PRIVATE TUTORING ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

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Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean

Power Dynamics and Implications for Learning and Equity

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1. INTRODUCTION

Situating Private Tutoring

Although private tutoring has a long history, prior to the present century it attracted very little professional discussion or academic research. Ministries of Education preferred and were allowed to ignore the phenomenon, chiefly on the grounds that tutoring was provided in a marketplace beyond their remit as supervisors of formal schooling. Faculties of Education in universities showed little interest, since their primary responsibilities were also with formal school systems. Likewise, international agencies mainly busied themselves with activities that focused on schooling. They paid little attention to out-of-school tutoring even though in some countries it was a major activity. Relegated to the 'private' sphere, as its name indicates, private tutoring has often been perceived by educators and policy makers as falling outside the purview of 'public' education and its equitable provision.

This inattention has begun to be remedied, as witnessed by the growing body of research on privatisation in education, which unsettles notions of what counts as 'private' and what counts as 'public' in the provision of schooling opportunities. This body of research shows not only that private tutoring is not a 'private' phenomenon, but that it is intertwined in complex ways with the public provision of schooling and operates in relation to it in multifaceted ways. Notwithstanding, huge gaps remain in both basic information and conceptual analysis. This collection addresses these gaps as they concern the Mediterranean region.

The first wide-ranging international study of private supplementary tutoring was published in 1999 by UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) (Bray, 1999). The book attracted considerable attention, but a common reaction was that it was mostly relevant to societies in East Asia, such as Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, in which the phenomenon was especially visible. Although the book presented examples from all other regions of the world, general recognition of the phenomenon was weaker outside East Asia.

A decade later, however, a sequel (Bray, 2009) received much stronger recognition across the globe. This was partly because of the spread of private tutoring in all world regions, but also reflected expanded research which brought greater clarity to our understanding of the scale and implications of the phenomenon. This research showed that private tutoring takes different forms and is provided through a range of vehicles. Patricia Burch (2009) referred to 'hidden markets' in countries like the United States, where private tutoring witnessed the 'increasing activity of large corporate firms paired with controls on government' (p. 75).

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 1–10.

Burch's vocabulary echoed work on the 'hidden marketplace' in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006), and the research complemented other work in Africa, Western Europe and elsewhere (e.g. Buchmann, 2002; Ireson, 2004; Lee, Park, & Lee, 2009). In sum, by the end of the decade private tutoring had become recognized as a world-wide phenomenon that transcended geographic and national boundaries, as well as social class boundaries, with both policy makers and researchers beginning to look at the phenomenon more closely.

Private supplementary tutoring is widely called 'shadow education' on the grounds that much of its scale and shape is determined by mainstream schooling (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999; Lee, Park, & Lee, 2009). Stevenson and Baker (1992) referred to shadow education as 'a set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student's chances of successfully moving through the allocation process' within school (p. 1640). They suggested that the expansion of shadow education operated in relation to processes of allocation and mobility of students occurring within the formal school system, or in relation to their transition from high school to university. As a result, the 'content and existence [of shadow education] is tightly coupled to the organisation of transitions both within schooling and from school to the workplace' (p. 1655). As the curriculum in the mainstream changes, so it does in the shadow; and as the size of the mainstream grows, so does the size of the shadow.

Private tutoring is deeply rooted not only in the dynamics of economic markets (Dang & Rogers, 2008), but also more broadly in cultural politics (Heyneman, 2011), parental competitive strategies (Aurini, 2008), and in subtle social class and gender relations (Safarzyńska, 2013). Hence, the study of private tutoring calls for sustained analytical and empirical efforts. It requires the deconstruction of the multifaceted implications of educational policy, economic markets, power politics, and cultural values, in ways that generate insights into the deployment of educational provision in various contexts. Equally, it requires an exploration of the local, regional, national, and global articulations of private tutoring in ways that highlight the larger, and often less visible, tectonic underpinnings that ultimately frame the meanings of education in particular social contexts, and their implications for marginalisation and exclusion.

The issue of equity is central to the theme of this volume. If left to market forces, private tutoring is likely to maintain and exacerbate social inequalities since prosperous families are more easily able to invest in greater quantities and superior qualities of tutoring.

Private tutoring may also have implications for personal development and for pedagogy. It can contribute to long hours of study each day, leading to imbalance between academic and other sides of life among students, family members, and educators. And private tutoring may have a backwash on the regular schools, negatively influencing the ways in which teachers perform their work, how they engage their students in class, and how they interact with families, and the wider community.

The present collection should be seen in the context of this wider problematisation of private tutoring and the questions to which it gives rise. The

collection offers a set of critical insights into the complex and contextually-situated articulations and imbrications of this phenomenon. These insights go far beyond the exclusive emphasis on the economic and allocative functions of schooling. They reveal a private tutoring that strongly intersects with historical, socio-cultural and political dimensions unfolding in societies and from which this phenomenon draws not only its meanings, but also its persisting power and its manifold institutional manifestations.

THE MEDITERRANEAN AS AN ARENA FOR COMPARISON

The collection has a regional focus, namely the Mediterranean broadly defined. It may be compared with similar collections in other regions, some of which overlap. For example, many of the countries bordering the northern shores of the Mediterranean are part of the European Union (EU) and were examined in the study prepared by Bray (2011). Similarly, many of the countries bordering the southern shores of the Mediterranean are part of the Arab 'world' and were touched on by Mazawi and Sultana (2010, pp. 6-10). Other regional accounts have focused on sub-Saharan Africa (Bray & Suso, 2008), Eastern Europe (Silova, Būdienė & Bray, 2006), Central Asia (Silova, 2009), and Asia as a whole (Bray & Lykins, 2012).

Focus on the Mediterranean as the region for analysis fits the core objectives of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* (MJES), which is a partner with Sense Publishers in producing this work. As explained by Ronald G. Sultana (2009), the MJES is part of a mission to 'develo[p] a Mediterranean comparative education dimension' (p. 14). For Sultana, this mission is not about 'the search for epistemological and positivist purity in comparing 'like with like''. It is rather about 'finding a new standpoint – one among many others … – from where to gaze at phenomena and to apprehend it in new ways, by refracting it through a different lens' (p. 17). Thus, the 'legitimacy' that drives this collection, as a collaborative project of a community of scholars and researchers, is part of an agenda that seeks to transcend what Sultana (2009, p. 21) describes as 'dislocated provincialism', that 'insensitivity to context' which prevents the generation of an 'embedded' epistemology. In the present collection, this 'legitimacy' is expressed, in the words of Sultana (2009), through an effort to:

> acknowledge the specificities of country and region – such as, for instance, the preponderance of informal labour markets and the impact this has on motivation to engage with formal learning; the negative returns to schooling; the importance of '*wasta*' and family influence in getting employment; the particular relationship between religious elites and leaders in the state apparatus, and how this impacts on education in such areas as curriculum development; or the way private tutoring reproduces élites. (p. 22)

Over this backdrop, the present collection sets out to document and deconstruct the phenomenon of private tutoring across the Mediterranean. The point of departure is that private tutoring is a multifaceted and contested terrain. It offers an opportunity

to explore a set of situated and sensitive social, political and policy questions, often distinctive to particular societies, their social and economic histories, and their 'imagined' political community. This distinctive feature of the collection is significant, since it drives the particular questions within each paper. The themes discussed by the contributors offer a wide set of perspectives on current educational debates in various Mediterranean countries. Some debates thematically converge across contexts, highlighting the relations between educational policies and questions of equality, equity, and social justice. Other debates provide vivid evidence that local or national constructions of private tutoring are historically situated, whether in relation to processes of state formation, political transitions, civic upheavals and wars, or in relation to local resonances of globalisation.

