **Increasing teacher salaries**

From an educational policy perspective, the government must address what seems to be a root cause of the issue: teachers' salaries. Throughout Mongolia, teachers feel that they are underpaid, even though teachers earn 1.97 times the per capita GDP. As mentioned earlier, they earn a base salary of about US\$68 per month and can participate in numerous activities that increase their wages substantially, including private tutoring, grading papers, and leading methodology courses. Rather than compensating for responsibilities that are part of the function of a teacher, these activities should be built in along with an increase in the base salary. Bonuses that are legitimately earned should be awarded. The issue of teacher salaries is a complex and central one to the issue of private tutoring; therefore, a deeper analysis must be made after further research.

▶ **Ensuring opportunities for private tutoring for the disadvantaged students**

This study found that secondary students in Ulaanbaatar have an advantage over their counterparts in other regions. This is mainly due to the fact that many use university professors for tutoring services in one-on-one tutoring and/or college preparatory courses. As such, if the government allows supplemental tutoring, policy must be set so that disadvantaged students (especially those in rural areas) have access to some type of private tutoring. Ensuring private tutoring opportunities for the disadvantaged students (whether they are in the capital or in a more remote region) would be fair to everyone, rather than ones in particular locations.

▶ **Examining curriculum and classroom practices in mainstream schools**

The scale of private tutoring in Mongolia may be an indication that mainstream education is not meeting its function as a learning institution. Therefore, it is critical to examine the curriculum and classroom practices in mainstream schools. The national curriculum should be examined to determine its weaknesses in subject content, strategies of teaching, and theory application. As an example, if the subject content of secondary school curriculum is not providing the requisite knowledge and skills for students to enter universities it is necessary to identify what essential material is missing. It is essential for the secondary and university curricula to align. Evaluations

can determine how inadequacies in the secondary curriculum or the mismatch with university entrance examinations affect student learning and the demand for private tutoring. This type of approach takes time to investigate and is not a quick fix, but can address the issue on a systemic level.

These policy options for Mongolia are recommendations based on this initial research study. The recommendations act only as a foundation from which further studies should be conducted. If not addressed in the proper manner, Mongolia's situation could become worse and create wider disparities between those who can afford private tutoring and those who cannot.

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Notes

1. English language translation, which is a high-demand study program, was not included in the sample, because English language is not taught in all secondary schools in Mongolia.
2. Until the spring of 2005, school-leaving examinations were administered by the Ministry of Education. In 2005, the administration was transferred to individual schools.
3. Exchange rate at time of study: MNT 1,200–US\$1.00
4. Outcomes-contracts are newly emerging in Mongolia. They award teachers for student performance.
5. *Aimag* is the Mongolian word for province. Mongolia is divided into 21 *aimags*.
6. *Soum* is the Mongolian word for village.

Chapter 12

Poland

Barbara Murawska and Elżbieta Putkiewicz

Although private tutoring existed before Poland's political transition in 1989, it was not the subject of social debate. One reason for the lack of discussion was that communist politicians propagated an image of the school as an ideal institution that did not require any supplement. It was also assumed that no segment of the system could function ineffectively—especially the army, the police, and the education system. A debate on tutoring would have suggested that the school, a hallowed institution, was failing to meet externally established standards.

In addition to limiting debate about Polish schooling, communist administrations controlled schools using their own internal standards. According to the government, schools were to ensure a proper “socialist upbringing.” The development of independent thinking or even competence in mathematics and geography were secondary issues. A debate over private tutoring would have eroded the communist myth of free and uniform education for everyone. In moments of crisis, communist authorities always declared that despite

“perversions,” one fact was certain: the state has given the people an opportunity to complete school free of charge.

During the period of transformation, the private tutoring debate has assumed a slightly larger dimension. Sociological and psychological studies are being conducted on this phenomenon, and they see private lessons and preparatory courses as a way to adapt to new systems and new realities. There is also a growing interest from the press, and particularly from local daily newspapers, about the causes and effects of private tutoring. While scholarly studies address social mechanisms underlying the growth and development of the market for private lessons and courses, the press is primarily concerned with the social inequalities to which this market gives rise.

However, few commentators have addressed either the gray zone consisting primarily of teachers and university staff giving private lessons or the potential for corruption arising from private lessons and preparatory courses, particularly when organized by higher education institutions. This appears to reflect the fact that public perceptions of how the law works have remained largely unchanged during the period of transformation. The approval level for the proposition that “all are equal before the law” (including the tax law) was fairly low, at 40 percent in 1988, but recorded a slight increase with the coming of the new social and political system in 1989, only to return quickly to the previous level (Koralewicz and Ziółkowski, 2003). For many Poles, the new system resembled the old one in that it perpetuated unequal treatment of citizens, corruption, and the importance of connections and acquaintances. It was only natural that this pervasive disrespect for the rule of law would affect educational provision and the inherent dangers of private tutoring.

In their research on Poles’ strategy for coping with system changes, Giza-Poleszczuk, Marody, and Rychard (1999) found that respondents placed a strategy of capital accumulation through education first (over 80 percent). Private tutoring, preparatory courses, private lessons, and sending children abroad were treated as primary strategies for building the family’s capital. According to the authors of that study, however, this strategy appeared exclusively in families where education capital was already high. Similar findings emerged from studies on changes in the mentality of Polish society (Koralewicz and Ziółkowski, 2003).

The ways that Poles dealt with the new social and political system can be thought of as a set of concentric circles. The first way was short-term activity for personal benefit; the second a long-term investment in personal and family resources; the third a receptive and demanding orientation; and the fourth was helplessness, perceiving oneself as a victim of a specific person or institution and blaming impersonal, ruthless rules or fate. The second of these ways concerns adaptation consisting not of *ad hoc* efforts, but of long-term investment strategies that are designed to develop, maintain, and/or multiply economic, social, and cultural capital.

Empirical studies demonstrate that Poles are increasingly investing in cultural capital by improving their qualifications and making efforts to do the same for their children. The authors of these studies commonly argued that the fact that Poland had the strongest correlation between earnings and higher education/qualifications among all formerly communist countries was a reason for larger investments in education which would make Polish society more meritocratic. Certainly in terms of capital conversion (Bourdieu 1979), it may be said that many in the intelligentsia have managed to transform their social and cultural capital into economic capital by adapting to the conditions of the free market. This group comprises the largest number of parents of respondents to the survey reported in this chapter who declared that they took private lessons and/or participated in preparatory courses. This group also comprises a majority of the families who sent their children to private schools.¹

The situation is different with respect to the teachers and academic staff who give private lessons and teach preparatory courses. The teachers in particular belong to what Koralewicz and Ziółkowski (2003) called the “rank-and-file” intelligentsia who are employed in the public sector and are poorly paid. The majority of them are forced to look for additional sources of income, such as private lessons and preparatory courses. According to the Polish Central Statistical Office, the average gross monthly salary in the education sector corresponded to 90 percent of the average salary in the enterprise sector in 2004. The situation improved slightly in the first quarter of 2005, with the average gross monthly salary in the education sector increasing to 108 percent of that of the enterprise sector. The ratio of average gross monthly salary to minimum wage stood at 3.4, meaning that the average salary in the education sector corresponded to 340 percent of the minimum wage. These conditions, high demand for education and low pay for educational professionals, promoted the market for private lessons and courses. The private tutoring market in turn led to unequal opportunities for access to education and qualifications.

Analyzing the scope, structure, and impact of private tutoring in Poland, this chapter first discusses who takes private lessons, in what subjects, and to what extent and then discusses who provides private tutoring and with what effect. Carried out by the Institute of Public Affairs, the study draws from both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data are derived from a survey conducted in December 2004 among first-year students of the law and pedagogy faculties at the state-run Universities of Warsaw and Białystok.² The study collected data from 849 students, and the sample included respondents in high-demand programs³ (like law, 60.5 percent) and traditionally low-demand programs (like pedagogy, 39.5 percent).⁴ Qualitative data included document analysis of pedagogical students’ seminar papers and studies by the Center for Civic Education on educational problems in Poland, as well as phone interviews with 65 private tutors who advertised in Polish newspapers.⁵

Important data were also collected from a web-based opinion poll on private tutoring organized by the Center for Civic Education and a series of four group interviews with students and teachers on private tutoring (see Chapter 3 for more detail on data collection and analysis). The quantitative data address only a section of the private tutoring phenomenon. This limitation results from the fact that only first-year students of state-run universities participated in the study. This study does not cover students of other universities, including private ones, or secondary school graduates who, for one reason or another, did not pursue higher education.

The Context: Polish Education in Transition

Indices that allow for comparison of multiple, often diverse countries are helpful for discussing private tutoring in Poland. As with many studies, the research done for this study needs additional context, like the facts provided below, to give substance to the numbers.

With a score of 0.84, Poland ranked 35th out of 175 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) in 2003, and 37th in 2004 (Lewicka, 2005). Yet, of all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Poland had made the most progress on the HDI. In 1990 Poland was the lowest among all countries in the region, and by 2004 had recorded a 0.47 point increase in its HDI score. However, Poland's performance was less exemplary when judged against the Human Poverty Index (HPI),⁶ on which it ranked last among the 50 most developed countries due to its high unemployment (19.7 percent). The Technology Achievement Index (TAI), another created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is believed to provide a good measure of a country's education level. Of the 72 countries for which TAI scores were calculated in 2001, Poland ranked 29th with a score of 0.407. The list was topped by Finland with a score of 0.704.

In 1998, Poland ranked "average" on the Gini coefficient index, which measures disparity of income inequality (Lewicka, 2005). With a Gini coefficient of 31.6,⁷ Poland ranked behind not only the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, and Japan, but also Slovakia and Croatia. A 2003 UNDP report found that, despite considerable growth of its national income, Poland, apart from Indonesia and Sri Lanka, was the only country in which poverty expanded in the 1990s, with the number of people living below the minimum subsistence level increasing from 6 to 20 percent.

UNDP reports are an important but not exclusive source of indices for international comparisons. Reports from Transparency International rank countries according to the level of corruption, and position a country on the global corruption map. On the Corruption

Perception Index (CPI) from 0 (maximum perceived corruption) to 10.0 (no perceived corruption), Poland scored 5.57 in 1996, 5.08 in 1997, 4.10 in 2000, and 3.60 in 2003. These figures demonstrate that Poland was perceived to be increasingly corrupt, and it was one of the few countries in which the CPI had deteriorated steadily (Dobrowolski, 2001; Lewicka, 2005). The CPI is important for the private tutoring comparisons made in this research. Private tutoring creates an environment susceptible to corruption, particularly if provided by teachers who double as private tutors for their regular students and by professors in universities tutees aspire to enter.

Equally important are indices measuring values, particularly of teachers. Regular values surveys have been conducted for years by sociologist Ronald Inglehart, who has explored values through two perspectives (Lewicka, 2005). One perspective is the type of recognized authority: traditional (mostly religious) versus secular and rational. The second perspective is concerned with materialistic values (survival) versus postmaterialistic values (life quality). The higher the focus on wealth and economic security, the more materialistic the values are considered. Poland along with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Azerbaijan (other countries included in this edited volume) ranked among the countries most committed to materialistic values and traditional authority. A strong drive toward economic success, which is inherent in materialistic values, may lead to corruption in the countries where the means to achieving material success are relatively scarce (Skarżyńska, 2005).

International studies of the values of secondary school teachers have found that Polish teachers, like their colleagues from other Central and Eastern European countries, have more traditional, less individualistic, and less egalitarian value systems than Western teachers (Schwarz, 1994).⁸ Among the countries in the same category as Poland, Polish teachers demonstrated the highest commitment to conservative values and the lowest commitment to egalitarian values. These findings are confirmed by other research, which has found a fairly widespread tendency among teachers to distinguish between “talented” and “untalented” students. When asked by a journalist why parents seek private tutors, one teacher, who might be considered typical, replied: “It happens that when parents of a less talented child want to send him or her to a good school, they pay for extra lessons” (*Rzeczpospolita Daily*, 9 June 2005).

Polish educational reform

The Polish education system underwent major reform in 1999. The reform was intended to popularize secondary education, equalize educational opportunities, and improve the quality of teaching and education. These goals were to be addressed through the education system, school network, curriculum and personnel reforms, and the introduction of

an external examination system. Specifically, the reforms in each area had the following characteristics:

- ▶ The reform reduced the duration of primary schooling to six years, followed by three years of lower secondary schooling and a further three compulsory years of upper secondary schooling. In effect, the reform made education mandatory until the age of 18.
- ▶ The reform led to closure of small schools that were described as expensive to run and poorly equipped in favor of large schools that were described as cheaper and better equipped.
- ▶ The curriculum reform was necessitated by two factors: the introduction of an integrated system of teaching in grades 1–3 and of a block system of teaching in grades 4–6 of primary school, as well as the establishment of lower secondary schools (gymnasias). These changes led to the rapid growth of the market for school curricula and handbooks.
- ▶ It was assumed that all teachers would complete higher education in a relevant field of specialization by 2006. The reform also introduced four levels of teachers' occupational hierarchy: intern teacher, contract teacher, nominated teacher, and diploma teacher. Salaries were to be differentiated accordingly.
- ▶ The reform introduced an external test for primary school in the last grade of primary school and an external examination for students in the last grade of lower secondary school. While the former was designed solely to test students' skills, the latter was intended to provide information to be considered for selection of students for upper secondary school. A third examination, the *matura*, was introduced for students in the last grade of upper secondary school. In its reformed shape, the *matura* was intended to be the sole criterion for university admission. However, many universities and faculties decided that they would retain their own entrance examinations as part of the admission procedure.

Factors contributing to private tutoring in Poland

Poland's transformation and its recent education reforms have affected the scope and structure of private tutoring. Several factors should be considered when examining the motivation for private tutoring. First, the external test at the end of lower secondary school, introduced by the 1999 reform, controls access to upper secondary schools. Parental realization of the importance of this examination is usually manifest in looking for a test-preparation tutor for the child.

The changes to the upper secondary school *matura* examination have also promoted tutoring. From 2005, a new, external secondary school examination was required for university admissions. The *matura* examination was intended to replace university entrance examinations but, as mentioned above, a significant number of faculties decided to retain additional tests as part of the recruitment process. It is commonly believed that schools are incapable of preparing students for the new *matura* examination, particularly if its results are to be a decisive factor in university admission. Thus, students seek private tutoring for both the *matura* examination and preparatory courses for the individual university examinations.

A third reason for the rise in private tutoring is related to secondary schools striving to stay in the market. For many schools, it is of utmost importance to keep a high position in school rankings. Rankings are published on the Internet, by local daily newspapers, and as supplements to national newspapers. They are calculated on the average performance of primary and lower secondary schools on external tests. They do not take into account value added, skills or knowledge. Positions in the rankings can be ensured only by results, and schools often demand much of their students and care little about teaching quality as long as the students do well on the examinations. If the students fail to meet the school expectations, parents may decide to employ tutors. One participant in an Internet discussion on private tutoring said, "private lessons and courses are intended to bridge the gap between students' capacities and the requirements of the school they attend or aspire to attend."

The Minister of Education and Sport has been quoted as saying that only students at small rural schools do not take private tutoring (*Rzeczpospolita Daily*, 9 June 2005). In 2004, the ministry organized a competition under the slogan "School Without Private Tutoring" that was designed to find solutions to the private tutoring problem. However, the results of the competition announced in June 2005 were meager. Only about 0.5 percent of schools participated in the competition, and these were typically provincial institutions rather than ones with established reputations. The *Rzeczpospolita Daily* published an article discussing the results of the competition under the headline "They Don't Want to Combat Private Tutoring." One of the three awards went to a school from a small district town. The teachers at that school organized extra classes for both weak students as well as the most able students. Within a year, the number of students taking private tutoring declined from 44 percent to 26 percent.

However serious the competition, it provided a basis for determining the extent of the private tutoring phenomenon. According to the ministry's estimates, around 10 percent of primary and lower secondary school students take private tutoring, while in upper secondary schools this figure was said to be between 50 and 60 percent. While the figures for upper secondary and primary schools may be accurate, those for lower secondary schools appear to be significantly understated. Research on the extent of private tutoring in the first

class of lower secondary school (gymnasium), conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs in 2000, found that 21 percent of students of the first class were taking private tutoring. In 2001, participation was found to be 18 percent (Konarzewski 2001, 2002). The research reported in this chapter sheds additional light on the scope, nature, and implications of private tutoring in Poland.

Findings: The Scope and Nature of Private Tutoring in Poland

The term “private tutoring lessons,” or “private lessons,” is used here to describe individual or group out-of-school lessons that are paid for by parents or the students themselves. Such lessons are aimed at supplementing school subjects. Additional lessons in foreign languages that are outside the school curriculum are not included in the term private tutoring lessons used here. Preparatory courses for entry examinations to universities and colleges, which are organized by various faculties or third parties and paid for by the student’s parents or the students themselves, constitute a distinct form of private tutoring activity. Based on the data from our quantitative and qualitative surveys, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring, the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring, and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring.

Private tutoring lessons

The scope of private tutoring lessons

Our study of first-year university students found that 49.8 percent of them took private lessons. The largest groups of students who took private lessons in secondary school were students of early childhood education in Warsaw University and of law in both Warsaw and Białystok universities. Although the decision to take expensive private tutoring by future lawyers can be explained by the relative attractiveness of the legal labor market and the competition for law program admissions, it is more difficult to account for the same percentage of teacher candidates who took private lessons and were planning to teach young children as a career. It might be explained by the fact that many candidates applying to the Faculty of Early Education also apply to other faculties. Further, many education students have to take the Polish and English entrance examinations, possibly requiring more tutoring. Lastly, the

relatively high number of students taking private lessons in this group could also be due to the fact that teacher candidates most frequently have lower secondary school achievement (see Table 12.1 for more detailed data on students taking private lessons and in how many subjects).

TABLE 12.1
Field of Study and Location in Relation to Tutoring, Poland (Percentage distribution)

<i>Field of study and location</i>	<i>Number of subjects</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
Law, Warsaw	42.3	35.7	17.9	4.1	319
Law, Białystok	47.2	32.6	17.6	2.6	193
General pedagogy, Warsaw	53.2	28.6	13.0	5.2	77
General pedagogy, Białystok	72.4	23.6	3.9	0.0	127
Early education, Warsaw	39.4	33.3	18.2	9.1	66
Early education, Białystok	61.5	30.8	3.1	4.6	65
Total	50.2	32.0	14.2	3.7	847

$\chi^2 = 56.7$, $df = 15$, $p < 0.001$, $C = 0.25$

Consumers

Individual level analyses determined a relationship between the taking of private lessons and position in the social structure in terms of the socioeconomic status (SES) of the respondents' families (Table 12.2).⁹ A low family SES encompassed 8.7 percent of all students surveyed, while medium SES accounted for 56.3 percent, and a high family SES 35 percent. These figures provide a picture of a common phenomenon in Poland: a low percentage of university students come from families with low SES. Students whose families were characterized as having a low SES took private lessons less frequently (35.1 percent) than their peers from families with a medium SES (46.7 percent) and much less frequently than their peers from families with a self-reported high SES (58.7 percent).

TABLE 12.2**Socioeconomic Status and Private Lessons, Poland** (Percentage distribution)

<i>Socioeconomic Status (SES)</i>	<i>Number of subjects</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
Low SES	64.9	27.0	6.8	1.4	74
Medium SES	53.3	29.5	13.8	3.4	471
High SES	41.3	37.9	16.0	4.8	293

$\chi^2 = 19.1$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.001$, $C = 0.15$

As expected, and based on the analyses of the costs of tutoring, a relatively strong relationship was found between the taking of private lessons and the evaluation of family financial standing (Table 12.3). Students who evaluated their family's financial situation as bad or very bad were twice as likely to declare that they did not take private lessons compared to those who evaluated their family's financial situation as very good. In addition to parents' education, family financial situation is the main variable determining the use of private tutoring. However, the relation between private tutoring and parents' education is less pronounced than the relation between private tutoring and a family's financial situation. From interviews with teachers and the web-based opinion poll it was clear that well-educated parents are often able to help their children "in filling the gap between what they have learned at school and what they need to learn" without paying for private tutoring.

TABLE 12.3**Family's Economic Standing and Private Lessons, Poland** (Percentage distribution)

<i>Family's economic standing</i>	<i>Number of subjects</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three or more</i>	
Very good	33.3	37.7	18.8	10.1	69
Good	40.7	39.7	17.3	2.3	307
Average	57.0	27.0	12.2	3.8	393
Bad	68.3	21.7	8.3	1.7	60
Very bad	61.5	30.8	7.7	0.0	13

$\chi^2 = 45.8$, $df = 12$, $p < 0.001$, $C = 0.23$

However, a converse effect should also be kept in mind, namely that better educated parents are more likely to change their consumption patterns and give up other family needs to pay for private tutoring if the need arises. The authors of the 1998 UNDP report raised the importance of this variable, which can be defined as an inclination to choose educational spending over other expenses in the process of upbringing. Parents' relatively high education can therefore be a factor both favorable and unfavorable to private tutoring.

Lastly, there is one main factor preventing the use of expensive private tutoring—poverty. When asked why they did not use private tutoring, one-fourth of the respondents said that it was too expensive. This was confirmed by an analysis of the opinions of students surveyed on private tutoring.¹⁰ An analysis of a relationship between an opinion expressed on private tutoring and the affluence of the family of origin yielded a strong positive relationship. The lower the assessment of the economic standing of the family of origin, the more likely respondents were to view private lessons as a driving factor behind the growing costs of education. Private tutoring appeared to be too expensive even for respondents who considered the financial situation of their families to be within the national average.

Providers

Teachers are the main providers of private lessons. Almost one-third of the respondents were tutored by teachers from other schools. However, 1 in 10 respondents were tutored by their own teachers¹¹ and 8 percent of the students were taught by other teachers from the same school. The second largest group comprised university lecturers (nearly 31 percent), and the third largest group included students and persons other than teachers or university instructors (21 percent).

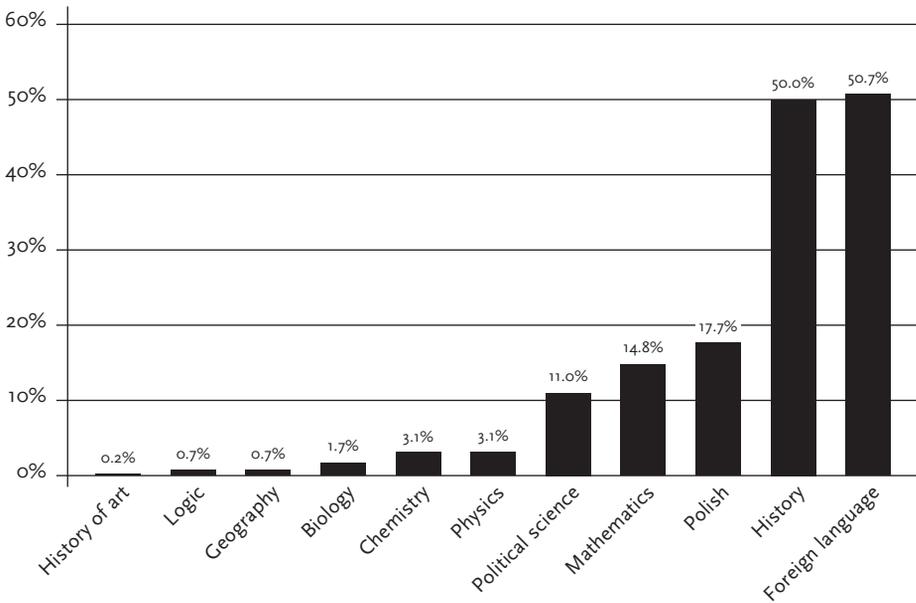
The pattern of teachers giving private lessons to their students, instruction by teachers from the same school, and the relatively large number of university professors who have private students may be viewed as the dark side of private tutoring in Poland, because situations like these are prone to corruption. It is highly probable that the phenomenon of taking private lessons with university professors and staff stems from a tradition of building contacts and relationships. University professors and staff may feel obliged to provide their tutees with assistance which is not entirely disinterested. The more widespread corruption becomes, the more educators engage in it, the stronger the incentive to behave in a corrupt manner. This is one of the most serious threats caused by the growth of private tutoring.

Academic subjects

Among the most popular subjects for extra instruction were the subjects tested on university entrance examinations: history, foreign languages, Polish, and political science (Figure 12.1). The list also included logic, as there were questions concerning logic on the entrance

examination for law studies at Warsaw University. Concerning other subjects, it was unclear whether the extra instruction was only in “support” of the everyday school learning process, preparation for the school-leaving examination, or whether the respondents took entrance examinations in those subjects. Mathematics appeared to be the only subject in the upper secondary school-leaving examination that did not factor in the entrance examination for any of the faculties under consideration.

FIGURE 12.1
Subjects in Which Respondents Reported Taking Private Tutoring Lessons, Poland



Note: Respondents could select more than one answer.

Reasons for taking private lessons

We asked students about their main purposes for taking private lessons. Nearly 52 percent of the respondents reported that they took private lessons to prepare themselves for examinations. A quarter of respondents used private lessons as an opportunity to fill gaps in what they learned at school and 39 percent to check whether they properly understood the material learned at school. As many as 40 percent of the tutees thought the knowledge acquired at school was discontinuous, incomplete, and in need of supplementation by private lessons.

Only a small percentage of respondents claimed that they took private lessons because of their parents' wishes (2.2 percent) or because of social pressures (1.9 percent). These findings disprove the belief that private tutoring is a matter of peer pressure and/or is forced on students by overzealous parents.

Group size and cost of private lessons

While individual (one-on-one) student lessons predominated (66.3 percent), as many as 22.4 percent of private lessons were given to groups of over five students. According to the tutors, the main reason for large group sizes was to take advantage of economies of scale. Another reason is the limited availability of tutors, particularly in small towns.

The costs of private tutoring lessons were estimated based upon the telephone survey and upon feedback from respondents on the frequency of private lessons and the length of time spent on instruction with a tutor. The calculations are based on the assumption that private lessons were taken throughout the school year (i.e., over 38 weeks), for two hours per week, at the hourly rate of PLN 30 (US\$8.83, €7.21). The resulting cost of private lessons was PLN 2,280 (US\$670.73, €548.34) per year, which corresponded to 12 percent of an average gross yearly salary in the enterprise sector. This was the annual cost of private tutoring for 50 percent of the students surveyed. For those who took four hours per week (20.5 percent of the students surveyed), the annual cost was equal to 24 percent of gross yearly salary.

Perceived impact of private lessons

Among students who claimed that they took private lessons before the school-leaving examination, the vast majority believed that this instruction was helpful. For instance, 40 percent believed that tutoring helped a "little bit," and 48 percent believed that private tutoring helped them "significantly." The situation was similar in the case of university entrance examinations: 35 percent stated that private lessons helped them a "little bit" and 48 percent "significantly." These percentages of effectiveness, however, must be seen as opinions from students who passed their examinations and were admitted to the university, and not from all tutees.

Preparatory courses

The scope of preparatory courses

Overall, 38.9 percent of the students surveyed reported participating in preparatory courses. Nearly two-thirds of these students attended preparatory courses that were run by founda-

tions affiliated with universities.¹² While not directly related to universities, these foundations had the word “university” in their names. In addition, 26 percent of the participants attended courses organized by private firms, and only 6 percent chose courses organized by secondary schools.

Consumers

Warsaw University students were significantly more frequent users of preparatory courses (51.2 percent) than were respondents from Białystok University (25.4 percent). Students of the general pedagogy and the early childhood education faculties of Białystok University were the least frequent participants in preparatory courses (Table 12.4). Additionally, the percentage of law students at Białystok University who reported taking preparatory courses (36.6 percent) was significantly lower than the percentage of law students at Warsaw who took preparatory courses (54.6 percent).

TABLE 12.4
The Field and Place of Study in Relation to the Percentage of Students Declaring Their Participation in Preparatory Courses, Poland

<i>Field and place of study</i>	<i>Percentage of course participants</i>	<i>Total number</i>
Law, Warsaw	54.6	313
Law, Białystok	36.6	186
General pedagogy, Warsaw	38.2	76
General pedagogy, Białystok	19.0	126
Early childhood education, Warsaw	51.5	66
Early childhood education, Białystok	6.2	65
	38.9	832

$\chi^2 = 86.9, df = 5, p < 0.001, C = 0.31$

The differences among the groups of course users according to the field and place of study were significantly higher than the differences between groups for private lessons. These differences may have been caused by a variety of factors. One possibility is that fewer courses were offered by the schools from which the Białystok students graduated. Alternatively, lower SES students may have attended Białystok University in larger proportions; and/or the entrance examination for the pedagogy faculties in Białystok tested professional

suitability and knowledge that extended beyond the secondary school syllabus, while the curriculum of preparatory courses was usually related to the material taught in secondary schools.

Nearly one-third of the respondents who did not take private lessons participated in preparatory courses. Additionally, slightly more than one-third of those taking private lessons in one subject participated in preparatory courses as well. The probability of attending a preparatory course increased with the number of subjects in which the respondents were taking private lessons. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents taking private lessons in two subjects also participated in preparatory courses. Likewise, 60 percent of the respondents taking private lessons in three or more subjects participated in preparatory courses.

A significant difference in the percentage of students reporting participation in preparatory courses can be seen among SES groupings (Table 12.5). It is interesting to note that a higher percentage of students took private lessons than preparatory courses in each of the three groups. The most pronounced differences are noted in the group of students with a low SES. In that group, the percentage of individuals taking private lessons was 1.8 times higher than the percentage taking preparatory courses. This ratio is 1.3 for medium SES and 1.1 for high SES. It appears that students and parents, particularly in families with low SES, perceive private lessons as a better (or more accessible) investment than preparatory courses.

TABLE 12.5
The SES Index of Respondent's Family in Relation to Participation in Preparatory Courses, Poland (Percentage distribution)

<i>SES index for the respondent's family of origin</i>	<i>Percentage of course participants</i>
Low SES	19.2
Medium SES	34.4
High SES	52.6

$\chi^2 = 38.4, df = 2, p < 0.001, C = 0.21$

When asked why they did not participate in preparatory courses, 70 percent of respondents said they did not need them. The second most frequently cited reason (as was the case with private lessons) was financial. The third most frequently given reason for not taking preparatory courses was that the the respondent was already taking private lessons.

An additional, although less common reason, was that no courses were available where the respondent lived. Free help from friends was the least common reason for not taking a preparatory course.

The reasons given for participating in preparatory courses were traditional in nature. Largely the same reasons were given by respondents for taking private lessons. Most of the reasons given were education-related. The respondents participated in preparatory courses because they wanted to “better study the topics to be examined,” “repeat and systematize what they have learned,” and “fill knowledge gaps.” Reasons such as “parents forced me” or “because others did it” were quoted much less frequently. Every tenth participant in preparatory courses claimed to have participated in the course because it was cheaper than private lessons, and nearly 40 percent of the respondents believed that the education system did not provide them with the necessary knowledge and skills needed for university admissions.

Duration and cost of preparatory courses

The respondents were asked about the starting dates, duration, and prices of the preparatory courses that they took. Nearly half of the respondents participated in courses that started 6 to 11 months before leaving secondary school or taking university entrance examinations. One-quarter participated in courses that started 3 to 6 months before the examinations. Based on these answers, the average preparatory course met for an estimated 90 hours. The longest course attended by the students surveyed ran for 480 hours, while the shortest was only 2 hours. The average cost of the courses was PLN 885 (US\$260.34, €212.84).

Providers

The majority of teaching staff of preparatory courses were university lecturers. Interviews with students in focus groups¹³ indicated that the courses mostly consisted of solving problems from entrance examinations for the faculties of their choice. The students participating in the courses claimed that the problems typically came from tests given in recent years and were similar to those they later had to solve during the entrance exam.

Perceived impact

The majority of students participating in preparatory courses believed that they were effective: 45.3 percent of the respondents said that the courses helped them “a bit” while 19 percent said that they helped them “a lot” in preparations for the upper secondary school-leaving examination. The effectiveness was described as higher for university entrance examinations, where twice as many answered “a lot” in relation to the helpfulness of the course. This level of effectiveness was perhaps surprising given that groups of course participants were usu-

ally large. In total, 66 percent of the students surveyed said that the courses they attended had more than 16 participants. School teachers often complained that it was impossible to prepare students effectively for school-leaving and entrance examinations when working in a large group environment, but that it was possible in the preparatory classes.

Educational, social, and economic implications

Given that this research is the first of its kind in Poland, it cannot definitively state whether or not private tutoring is growing. It can, however, support two assertions about the current state of private tutoring in Poland. First, private lessons and courses contribute to increasing social inequalities in education; and second, private tutoring is a corruption-prone activity.

Private tutoring and social inequalities in education

This study demonstrates that students from better-educated families were much more frequent users of private lessons and preparatory courses. Specifically, it found that the positive relationship between using private tutoring and parental education was weaker than the positive relationship between tutoring and families' economic standing. Many respondents claimed that private tutoring was just too expensive, even for those respondents who assessed their family's economic situation as average. In this way, private tutoring contributes to educational inequalities, particularly in rural areas where nearly 20 percent of people are unemployed and the poverty margin is increasing.

Private tutoring as a corruption-prone environment

Private lessons and preparatory courses represent a threat to the educational function of schools. About 10 percent of respondents were provided private lessons by their own school teachers. Nearly as many respondents took private lessons from teachers who did not teach their classes but who were employed at the same school. In total, 30 percent of the respondents took private lessons from university college teachers, usually employed by universities into which the student was trying to enroll. This made nearly half of those taking private lessons that, in our estimation, were involved in a situation susceptible to corruption.

Nearly two-thirds of preparatory courses were run by foundations affiliated with universities. According to our respondents, a large majority of lecturers teaching preparatory courses were academic teachers (presumably from the same university). While not being directly conducted by universities, these courses can also lead to corruption.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Private lessons and preparatory courses are informal, yet important elements of the Polish education system. The research provides a basis on which to formulate a number of important conclusions and recommendations. Above all, the problem of private tutoring should not be underestimated. Only one-third of Polish first-year university students took no private tutoring while preparing for secondary school-leaving and university entrance examinations. These calculations validate the estimates from the Ministry of Education and Sport, and give support to the campaign “School without Private Tutoring.”

While private tutoring has some advantages (e.g., creating jobs, providing earning opportunities for poorly paid teachers, increasing human capital, and constructively occupying children while their parents work), the exacerbation of educational inequality caused by private tutoring, its corruption-prone nature, and its link to school system effectiveness are reasons why steps have to be taken to curb private tutoring. Based on the findings presented here, the following policy options may be recommended:

▶ **Initiate a national debate on the subject**

The debate should primarily focus on education system weaknesses that have given rise to private tutoring. Allowing private tutoring to continue is to approve of the school system’s ineffectiveness. Many educational stakeholders should take part in the debate, including teachers, parents (particularly parents councils and associations), university staff (particularly those from teacher training colleges), nongovernmental organizations, and educational authorities at the local and national levels. As a part of this debate, the position of the Ministry of Education and Sport on private lessons and preparatory courses should be made public.