Approached from this perspective, studying private tutoring across the Mediterranean region offers a fertile terrain for a reflection on larger social, economic, and political issues associated with globalisation. It also touches on core questions of affiliation, social cohesion, citizenship, social stratification, and the role of the state, and more particularly of educational policies and school practices, in articulating the purposes of education and schooling in contemporary Mediterranean societies. It offers a unique opportunity to reflect on the continued reconfiguration of nation-states across the region, particularly since World War II (and in some cases earlier). The study of private tutoring inevitably touches on haunting and daunting questions around the formation of the contemporary nation-state in the Mediterranean region, and the class and identity politics prevalent in the societies that inhabit it.

The Mediterranean contains sub-regions with significant commonalities (such as within the Maghreb, and, more widely, all of the North African Arabic-speaking countries) while at the same time exhibiting great diversity (especially between the northern shores and southern shores, but also between west and east). In this book, individual chapters follow each other in country-alphabetical order, focusing on Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, and Turkey. This collection results from both responses to a general call for papers and active search for authors. The outcome is a set of chapters that reflects the considerable diversity of cultures, economies and educational traditions in the Mediterranean region.

At the same time, it is worth noting the countries which are not specifically included. Among them are Albania, Algeria, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Spain and Tunisia. The absence of commentaries from these locations reflects the paucity of research on private tutoring in contexts which nevertheless experience the phenomenon on a wide scale. The desirability of securing data from countries in which so far no research on this topic has been conducted is among the matters deserving further attention – a point repeated in the last chapter which maps a future research agenda.

Meanwhile, to provide a lens through which readers may view the chapters which follow, it is useful to make some further remarks on the units for comparison. The above pair of paragraphs privileges the country as the principal unit. It creates some conceptual questions since all the countries have non-

Mediterranean borders as well as Mediterranean ones. Thus France, for example, has an Atlantic coast as well as a Mediterranean one, and Algeria has a border in the Sahara desert. Nevertheless, focus on countries as the principal unit for analysis has a long tradition in the field of comparative education (see e.g. Bereday, 1964; Postlethwaite, 1988; Manzon, 2007). It has pertinence insofar as education systems are still strongly shaped by the policies of national governments. Despite the intensification of globalisation and other cross-border forces, national education systems remain differentiated from each other; and when national systems differ, so do their shadows.

At the same time, the book has many other units of analysis. At one end of a spectrum, Hartmann's chapter on Egypt includes focus on individual students and teachers. The chapter on Portugal by Neto Mendes, Costa, Ventura, Azevedo and Gouveia describes research in the Xplika project which compared patterns in schools and between grades in those schools. In this respect, the set of chapters could be mapped on the cube presented by Bray and Thomas (1995) which highlighted a hierarchical range of units for analysis nested within each other. Part of the cube's usefulness lies in its demonstration of relationships, and particularly the importance of contextual factors at higher levels. Thus cultural factors at the supranational level may shape features within particular countries, which may in turn shape features in provinces or districts, and the schools, classrooms and individuals, and vice versa. For the present collection of chapters, there are grounds to consider shadow education in the Arabic-speaking countries in the southern Mediterranean as having some features in common, and for countries in the northern Mediterranean having other features in common. The importance of context has been constantly underlined by comparative educationists (see e.g. Crossley & Jarvis, 2001) and should be borne in mind when reading each chapter in this book.

METAPHORS AND TERMINOLOGY

The contributions in the present collection are important for two inter-related reasons. In settings in which very little has been written on private tutoring, the contributions reduce the gap in basic data. They also extend the conceptual analysis of the phenomenon beyond questions of formal schooling, thus presenting new perspectives. Taken individually the contributions provide information and analysis on shadow education in specific countries; and taken as a group they provide an instructive array for comparative analysis across the Mediterranean region.

The metaphor of 'shadow education' is used by several contributors. In some circumstances, shadows might have a negative connotation. At the outset it is therefore useful to note different dimensions of terminology. This Introduction has already used the term 'private tutoring' multiple times. A common alternative, used for example in the chapter on Malta by Buhagiar and Chetcuti, is private tuition. These terms may be taken as interchangeable. The term private tuition is also used in other countries, such as Mauritius (see e.g. Foondun, 2002) and Pakistan (see e.g. Aslam & Mansoor, 2012), though it is less commonly used in North America where the word tuition is commonly used to refer to school fees, and thus has a

different meaning. Rather than either private tutoring or private tuition, the common term in North America is supplemental education (see e.g. Heinrich, Meyer, & Whitton, 2010; Mori & Baker, 2010).

In addition, the chapters on Egypt, Italy and Malta refer to private lessons (*durus khususiyya* in Arabic, *lezioni private* in Italian, *privat* or *lezzjonijiet tal-privat* in Maltese). This terminology implies close mimicry of regular lessons in the private sector, whereas supplemental education may imply that pupils receive additional elements that they would not have received in the regular lessons. The notion of mimicry is also evident in the Greek word *parapedia*, which literally means parallel education. Perhaps it is not accidental that this Greek terminology does not refer to supplementation since that word would imply something optional whereas in Greece the additional classes have in effect become obligatory for all families that can possibly afford them.

Going further, the chapter on France identifies three different types of activity labelled private lessons (*cours privés*), after-school support (*soutien scolaire*), and coaching (which has become a French term, adopted from English, as *coaching scolaire*). In this usage, private lessons focus exclusively on academic curricular subjects; after-school support focuses on completion of homework and activities intended to broaden children's minds, widen their vocabulary, boost their cultural references, and improve such skills as cooperation, observation and questioning of things they observe; and coaching aims at study processes rather than study content, helping students to define their academic and professional goals through one-to-one support similar to coaching in sporting activities.

These elements of vocabulary are stressed at the outset not only to allow readers to interpret and compare the individual chapters but also to highlight a number of complexities and ambiguities – linguistic, yet also historical, cultural and institutional. Although this book is written in English, only in Malta is English an official language – and even in that country, English shares space with Maltese as the other official language. Thus the book relies on translations of words which may have nuances in their original languages that are lost when translated into English. Equally, the same word may have different meanings when used in different locations. Thus, while 'coaching' in France has been used for analogy in the educational sphere to its usage in sports and particularly on a one-to-one basis, in India 'coaching' tends to refer to larger groups and parallel academic courses (see e.g. Sujatha & Rani, 2011). Again, shadow education implies mimicry, but the edges of shadows are commonly blurred and may have overlaps with educational practices which supplement rather than just repeat the content of regular classes. Further comments will be made on these matters in the final chapter, which highlights some of the practical and conceptual lessons that may be drawn from the set of country studies.

DIFFERENT ANGLES OF APPROACH

The individual chapters display considerable diversity in their approaches to the study of private tutoring. Giovanna Campani's chapter on Italy has a strong

historical emphasis beginning in the 19th century. This chapter highlights the impact of major political tides that have shaped the structures of power underpinning the Italian state on the roles and meanings of private tutoring. Campani shows how under distinct political circumstances private tutoring operated as a venue for political resistance, more recently becoming strongly involved in the reproduction of social class inequalities.