▶ **Create a private tutoring “barometer”**

A regular survey of public opinion on private support for the school system (“the barometer of private tutoring”) would be helpful in conducting a debate on private lessons and courses and in keeping this phenomenon in check. Local surveys of the barometer type are already underway in a number of municipalities throughout Poland. At a school level, the barometer survey is conducted by the Center for Civic Education, a nongovernmental organization committed to addressing the problems of education in Poland. We support the continuation and expansion of these efforts.

▶ **Reduce the demand for private tutoring**

The uneven coexistence of public school and private tutoring could be improved if “robust bureaucratic school systems” are given up in favor of “schools as core social

centers” and/or “schools as focused learning organizations.”¹⁴ According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001), these two school systems are characterized by strong quality and equity features. Such schools are high status community institutions providing protection against social fragmentation. The schools would be characterized by such features as softening the sharp divisions between primary, secondary, and higher levels; the reemergence of all-age schools; and reducing the examinations on which private tutoring has flourished. Yet a change in this direction would have to be supported by teachers, many of whom favor the existence of the dual system of school and private instruction. In a more immediate way, local authorities should provide schools with additional funds for compensatory and optional classes, including classes for students preparing for university entrance examinations, especially when these examinations continue to exist on top of the *matura*.

► **Regulate the nature of private tutoring**

The ministry should issue a clear ban on teachers providing private tutoring to their own students in mainstream schools. Additionally, better monitoring and taxing of private tutoring is recommended, with the hope that increased revenues would be used to help disadvantaged students compete for university admissions. Lastly, universities should work on regulating the quality of preparatory courses and on making their admissions procedures as fair as possible.

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Notes

1. Two percent of all students were enrolled in private schools in 2003, with the highest percentage (3.6 percent) attending upper secondary schools (Putkiewicz and Wiłkomirska 2004).

2. These surveys were based on a modified version of a questionnaire designed for the Lithuanian study on private tutoring entitled “The scope of private tutoring for the *matura* examination in Lithuania,” which was conducted by the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University in 2003.

3. The classification of law as a high-demand program and pedagogy as a low-demand program reflects the traditional opinion professed by the Polish academic community. High-demand programs are considered more difficult and/or providing qualifications of relatively high market value. There were seven candidates for each vacancy at the law faculties and five at the pedagogy faculties (data taken from the two universities' 2004 entrance examinations).

4. The groups surveyed varied considerably with regard to the number of female and male students. Female students represented slightly less than 50 percent of the sample of law students from Warsaw University and slightly more than 50 percent from Białystok University. Women constituted a majority of pedagogy students.

5. *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Życie Warszawy*.

6. As the HDI is a "rough" index with poor differentiation potential for the ends of the scale, a more specific index was introduced—the Human Poverty Index—for differentiations within the richest and poorest countries

7. The following countries have the highest Gini indices: United States, Hong Kong, Singapore, Russia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Congo, and Botswana.

8. Teachers from 20 Western countries as well as from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Russia, Slovenia, and Slovakia participated in Schwarz's study.

9. The respondents' family education index was calculated based on the respondents' declaration of the level of their parents' education. Based on these data, the total SES rate for the student's family was calculated, determined by the sum of mother's and father's education indices.

10. To indicate what the respondents thought about private tutoring, they were asked to take a position on 28 statements. A cluster analysis was used to analyze the feedback. Four groups of opinions were distinguished using cluster analysis: (1) private lessons are a source of additional income for teachers, (2) private lessons are a factor driving up the cost of education, (3) private lessons are a way of getting prepared for university entrance examinations, and (4) private lessons are a way of compensating for the school's inefficiency.

11. In the lower secondary school and in junior years of the upper secondary school, 30 percent of tutors are teachers who provide regular school instruction to their tutees.

12. The Senate of Warsaw University has prohibited its departments from offering preparatory courses. These are run by foundations or even teachers' trade unions affiliated with Warsaw University.

13. Four focus group discussions were organized with teachers and students to discuss their experiences with and opinions about private tutoring. Two focus group discussions were organized with students of the history faculty (14 persons) and the pedagogy faculty (14 persons).

14. Both terms are taken from *What Schools for the Future?* OECD, Paris 2001.

Chapter 13

Slovakia

Martina Kubánová

In Slovakia, private tutoring is widespread at all levels of education. It is fueled by the existence of entrance examinations in both secondary and higher education and by a stratified system of secondary schooling. Tutoring did exist during the socialist period before 1989, but it was modest in scale. Transition to a market economy in the 1990s brought significant changes. Among them was an explosion of demand for higher education and for foreign language lessons, as both significantly improved the chances of finding good jobs. As a result, new providers—both individuals and institutions—entered the private tutoring market.

Private tutoring may affect the mainstream education system by changing the treatment of tutored students by teachers, changing the motivation of students, creating an excessive focus on entrance examinations, and confusing students with different and/or contradictory approaches to teaching. Private tutoring may also maintain or increase social inequalities, as it is generally more available to the wealthy. Its economic impact may include increased human capital, but tutoring may not do this in a cost-effective way.

This chapter presents estimates of the scope of private tutoring in Slovakia in terms of participants and expenditures. It describes the incentives fueling private tutoring and its implications for mainstream education; examines the impact of private tutoring on equity, corruption, and ethics; and provides policy recommendations. The chapter reports on findings based on a questionnaire administered to 926 university freshmen, a review of preparatory courses, and interviews with students on their experiences with private tutoring. The research sample was based on the results of university entrance examinations in 2003. The most popular and least popular programs were chosen to cover different fields of study and different regions. Thirty-five percent of the students in the sample were from the capital, Bratislava, and all students attended public universities. To gain better insight into the supply side of the private tutoring market, the Internet was searched for preparatory courses, and the results of a survey on university entrance examination practices carried out by the Slovak Governance Institute (SGI) in 2004 were used. Also, nine students completing the final year of their studies at the Faculty of Pedagogy in Bratislava were interviewed. Eight of the interviewees were private tutors in the academic subjects in which they specialized during their studies, and most of them had attended preparatory courses or taken private lessons to prepare for university.

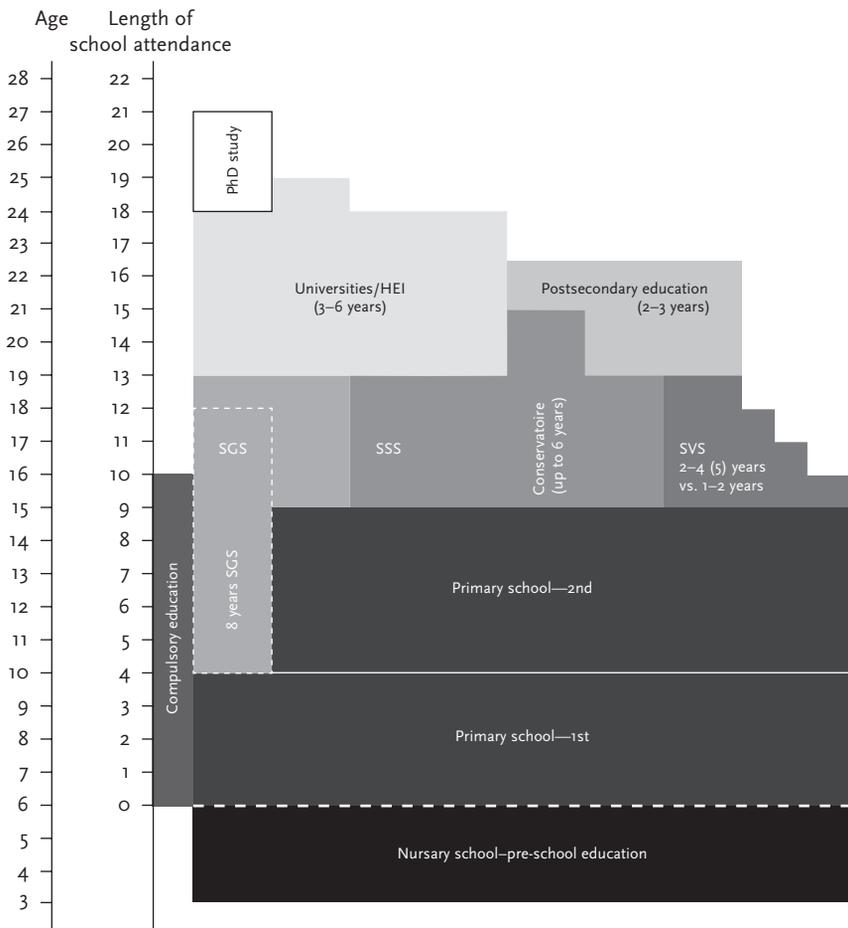
The Context: Slovak Education in Transition

During the 20th century, the Slovak education system experienced three waves of rapid development (Průcha, 1999). The first wave began when Slovakia joined the Czech Republic to create a single state in 1918 and lasted until 1938. During this time, eight-year compulsory school attendance was introduced, a network of grammar schools and specialized secondary schools was formed, and in 1919 the Comenius University was established. The second wave began in the 1950s, when efforts were made to upgrade the system to reach the same level as that in the Czech Republic. As a result, by 1970 the share of university-educated people in Slovakia (3.0 percent) and the Czech Republic (3.4 percent) was nearly equal. The third period came after November 1989, which marked the beginning of post-socialist transformation of the education system in Slovakia.

Compulsory education in Slovakia lasts for nine years. Secondary education is provided by five different types of schools: (1) gymnasia or secondary grammar schools (SGSs), which provide general secondary education and preparation for further study at universities and other higher education institutions; (2) specialized secondary schools (SSSs), which prepare students for performing a specific occupation and for study in higher education institutions;

(3) conservatories, which present a special type of professional school that provides education in such fields as singing, music, dancing, and drama; (4) secondary vocational schools (SVSs), which prepare students for occupations requiring higher level vocational education and a school-leaving certificate; and (5) apprentice training centers, which prepare school-leavers for professional activities. Figure 13.1 is a simplified scheme of the Slovak education system. At the apex there are universities and other higher education institutions (HEIs).

FIGURE 13.1
The Slovak Education System



Source: Grajčár and Skovajsa (1999) in Beblavý and Kubánová (2001).

During the socialist era in Czechoslovakia, face-to-face tutoring was the most common form. This tutoring met student demand for additional assistance during the school year, as well as demand for foreign languages and other subjects rarely available in schools. As noted above, transition to a market economy in the 1990s brought significant changes. Demand for higher education instruction and for foreign language lessons rose dramatically, since both of these significantly improved chances of finding a good job. In response to this demand, the number and range of providers in the private tutoring market expanded significantly.

Few laws govern private tutoring provision. The Trade Licensing Act stipulates conditions for doing business as a foreign-language tutor and as a tutor in an artistic field.¹ However, there are no qualification requirements for doing business as a tutor in other school subjects. Tutors provide their services mostly in the shadow economy, without acquiring trade licenses or paying income tax.² Both secondary schools and universities can legally raise income from commercial activities. Few secondary schools organize preparatory courses for their final-year students: only 3 percent of course participants in the survey reported that their courses had been organized by a secondary school. In contrast, universities engage extensively in tutoring: three quarters of course participants in the survey stated that their courses had been organized by a university or faculty. Furthermore, there are no legal restrictions on teachers providing private tutoring. According to the Slovak Governance Institute, some schools do not even formally forbid the authors of entrance examinations from giving private lessons to the applicants taking part in these examinations (Duriš and Salner, 2004).

Educational factors: Private tutoring and recent policy changes

Private tutoring during a student's transition from secondary education to higher education is significantly influenced by higher education admission procedures and the curricular diversity of secondary schools. The more difficult the entry to higher education and the more diverse the secondary education provision, the stronger demand there is for private tutoring.

Higher education admission procedures

Individual faculties are free to determine their own admission criteria. The Higher Education Act states that the only general admission criterion for university enrollment is the completion of secondary education with a school-leaving certificate (*maturita*) and passing the entrance examination given by universities/faculties. In 2004, the Ministry of Education launched a reform of the *maturita*, splitting it into an internal part and a centralized external

part.³ The ministry's intention was to bring about a more valid and reliable evaluation of student achievement and to replace entrance examinations held by universities.

In 2004–2005, the new centralized part of the school-leaving examination was for the first time held in three subjects. Universities had the right to incorporate the results of this examination into their admission criteria. They had no obligation to do so, however, and the most popular faculties continued to rely on their own entrance examinations and selection criteria.⁴ Since it was rare to fail the *maturita* examination, the selection of university applicants was mainly done through entrance examinations organized by individual universities. According to an evaluation of entrance examinations by the Slovak Governance Institute between 2002 and 2004, the main problems with the examinations were as follows:

- ▶ Faculties offered expensive consultations leading to unequal chances for poorer applicants.
- ▶ Only a few faculties formally forbade test authors to provide private tutoring to applicants.
- ▶ Some faculties put high emphasis on marks from secondary school, which were often incomparable.
- ▶ At several universities, the rectors changed some decisions on admission issued by faculty deans.
- ▶ At several faculties, deans changed some admissions decisions that they had previously issued, thus confirming the assertion made by some students that entrance examinations went beyond the secondary school curricula, which is forbidden by the Higher Education Act.
- ▶ Many universities used oral examinations that lacked transparency and objectivity.
- ▶ There were no *ex-ante* or *ex-post* quality checks of tests.
- ▶ Universities regularly refused to publicize tests after the entrance examinations, effectively preventing external checks of test quality.
- ▶ Universities repeatedly used old tests but could not prevent their circulation by applicants.

Curricular diversity of secondary schools

The three main types of secondary schools have different curricular orientations. Curricula are determined centrally, although there have been discussions about setting 60 percent of the content centrally and 40 percent in the schools. To reduce the diversity, the Ministry

of Education has endeavored to create educational achievement standards for all subjects. Differences in the curriculum covered are also partially reflected in the newly introduced centralized part of the school-leaving examination. However, without private tutoring, certain types of schools put their school-leavers into a seemingly worse position at the gates of universities, especially when mathematics and foreign languages—the dominant selection tools—are underrepresented in their curricula.

Cultural factors

During the transition period, demand for university degrees has increased. According to Lubyová (2000, p. 177), there is “a clear tendency toward increasing returns to education,” which rose significantly in the 1990s and in 1998 reached a level two to three times higher than in 1984. Moreover, unemployment is correlated negatively to the level of education attained. According to data from the Statistical Office of Germany (2005), in 2003 the difference between the rates of unemployment among people with primary education compared to people with higher education in European Union member states was the highest in Slovakia.

Economic factors

The economic factor most responsible for the rise in the supply of private tutoring was a combination of high inflation and fixed teacher salaries in the early 1990s. This phenomenon led teachers to look for additional sources of income, with some of them resorting to private tutoring. At the same time, university managements recognized an attractive market niche and started providing preparatory courses for applicants, since universities alone set admission criteria and ran entrance examinations.

The wages of Slovak primary and secondary teachers are close to the average for the national economy, and they rise every year according to a public sector wage scheme based mostly on length of service and qualifications. However, a comparison of teacher salaries to those of other professionals with higher education ranks them among the lowest paid. Since the wage scheme places a strong emphasis on length of service,⁵ younger teachers have extra motivation to look for additional income. Most pedagogy students interviewed for this study were not motivated to teach, but saw it as a last resort for employment and declared that, in such a case, they would certainly give private tutoring lessons. They justified this by pointing out how low teacher wages were and did not feel that it was an ethical problem to tutor one’s own mainstream students. On the other hand, the wages of university lecturers were above average for the Slovak economy.

Research Results

Based on the data from the quantitative and qualitative surveys, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring, the main factors underlying the demand for private tutoring, and the educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring on the mainstream education system in Slovakia. A distinction is made between private tutoring lessons (tutoring by an individual tutor, usually one-on-one) and preparatory courses organized by institutions. These two categories are of equal relevance in the Slovak case.

General characteristics of private tutoring

Scope of private tutoring

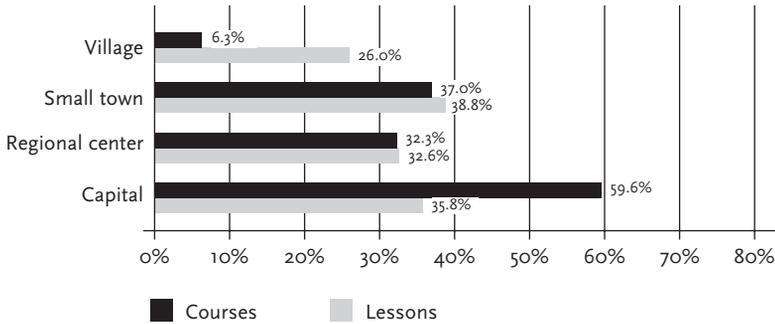
Most university freshmen in the survey (84 percent) believed that the knowledge and skills that they acquired in secondary school sufficed for obtaining the school-leaving certificate, *maturita*. However, a majority (62 percent) felt that these were not enough to pass the university entrance examination. Roughly 56 percent of university freshmen reported taking private tutoring at the end of their secondary studies. They said that the main reasons were to prepare more effectively for the entrance examination and to fill gaps in their knowledge.