In their chapter on Greece, Michael Kassotakis and Athanasios Verdis also commence with an instructive historical section. They discuss the impacts of the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-1922, the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949, and the dictatorship of 1967-1974 on the emergence of different types of private tutoring, and their deployment in different geographic regions. This chapter outlines the power struggles over private tutoring prevalent in Greece, and their implications for regional disparities in educational and social opportunities and for psychological pressures on students in their transition to higher education.

With reference to France, Anne-Claudine Oller and Dominique Glasman observe that tutoring can be a way for some learners to keep up with their peers and to gain access to understandings of curriculum content which were not achieved during regular classes. Tutoring is a structured activity for young people who might otherwise not be so focused; and some parents invest in private tutoring as a way to alleviate the stresses of homework supervision. Oller and Glasman point out that the most common and recurring arguments between parents and their children are based on schoolwork, and that employment of private tutors can be a way to reduce tensions. At the same time, state policies, which indirectly subsidize families' payments to tutoring corporations, raise core questions regarding the roles of markets in determining equity in social opportunities and access to educational resources.

The chapter by Boris Jokić, Andrea Soldo and Zrinka Ristić Dedić has a related approach insofar as it is also couched within a framework of political history and the interactions of economic and social forces. This chapter compares two countries which emerged following the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, namely Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. It is especially insightful in its systematic juxtaposition of patterns in this pair of countries on a Bereday-type model (see Bereday, 1964). The data are derived from semi-structured interviews and focus groups in a conscious effort to build on earlier methodological approaches for the study of private tutoring (Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006).

The Slovenian chapter by Armand Faganel and Anita Trnavčevič, by contrast, is based entirely on internet search. It examines pricing structures and modes of operation of tutoring providers, and analyzes online chatrooms to see what sorts of issues are raised and how. Thematic aspects include value for money, parental help, tutors' reputations, the links between tutoring and regular teaching in schools, and the modalities of tutoring. At the same time, the chapter matches others in the volume in the way that it is framed by awareness of economic and social change in Slovenia. And since Slovenia also emerged in 1991 from the collapse of Yugoslavia, significant parallels exist between this chapter and the one on Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina.

Two chapters in the collection focus on Turkey. The first is by Aysit Tansel, who is already well known in the English-language literature through her statistical analyses of various dimensions of tutoring in Turkey (e.g. Tansel & Bircan, 2006, 2008). This new contribution focuses more on political and organisational dimensions. It has especially instructive remarks about the Association for Private Tutoring Centres, Os-De-Bir, which was established in 1985 and which plays a significant role in the lives of students and their families by running mock examinations on a national basis. This indeed is a shadow of a different magnitude, not just at the level of an individual tutor aligning with the school curriculum but in a whole apparatus for assessment at the national level. Tansel also has remarks about the extent to which tutoring is sought by students in different curriculum streams, thereby adding a further strand for comparison.

The second chapter on Turkey, by Hülya Koşar Altinyelken, focuses on matters of curriculum. It serves as a timely reminder that reform implementation efforts can have consequences that are not only unintended but which are actually the opposite of the aspired outcome. In the case of Turkey, and despite strong government commitment to moderate if not eradicate private tutoring, the introduction of a new competence-based curriculum increased rather than decreased the recourse to private tuition. The new curriculum emphasized process rather than coverage, and was perceived by many – including parents and teachers – as a dilution of the content of the programmes taught at school. This led to feelings of insecurity, given that the traditional examinations had not been aligned with the curriculum initiative, and as a consequence the perception that regular schooling was not enough to guarantee educational success became even more trenchant.

The chapter on Cyprus by Iasonas Lamprianou and Thekla Afantiti Lamprianou provides an important insight on the strategies of the state in its attempts to control the private tutoring industry. By providing 'private' tutoring at reduced fees, the Cypriot education authorities attempted to drive private, for-profit providers out of the market. Not only did this strategy ultimately fail, but it also reinforced the general perception that regular schooling was not sufficient to ensure educational success, and that supplementing it with after-school instruction was not only legitimate, but advisable. Widespread tutoring provision through three types of institutions – namely the privately owned, the state controlled, and illegal entities operating underground – means that in Cyprus, unlike some other countries represented in this volume, access to private tuition is also open for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. However, differences in access to quality provision are bound to remain.

The above remarks are just a few highlights from this rich collection of papers. Readers are invited to savour the insights from each individual chapter, following which the final chapter in this book presents a further analytical overview.

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BORIS JOKIĆ, ANDREA SOLDO & ZRINKA RISTIĆ DEDIĆ

2. PRIVATE TUTORING AND SOCIAL EQUITY IN CROATIA AND BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

A Comparative Qualitative Study

ABSTRACT

Empirical evidence from various social and educational contexts suggests that private tutoring (PT) services are more accessible to pupils from families of more advantaged socio-economic status. This, in turn, reflects and/or exacerbates both social and educational inequalities, an outcome that has been shown through previous research in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. The present chapter explores educational stakeholders' perspectives on the differences in patterns of PT use by pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds. Secondly, it explores the relevance educational stakeholders assign to the issue of social equity related to PT and their willingness and capacity to address this issue. Data were collected using individual semi-structured interviews and focus groups with selected educational stakeholders. Criterion and purposive sampling were used to identify educational stakeholders from governmental, political, professional, parental, educational, media and academic spheres. The findings indicate that, in both countries, social equity issues associated with PT are mainly related to differences in the quality, frequency, continuity and purpose of PT services. Issues of social equity, as they relate to PT, emerged as a marginal concern. In addition, the findings from both countries indicate a lack of readiness and ability amongst educational stakeholders to adequately deal with and address issues of social equity. The findings also revealed a substantial homogeneity of perspectives between and within the two countries.

INTRODUCTION

Research in a number of social and educational contexts has shown that private tutoring (PT) services are more accessible to pupils from families of more advantaged socio-economic status. This, in turn, reflects and/or exacerbates both social and educational inequalities (Bray, 1999; Jung & Lee, 2010; Kim, 2007; Kwok, 2004; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; Schneider, 2006; Silova, 2010; Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006). This fact has also been clearly demonstrated in empirical findings from Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia (Husremović & Trbić,

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 11–27.

2006; Ristić Dedić, Jokić, & Jurko, 2006). Indeed, this negative consequence for social equity is often cited as one of the most common implications of PT (Bray, 2009). Using a qualitative methodology, this paper explores the perspectives of educational stakeholders concerning social equity issues associated with PT in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina.[1]

PRIVATE TUTORING IN CROATIA AND BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

Despite a long history of PT dating back to the days of Yugoslavian socialism, no systematically collected data examining PT in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina exists prior to the 2006 'Monitoring of Private Tutoring' project (Silova, Būdienė & Bray, 2006). This large scale quantitative project was undertaken among secondary education pupils and university students. Findings indicated that PT was widespread in both countries, with over half of the pupils reporting use of PT services during their secondary education (Husremović & Trbić, 2006; Jokić & Ristić Dedić, 2007; Ristić Dedić, Jokić, & Jurko, 2006). Most PT users reported taking private lessons occasionally, usually at the end of the semester or during testing periods. In both countries, pupils most commonly take lessons in Mathematics. The main function of PT is remedial, primarily to pass exams or to enter to the next school grade. The findings also indicated that teaching professionals, ranging from pre-service and unemployed teachers to university professors, are the main providers of PT. The most common method of finding a tutor was a reliance on informal recommendations in which a pupil's teacher or acquaintance recommends another teacher or an expert to provide the tutoring. In Croatia, there also exists a well-established market of organisations providing preparatory courses for final exams in secondary education or university entrance exams. This form of PT is still developing in Bosnia & Herzegovina.