While 43 percent of Slovakian university respondents did not attend private tutoring lessons or preparatory courses during their final year of school, 21 percent attended a preparatory course, 18 percent attended private tutoring lessons, and 16 percent attended both. The overall private tutoring ratio was 56 percent and represented those university students surveyed who attended any form of private tutoring during their transition from secondary to higher education. The respondents estimated that 35 percent of their classmates received private tutoring. The difference between the actual and estimated numbers might be explained by the fact that many of their secondary school classmates had not enrolled in a university.

While the survey found the scope of private tutoring to be about half of all students in Slovakia, it differed by location, family background, and/or university of application. About 50 percent of students from secondary schools in regional centers or smaller towns used private tutoring in some form, 32 percent of students from village schools used it, and 73 percent of students from schools in the capital used it (Figure 13.2). The dominance of students from schools in the capital using private tutoring was mostly due to their wide attendance of preparatory courses,⁶ which were much more location-dependent than the more widespread private lessons. Almost a quarter of students from schools in smaller towns and villages said that no suitable preparatory course was available near their homes, compared to only 6 percent of students from schools in regional centers and the capital. Finally, 20 percent of

students from village schools said that they had no information about suitable preparatory courses, which they would have otherwise attended. This indicated an information barrier faced by students from the periphery.

FIGURE 13.2
Private Tutoring Users by Location of Secondary School, Slovakia
 (Percentage in each group)



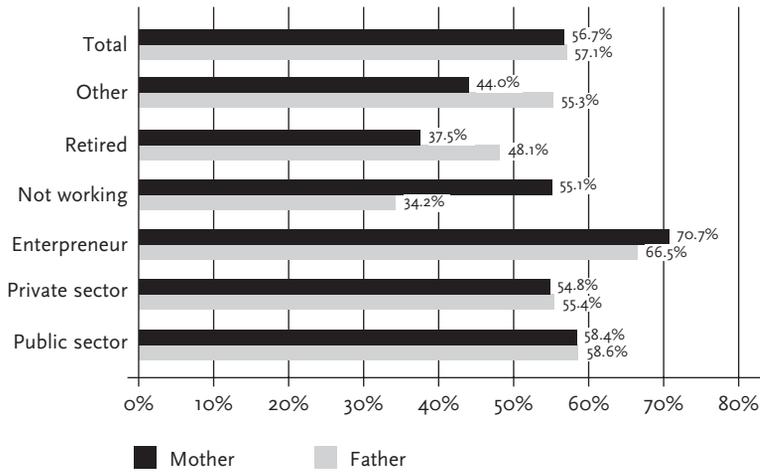
Students who completed secondary education before 2004 used private tutoring more often than students who completed school in 2004 or later. Among pre-2004 school graduates, 68 percent used some form of private tutoring compared to 54 percent of 2004 school graduates, who made up the vast majority of the sample.⁷ The longer the student was out of secondary school, the more often the motivation for taking private tutoring was “to fill a gap in knowledge.” Private tutoring improves the chances of older students entering university and enables them to catch up with peers who are still at secondary school.

Family background

Family background, or socioeconomic status (SES), is an important factor influencing private tutoring. Students whose parents are entrepreneurs are more likely to use private tutoring than students whose parents are retired or not working for other reasons (Figure 13.3).

FIGURE 13.3**Private Tutoring Users by Working Status of Parents, Slovakia**

(Percentage of each group)



Similarly, the higher the education of the parents, the more likely it was for their children to receive private tutoring.⁸ Lastly, students who estimated the financial status of their families as better or significantly better than the average were more likely to receive private tutoring. Over 70 percent of students who estimated their SES as better-than-average received private tutoring. This compares with around 50 percent of the remaining students who received private tutoring. Students who were willing to pay their own higher education tuition (either fully or partially) were more likely to use private tutoring more frequently.

Type of secondary school attended and attractiveness of university studies

Students from grammar schools tended to use private tutoring slightly more often than students from vocational schools. This pattern may reflect the fact that they went to the most popular and competitive university faculties and/or that their parents were more educated and usually wealthier. Additionally, students who were in more popular faculties were more likely to have attended private tutoring lessons and taken preparatory courses at the end of their secondary school than students in less popular faculties (Table 13.1). However, the relationship between the average costs for private tutoring and the attractiveness of the faculty was not straightforward: there were examples of less popular faculties with expen-

sive private tutoring and, on the other hand, highly popular faculties with relatively cheap private tutoring.

TABLE 13.1
Overview of Private Tutoring and Its Main Features by Surveyed Faculties, Slovakia

<i>Faculty of the respondents</i>	<i>Scope of tutoring [% of students]</i>		<i>Average total costs of tutoring per year [average duration of a course in hours]</i>	
	<i>Lessons</i>	<i>Courses</i>	<i>Lessons</i>	<i>Courses</i>
Faculty of Materials and Technologies in Trnava	19	21	2,236 SKK	2,205 SKK [34 h.]
Faculty of Natural Sciences in Košice	27	14	4,753 SKK	3,129 SKK [13 h.]
Faculty of Social Sciences in Nitra	39	35	5,910 SKK	1,484 SKK [7,5 h.]
Faculty of Humanities in Nitra	36	31	5,619 SKK	1,785 SKK [7 h.]
Faculty of Economy and Management in Nitra	59	31	5,472 SKK	3,007 SKK [19 h.]
Faculty of Law in Bratislava (capital)	41	53	8,235 SKK	3,843 SKK [38 h.]
Faculty of Humanities in Bratislava (capital)	37	67	3,589 SKK	2,788 SKK [20 h.]
Average	35	37	5,113 SKK	2,740 SKK [20 h.]

Private tutoring lessons

Consumers

As many as one-third of the respondents used the services of a private tutor, while almost half of these students combined tutoring with a preparatory course. Most of them were motivated to prepare better for examinations and to fill gaps in their knowledge, while some respondents indicated that they wanted a better understanding of the topics taught at school. Attending private tutoring was not a passive choice by students. Only a minimal number of students received tutoring because parents or classmates motivated them to do so. This finding was in line with the opinion of a pedagogy student and a current tutor:

There is no difference between high and low achievers in using private tutoring—perhaps at primary or secondary school low achievers are forced by parents to take private tutoring—but the main distinction in using private tutoring is between the active and the passive students.

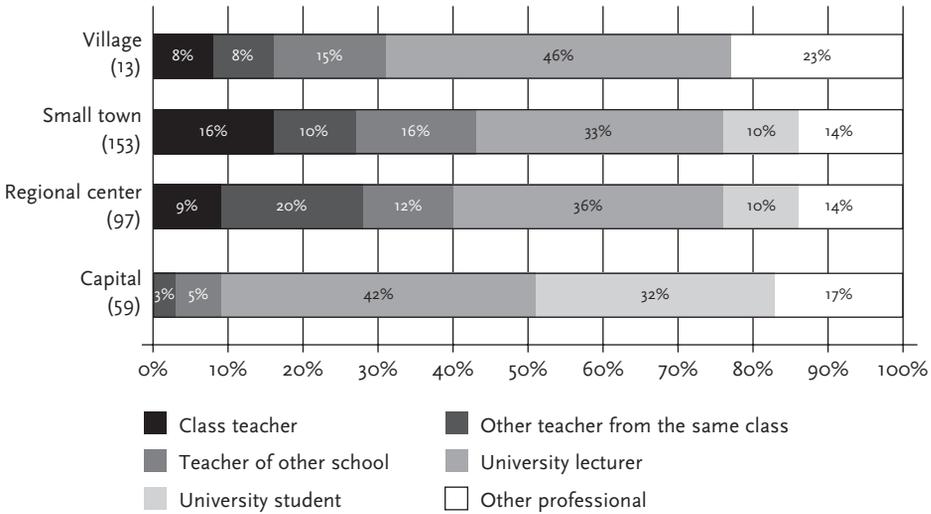
Private tutoring lessons were most often provided in foreign languages (42 percent) and mathematics (37 percent), followed by history (17 percent). Most tutoring lessons were held one-on-one: 64 percent of students received individual lessons, 19 percent learned in groups of more than five students, and the rest in smaller groups. Respondents were generally satisfied with the private tutoring lessons: 42 percent said it had some effect and 44 percent said it had a large effect on the outcome of their entrance examination. Some 41 percent of students spent one to two hours weekly with a tutor, 36 percent of students attended lessons regularly throughout their last school year, and 25 percent attended regularly throughout the last semester. Taking private tutoring lessons did not seem to be dependent on the location of the secondary schools attended by the respondents.

Providers

The typical private tutor is a university lecturer (36 percent). Other providers (class teacher, other teacher from the school, teachers from other schools, university student, professional in the field) are equally represented (10 to 14 percent). Although the location of the secondary school is an important factor related to the type of private tutor, students from all locations can access university lecturers as tutors. Another interesting finding relates to secondary school teachers: their share of tutoring was very low in the capital compared to other locations.⁹ Students from the schools in the capital most often reported having university lecturers and students as their tutors. Students from schools in other centers and towns most often reported having university lecturers and secondary school teachers as their tutors, and students from village schools often learned from university lecturers and professionals in the field.

FIGURE 13.4

Private Tutors by Respondents' Secondary School Location, Slovakia



Note: Total number of respondents for each school location is in brackets.

Cost and intensity of private tutoring lessons

University lecturers are the most expensive tutors as measured by total costs regardless of the duration of tutoring (Table 13.2), and almost all of the highest fees our respondents paid to tutors went to university lecturers.¹⁰ On average, respondents invested some 5,100 SKK (US\$159, €129) for private tutoring lessons per year. Those from low-demand faculties paid on average 3,688 SKK, while students from high-demand faculties paid 5,440 SKK. Although a third of private lesson participants reported taking tutoring in two or more subjects, this did not significantly affect the total sum they spent on tutoring.

The incentives students had for taking private tutoring lessons did not differ much by the type of tutor. University lecturers and university students were hired mostly to prepare students for the university entrance examination and to fill gaps in their knowledge (these reasons ranked highest for each type of private tutor), while secondary school teachers and other professionals were hired to explain topics taught at school. Most tutoring was individual (64 percent), but university lecturers, class teachers, and other professionals in the field relatively often worked with more than five students in a group. This may be because these tutors were in high demand, and it also ensured them higher per-hour earnings. Secondary

school teachers and other professionals in the field were most often engaged in tutoring on a regular basis during the whole school year, whereas university lecturers and university students worked with students more often during the last semester of secondary school.

TABLE 13.2
Average Total Costs of Private Tutoring Lessons by Providers, Slovakia

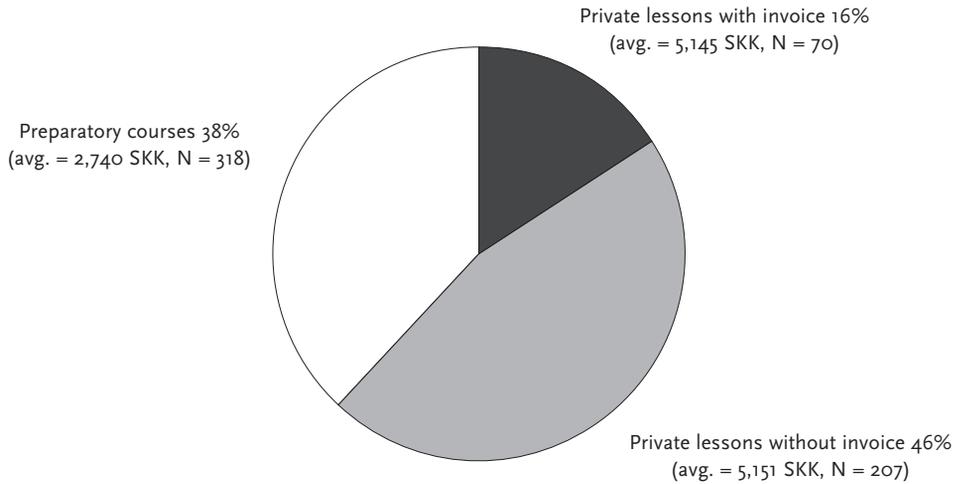
	<i>Mean [SKK]</i>	<i>Number</i>
Class teacher	3,959	32
Other teacher from the same school	3,064	32
Teacher of other school	4,797	35
Lecturer/professor of HEI	6,911	101
University student	3,595	40
Professional in the field of study	4,928	39
All	5,113	279

Private tutoring lessons and the shadow economy

Three quarters of those who took private tutoring lessons said that they did not receive an invoice or any receipt of payment from the tutor.¹¹ This confirmed the researchers' assumption that private tutoring is often part of the shadow economy. For illustration purposes, it is possible to estimate roughly¹² the size of the shadow private tutoring market for the transition period from secondary school to higher education: the average sum spent for private tutoring (including private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses) during this period is 5,127 SKK (US\$159, €130). When applied to the 56 percent of 150,000 university freshmen in 2004 who are estimated to have received private tutoring, this amounts to 430 million SKK spent on private tutoring, of which some 200 million SKK were in the shadow economy.¹³ However, this rough estimate excludes funds spent by unsuccessful applicants and is just a share of the total private tutoring market that covers students of all ages, including those who prepare for secondary school entrance examinations.

FIGURE 13.5

Private Tutoring Types by Total Sum Spent, Slovakia



Note: Total sum that 595 students in the survey sample spent for private tutoring is SKK 2.3 million (US\$71,300, €58,252)

Preparatory courses

Consumers

Preparatory courses were attended by 21 percent of our respondents, and another 16 percent combined them with private tutoring lessons. Motivation to attend courses was similar to that of private tutoring lessons: to improve knowledge of topics that will be examined and to fill gaps in knowledge. On the other hand, reasons for not attending the courses were mostly that students “did not need it” and that “it was too expensive,” followed by “using private tutoring lessons instead” and “no course available near home.”

Access to preparatory courses was strongly influenced by the location of the secondary school, which was an indirect measure of students’ residence. Preparatory courses were attended by 60 percent of students from schools in the capital, around a third from schools in regional centers and smaller towns, and by only 6 percent of students from village schools. This resulted from the fact that the main providers of preparatory courses were uni-

versities and they were simply inaccessible (financially or geographically) to students from the periphery. Attendance at preparatory courses was also associated with the financial status of family: the wealthier the family, the more likely a student was to attend.

Providers

The dominant providers of preparatory courses were faculties/universities. Three quarters of preparatory courses reported by students attending them were organized by universities, and only 13 percent by private companies. Further, 87 percent of teachers at preparatory courses were university lecturers. Most students attended the courses three to six months prior to their examination. Half of the courses covered all the subjects on the entrance examination.

The most alarming issue concerning preparatory courses was that more than half of them only lasted eight academic hours (45 minutes per academic hour) or less. This corresponded with the fact that many faculties organized single mass events (called an information day or consultation day), where—as the name and duration suggest—participants did not get standard tutoring, but rather paid for extra information concerning the entrance examination. This was an unfair and discriminatory practice, as any relevant information concerning the entrance examination should be distributed to all the applicants, not only those that could pay for it. Actually, all applicants already paid a fee to universities for the entrance examination¹⁴ to cover related costs.

The average cost of a course was 2,740 SKK (US\$84, €69), and the average per hour cost was 212 SKK. The pricing of the courses was not in direct proportion to the popularity/demand of the study program: as shown in Table 13.1, there are low-demand faculties offering expensive courses, as well as high-demand faculties offering relatively cheap courses.

Individual lessons vs. preparatory courses

To summarize, there are five differences between private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses in Slovakia. First, courses have a lower estimated impact on the entrance examination results. Twenty-seven percent of respondents reported that their course had a great impact on the results of their university entrance examinations, compared to 44.3 percent for private tutoring lessons. Second, preparatory courses are shorter. More than half of the courses last eight academic hours or less, compared to the majority of students attending private lessons regularly throughout the last school year or regularly throughout the last semester. Third, preparatory courses are cheaper. The average cost of a course in 2004 was 2,740 SKK and the per-hour cost of the preparatory course was 212 SKK, while the average annual payment for the private tutoring lessons was 5,100 SKK, while the per-hour cost fluctuated around 200 SKK. Fourth, preparatory courses are less individualized. Almost

60 percent of students were in groups of more than 30 students at their preparatory course, another 24 percent were in groups of 16–30 students, whereas private lessons were usually individual. Finally, preparatory courses are discriminatory by location. They were attended mostly by students from schools in the capital (60 percent) and by only 6 percent of village school students, while there was no significant difference in attending private tutoring lessons by location of secondary school.

Private tutoring and its impact on education, society, and the economy

Private tutoring affects not only education but also society and the economy. Private tutoring may have impact on the curricula, change the motivation of students and teachers, and affect school attendance and student/teacher/parent relations. It can also contribute to social inequalities and have economic impacts beyond the individual.

Economic aspects of private tutoring

As indicated, a rough estimate of the size of the private tutoring economy for students at the end of secondary schooling during 2004 was around 430 million SKK (US\$13.3 million, €10.89 million), of which some 200 million SKK was in the shadow economy. According to a study by Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft,¹⁵ the relative size of the shadow economy in Slovakia is comparable to that in the Czech Republic, Germany, and France, and it constitutes 18 percent of Slovakia's Gross Domestic Product. The estimated share of the shadow economy resulting from unreported private tutoring is negligible (below 0.01 percent), even if one takes into account funds spent by unsuccessful applicants and students of all ages using private tutoring. Though the above figures cannot be compared to that of East Asian countries in which household expenditures on private tutoring are very high (Bray, 1999), they are nevertheless an important source of extra income for teachers, the most likely providers of private tutoring. This was also perceived by 71 percent of the students we surveyed.

Private tutoring and mainstream education

One of the interviewed pedagogy students suggested that the moral question was whether paid lessons should be just the same as what was taught in the classroom or provide something extra. Only two pedagogy students felt that, once they become teachers, delivering private tutoring lessons to their own students was, if not unethical, then certainly not a good idea since it distorted impartial evaluation of students or it could put the teacher under pressure if the teacher is paid by his/her own mainstream student. As one respondent put it: "I wanted to get private tutoring lessons when I was at secondary school and my teacher rejected me—only later did I understand why."

Tutoring of one's own mainstream students does not seem to be a common practice for teachers in Slovakia. Only 11 percent of those who attended private tutoring lessons reported that their own mainstream teacher was their tutor, and in the capital no mainstream teachers were reported as tutors. The perceptions of students were split as to whether "it is common for a student to ask a class teacher to provide private lessons for them." Apart from the fact that only a small percentage of mainstream teachers are tutors, Slovak students probably do not experience problems with such a situation, since 84 percent of the respondents did not think it was necessary to prohibit teachers from offering private lessons to their own students. However, this could change with the introduction of centralized examinations, a subsequent decrease in demand for university lecturers as private tutors, and increased importance of the *maturita*, as seems to be the case in Croatia, Lithuania, and other countries reported in this book. Meanwhile, 63 percent of the sample agreed that "class teachers encourage students who have problems with subject matter to take private lessons."

TABLE 13.3
Reasons for Using Private Tutoring, Slovakia
 ("Agree" and "strongly agree," in combined percentage)

<i>Students use private tutoring...</i>	<i>"Agree" and "strongly agree" (in combined %)</i>
... in order to increase their chances to enter university.	95.1
... because the school's curricula do not cover everything that is required on university entrance examination.	86.5
... usually in order to improve their school marks.	79.8
... because teachers want to receive additional financial income.	71.4
... because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly.	63.9
... because of the low quality of teaching in schools.	57.2
... because they would like to learn more.	55.0
... because the school curricula are overloaded.	50.8
... because their parents make them do so.	34.4
... only if they are low achievers.	14.1

The quality of public schools was not perceived as the main factor fueling the demand for private tutoring, and therefore private tutoring may not function as a true supplement

to the mainstream education system.¹⁶ The main drive behind private tutoring (see Table 13.3) was rather the discrepancy between the curricula and entrance examination requirements. The typical problems of entrance examinations are testing facts instead of deeper understanding of them, testing based on university curricula, and a missing link between what was tested and what was crucial for success in a given field (Burjan and Suchomel, 2003). The curricula of the final year of secondary schools, as well as private tutoring aimed at entrance examinations, are then shaped by these misguided university entrance examinations. Such a situation seems to comply with the hypothesis mentioned earlier that tutoring is often of little value in terms of skills and competencies and is usually a waste of funds for human capital investment.

Equity issues

Despite the fact that data from this survey do not permit identification of causality between private tutoring and admission to universities, the scope of private tutoring among university freshmen (56 percent used private tutoring in secondary school) indicates that it is an important component of the transition students experience as they journey from secondary school to higher education. However, private tutoring is not available to all. The disadvantaged students are mostly from poorer families and rural areas, and cannot afford private lessons and/or do not have access to preparatory courses.

In general, the bigger the town in which the student graduated from secondary school, the higher is the share of the private tutoring users as well as preparatory course takers. The dominance of students from the capital is mostly due to their wide attendance of preparatory courses available in the capital and limited access to preparatory courses by students from the periphery.¹⁷ Furthermore, students whose parents are entrepreneurs, have higher education, or have higher estimated financial status are more likely to use private tutoring than other students.

Corruption-related issues

The tutoring market at the end of secondary education is captured by actors with strong ties to universities. A typical tutor is a university lecturer, and three quarters of preparatory courses are run by universities. Also, 87 percent of tutors in all the preparatory courses are university lecturers. Students who can access this tutoring, mainly those from affluent families close to university locations, have an unfair advantage in the entrance examinations run by universities. This inequity is critical for two reasons. First, the vast majority of students admit that “students use private tutoring because the school curricula do not cover everything that is required on the university entrance examination.” Despite the fact that the Higher Education Act prohibits universities from including in their entrance examinations

topics which are not included in the secondary school curricula, there are cases where unsuccessful applicants have charged universities of this practice and succeeded in the appeals procedure (see Duriš and Salner, 2004; SGI internal documents, 2003, 2004). Second, many universities do not formally forbid the authors of entrance examinations from giving private lessons (Duriš and Salner, 2004). An example of how this can lead to corruption is illustrated by the case of a preparatory course whose provider advertised that the university teacher lecturing on the course was also the coauthor of the entrance examination at the University of Economics.¹⁸

Domination of university-linked tutoring suggests the danger of corruption. Even if one can assume that no information about examinations is leaked at such tutoring sessions, the mere existence of university-linked tutoring exerts psychological pressure on university applicants to take it and improve their chances vis-à-vis their peers. The fact that more than a half of the preparatory courses last eight academic hours or less suggests that such tutoring is not aimed at developing deep skills and knowledge, but rather at providing additional information about examinations or simply cashing in on those who can afford it.

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Private tutoring in Slovakia is emerging to meet the demand for a specific type of education. In many ways it is desirable, as it meets the varied needs of many students and provides private alternatives to mainstream state-funded education. However, education policymakers should pay more attention to private tutoring, because its scope, structure, and nature may indicate failures of the mainstream education system.

This chapter has shown that the scope of private tutoring at the end of secondary school is significant. Fifty-six percent of university freshmen in the sample attended private tutoring of some form at the end of their secondary education. These students spent an average of 5,127 SKK (US\$159, €130) per year on private tutoring, which was 3 percent of the annual average Slovakian nominal wage or one-fifth of the annual state per-student subsidy to grammar schools. Further, private tutoring usage is unequal and differs by several factors: (a) location—the bigger the area where the secondary school is located, the more students use private tutoring, (b) family background—private tutoring is more common in higher SES families, (c) years out of secondary school—private tutoring is used more often by those who have been out of secondary school for some time and apply for university study, and (d) type of secondary school and popularity of university—private tutoring is more common among students applying to high-demand faculties.

The chapter has also pointed out that private tutoring at the end of secondary school in Slovakia is linked to the fact that 84 percent of students surveyed believed that the skills they acquired in secondary school were sufficient for obtaining the school-leaving certificate, *maturita*, but 62 percent said the skills were not sufficient to pass the university entrance examination. The decision to take private tutoring is most often driven by the effort to prepare for the examination and to fill a gap in knowledge, while some students want to better learn topics taught at school.

Policy changes related to private tutoring in Slovakia should mainly focus on the following underlying problems:

- ▶ **Conflicts of interest linked with tutoring provided by universities and university lecturers.** The strongest incentives for taking private tutoring are linked with entrance examinations at universities, and at the same time the most frequent providers of private tutoring are university faculties and their staff. This practice is especially alarming in the case of one-day preparatory courses or consultations that are not of high educational value.
- ▶ **Backwash effect of university entrance examinations on school curricula.** Topics examined are not always part of secondary school curricula in spite of legislation that prohibits this practice. This discrepancy leads to increased demand for private tutoring, which not all the students can afford. Also, there is ongoing discussion about university selection criteria and its effect on secondary curricula. Some people think that examinations test the memory of students rather than their skills and aptitudes. It adversely affects secondary school learning when some universities, to avoid corruption suspicions, publicize large test item banks that students use to cram for examinations.
- ▶ **Equity issues.** Private tutoring is generally more available to students from more affluent families living in bigger cities. This contributes to unequal access to universities and the subsequent underrepresentation of some groups at universities.

Before turning to recommended education policy options, it is necessary to mention two factors beyond the reach of the Slovak education policy that might help solve the stated problems. The first factor is connected to demographic trends. Age cohorts of young people are decreasing and some faculties, especially in technical fields, are struggling to find students. Since per-student financing is a significant component of state subsidies to universities, lower-demand faculties might be motivated to attract students

through fairer testing and admissions. The second factor is related to rising competition of universities from neighboring countries and within the European Union. When universities suffer from low quality teaching, unfair selection mechanisms, or barriers to entry, including expensive preparatory courses, students may turn to other countries. In 2002, 7,500 Slovak citizens studied at Czech universities; and this number almost doubled during the next two years.

Policy recommendations

The Ministry of Education has initiated an important change to the system of school-leaving examinations, *maturita*, which is expected to replace university entrance examinations in the future. The experience of other countries with centralized testing and admission to universities suggests that private tutoring is persistent and may only be redirected toward mastering centralized tests. Monitoring the phenomenon in the future and raising public debate on private tutoring's positive and negative impacts at all levels of the education system is the general policy recommendation resulting from this study. Moreover, the Ministry of Education and education-focused nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) should consider the following recommendations aimed at the most harmful aspects of private tutoring:

Recommendations to universities

The Ministry of Education should coordinate with universities the publication of the best practices of university admissions and how they relate to private tutoring. Additionally, universities striving for credibility in their admission procedures should take a more proactive approach in publicizing information about their admission processes. This might include doing the following:

- ▶ Define clearly the skills and competencies of applicants that determine their success in further study at the university and focus tests on these key competencies. The selection of candidates would thus be more fair and efficient and would dismantle incentives for private tutoring based on cramming.
- ▶ Check the quality of entrance examinations by using available qualitative and statistical methods. Publish the tests used with correct answers so that they can be checked by applicants after testing.
- ▶ Provide detailed information to applicants about the entrance examination, its content, administration, and assessment. Since all applicants pay application fees, these fees should cover all the costs related to entrance examinations, including the pro-

vision of detailed information. Faculties should not grant privileged access to this information only to the applicants who can afford to pay for it.

- ▶ Minimize the use of oral examinations in order to increase objectivity. This would also decrease the room for possible corruption and decrease the demand for private tutoring by university lecturers who are also examiners.

Watchdog activities

Since 2001, the Free Access to Information Act has provided a powerful tool for anyone who is interested in activities carried out by public institutions. This act has enabled NGOs to get more insight into the selection process for higher education, publicize the findings, and exert pressure on universities to improve their practices. As the report on monitoring of entrance examinations states (SGI, 2004), “compared to the previous two years of monitoring, there is a positive trend, and in many cases, faculties are interested in publicizing even more detailed information on the process of entrance examinations.” Watchdog activities may uncover more about private tutoring provided by universities or university lecturers as well as other unfair practices linked with admissions.

Public awareness and information for students

It is crucial that applicants and the general public (taxpayers, future university students, parents of future university students, and secondary school teachers) understand university admission procedures. Both the Ministry of Education and NGOs should make an effort to raise public awareness about private tutoring, university admission procedures, and their possible negative impact on equity.

Targeted tutoring provided by the state

Education policies could be deemed successful if they manage to reduce those forms of private tutoring that may lead to unequal and corrupt university admissions.¹⁹ However, there will always remain a natural supply and demand for private tutoring, because it is often individualized and better tailored to the needs of the student. It might be reasonable for the state to provide tutoring targeted at disadvantaged students who are underrepresented at universities. This could be provided by local schools without any radical change within the current structure. Each student of primary and secondary school is a holder of an education voucher (750 SKK per year) that can be used for after-school activities organized by schools or school facilities. If there is no tutoring activity available in a given district, selected groups (e.g., the poorest students receiving social scholarships) might receive extra tutoring by their mainstream teachers through additional vouchers.

Prohibition would not be an efficient tool in Slovakia. A simple ban on private tutoring and preparatory courses by universities and university lecturers would most likely result in the appearance of private companies or not-for-profit organizations as providers of preparatory courses. These companies most definitely would have ties to university leaders and might even operate under university auspices. Similarly, university lecturers would be likely to continue to provide their tutoring services in the shadow economy.

Conclusions

Private tutoring in Slovakia is an unregulated activity driven by intense demand and easy supply. It might help correct mistakes and deficiencies in the less flexible mainstream education system, but it might also enable some students to improve their position unfairly in university entrance examinations. Private tutoring is by definition private; it is market-based and available only to those who are willing and able to pay for it. Unlike public education, it does not pay special attention to regional availability: the more remote from the capital and regional centers, the harder it is to offer profitable private tutoring. Further, it privileges some students by giving them access to university lecturers and university preparatory courses—the authors and administrators of examinations. This is especially important in a situation where the vast majority of students admit that “students use private tutoring because the schools’ curricula do not cover everything that is required on university entrance examination.” On the other hand, private tutoring is better tailored to student needs than mainstream education. For example, it effectively serves those who have been out of secondary school for some time, so that they could compete for university places.

The fact that private tutoring in Slovakia has arisen in the free market means that it can be used as an indicator of the state of the mainstream education system. In many ways, private tutoring mirrors or shadows mainstream education. The higher the share of students involved in it, the more it points to deficiencies of the mainstream education system. What we see in this mirror today is the low quality and low transparency of university admissions due to a mismatch between school curricula and university examinations and to conflicts of interest. Universities run the selection process, which they say is fair, but at the same time universities offer paid consultation and courses to applicants willing to pay for it. The resulting unfair selection is a bad deal not only for the unsuccessful applicants but also for Slovak society as a whole.

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Notes

1. According to the Trade Licensing Act, doing business as a foreign languages teacher or tutor is possible only upon obtaining a degree in this field (university study or foreign language certificate) or a 10-year stay in a country where the language is officially spoken. Teaching or tutoring in an artistic field is conditional upon obtaining a certificate from the respective school of arts or upon 10 years of practice in the field.
2. Three quarters of the university freshmen surveyed who had attended private tutoring lessons did not get any receipts.
3. The internal section is partly oral, partly written, and evaluated by committees of teachers at each school. It must be passed in the mother tongue and a foreign language at grammar schools and also in science, mathematics or information technology. The external section is centralized, and written, with a choice of two levels of difficulty.
4. In 2005, for example, after several significant mistakes in the external part of the school-leaving examination on the part of the testing agency (State Pedagogical Institute), the rector of the Comenius University (the largest and oldest in Slovakia) publicly recommended the deans of individual faculties not to accept results of that year's testing.

5. The youngest teachers have wages almost 50 percent lower than the oldest, and it has become difficult to attract and retain qualified teachers in some towns. Therefore, the government introduced an increase in the wages for the youngest teachers in summer 2005, in addition to the general increase in the public sector wages.

6. The composition of participants at preparatory courses was: 60 percent of students from schools in the capital, around a third from schools in regional centers and smaller towns, and only 6 percent from village schools.

7. $\chi^2 = 9.62$, $p < 0.01$.

8. $\chi^2 = 33.9$ (father) and 36.1 (mother), $p < 0.001$.

9. There was not even one class teacher as a tutor in the sample from the capital. The low share of secondary school teachers as private tutors in the capital might be attributed to other job opportunities available to such teachers.

10. Thirteen out of the 16 payments above 15,000 SKK went to university lecturers, which was triple the average payment for tutoring lessons (5,100 SKK), while the average payment to university lecturers was 6,910 SKK.

11. Indeed, the type of private tutor plays a role here: no university student issued an invoice, while 10–20 percent of secondary school teachers did so, as well as more than 35 percent of university lecturers and other professionals.

12. The data from this study do not permit precise estimation of the size of the private tutoring market in financial terms.

13. It was assumed that the composition of total funds spent for private tutoring was as shown in Figure 13.5: private lessons without invoice (i.e., in the shadow economy) constituted 46 percent, while the rest were legal payments, including 38 percent of preparatory courses and 16 percent of private lessons with invoice.

14. The size of the fee was limited by law, and anecdotal evidence (see Burjan and Suchomel 2003) suggested that it was a multiple of the real costs of the entrance examination.

15. See www.iwkoeln.de, or Němec, P.: Unie se bojí práce načerno [EU is afraid of the illegal work], 5 April 2005, <http://hn.ihned.cz>.

16. Seventy-seven percent of students disagreed that “currently private tutoring is the only way to get high quality education,” and 70 percent of students disagreed that “taking private tutoring is the only way to successfully pass higher education institutions’ entrance examination.”

17. Almost a quarter of students from schools in smaller towns and villages said that there was no suitable preparatory course available near their home compared to only 6 percent of students from schools in regional centers and the capital. Furthermore, 20 percent of students from village schools said that they had no information about a good preparatory course otherwise they would have attended, thus indicating an information barrier faced by students in the periphery.

18. <http://www.akonapravo.sk>.

19. For example: tutoring by those who create tests, consultations by university staff, expensive preparatory courses by universities that cannot be accessed by applicants from more distant locations.

Chapter 14

Ukraine

Liliya Hrynevych, Anna Toropova, Tymofiy Pylnyk,
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Although private tutoring existed in Soviet Ukraine, it was significantly smaller in scale compared to the post-Soviet period. Private tutoring was mostly limited to supplementary learning of foreign languages; and tutoring in other school subjects was not widespread. With the emergence of a new marketplace, increasingly competitive employment opportunities, and the rising demand for foreign languages and information technology skills, the supply of private tutoring services increased rapidly. As the 1990s progressed and the economy regressed (e.g., as reflected in falling teacher salaries and rising unemployment), private tutoring became an entrenched and common part of everyday educational life in post-Soviet Ukraine.

A preliminary study on private tutoring in Ukraine indicated that it was a widespread, unregulated phenomenon that significantly affected educational equity, caused corruption, and resulted in a significant financial burden for individual households (Testing Technologies Center, 2004).¹ The study found that most students in the last grade of upper

secondary school devoted their free time to the in-depth study of certain school subjects. Approximately 60 percent of the surveyed parents and over half of the surveyed students agreed that students spent most of their nonschool hours on supplementary private tutoring. The survey revealed that the most popular subjects were mathematics, foreign languages, and the Ukrainian language. According to the majority of the respondents (71 percent), the main reason for supplementary tutoring was “to better prepare for university entrance examinations.”