This first project provided some early insight into the issue of social equity and the use of PT. Significant positive correlations were found between PT services and pupils' self reported indicators of familial income and parental education level (Husremović & Trbić, 2006, Ristić Dedić, Jokić, & Jurko, 2006). Furthermore, pupils from high-income families where both parents held university degrees more frequently relied on PT lessons. While 65.4% of Croatian respondents and 56.9% of their Bosnia & Herzegovina counterparts disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'Only students from wealthy families can afford private tutoring', 70.7% of the respondents in Bosnia & Herzegovina and 71.2% of counterparts in Croatia agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'Students from wealthy families can hire better tutors'. These findings suggest that, while respondents recognise that PT is widespread, they are aware of the possibility that differences in the quality of services are related to social class distinctions among pupils.

The present paper relies on the data gained from this initial project as a starting point for a consideration of the relationship between PT and social equity issues in these contexts. Notwithstanding, the quantitative approach used in the initial project did not allow for a deeper investigation of these issues. Furthermore, the project's sole focus on students did not allow for the perspectives of other

educational stakeholders to be represented. Arguably, the views of these stakeholders might contribute to a more complete understanding of the relationship between PT and social equity. As such, the collection of richer, descriptive data was deemed necessary in order to understand the ways in which the relationship between PT and social equity is perceived and understood by various stakeholders. This approach is consistent with arguments made by Gorard & Taylor (2004) regarding the use of multiple methods when researching complex topics such as PT. Quantitative research should provide an answer to questions of 'what' and 'how many', whereas qualitative research should answer questions of 'how' and 'why'.

The aims of the present paper are twofold. First, the paper explores educational stakeholders' perspectives of PT use by pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds. Secondly, it aims to explore the relevance educational stakeholders assign to the issue of social equity related to PT and their willingness and capacity to address it.

Examining this topic in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina is of particular interest. The two countries shared their history as socialist republics within the former Yugoslavia. Yet, both experience specific challenges in their transition to market economies. To better appreciate the relevance of this specific context, a comparative description of both countries will be briefly considered.

COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

In the early 1990s, Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina gained independence and became separate sovereign states. Both countries were involved in armed conflicts in order to gain statehood, resulting in significant human loss and population displacement. Following the cessation of war atrocities, both were engaged in post-war reconstruction and a transition moved from planned to market economies. Alongside a shared past, the social and economic development of each country following the break-up of Yugoslavia took somewhat different trajectories. In socialist Yugoslavia, Croatia was economically more established, with a GDP significantly higher than that of Bosnia & Herzegovina (Jurčić & Vojnić, 2010). Croatia underwent political and economic consolidation faster, achieving a GDP level in the early 2000s equivalent to that of the early 1990s. This is yet to be achieved in Bosnia & Herzegovina (Jurčić & Vojnić, 2010). In both countries, employment rates are amongst the lowest in Europe and the proportion of long-term unemployment is higher than in the majority of EU countries (World Bank, 2006; UNDP, 2009). Unemployment is particularly high in Bosnia & Herzegovina, where estimates have ranged between 16% and 44%, depending on the method for calculating unemployment rates (UNDP, 2009).There are significant differences between countries in poverty levels and social inequality in term of Gini's coefficient (where a value of 0 represents absolute equality and 100 represents maximum inequality). In comparison to other countries in transition, the level of poverty in Croatia, based on a cost-of-basic-needs poverty line, is reasonably low; approximately 11% of the population is poor, and another 10% is at risk of poverty

(World Bank, 2006). In Bosnia & Herzegovina, about one fifth of the population lives below the general poverty line. In addition, a third is poor in relative terms and at risk of falling below that line (UNDP, 2009). In 2008, Croatia had a Gini coefficient of 29, a value equivalent to most developed European countries. In 2007, Bosnia & Herzegovina had a Gini index of 34.1, a value representative of considerable inequality in the society and significantly higher than that of Croatia.
The socialist legacy in both Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina strongly emphasised the value and role of education in the life of the individual. Education was promoted and perceived as a way to ameliorate one's position in society. The experience of educational mobility was characteristic for a large number of families, even from the most economically disadvantaged regions (Klemenović & Milutinović, 2002). One of the pillars of this position was the idea that education is a public good, free and available to all under equal terms (Klemenović & Milutinović, 2003). Mass provision of socialist education fostered a sense of social cohesion within society, the consequences of which were nearly universal general education enrolments, high literacy rates, as well as a shared public belief in a free-of-charge education, provided on an egalitarian basis (Heyneman, 2000; Silova & Bray, 2006).

Transition to market economies had a clear reflection in the field of education in both countries, particularly at the tertiary level of education with the establishment of many private universities and polytechnics and growth in student participation. Both primary and secondary levels of education have seen very limited development in private education ventures. Although legislation has allowed for the opening of private schools whose operation is partially state financed, only a small proportion of pupils are enrolled in these schools. Private schools have yet to build a reputation that would give them a competitive edge over the state system. It could be argued that the largest private enterprise in education has been through the provision of individual PT lessons and organised preparatory courses.

In addition to some of the positive features of the socialist educational system, both countries have retained some of the negative characteristics of the former system. A content oriented curriculum that is fragmented across disciplines and traditional teaching practices are still prevalent in both primary and secondary education (Baranović, 2006). Furthermore, the educational systems in both countries are characterised by a low level of harmonisation between different educational levels. Ristić Dedić and Jokić (2011) and Soldo (2011) argue that these characteristics are amongst the main factors driving the use of PT in these countries.

In Croatia, issues of social inequality in education have only recently come prominently into researchers' focus. Here, several large scale quantitative studies have indicated moderate to strong effects of socio-economic status on pupils' educational achievement, as expressed through PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) results (Gregurović & Kuti, 2010), the results of external assessment in elementary education (Babarović, Burušić, & Šakić, 2009) and through pupils' achieved grades in elementary education (Jokić & Ristić Dedić,

2010). In Bosnia & Herzegovina, there is still a lack of large-scale empirical data on social inequality in education.

METHODOLOGY

There have been numerous calls for more empirical research examining PT from diverse methodological approaches (e.g. Bray, 2003, 2011). In particular, there have been very few qualitative research endeavours probing this phenomenon. Comparative qualitative efforts are even less common, both in educational research generally and in PT research in particular. One of the aims of this paper is to address some of these methodological shortcomings in the field.

Individual semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted with selected educational stakeholders. This methodological choice was deemed appropriate due to the selected number of educational stakeholders, a need for a deeper understanding of stakeholders' perspectives, and an orientation towards the co-creation of appropriate policy options. The complexity of the topic, the variety of professional backgrounds of the interviewees, and a respect for their time were some of the factors that further justified the decision to use semi-structured interviews.