Despite the complexity of private tutoring and the interesting results found by the TTC (2004), there has been no systemic study on private tutoring in Ukraine. This chapter reports on the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of the origins of private tutoring, its socioeconomic impact, and implications for education, society, and the economy. The study is based on quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires were administered to 898 first-year students at five Ukrainian national universities. The sample included 21.5 percent of students in the capital, Kyiv, and 78.5 percent of students in different regions of Ukraine. The sample consisted of students from both high-demand programs (management, economics, finance, law, foreign languages, political science, and journalism) and low-demand programs (mathematics, natural sciences, including physics, chemistry, and biology). Additionally, extensive archival research was undertaken to examine state legislation, school policies, and preparatory course provision. (See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of data collection and analysis).

The Ukrainian Educational, Economic, and Social Context

Private tutoring cuts across a multiplicity of social, economic, and political factors. This section explores the factors that contribute to the complexity of this issue in Ukraine.

Educational factors

Ukrainian education has a European-style structure, including preschool education, comprehensive secondary education, after-school education, vocational/technical education, higher education, graduate, postgraduate, and doctoral education. Within this structure are six educational levels: primary general education, basic general secondary education, full general secondary education, vocational education, basic higher education, and full higher education. Educational qualification levels have the following gradation: qualified worker,

junior specialist, bachelor, specialist, and master. Adoption of such a stratified scheme ostensibly guarantees students free choice and gives them the possibility of obtaining education according to their mental and professional abilities. The length of compulsory education is nine years, which corresponds to ages 6–15 or grades 1–9. According to the Law of Education, the state guarantees the right of every citizen to obtain secondary education free of charge.

Declining education quality

The quality of education in secondary schools suffers from high student-teacher ratios and overloaded curricula. Classes have an average of 30–35 students, and teachers are often unable to give individual attention to their students and ensure that the material is understood by all students in the classes. The usual instruction load in secondary school is 36 hours per week, which reaches 38–42 hours in the last grades of secondary school. Many students are unable to comprehend all the information taught during regular school hours and are too exhausted to review the new material after the long school day. This situation has led to academic failure and health problems among some students and has become one of the factors driving the demand for private tutoring.

Incompatibility of school curricula and university entrance examinations

Many secondary school graduates feel unprepared for higher education due to differences in the secondary school curricula and university entrance examination requirements. Standard requirements for university entrance examinations are approved by the Ministry of Education and Science, but they are more of a general guide than a firm rule. In practice, every higher education institution develops its own entrance policy. Specifically, universities have started to use different formats for entrance examinations, including multiple-choice tests to prevent bribe-taking and increase objectivity. These entrance examinations often go beyond the school curricula, leaving school graduates no choice but to take private tutoring lessons to pass university entrance examinations.

In these circumstances, university lecturers responsible for developing and administering entrance examinations have become among the most attractive tutors. Their comparative advantage allows them to set high prices for private tutoring lessons. In addition, the university entrance examination culture in Ukraine has spurred the development of a formal, for-profit system of preuniversity preparation. There is now a multitude of paid preparatory courses for school graduates designed to prepare them for university entrance examinations. Universities encourage graduates to make use of these courses, allowing those students who attend preparatory courses to sit for entrance examinations ahead of the scheduled time. Moreover, the results of these examinations may be double-counted

and accepted by secondary schools as school-leaving examination results. The registered and legal providers of these preparatory courses (often university professors) cater to 11th-grade (final-year) students aiming to graduate from secondary school and enter higher education institutions.

Economic factors

The demand for private tutoring is also driven by economic factors. As a result of financial decentralization in the education sector, secondary schools are now funded by a combination of the national budget, regional budgets, and district budgets. Although financial decentralization could have potentially resulted in many positive outcomes for schools,² the economic crisis and problems related to restructuring the economy at the end of the 1990s stunted this potential.³ In particular, the economic crisis of 1999 and the subsequent reduction of central and local budget revenues resulted in the decrease of educational spending. While teacher salaries remained intact, local educational authorities were forced to postpone plans for new infrastructure and upgrading the existing infrastructure. Furthermore, other important school budget items (such as expenses for public utilities and electricity) were also insufficiently financed. The standards set for the purchase of equipment and materials were not specified and remained underfinanced.

Coinciding with the decrease of central/local education spending, schools were given authority to raise money for supplementary educational services. In particular, schools were authorized to seek financial contributions from individuals (i.e., parents) and enterprises for extracurricular educational services such as additional hours of foreign language teaching and/or subjects not covered by the national curriculum. In this way, schools could stretch the national curriculum to meet the demand unmet by state educational budgets. The downside to the new financial freedom was that voluntary financial contributions became compulsory in many schools, resulting in the financial extortion of parents to pay for additional classes and teaching/learning materials, as well as to cover the necessary school maintenance expenses. Not surprisingly, the provision of additional educational services by schools became a strong factor driving the demand for tutoring and one of the main mechanisms increasing the real cost of education in Ukraine.

Social factors

In the process of socioeconomic development, the correlation between high quality education and better employment opportunities has become more pronounced. As a result, public interest in the consumption of additional education has increased. Additionally, with unem-

ployment levels decreasing, parents who are busy working are more willing to pay tutors to work with their children after school. Finally, with changes in the programs of study, the educational workload of students has increased and requests for private tutoring are rising. Combined, these social factors contribute to the demand for private tutoring among secondary school students.

On the supply side, increases in teacher salaries have not kept pace with the cost of living or the average salary level. In the academic year 2004–2005, the average teacher salary in Ukraine was about UAH 550 a month (US\$212),⁴ while the average salary was UAH 600 a month (US\$231), and the minimum sustenance level was UAH 423 a month (US\$163). Although the government planned to increase the level of teacher salaries to the level of the average salary, insufficient financial reward for the teaching profession forced teachers to look for additional income outside their schools. While some teachers left the teaching profession altogether,⁵ others turned to private tutoring to supplement their incomes. Under such conditions, violations of pedagogical ethics by teachers became commonplace. For example, qualitative data reveals that some teachers deliberately gave students lower grades than they deserved and put pressure on them to take supplementary private tutoring.

While financial in nature, the social changes due to job-market transformations have been significant. Student competition has risen, as has competition in the job market, and the teaching profession has been called into question.

Research Findings: Private Tutoring in Ukraine

Until 2003, no legislation in Ukraine specifically regulated private tutoring. Educational institutions had the right to provide additional educational services, and it was assumed that additional private lessons with teachers were a legal form of supplementary educational services. In 2003, the Cabinet of Ministers approved a specific list of paid services that could be provided by state educational institutions (see the decree of August 29, 2003 “On educational services licensing”). However, the decree did not address the issue of private tutoring in secondary schools. Because private tutoring was not defined as a part of school services, it was supposed to be fully taxed. Therefore, the cost of supplementary tutoring increased significantly upon its legalization and regulation, which in turn contributed to the taboo and underground atmosphere surrounding private tutoring.

While the 2003 decree on private tutoring did not specifically address secondary schools, a series of official letters sent to schools by various ministries did attempt to regulate the form and function of tutoring in schools. In 2003, the Ministry of Education and Science

sent an official letter to schools banning private tutoring lessons on school premises. In response to parents' complaints about "compulsory tutoring" (i.e., tutoring provided and/or required by a student's class teacher), the Ministry of Education and Science issued regulations on September 1, 2004, prohibiting private tutoring by teachers of their own students. Conspicuously missing from these regulations was the issue of private tutoring offered by university lecturers who also participated in developing and administering higher education entrance examinations. This was especially troubling given the scope and nature of private tutoring in this sphere.

Based on the survey data, this section examines the general characteristics of private tutoring and its educational, social, and economic impact on the mainstream education system. A distinction is made between private tutoring lessons (offered by individuals) and preparatory courses (offered by institutions). As the sample included students from low- and high-demand programs, the findings are presented according to level of program demand and their relevance to private tutoring issues. A discussion of the findings is followed by policy options and recommendations.

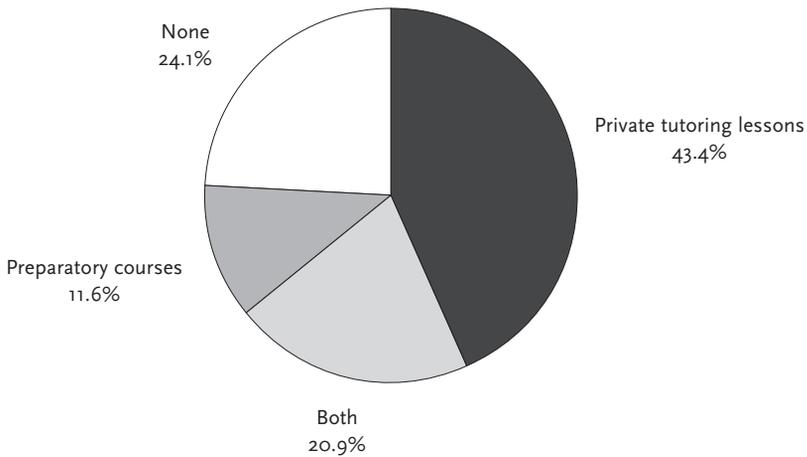
General characteristics of private tutoring

General characteristics of private tutoring include its scale, intensity, academic subjects, size, and costs at a secondary education level. These domains are each considered here in turn.

The scale of private tutoring

In Ukraine, private tutoring is a widespread phenomenon, with approximately 80 percent of the students surveyed receiving some kind of private tutoring. Private tutoring users include 43.4 percent of students using private tutoring lessons, 11.6 percent using preparatory courses, and 24.1 percent using both private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses in one or more subjects (see Figure 14.1).

FIGURE 14.1
The Scale of Private Tutoring, Ukraine



Academic subjects

Mathematics is the most popular tutorial subject in both high- and low-demand study programs. It is not clear whether students take additional private tutoring lessons in mathematics because they are struggling with it at school or because they know it will be necessary for enrollment in the high-demand higher education programs such as business and economics. Foreign languages, which are also among the most prestigious higher education study programs, represent the second most popular subject chosen for private tutoring. Among the surveyed students in low-demand programs, foreign languages come third after mother tongue (Ukrainian language). Ukrainian language is the third most popular subject, as it is one of the compulsory parts of the final state examination in secondary school, as well as university entrance examinations. A rather small percentage of students take private lessons in history, biology, chemistry, and physics. The national option of civic education received 15 percent of the private tutoring share among students bound for high-demand programs, possibly because it is required for the high-demand program of law. Interestingly, the types and number of subjects pursued by students preparing for high-demand and low-demand study programs do not differ considerably (see Table 14.1).

TABLE 14.1**Academic Subjects Studied with the Tutor, Ukraine**

(Percentage of students taking private tutoring lessons in specific subjects)

<i>Subject studied with the tutor</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mother tongue (Ukrainian language)	41.7
Foreign languages	47.2
Math	51.4
History	12.1
Biology	9.9
Chemistry	10.2
Physics	10.5
Civic education (country specific)	20.0

The intensity of private tutoring use

The research reported here indicates that students who receive private lessons spend an average of two hours per week studying with private tutors. The next highest group of private tutoring users (29.9 percent) spends three to four hours a week on private lessons. For some students (19.8 percent) private tutoring is a significant time consumer, as they devote more than four hours a week to it. The largest proportion of the surveyed students (46.3 percent) took private tutoring lessons regularly throughout the last year. The next largest category of students used private tutors “regularly or occasionally” throughout the last semester in school, almost always the second half of the school year before the school-leaving and university entrance examinations (Table 14.2).

TABLE 14.2**The Intensity of Private Tutoring Lessons, Ukraine (Percentage of students)**

<i>Intensity of private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Regularly throughout the last year	46.3
Occasionally throughout the last year	11.1
Regularly in the last semester	27.9
Occasionally in the last semester	14.7
Total	100.0

Similarly, the attendance of preparatory courses revolves around examinations, with 42.1 percent of the surveyed students attending preparatory courses one year before examinations or earlier and 40.3 percent three to six months prior to examinations. A smaller percentage of students (17.6 percent) attended preparatory courses immediately before examinations, i.e., one or two months before school-leaving and/or university entrance examinations.

The size of private tutoring groups

Private lessons are most frequently offered to individual students, which allows for a personal approach calibrated to students' needs and ability levels. The next most common arrangement is groups of two to three students working together with a tutor. Only 11.5 percent of all surveyed students attended private tutoring lessons in groups larger than five students (Table 14.3).

Compared to private tutoring lessons, preparatory courses are generally offered to larger groups of students. Generally, preparatory courses are organized for groups of 16–30 students (45.5 percent of the surveyed students). However, some students attend preparatory courses in groups of 6–15 students (32.3 percent), and some are in groups of more than 30 students (20.3 percent). Given that preparatory courses are offered to large groups of students, the quality of such preparatory course instruction is often called into question.

TABLE 14.3
The Size of Private Tutoring Lessons, Ukraine (Percentage of students)

<i>The size of private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Individual lessons (one-on-one)	62.5
Lessons organized for a group of 2–3 students	17.5
Lessons organized for a group of 4–5 students	8.5
Lessons organized for a group larger than 5 students	11.5
Total	100.0

Costs of private tutoring

The costs of private tutoring lessons range from UAH 30 to 100 an hour (US\$11–38), depending on the tutor, location, and subject. The minimum cost per year of private tutoring lessons incurred by the surveyed students from five regions of Ukraine was UAH 50

(US\$19), and the maximum cost was UAH 15,000 (US\$5,787) for one subject per year.⁶ On average, Ukrainian students spent 4.9 percent of Gross Domestic Product per capita (PPP US\$) for one subject of private tutoring a year, which is the second highest spending on private tutoring lessons compared to the other countries in this study. Compared to private tutoring lessons, the cost of preparatory courses is considerably lower. For example, an individual student in Ukraine spends UAH 300 (US\$115) on preparatory courses a year, which is almost a third of the cost of private tutoring lessons in one subject per year (UAH 800 or US\$308).

Consumers: Who is receiving private tutoring and why?

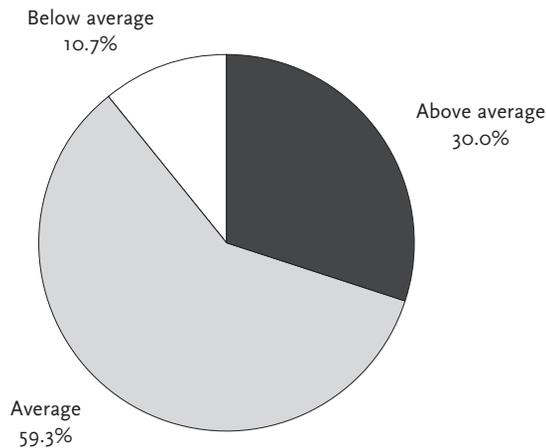
Private tutoring consumers in Ukraine are not necessarily low achievers attending private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses for remedial purposes. In fact, only 6.2 percent of the surveyed students agreed (somewhat or strongly) with a statement that only low achievers use private tutoring. The findings of the study suggest that the majority of private tutoring consumers are good students who take private tutoring to increase their chances of entering higher education institutions. The majority of the surveyed students (63.6 percent) believed that the knowledge and skills received in secondary schools were not enough to pass university entrance examinations without the help of an external tutor. Of all students attending private tutoring lessons, 78.9 percent stated that they took private tutoring lessons to better prepare for university entrance examinations (see Table 14.4).

TABLE 14.4
Reasons for Taking Private Tutoring Lessons, Ukraine

<i>Reasons for using private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>University sample (%)</i>
To learn more fully the topics taught at school	16.8
To remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier	13.2
To fill a gap in knowledge	18.5
To better prepare for the university entrance examination	78.9
Parents made me take private tutoring	3.3
Other students used private tutoring, that is why I decided	0.5

Private tutoring is received by students in different geographical locations, including students in urban areas (82.2 percent) and rural areas (77.7 percent). Private tutoring is also widespread among both genders, with 80.8 percent of female students and 76.5 percent of male students receiving private tutoring. Private tutoring users are more likely to come from families where at least one parent has had some experience with higher education.⁷ For example, 54.3 percent of private tutoring users were from families where parents did not have any higher education experience, whereas 80 percent of private tutoring users had parents with some higher education experience. Finally, private tutoring users are more likely to come from economically better-off families. Of all private tutoring users, 59.3 percent estimated their family welfare as average, 30 percent estimated it as above average, and only 10.7 percent indicated that their family welfare was below average (Figure 14.2).

FIGURE 14.2
Private Tutoring Users by Family Welfare, Ukraine
(Percentage of students estimating their family welfare)



The use of private tutoring is more common among students enrolled in high-demand programs at higher education institutions. About 86.6 percent of students from high-demand programs used the assistance of a private tutor in one or more subjects during the last year of secondary school, including preparation for university entrance examinations. A much smaller number of students from low-demand programs (65.8 percent) used

private tutoring services in one or more subjects. Nevertheless, the percentage of students who used private tutoring was significant in both high- and low-demand programs.

Finally, it is important to examine who is not taking private tutoring and why. Reflecting on the reasons for not taking private lessons, most of the nonusers (57.5 percent) mentioned that they could do well without such lessons. The second most commonly stated reason for not taking private tutoring lessons was the high cost (20.7 percent). Only 7.4 percent of the students would have used the services of a private tutor if they had had better information on the availability of good private tutoring lessons. Of the surveyed students not attending preparatory courses, 41.5 percent explained that they chose to attend private tutoring lessons instead of preparatory courses, 28.2 percent thought that they could do well without the courses, 11.9 percent explained that there were no courses available where they lived, 8.5 percent had no information on good courses, and only 7.1 percent mentioned that preparatory courses were too expensive.