The participant selection process was coordinated in both countries in order to ensure adequate levels of comparability. Criterion and purposive sampling were used to identify educational stakeholders from governmental, political, professional, parental, educational, media and academic spheres. The inclusion of individuals and organisations from such varied contexts allowed for the gathering of a wide range of perspectives. The educational stakeholders included from both countries are listed in the Appendix.

The project had two rounds of interviewing. Based on the relevance of information provided in the first interview and their potential influence on policy change, a select number of participants were invited to participate in the second round of interviews. Procedures for initial stakeholder contact, in addition to negotiation and interview procedures, were agreed upon and coordinated in both countries. In addition, interview and focus group schedules were commonly developed by research teams in both countries. Some of the covered themes included: implicit constructions and understanding of the PT phenomenon; the level of awareness of the prevalence of PT; factors driving PT demand and supply; implications of PT for the educational system, society and economy; suggestions for the regulation of PT; and the development of possible policy options. The issue of social equity related to PT was probed in both rounds of interviewing. Specifically, the focus was on respondents' awareness and assigned relevance of equity issues related to PT; perceived differences in accessibility, affordability, and quality of services as well as the function of PT for pupils from different backgrounds; implications for equality of opportunities in mainstream education; and perceived need for addressing this issue within educational policy.

In total, 46 individual interviews and six focus groups were conducted, recorded and transcribed, amounting to approximately 160 hours of recorded material. Data

for both countries were collected in a common database and were subsequently analysed using the NVivo software. Analysis used a dual temporal coding approach in which some codes were pre-determined based on the conceptual framework of the project and interview schedules while other codes were developed in response to the collected data itself. In the first phase of coding, the issue of social equity was placed under the tree nodes *Drivers of PT/Societal* and *Effects of PT/Societal*. The rationale for this comes from the literature on PT and the initial PT project (Bray, 1999; Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006). In a second phase of coding, new codes examining social equity specifically were determined. Among others, this included codes for the accessibility and affordability of services, patterns of use, function of PT and implications for educational success of pupils from different backgrounds. Codes on respondents' assigned relevance to the issue and their willingness and capacity to deal with the issue were also determined.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Accessibility and Affordability of PT Services for Pupils from Different Socio-Economic Backgrounds

The initial PT study demonstrated that a majority of pupils in secondary education used PT services in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. The omnipresence of the phenomenon was also evident in the observation that almost all interviewees in both countries reported having had personal experience with PT services either as users, providers or parents of pupils relying on PT. This all-encompassing scope of PT was further triangulated with qualitative data in both countries, which depicted a commonly held view that 'almost everyone' presently uses PT services, as evidenced by the following quote from the Bosnian dataset:

> When I used to go to school only a few pupils took PT lessons, those were 'dumb ones', I mean so-called 'dumb ones'. Since then it [PT] just grows and now you have a situation that almost everyone takes lessons. (PT provider, B&H)

Undoubtedly, one of the elements contributing to the widespread reliance on PT is its affordability. Here, it seems that the diversity of providers and the variance in PT fees play a vital role, as evidenced in the following interview excerpt from a PT provider:

> It is sad for me to say, but this is a cheap service. Even worse, you can get it for much less than what I am charging if you go to some university student. A service that fits every pocket, I say. (PT provider, Croatia)

This quote suggests the existence of a competitive market among PT providers, implying a sufficient supply of service and diversity of providers. Arguably, the variance in fees results in a situation in which even those from underprivileged social backgrounds can afford some sort of PT service. However, when prompted

about the issue of affordability of services to all pupils, interviewees' answers indicate that there are groups who cannot afford PT services. In both countries, elected students' representatives, representatives of teachers' unions and PT providers are the groups most aware of the inability of certain social groups' to afford services, as evidenced by these words from a pupil:

> I see it in my own class. There are pupils who have problems with something and they would like to have PT lessons, but they cannot afford them, especially those [held] in pupils' homes. Definitely there are pupils who cannot afford this cost. (Elected students' representative, Croatia)

One PT service provider observed:

> I really cannot believe that there are so many children now who need private lessons … On the other hand, I am sure there are those who really need it but cannot afford it. (PT provider, B&H)

Certainly, the inability of some groups to afford PT services has serious educational implications. Such implications are reflected in the poignant observation made by a mathematics teacher offering PT lessons:

> I am ashamed to admit it but as teachers we do it all the time … we recommend to children and parents to take PT lessons. The student is OK, but has a problem with a part of the curriculum. And then, it happened to me several times already, parents tell me they do not have money for that. What can I do? I can't give him a grade if he does not deserve it. At the same time, his peer from a wealthier family, takes lessons and gets a grade. (Teacher and individual PT provider, Croatia)

The above quote illustrates several interesting elements depicting the PT phenomenon in both contexts. First, it confirms the common practice of teachers to recommend PT services, already demonstrated in the initial study. Secondly, it explicitly demonstrates that teachers are themselves aware of the fact that educational achievement is directly related to the use of PT services. Thirdly, it suggests that people recognise that these services are not affordable for a certain number of pupils from underprivileged backgrounds, affecting their educational outcomes. Finally, and perhaps most worryingly, it indicates a lack of accountability and critical reflection on the role of teachers and the school in assuring pupils' successful completion of educational tasks.

On the whole, it seems that PT services are accessible and affordable to most pupils in both countries. Differences in economic indicators and development between the two countries notwithstanding, there are groups of pupils who cannot afford PT lessons, even in Croatia. It is plausible to expect that the well-developed market of PT services and the diversity of service fees will result in differing patterns and reasons for use of PT services, depending on the students' socio-economic background. The relationship between different PT services to student background will be explored in the following section.

Versatility of PT Services for Pupils from Different Socio-Economic Backgrounds

The data from both countries confirm Bray's (2011) notion that pupils from more privileged backgrounds use PT services more often. They are also in a position to hire more highly qualified tutors. A representative from the teachers' union in Bosnia & Herzegovina captures this point:

> The most frequent users are those pupils whose parents don't have time for them but have money. Those parents can get any tutor they want for however long. Poorer parents less frequently use PT, and mostly so that their children do not to lose the year. (Representative from the teachers' unions, B&H)

A similar perspective is evident in the words of a school principal in Croatia:

> Everyone takes lessons but in a different manner. I notice that children of lower social status also take PT, but only when they face a problem. Those of the higher status and especially those with more highly educated parents go more continuously and with a set goal. They go more frequently and go to better instructors, because they can afford them. (Principal, Croatia)

The above quotes suggest significant patterns of stratification in the use of PT by pupils from different social class backgrounds. They also capture the notion that these differences in the quantity and quality of PT use are a reflection of the purpose of PT use. Namely, the more planned and frequent use of PT by pupils from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds, in combination with the ability to hire tutors of better quality, is suggestive of a subtler mechanism behind issues of social equity and PT use. Evidence from the interviews further suggests that pupils from families of more advantaged socio-economic status start using services earlier and over lengthier periods of time.