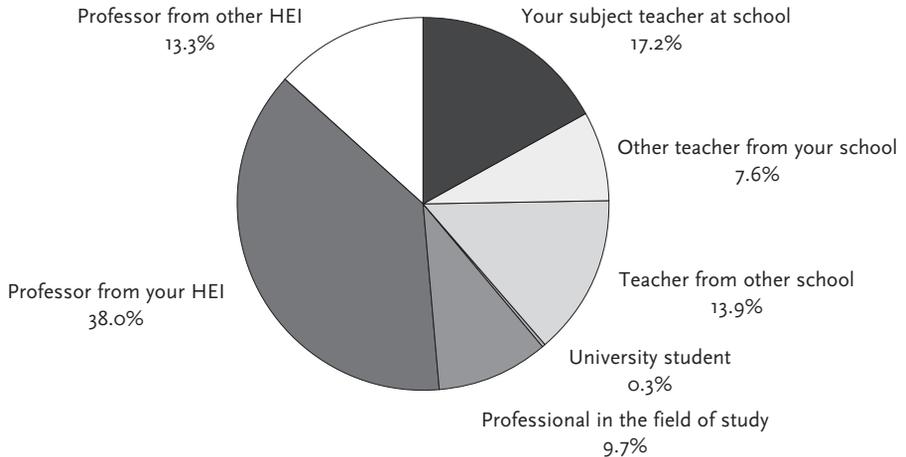
Providers: Who is offering private tutoring lessons and why?

In Ukraine, private tutoring is a niche predominantly occupied by university professors/lecturers, who constitute the majority of private tutoring providers of both preparatory courses and private tutoring lessons. Of the surveyed students attending preparatory courses, a vast majority (93.4 percent) attended preparatory courses organized by higher education institutions, with the rest of the surveyed students attending preparatory courses organized by private companies (3 percent), secondary schools (2.3 percent), and other institutions (1.3 percent). The majority of the surveyed students reported that their preparatory course tutors were university professors/lecturers (85 percent), although some students attended preparatory courses run by professionals from the field of study, secondary school teachers, university students, and other individuals. Interviews with students highlighted that university professors/lecturers were among the top-choice tutors, because they were familiar with the format and content of examinations, making such preparatory courses more prone to corruption.

University professors/lecturers also constituted the majority of private tutoring lesson providers. The study revealed that the majority (51.3 percent) of all surveyed private tutoring users reported taking private tutoring lessons from university professors and lecturers (Figure 14.3). Significantly, 38 percent of private tutoring users took private tutoring lessons from university professors/lecturers working in the same higher education institutions that the students were hoping to enter, and only 14.3 percent took private tutoring lessons from university professors/lecturers working at other higher education institutions. This reinforces the supposition that private tutoring is more prevalent preparing for university

entrance examinations and that the potential for corruption at this stage is a real problem in Ukraine.

FIGURE 14.2
Providers of Private Tutoring Lessons, Ukraine



School teachers occupied the next most frequently mentioned category of tutors offering private lessons. Of all private tutoring users, 38.7 percent of students reported taking private lessons from school teachers, including 17.2 percent of students taking private lessons from their own subject teachers, 7.6 percent from other teachers in their schools, and 13.9 percent from teachers from other schools. This supports allegations that “compulsory” tutoring in secondary schools is a problem, with many students being forced to take private tutoring lessons in order to ensure good grades. Although some measures were taken by the Ministry of Education and Science in 2004, the problem of educational ethics is clearly still present in the secondary education sector.

Educational, social, and economic impact of private tutoring

Private tutoring has major implications for educational, social, and economic development. This section examines the impact of private tutoring on (1) mainstream education, (2) social inequities, and (3) corruption-related issues.

Private tutoring and the quality of education in mainstream schools

One of the most telling findings about private tutoring is the percentage of students (88 percent) who agreed with the fact that the education system should meet the needs of every student without private tutoring. Put differently, students believe that mainstream education should be efficient, high quality, affordable, accessible, fair, and transparent. The fact that approximately 80 percent of the surveyed students chose to supplement their mainstream education with private tutoring reveals a lack of public trust in the quality of mainstream education. As such, student attitudes toward private tutoring support the contention that the current system of mainstream education needs reform.

According to the findings of this study, one of the main reasons for private tutoring (either lessons or courses) is to increase one's chances of university admissions (see Table 14.5). This need for private tutoring arises, according to 83.6 percent of the students surveyed, because the school curricula do not cover everything required on university entrance examinations. Low quality teaching in schools was also given as a reason for taking private tutoring by almost half of the students surveyed (44 percent). About 40 percent of those surveyed stated that school curricula were overloaded and teachers did not explain subject matter thoroughly. Naturally, given inadequate levels of teaching in schools, many students opted for supplementing their mainstream education with private tutoring to learn more (77.7 percent). In the face of poor secondary school preparation for competitive university admissions, 60 percent of students surveyed said that they would turn to a university professor or lecturer, especially if that person is well acquainted with the university entrance examinations.

TABLE 14.5
Student Attitudes Regarding Private Tutoring and the Quality of Education in Mainstream Schools, Ukraine

<i>Students use private tutoring...</i>	<i>Percentage of the respondents somewhat/strongly agreeing with a statement</i>
... in order to increase their chances to enter university	81.6
... because the school's curricula do not cover everything that is required on university entrance examinations	83.6
... usually in order to increase their school marks	46.8
... because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly	34.7
... because of the low quality of teaching in schools	44.0
... because they would like to learn more	77.7

Reflecting on the impact of private tutoring on university entrance examination outcomes, a vast majority of the surveyed students stated that private tutoring had some effect. In particular, 90.7 percent of students attending private tutoring lessons reported that tutoring had an impact on their university entrance examinations: 63.2 percent of the students reported that it had a great impact, and 27.5 percent reported that it had some impact. Similarly, the majority of students attending preparatory courses (82.3) stated that these courses had an impact on university entrance examinations, including 41.6 percent of students saying that preparatory courses had a great impact and 40.6 percent saying that they had some impact.

Private tutoring and social inequities

Private tutoring affects social inequality through its prohibitive costs. The majority of the students surveyed (71.3 percent) stated that private lessons are expensive. This cost is high enough to divide society into those who can and those who cannot afford the services of a private tutor. The findings of the study reveal that the majority of private tutoring users estimate the economic welfare of their families as above average (53.8 percent). This is followed by students from families with average welfare. This supports the notion that private tutoring lessons are more affordable to wealthier families. Interestingly, the use of preparatory courses reflects the opposite distribution; the majority of students attending courses perceive their family welfare as average or below average. This could be because private tutoring lessons are more expensive compared to preparatory courses. In this context, preparatory courses seem to be a suitable alternative form of university preparation for students from families with lower incomes.

TABLE 14.6
Perception of Family Welfare and Private Tutoring Use, Ukraine
 (Percentage of students)

<i>Students' perception of their family welfare</i>	<i>Only private tutoring lessons</i>	<i>Private tutor and preparatory courses</i>	<i>Only preparatory courses</i>	<i>No private tutoring</i>
Above average (very good or good)	53.8	23.5	8.0	14.8
Average	40.8	24.1	14.0	21.2
Below average (very bad or bad)	28.7	28.7	10.6	31.9

Use of private tutoring by students is also correlated to their parents' educational level. The highest percentage of students taking private tutoring lessons and attending preparatory courses have parents with a university degree. This may be attributable to higher socioeconomic families having higher expectations for their children. These families, as the previous data show, are also the families that can most easily afford private tutoring services.

Teachers often deliberately give lower grades to their students and then say that to get a good grade they have to study with the teacher additionally after school. Here we are facing professional cynicism.

Boris Zhebrovsky, the head of Kyiv educational governance body

Private tutoring and corruption-related issues

The inadequate quality of education in mainstream schools combined with the incompatibility between secondary education curricula and higher education examination requirements may result in unethical behavior by educators in mainstream schools and universities. In mainstream schools, teachers may encourage their own students to take private tutoring lessons from them, a phenomenon often referred to as “compulsory” tutoring by education professionals and students. Given that teacher salaries are low (i.e., lower than the national average salary), many teachers turn to private tutoring to supplement their incomes. Under such conditions, teachers may deliberately give students lower grades than they deserve and put pressure on them to take supplementary private tutoring. Of the surveyed students, 45.1 percent reported that the class teachers encourage students who have problems with subject matter to take private tutoring lessons from them. Furthermore, over half of the surveyed students (59.4 percent) confirmed that it is common for students themselves to ask their subject teachers for private tutoring lessons, with 46.8 percent claiming that they received better grades by taking private tutoring. Apart from getting better grades, 58.7 percent of the respondents believe that students who take private tutoring lessons from their school teachers (who are often their subject teachers) are generally treated better than other students (see Table 14.7).

Although “compulsory” private tutoring has been officially banned by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine since September 1, 2004, the findings of this study reveal that it is still fairly widespread in schools. Striving to supplement their meager salaries with income from private tutoring lessons, many teachers are not willing to give up tutoring their own students. As one of the school directors explained, “Teachers are certainly not

happy about it, and think that their rights are being suppressed.” It is unlikely that unethical behavior associated with private tutoring will be eliminated in Ukraine’s mainstream schools until the financial situation of school teachers is improved.

TABLE 14.7
Student Attitudes Regarding Private Tutoring and Corruption-Related Issues, Ukraine

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Percentage of the respondents somewhat/strongly agreeing with a statement</i>
One of the main reasons for private tutoring is for teachers to receive additional financial income.	73.3
It is common for a student to ask his/her subject teacher to provide private tutoring lessons to him/her.	59.4
Teachers treat students who take private tutoring (from them) better than other students.	58.7
Teachers encourage students who have problems with subject matter to take private tutoring lessons from him/her.	45.1

While the Ministry of Education and Science has made efforts to discourage corruption related to private tutoring in mainstream schools, nothing has been done to address unethical behavior among higher education professors/lecturers who provide tutoring for prospective students of their own higher education institutions. The findings of this study reveal that higher education professors/lecturers are among the top-choice private tutors in Ukraine, with 58.5 percent of the respondents believing that university professors are better private tutors than secondary school teachers. University professors/lecturers are particularly attractive as private tutors because of their intimate familiarity with and access to university entrance examinations. Given that higher education entrance examinations are decentralized and all universities have their own admission policies, there is the possibility that some university professors/lecturers will act unethically by disclosing the content of their universities’ entrance examinations to their private tutees.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In Ukraine, private tutoring is a problem that cuts across educational, social, political, and economic lines and has serious educational, social, and ethical implications. Any attempt to address private tutoring in Ukraine will need to take into account the complex nature of the phenomenon. This section explores possible policy responses and makes recommendations.

Bray (1999) identifies six possible governmental approaches to private tutoring: *laissez-faire*, monitoring, regulation and control, encouragement, a mixed approach, and prohibition. The Ukrainian government has largely taken a *laissez-faire* approach to private tutoring. Policymakers have considered the matter and have decided on a nonintervention policy except for some attempts to ban private tutoring by mainstream school teachers in Kyiv's schools. This approach has some positive aspects, allowing an active development of the private tutoring market and creating opportunities for teachers to earn additional income and for some students to acquire additional human capital. However, this policy approach has also had negative aspects such as encouraging a shadow sector in education, increasing discrepancies in the quality of secondary education, exploiting the excessive differences between secondary school requirements and university entrance examinations, and increasing the correlation between financial welfare and the possibility of obtaining a quality education.

Given the multitude of adverse effects of private tutoring in the Ukrainian context, it is no longer possible to ignore the tutoring phenomenon. It is important that Ukrainian education policymakers consider a more proactive approach to address the phenomenon of private tutoring. In the current circumstances, however, neither complete prohibition nor formal encouragement of private tutoring seems to be appropriate. Prohibition of private tutoring is a difficult approach due to the strong influences of supply and demand buttressing the private tutoring market. An additional factor is that private tutoring often takes place in hard to monitor places (like private homes), making enforcement of its prohibition unfeasible. In addition, it is possible that prohibition will drive private tutoring even farther into the shadow sector, negate the tax revenue collected from legal private tutoring, leave teachers without an important avenue for earning additional income, and remove the right of students to obtain supplementary educational services legally. While formal encouragement of private tutoring may have some positive outcomes (e.g., making private tutoring accessible to more students), it can also increase inequalities between those who can and cannot afford supplementary tutoring.

A mixed approach combines the positive aspects of the above-mentioned policy approaches and seems to be the most appropriate in the Ukrainian context. Based on the

findings and analysis of this study, the following recommendations should be taken into consideration by civil society, government officials, and schools in Ukraine.

Civil society

(NGOs, associations of parents, students, and teachers, mass media)

- ▶ Initiate public discussion on private tutoring issues in Ukraine to raise awareness.

Government

- ▶ Implement standardized external examinations with results to be accepted by both secondary schools and higher educational institutions. Examinations should be administered by an institution external to schools and universities and have unified requirements for all secondary school graduates who want to enter higher educational institutions. This will not eliminate the need for private tutoring, and examination preparation will still be prevalent, but private tutoring services will no longer be university exclusive and artificially expensive.
- ▶ Fulfill the provisions of Ukraine's education law, which ensure that school teacher and university professor salaries are on a par with the average national salary.
- ▶ Create favorable legislation to encourage private tutoring services. This would include introducing taxation allowances for legal private tutoring firms.
- ▶ Separate private tutoring provision by teachers from mainstream teaching. Encourage the establishment of institutions that specialize in private tutoring services and create employment opportunities for teachers there.

Schools

- ▶ Raise the quality of education in mainstream schools by training new and existing teachers in pedagogical techniques tailored to students' individual needs, thus reducing the attractiveness of individual private tutoring.

- ▶ Allow time during official school hours for revising and systematizing the learned material as well as for preparing for examinations.

Private tutoring is here to stay in Ukraine. Intense competitive pressures brought to bear by high-stakes labor market outcomes, coupled with underpaid teachers creating artificial demand, assure that the market for tutoring will certainly remain steady and could grow rapidly. How the government responds to this phenomenon will depend on how well it understands the political, social, economic, and educational factors that shape private tutoring causes and effects. This study contributes to this understanding.

Reference

Bray, M. (1999). *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

Notes

1. In March 2004, the Testing Technologies Center (TTC) conducted a monitoring study of student achievement in history. Thirteen schools participated in the study and represented a common residential district of a city in Ukraine with different types of schools and social backgrounds. In addition to the history test, confidential questionnaires were administered to students, parents, and teachers. The surveys were completed by 781 seventeen-year-old schoolchildren, 502 parents, and 570 teachers. The student and parent questionnaires contained a small section on private tutoring, representing the first inquiry into the matter in Ukraine. The quantitative data from that survey confirmed that a private tutoring phenomenon existed in Ukraine and that a larger, in-depth study was needed to more fully identify its size, shape, and scope.

2. At the initial stages of the financial decentralization process (during the 1990s), laws and governmental acts specified the increase of educational spending to 10 percent of Gross National Product and raised teacher salaries to the national average. Furthermore, local authorities were delegated the authority to allocate premiums to teachers within the limits of their local budgets.

3. Following initial attempts at economic reform in the early 1990s, which were punctuated by hyperinflation (over 10,000 percent in 1993), the Kuchma government, with assistance from the International Monetary Fund, revived the process in 1994. The severe economic contraction and high inflation experienced during the middle of the decade had been arrested by 1997. However, the Russian economic crisis of 1998 reverberated throughout the economies of the

Commonwealth of Independent States, dashing any hope of a Ukrainian economic recovery. The result was a cumulative contraction of nearly 60 percent in the level of national economic output since independence. However, in 2000 Ukraine's macroeconomic prospects began to look up as evidenced in the two consecutive years of strong economic growth, albeit from a very low base of economic activity as compared with its potential (Ukraine Country Sheet, 2005, <http://biz.yahoo.com/ifc/ua.html>).

4. The size of a teacher's salary is determined by the number of hours taught and by the teacher's qualifications and experience.

5. Low teachers' salaries combined with a general decline of the social status of teachers during the transition period have led to a large outflow of young teachers from the profession. In Kyiv alone, there was a shortage of 430 teachers in 2001, and 610 in 2002, though by 2004 the number of teaching vacancies was holding steady at 315 (www.vipnews.com.ua). However, these numbers were low compared to teacher shortages in the rural areas. In 2003, there were about 3,000 teacher vacancies in Ukrainian villages and towns, especially in such high-demand subjects as foreign languages and information technologies (www.kv.com.ua/article).

6. This amount was paid by a student in Lviv region.

7. At least one parent has a higher education degree or attended higher education institutions (i.e., incomplete higher education).