Both quotes also imply that parents of more advantaged socio-economic status approach PT as a planned activity, suggestive of a more strategic positioning in relation to PT. However, the use of PT as a highly-planned and direct form of enrichment is true for only a small number of families, a feature evidenced in this excerpt from a high official from the Croatian Ministry of Education. Reflecting on the purposes of PT for different groups of pupils, this official observed:

> A small proportion of Croatian people, usually those who are most educated, see the purpose of education in terms of its value, investment in the future, international mobility … In my opinion, the number of these individuals is very small. (High official from the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, Croatia)

The notion that PT is an enrichment strategy for only a limited number of families is consistent with the quantitative results from the initial PT study. As in that project, interview data overwhelmingly suggests that the use of PT services is most frequently related to passing exams, completing the grade and fulfilling requirements set by teachers, even for pupils from more privileged backgrounds. The strategic approach towards PT use, described in the above quotes, is

suggestive of the ability of privileged families to prevent educational problems in the first place or to efficiently and effectively address problems when they first appear. The results of both scenarios are enhanced opportunities for educational success and a reduction in the chance for educational failure of children from privileged backgrounds.

Data also indicate that, for many of these families, PT is often used as a tool for structuring children's out of school time:

> I do not see anything wrong in it. At least I know where he is and what he's doing. After all, it is learning and any learning is good in my opinion. (Parent, B&H)

Apart from time structuring, PT lessons also serve a much more complex purpose of compensation for activities that might otherwise have been undertaken within the family. This is evidenced in the words of a Croatian Member of Parliament (MP):

> I often think that parents, in order to help themselves and even control the learning and achievement of their children, are more willing to pay and send them to private lessons. I know it from my own personal situation, where my daughter and son-in-law are competent in Maths, but they think sending their son to PT is an easier way. He does not listen to them. It is just simpler. (MP, Croatia)

Several insightful elements stand out in this quote. First, it is clear that the use of PT seeks to control the learning activities of the pupil. However, distinctive to this situation is the fact that parents opt to hire a tutor despite being competent to help their child themselves. Arguably, the reason for this could be assigned to a lack of successful communication within the family, pointing towards more general problems within families in both societies. This sentiment is even more concretely illustrated in the words of the director of a Croatian assessment centre, speaking of a time when he served as a private tutor:

> I was providing lessons for children who were sent by their parents just because someone was supposed to sit beside them. They were cognitively capable of mastering all tasks, but needed someone as a watchdog. This was supposed to be their parents but they were either too busy or communication between them was lost. I was basically hired to sit beside them. (Director of assessment centre, Croatia)

In Bosnia & Herzegovina, the notion that PT use was becoming a status symbol for certain groups of families emerged amongst interviewees, a finding not present in the Croatian data. This sentiment was evident in the words of an MP dealing with education issues:

> For a particular category of people, whose income is quite above average, PT is becoming a matter of prestige, a measure of how much they care about their children. A true status symbol. (MP, B&H)

Arguably, this quote suggests that reliance on PT services is not only being used as a means to gain educational success but also to visibly emphasise and construct social status. The fact that this appeared only in the Bosnian case suggests that this might be a process occurring in societies characterised by increased social inequalities.

In general, most of the presented excerpts emphasise the responsibility of parents for pupils' use of PT, with some statements coming close to placing direct blame for extensive PT use on parents. Perhaps not surprisingly, a contrasting opinion emerged in focus groups with parents in both countries, where parents expressed a view in which characteristics of the educational system and the work of teachers were most responsible for the omnipresence of PT. This inherent complexity of the PT phenomenon was perhaps most clearly revealed in the discrepant perspectives of educational stakeholders speaking from both personal and professional positions, as evidenced by the following interview excerpt:

> I am strongly opposed to private tutoring, both as a teacher and a union leader. However, when it came to my child … you know, I was convinced that she will not need it, but when it came to the point that I even thought that something I am not willing to do may contribute to her not achieving success, I backed down. I thought her failure would be my failure. I was in a position to afford the tutoring for her and I did it. I still think it is an extremely negative thing for the system, but can be positive for the individual. (Representative of the Teachers' Union, Croatia)

While earlier quotes suggested that PT use is an accessible and easy decision for families from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds, the use of PT represents a significant sacrifice for lower-income families, as evidenced by the words of PT provider:

> I literally had a case of a father going to a loan shark to borrow money to pay for tutoring in Chemistry. Keep in mind the amount he needs to pay. His daughter had problems and he paid for tutoring to get her to the level to pass (Individual PT provider, Croatia)

Although the last part of this quote points towards the promotion of the provided services, the core of the statement is a salient depiction of the hardship placed on some families for securing the funds for financing PT. This position was also confirmed in the words of a parent from Bosnia & Herzegovina. Speaking about a single mother of two children studying in her child's class, a parent reported:

> We have two children of a single parent in our class. She has very low income but pays for private lessons. She wants them to succeed and would do anything in order to achieve that. (Parent, B&H)

Although both quotes are third party testimonies constructing the motivation of parents from underprivileged families, they illustrate the determination of parents to provide this service to their own children in addition while also depicting the hardship lower income families face in financing PT services. For these families,

continuous tutoring support often seems out of their financial reach, as evidenced by the words of one parent from Bosnia & Herzegovina:

> I know she would benefit from more continuous use of private lessons, but times are such that I cannot afford that. (Parent, B&H)

In most cases, families use services as a means of securing the continuation of education in a situation where a child has failing grades or problems in school. A teacher and PT provider from Croatia stated:

> You have those parents who don't have much money and monitor children less. These go together sometimes, and they often come when push comes to shove: a few weeks before the end of the year. (PT provider, Croatia)

Although somewhat patronising, these words capture the general pattern of use for underprivileged families. In comparison to families from privileged backgrounds, these excerpts depict less strategic use of PT in which it is almost never used for the purposes of educational enhancement. Arguably, this less strategic and continuous use of PTI is also related to the financial situation of families.

The findings also suggest that the accessibility and affordability of PT services are not the only issues contributing to social inequity. Perhaps even more important are issues surrounding patterns of use and the quality of PT service, as well as the function and assigned importance of the service for families that rely on PT. In fact, interview data suggests that these aspects raise important concerns over social inequities related to PT in both Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia.

Social Equity and PT – An Issue of Marginal Importance for Educational Stakeholders

None of the interviewees in either country spontaneously related the issue of social equity with the use of PT. However, when specifically probed about this issue, almost all interviewees acknowledged that the previously mentioned differences in the quantity, quality and purpose of services between different social groups can and are producing educational and social inequalities. This acknowledgement is evidenced by the response from a high official from the Ministry of Education in Bosnia & Herzegovina:

> PT is strengthening existing social inequality, so it can be assumed that those who can afford PT in the end have better education from those who cannot afford it. Their only option is formal education which, unfortunately, does not have the necessary quality. (High official from the Ministry of Education, B&H)

This policy maker's frank statement indicates an understanding of the relationship between social equity and PT, but more importantly it highlights the implications of this relationship for the individual pupil. Surprisingly, it also contains somewhat harsh judgment on the quality of the education system for which the respondent is responsible. Finally, the use of words such as 'only option' and 'unfortunately' is

indicative of an emotional position towards both mainstream education and the families who solely rely on its services. However, although this respondent expresses an awareness of the relationship between social equity and PT, there is little to suggest a concern for the larger implications of the situation described. In fact, the analyses of the statements from other interviewees generally suggested that the position of interviewees towards issues of social equity was shaded by elements of political correctness. Specifically, while most respondents expressed an attitude that any process increasing inequality should be perceived as negative, there was little evidence for any in-depth concern over social inequities. Ultimately, it seems that social equity issues associated with PT emerged as being of marginal importance in the views of stakeholders.

In addition to recognising the shortcomings of the mainstream system, some interviewees expressed the potentially problematic position that pupils from underprivileged settings are expected to make bigger efforts in order to achieve educational success, while those from privileged familial backgrounds would supplement their inefficiencies by purchasing PT services. This perspective was voiced repeatedly in many interviews in both settings:

> Those who have less perhaps appreciate education more; they fight more, aware that the only way to change something is with the knowledge gained. Those who have, they pay. (Political party representative dealing with education issues, B&H)

On the whole, these perspectives depict a sentiment that, while all members of society will be able to fulfil their aspirations, those from privileged classes will do so through PT and those from underprivileged groups through additional individual effort and struggle. These rationalisations were particularly evident in the views of policy makers, a finding that might arguably be interpreted as a form of justification of their own positions and (in)actions.

Educational Policy – Impaired and Nostalgic

In both countries, the lack of sensitivity and priority attached to the issue of social equity amongst the interviewees is further reflected by an impression of limited willingness and readiness to devise policy options that address social inequity in education. This is clearly evident in the frank and self-critical reflection of a high official from the Croatian Ministry of Education.

> It is an important issue for educational policy, which covers all of its shortcomings and failures with silence and a lack of reaction. I know it may sound strange [given my position at the Ministry] but that is how it is. By not doing anything, we are not trying to equalise the conditions of education and thus contribute to the implicit discrimination. (High official from Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, Croatia)

This statement illustrates an overall lack of ambition to ameliorate the formal education system. It further reflects the low potential for the development and implementation of policies that would lead to more equity in education. Most significantly, the excerpt is indicative of a worrying acceptance of the current state and the helplessness of those in power to address it. The declaratory, almost defeatist, stance is further evident in the words of the MP from Croatia:

> The educational system reproduces the social stratification of Croatia and for me that is contradictory to the ideal of the social state. The least this country can do is to give an opportunity to those currently not privileged to excel in the next generation. This is a hard task and we are not doing anything in order to do achieve this. (Member of the Parliament, Croatia)

Furthermore, numerous interviewees, regardless of their political background, articulated a sense of decreasing social equity as a result of the economic and social transition experienced by both countries along with a lack of competence to address the situation:

> The time of social equity has passed and we need to learn how to live with that. (Pedagogical Institute, B&H)

Or in the case of Croatia:

> Somewhere along the line in the last 20 years we have become a society and educational system that does not value or foster equal opportunities and equality. I do not know where we lost that. (High official from the teachers' unions, Croatia)

These quotes are illustrative of another connection often observed in the responses of stakeholders, in which the idea that inequality has become a very visible and palpable part of peoples' lives and that educational services have become a marketable good was related to an overall sentiment of a general decline in societal cohesion. In general, interviews revealed a strong sense that the previous system of education was less influenced by the power of financial assets. Indeed, it seems that the above quotes indicate a general sentiment of nostalgia in which education was more equitable and was viewed as a tool for social mobility, even for those from underprivileged backgrounds. In light of this and the overall recognition of the relevance of social equity in education, the lack of action and feelings of incapability and unwillingness to adapt and change to new circumstances amongst educational stakeholders seems even more contradictory and surprising. Instead, it seems that PT providers were those most prepared for a transitional change in the education system, as one of them aptly explained:

> You cannot enter capitalism and then expect that education will be left out of it. People here just don't want to accept the reality we are in. (PT provider, Croatia)

CONCLUSIONS

The findings presented in this paper confirm the position of PT as an all-encompassing phenomenon in both Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. Given the increased affordability of the service due to diversified supply, even pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds are able to afford some form of PT. The findings further suggest that the issue of social equity in both countries is more specifically related to differences in the patterns and purpose of PT use for groups of pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds, rather than on a measure of attendance alone. Pupils from more privileged settings rely on PT more continuously and strategically and are in a position to hire tutors of higher quality. Together, these findings point towards a somewhat subtler and potentially more consequential effect of PT on issues of social equity: pupils from more privileged families are in an increasingly more advantageous position to use PT in order to more promptly and effectively reduce the chances of educational failure. The responses from stakeholders further suggest that families of more advantaged economic backgrounds use PT in order to structure their children's out of school time and control their learning. In contrast, stakeholders' views suggest that underprivileged families use PT only in critical moments, when educational failure is imminent. There is also evidence that privileged families use PT in order to compensate for some of the activities that should have otherwise been undertaken within the family but are not due to poor communication or other problems within the family. However, this sentiment was strongly rejected in the responses of parents who participated in the research.

Despite differing economic and social situations in the two countries over the last two decades, there is strong evidence for an overall convergence in relation to the PT phenomenon. The exception to this is the use of PT as a status symbol in Bosnia & Herzegovina. This convergence may be a result of the shared values and cultural patterns in both countries, as well as the lack of any substantial change within both systems of education.

On the whole, the findings presented indicate a sense of urgency for the development of educational policies that address issues of social equity related to PT. However, the analyses of educational stakeholders' perspectives in both countries suggest that the issue of social equity related to PT is of marginal concern. In both countries, the frank discourse of state officials suggests a somewhat peculiar position in which those in power are aware of the lack of quality and inefficiencies of the system but are impaired, reluctant or incompetent to address them. Similarly, with the exception of PT providers, all interviewees expressed personal opposition to the observed increase in social and educational inequalities. They further expressed a form of nostalgia for the egalitarian values of the former political system. Notwithstanding, they were unwilling to proactively address these increasing inequalities. Arguably, it seems that authorities in both settings must still come to terms with the realities that emerged over two decades. Clearly, they are not yet ready to actively deal with the effects of the transition to market economies on the educational system. These not-so-new realities demand proactive educational policies. Yet, the latter appear quite

improbable in light of the above described position of state officials. In all likelihood, both countries will experience further growth in PT use, increased differences in the quality of PT for pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds and, ultimately, increased social and educational inequality. Arguably, this increase in social and educational inequality in this context has a real potential of re-igniting tensions between and across social, economic and ethnic groups in the fragile political and social situation in which both countries found themselves after the conflict, and in the midst of the transition from planned to market economies.

APPENDIX

List of Selected Interviewees

Educational stakeholders	*Bosnia & Herzegovina*	*Croatia*
Higher officials from the Ministry of Education	6 interviews with higher officials/ advisors in Federal and Cantonal Ministries of Education	1 interview with State secretary for compulsory education
Higher officials from the regional or local executive government		Paired interview with higher officials from Zagreb Educational Authority
Representatives of parliamentary political parties in charge of education	1 paired interview with representatives of the main opposition party in Federation of BiH /1 interview with representative of the main opposition party in R. Srpska	2 interviews with representatives of the ruling and main opposition party
Officials from the professional organisations in the field of education (e.g. Institute of Education, Pedagogical institutes, Curriculum authorities, Inspectorates, …)	4 interviews with Directors or Advisors in Pedagogical Institutes/ Agency for Preschool, Primary and Secondary Education	6 interviews with representatives of: 1. Education and Teacher Training Agency (paired interview) 2. National Centre for External Evaluation in Education 3. Agency for Science and Tertiary Education 4. Committee for Introduction of the State Matura in Secondary Education 5. Council for National Curriculum (2 interviews)
Representatives from NGOs/ Interest groups dealing with the educational issues	2 interviews with representatives of Parents Council/ Association	1 paired interview with representatives of National Committee of Pupils
Representatives from the teachers' unions	2 interviews with representatives from Teacher Unions	2 interviews with leaders of Teacher Unions
School principals	–	Representative of the Association of Croatian Secondary School Principals
Elementary and secondary school teachers	2 focus groups with primary/ secondary Maths teachers	1 focus group with secondary Maths teachers