Appendix 1

General Characteristics of the Study Sample: University Programs by the Level of Demand

TABLE A1.1

Country	Program demand		
	High demand	Low demand	Other (medium demand)
Azerbaijan	Business- and economy-related, law	Pedagogical	Political science, sociology
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Economy, law, philosophy, criminology, political science, civil engineering, pharmaceutical, medical	Electro-technical, mechanical engineering, natural sciences	
Croatia	Economy, social work, computer science, psychology, journalism	Mathematics, physics, mechanical engineering, chemical engineering	
Georgia	Business- and economy-related, law, information science	Pedagogical, sciences	
Lithuania	Economy, management, law, information technologies, foreign relations	Education/pedagogical	Information technologies, natural sciences (physics, chemistry, biology), social science, philosophy
Mongolia	Business and management, medical, law, information technologies	Agriculture, natural and physical sciences	Secondary school teacher, engineering
Poland	Law	Pedagogical	Engineering
Slovakia	Economy-related and management, law, other social sciences and humanities	Technical sciences, natural sciences	
Ukraine	Business- and economy-related, law, foreign languages, political science, journalism, ecology	Math, natural sciences (physics, chemistry, biology)	

Appendix 2

Questionnaire

The Open Society Institute in Budapest initiated the international study on private tutoring in secondary school. In <your country name> this study is run by < institution>. We would like to know more about the scope and impact of private tutoring in the secondary schools of <your country name> and compare these phenomenon internationally. Please remember the last year of your secondary school experience and fill out this questionnaire. This survey is anonymous, which means that your answers will be confidential.

By private tutoring we mean tutoring in an academic school subject (like math, history, or English, but not lessons for playing the piano or tennis or a foreign language not taught in school) taught by tutors (by teachers, or university lecturers, preparatory classes, individually or in group) in addition to the provision by mainstream schooling, and paid on your behalf.

Respondents are ONLY students who have entered first year of University in the school year 2004–2005.

Name of the faculty/program: _____

1. Gender:
 - A female
 - B male

2. Where did you graduate from secondary school?
 - A in (the capital city)
 - B in a large city < with population more than 100.000 citizens
 - C in another city (center of administrative region)
 - D in other places (other towns and villages)

3. When did you graduate from secondary school?
 - A in 2004
 - B in 2003
 - C earlier than 2003

4. What type of school did you graduate from? (*according to national situation*)
 - A gymnasium or lyceum
 - B general secondary school
 - C other school (adults' school, VET school, or etc.)

In Azerbaijan:

 - D Turkish lyceum

In Croatia:

 - A gymnasium
 - B four-year vocational school
 - C three-year vocational school
 - D other (adult schools)

And etc.

- 4a. If you have graduated from secondary school in 2003 or earlier (answers B and C in Q3), please answer the following question:

Have you tried to enter university before 2004?
 - A No
 - B Yes, the same study program in which I am enrolled now
 - C Yes, but some other study program

5. How is your study financed?
- A State financed
- B Partially self financed, partially state financed
- C Self financed
6. Regardless of the way your study is financed now, when you were entering university which were you willing to take?
- A Only state-financed place
- B Self-financed place, too
7. What is the highest educational level of your parents?

	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>
University or other HEI	A	A
Postsecondary school/college	B	B
Secondary school/gymnasia	C	C
Basic/elementary school only	D	D
Did not graduate from basic/elementary school	E	E

8. Please indicate professional occupation of your parents (mark only two responses, one in each column). (*Optional, may be modified according to national situation*)

	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>
Professionals (lawyers, dentists, doctors, engineers, etc.) and intellectuals (university professors, academics, scientists, researchers, writers, etc.), teachers, but not managers	A	A
Independent professionals (e.g., lawyer with private practice)	B	B
Top managers/directors (including private, state, or NGO sectors)	C	C
Middle managers (including private, state, NGO sectors)	D	D
Owner/co-owner of craft shop/manual trade shop	E	E
Owner/co-owner of a company	F	F
Clerical workers (such as office clerks, sales clerks, etc.)	G	G
Skilled workers (such as carpenters, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, tailors, foremen, forewomen, nurses, etc.)	H	H
Laborers (unskilled workers)	I	I
Army, police, security	J	J

	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>
Farmers, fishermen, forest laborers	K	K
Housewife/homemaker	L	L
Unemployed	M	M
Retired	N	N
Other	O	O

9. How could you estimate the welfare of your family?
- A very good (far ahead of the national average)
 - B good (a bit ahead of the national average)
 - C medium (around the national average)
 - D bad (below the national average)
 - E very bad (far below the national average)

Following two questions are to be used according to the specific situation in each country. Those who have just matura exams will use only question 10 and those who have university entrance exams will use question 11. Those who have both will have both questions.

10. Do you think that the knowledge and skills received in secondary school are enough to successfully pass the **matura exam** [school-leaving exam] without any help of an external tutor?
- A Definitely yes
 - B Probably yes
 - C I do not know
 - D Probably not
 - E Definitely not
11. Do you think that the knowledge and skills received in secondary school are enough to successfully pass the **university entrance exam** without any help of an external tutor?
- A Definitely yes
 - B Probably yes
 - C I do not know
 - D Probably not
 - E Definitely not

Block A: Private lessons

12. In how many subjects did you use the assistance of the tutor during the last year of schooling and/or for preparation for university entrance exams?
- A None
 - B 1
 - C 2
 - D 3 or more

If you answered B, C or D, please go to the question 14. If you answered A, please go to the question 13.

13. If you did not use private tutoring lessons (answer A in Q12), could you please describe why? *(Please check all that apply)*
- A I could do well without tutoring
 - B Private tutoring is too expensive for me
 - C I had no information about a good tutor, otherwise I would have used one
 - D Friends helped me free of charge
 - E When I realized I needed private lessons, it was too late to join
 - F Other: please specify: _____

If you answered A in Q12, i.e., you did not use a tutor's assistance, go directly to Block B: Preparatory course.

14. In what subjects did you use private tutoring lessons?
(Please mark all suitable answers)
- A Mother tongue
 - B Foreign language
 - C Mathematics
 - D History
 - E Biology
 - F Chemistry
 - G Physics
 - H Other: please specify: _____

Now please choose a subject for which you have used private lessons most frequently in the last year of schooling or preparing for entrance exams and answer the following questions:

15. My answers below will be about the subject _____ (please write in).
16. Who was your tutor?
- A Your class teacher
 - B Other teacher from your school
 - C Teacher from another school
 - D Lecturer/professor of higher education institution
 - E University student
 - F Professional in the field of study
17. What was the main purpose for taking private tutoring lessons?
(Check all that apply)
- A To better learn topics taught at school
 - B To remember and systematize course/topics learned earlier
 - C To fill a gap in your knowledge
 - D To better prepare for the exam only
 - E Parents made me take private tutoring
 - F Other students used private tutoring, that is why I decided to use it
18. During lessons the tutor was working:
- A Individually with you only
 - B with a group of 2–3 students
 - C with a group of 4–5 students
 - D with a group larger than 5 students
19. How regularly have you been working with a private tutor during the last school year and/or preparing for the exam?
- A On a regular basis throughout the school year
 - B Occasionally throughout the school year
 - C Occasionally in the last semester/trimester
 - D On a regular basis in the last semester/trimester

20. On average, how many academic hours per week did you work with a tutor during the last year of school and/or preparing for the university entrance exam? (*each country will define how many minutes one academic hour is (45 or 60), then decode*)
- A 1 hour per week
 - B 2 hours per week
 - C 3–4 hours per week
 - D More than 4 hours per week
21. Could you please estimate to what extent the results on your *matura* (or university entrance exams) depended on work done with the tutor?
- A It did not help at all
 - B It had some impact
 - C It had a great impact
 - D Could not estimate
22. Could you approximately estimate how much it cost (in total) for you and your parents to use the help of the tutor during your last year at school in this subject?

_____ <your national currency> (*please write down*)

Block B: Preparatory courses

In this questionnaire, **preparatory courses** mean *paid courses* organized by institutions (i.e., universities, private firms, schools, etc.) and usually offered to groups of students in order to prepare them for specific exams (university entrance exams or *matura* exams—use what is suitable).

23. Have you attended a preparatory course of any kind when preparing for a university entrance (or *matura*) exam?

A Yes

B No

If you have attended a preparatory course (answer A in Q23), please go to the question 25. If you haven't attended a preparatory course, please go to the question 24.

24. If you did not attend a preparatory course (answer B in Q23), could you please describe why? (please check all that apply)

A I could do well without attending a preparatory course

B Preparatory courses were too expensive for me

C I had no information about a good preparatory course, otherwise I would have used it

D I used private tutoring lessons

E Friends helped me free of charge

F When I realized I needed to use a preparatory course, it was too late to join

G There was no adequate preparatory courses offered where I (used to) live

H Other: please specify: _____

If you had answered B in Q23, i.e., you did not attend a preparatory course, please go directly to question 34.

25. Who organized the course?

A Secondary school

B University/Faculty

C Private company/institution

D Other (*write in*) _____

26. When did you start attending the preparatory course?
- A One year before the exam or earlier
 - B 3–6 months prior to the exam
 - C Approximately 2 months prior to the exam
 - D In the last month prior to the exam
27. For how many subjects did you attend a preparatory course?
- A All subjects included in the entrance (*matura*) examination
(write in the number _____)
 - B Most subjects included in the entrance (*matura*) examination
(write in the number _____)
 - C Only one subject
28. What was the duration per subject course? Please estimate in the number of school hours! (*module course—phrase “module course” is for the situations when students prepare for a certain set of subjects for which they know that they will be examined during the entrance examination, e.g., medicine—biology, chemistry, physics*)
-
-
-
-
29. What were your main reasons for attending preparatory courses?
(*Check all that apply*)
- A To learn better/deeper topics that would be examined
 - B To remember and systematize course/topics learned earlier
 - C To fill a gap in your knowledge
 - D Parents made me take preparatory course
 - E Other students used preparatory course, that is why I decided to use it
 - F Because preparatory courses prepare students for the examination better than private lessons
 - G Because preparatory courses are cheaper than private lessons
 - H Education system is not good enough, you must use preparatory courses to get necessary knowledge/skills
 - F Other: _____

30. Who were your tutors in the preparatory course? (*Check all that apply*)
- A Professional from the field of study (not employed in the official educational institutions)
 - B Secondary school teacher
 - C University lecturer/professor
 - D University student
 - E Other
 - F I don't know
31. How many students were in your group when attending the preparatory course?
- A up to 5 students
 - B 6–15 students
 - C 16–30 students
 - D More than 30 students
32. Could you please estimate to what extent the result on your *matura* (or university entrance exams) depended on work done during preparatory course?
- A It did not help at all
 - B It had some impact
 - C It had a great impact
 - D Could not estimate
33. What was the cost per subject course (module course)?
-

Classmates

34. Please remember your classmates from the secondary school you graduated from. What percentage of them used private tutoring lessons [i.e., not preparatory courses] in the last year of schooling?
(*Please write the percentages—0% meaning nobody, 100% everybody*)
_____ %
35. What percentage of your classmates used a tutor's help in the last year of schooling in the following subjects?
(*Please write the percentages—0% meaning nobody, 100% everybody*)

- Mother tongue _____ %
- Foreign language _____ %
- Mathematics _____ %
- History _____ %
- Biology _____ %
- Chemistry _____ %
- Physics _____ %

Your general attitudes toward the phenomenon of private tutoring in secondary school

36. Below are statements often used by students when discussing private tutoring. Could you please estimate the extent to which you agree with each statement.

(Check one box for each row)

	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
1. Only students from wealthy families can afford private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. The university lecturer is a better private tutor than a secondary school teacher.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. It is common for a student to ask his/her class teacher to provide private lessons for him/her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Class teachers encourage students who have problems with subject matter to take private lessons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. One of the main reasons for private tutoring is so that teachers can receive additional financial income.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Teachers treat students who get private tutoring better than students who do not have such help.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Teachers treat students who get private tutoring worse than students who do not have such help.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Teachers should not be allowed to offer private lessons to their own students.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Currently private tutoring is the only way to get a high quality education.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Taking private tutoring is the only way to successfully pass (<i>matura</i> or university entrance) exam. <i>Country specific statements, use what is suitable.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

		<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
11.	In general private lessons are expensive.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12.	Students use private tutoring because the school curricula are overloaded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13.	Students use private tutoring because school curricula do not cover everything that is required on <i>matura</i> (or university entrance) exam. <i>Country specific statements, use what is suitable.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.	Students use private tutoring because they would like to learn more.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.	Educational system should be such that no one would need private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.	Students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.	Low quality of teaching in schools is the main reason for the decision to take private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.	Only low-achieving students take private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.	It is difficult to be a successful school student without using additional private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20.	Usually, students use private tutoring in order to increase their school marks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21.	Students use private tutoring in order to increase their chances to enter university.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.	Students who use private tutoring are more likely to enter university than students of equal abilities who do not use private tutoring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23.	Students use private tutoring because their parents make them do so.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24.	Students of wealthy parents can hire better tutors.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25.	Preparatory courses offered by institutions usually have greater positive impact on exam results than private lessons offered by an individual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26.	In order to better prepare for exams, I would prefer to attend individual private lessons instead of preparatory courses offered by institutions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your answers!

Glossary

Eric Johnson

Academic hour—The duration of a typical class period. This amount of time can be more or less than a regular hour.

Corruption—Corruption is used in two ways in this book: (1) the abuse of public power for private benefit (i.e. teachers requiring students to pay them for private tutoring); (2) the distortion of mainstream schooling (i.e., student fatigue or disinterest in school because curricula is being covered after school in private lessons; teachers holding back curricula or favoring groups of paying students over others; a general undermining of the school's mission to create a cooperative atmosphere and cultivate values other than competition).

Faculty—Faculty in American English refers to the professoriate of a certain institution as a group. Faculty in British English refers to a specialized academic unit used for organizing professors, students, and curriculum.

Gymnasium—Gymnasiums are secondary schools for high academic achieving students. In some countries these schools are organized around a theme like math, science, or foreign language and in most countries an exam is required for admittance.

High-stakes testing—Examinations given at transition points in a student’s school career (i.e., the end of primary school or when exiting secondary school) that act as a gate-keeping mechanism. These tests are used to evaluate students, teachers, and schools, establish preferential treatment in the allocation of money, and provide motivational stimuli.

Matura examination—Exit examinations taken by graduating seniors that are often required for university admissions.

Mainstream education—Compulsory and postcompulsory education encompassing primary and secondary education. It can be both public and private.

Private tutoring—Paid supplementary tutoring in academic subjects taken in addition to mainstream schooling.

Private tutoring lessons—Individual or small group supplementary private tutoring lessons in academic subjects. Lessons may occur at school, in homes, or at a third location and may be taught by mainstream school teachers, university students, university professors, or other individuals.

Preparatory courses—Organized group courses provided by official, public or private institutions, usually with the specific intent of preparing students for high-stakes examinations.

Shadow education—Private tutoring is called shadow education because: (1) it only exists because of the mainstream structure; (2) the size and shape of the mainstream structure changes the size and shape of supplementary tutoring; (3) more attention is paid to the mainstream than to its shadow tutoring; (4) the features of the shadow system are less distinct.

Socioeconomic status (SES)—For the purposes of this book, SES refers to parental education levels and family income. In some cases, one or the other, or both, are used to describe student SES. Additionally, student perception of family wealth is used as a complementary variable.

Student—Relying on conventional American English, student refers to both university students and secondary or primary school students. There is no distinction made here between pupil and student, as is done in British English. Where distinction is necessary, we use the modifiers “university” and “secondary” or “school” student to distinguish between the two groups of students.

Transformation—Transformation indicates a marked change in appearance or character. Political and economic transformations indicate a large-scale departure or radical break from previous political and economic arrangements.

Transition—Borrowing from organizational development, the term transition refers to the interval between two states, the current state and the desired state, in a planned change process. Most commonly, the term is modified by “democratic” or “economic” to signify a particular form of transition.

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Open Society Institute

The Open Society Institute works to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. To achieve its mission, OSI seeks to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, OSI builds alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. OSI places a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of marginalized people and communities.

Investor and philanthropist George Soros in 1993 created OSI as a private operating and grantmaking foundation to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Those foundations were established, starting in 1984, to help countries make the transition from communism. OSI has expanded the activities of the Soros foundations network to encompass the United States and more than 60 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Each Soros foundation relies on the expertise of boards composed of eminent citizens who determine individual agendas based on local priorities.

www.soros.org

Education Support Program

OSI's Education Support Program (ESP) and its network partners support education reform in countries in transition, combining best practice and policy to strengthen open society values. ESP works to facilitate change in education and national policy development. ESP is the organizational hub for a dynamic and growing network of OSI/Soros foundations, education spin-off organizations, cross-national NGOs, regional education cooperation networks, OSI-related professional networks, and independent professionals. Support is focused in South Eastern Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia.

ESP-supported education monitoring projects to date include: the Report on Gender Issues in Education covering CIS countries, undertaken with the OSI Network Women's Program; *Monitoring School Dropouts and Education in a Hidden Marketplace: Monitoring of Private Tutoring*; and *Monitoring Education for Roma and the International Comparative Data Set in Roma Education*. ESP is currently engaged with OSI EUMAP program in a monitoring project on the access of Roma children to quality education. The resource pack/monograph

on Religion and Schooling in Open Society also mapped current religious education policy in most of CEE/SEE/NIS, a compilation that had not previously been available and in which there has been significant interest. ESP's aim is to identify an efficient and effective way to monitor key education concerns, such as the need to provide vulnerable groups with equal access to quality education, including open society values.

www.soros.org/initiatives/esp

Network of Education Policy Centers

Education Policy Centers from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union contribute to open, democratic, and participatory policy processes. They monitor and promote transparent, nondiscriminatory, nonselective education for all. The centers have become valuable partners in national policy development by providing alternative sources of information and policy options, in facilitating open public debate, and in raising awareness through advocating policies aimed at equal access to all levels of education. Through global networking, the Education Policy Centers gain new ideas and contacts, plan joint projects and learning events, and build their capacity in education policy analysis and advocacy.

<http://epc.objectis.net>