PT providers (organised groups)	1 interview with organiser of preparatory courses for University entrance exams 1 interview with PT provider	3 interviews with preparatory courses organisers for University entrance/State Matura exams
Parents	2 focus groups with parents of pupils in primary/vocational school	1 focus group with parents of pupils in gymnasium

NOTES

[1] This paper is based on the findings from the Network of Education Policy Centres' (NEPC) comparative qualitative project entitled 'The Private Tutoring Phenomenon: Developing Policy Options', undertaken in Azerbaijan, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, and Mongolia. The project investigated the holistic concept of PT as a phenomenon permeating all educational levels. It was envisaged as a continuation of the research project 'Monitoring of Private Tutoring', which explored the PT phenomenon in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006). As in that project, the working definition of PT was: a 'fee-based instruction in academic school subjects that is complementary to instruction mainstream schools provide free of charge'. PT includes lessons provided on a one-on-one basis or in small groups by individual instructors. It also includes larger classes taught by individual and company-employed tutors (Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006, p. 13).

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3. CHARTING PRIVATE TUTORING IN CYPRUS

A Socio-Demographic Perspective

ABSTRACT

Cyprus is one of the European countries where the phenomenon of shadow education is particularly widespread. The political establishment, the Press and the teacher unions have repeatedly referred to shadow education as an anathema or a 'cancer' which makes public education and families suffer. Legally, shadow education consists of three distinct types of institutions: the privately-owned, the state-controlled and the illegal which operate underground. This study uses government survey data to investigate the nature of the phenomenon. We found that the industry of private tutoring is particularly widespread in secondary education although the phenomenon is also very visible in primary education. Contrary to the expectations of current literature, the socioeconomic status of the families is not significantly related to the decision of households to engage into private tuition. We discuss the educational as well as the social perspective of our findings.

INTRODUCTION

The term shadow education has been used to describe systems of private supplementary tutoring which operate parallel to formal, often public, education systems (Bray, 2011). The proliferation of private supplementary tutoring around the world has attracted much attention recently and has been documented by many researchers (Bray, 1999, 2011; Bouillon, 2010; Dehandschutter, 2010; Heyneman, 2011; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2008). The phenomenon is widespread across Europe but it seems to be especially visible in Southern, Central and Eastern Europe (Bray, 2011).

Cyprus is not an exception to the rule. It has been reported that the industry of private tutoring has been blooming in Cyprus during the last decades with a significant educational as well as economic impact (Education Reform Committee, 2004; Kaza, 2010; Lamprianou, 2012). The industry of private tutoring has been so successful in Cyprus that the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) set up its own institutions in order to provide affordable opportunities to poor students (MoEC, 2011). According to the web page of the MoEC (www.moec.gov.cy), this initiative was launched half a century ago and today there are more than 40 such state-controlled private tutoring institutes serving hundreds of students.

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 29–56.

In 2003, the government of Cyprus launched an initiative to reform its educational system. A committee of seven academics was appointed with a mandate to evaluate the educational system and produce ideas and suggestions for improvement. The committee prepared a 350-pages report where it was stated that fighting the problem of shadow education was one of the main aims of the educational reform (Education Reform Committee, 2004, p.1). According to the committee, the term 'shadow' education (the Greek rendering of this term being '*parapedia*', or 'parallel to formal education') is considered to be an informal and often illegal system of tutoring that usually takes place during afternoon hours and is not part of the official school system (Education Reform Committee, 2004, p.120). In other words, according to this definition, every lesson or educational activity that takes place outside schools and is not part of the curriculum may be considered as part of the shadow education system.

Although the definition given by the Education Reform Committee is more inclusive than the one adopted by other researchers (see Bray, 2011; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2008; Tsagari, 2009), who focus only on private tuition in curriculum areas formally covered by the school, it shows the negative attitude of the committee towards private tutoring. This negative attitude may also be observed in the press where supplementary private tutoring is often presented as an anathema which causes heated political debates in the Parliament (Kaza, 2010; Sigmalive, 2012). It is interesting to present here the statement of the late Minister of Education and Culture in 2005, who reminded the public that fighting shadow education was one of the major aims of the government. The late Minister had said:

> … Uprooting shadow education is of high priority in order to achieve the educational reform … [it] is a phenomenon which contradicts the fundamental values and principles of our public education system … It is an anti-social, anti-educational and unethical phenomenon … [it] has become a cancerous wound which shifts the focus of education from the schools to the private tutoring institutions, costs a large amount of money and leaves parents and students with no free time … Our fundamental aim is to convince the society that shadow education, whether legal or illegal, is not useful. [Our translation] (MoEC, 2006)

The teachers' unions in Cyprus have similarly negative attitudes towards private tutoring. For example, a recent announcement by the union of secondary education teachers of public schools characterises the phenomenon of supplementary private tuition as a 'cancer' which attacks public education (OELMEK, 2012). In the same statement, the union notes that the financial crisis has made matters worse, with half of the families in Cyprus being no longer able to afford private tuition fees.

It is likely that the negative attitude towards shadow education in Cyprus is related to the fact that, allegedly, a large number of private tutoring institutions are not properly registered with the MoEC. They therefore operate 'underground' and illegally. The widespread nature of the phenomenon, its complexity and its controversial nature in Cyprus are the factors that motivated us to investigate it more closely through this study.

THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

Although there is some past research which aimed to measure the extent of private tuition in Cyprus, most of it is unpublished or poorly documented. There is no existing published research aiming to present a longitudinal perspective of the phenomenon. Also, past research remained at a descriptive level and did not investigate the relationship between significant socio-economic variables and supplementary private tuition. In order to reduce this gap in the literature, this paper aims to:

- collect, organise and present comparatively evidence which is currently scattered regarding the prevalence and the history of the phenomenon of private tuition in Cyprus. To the extent that it is possible, this information will be presented separately for primary and secondary education;
- produce rough estimations of the extent of the illegal private tutoring industry in Cyprus by combining information from high-quality and reliable datasets;
- produce and present new, hitherto unpublished knowledge through the reanalysis of existing high-quality datasets which were collected for other purposes by governmental organisations and which were never used to produce publications on private tuition in Cyprus;
- report on the relationship between private tuition and various socio-demographic variables and discuss emerging issues of social inequality.

THE LOCAL IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE PRIVATE TUITION INDUSTRY

In Cyprus, the term 'shadow education' is not used very often in everyday life. The term *frontistiria* (in plural) is most often used to denote the private institutions which offer education services to students during out of school hours. Gradually, this term found its way into academic publications as well. For example, Tsagari (2009), Copland and Neokleous (2011) and one of the present authors (Lamprianou, 2012), used the term *frontistiria* in parallel to the usual English terminology. The term *frontistiria* is derived from a Hellenic verb which literally means 'looking after or protecting somebody'.

Although the history of *frontistiria* in Cyprus has not been researched, we believe that the phenomenon developed gradually in order to serve the perceived needs of the people for supplementary education. It has been argued that its development was sometimes facilitated by groups of people who wanted to increase their clientele (Education Reform Committee, 2004). The extremely high-stakes nature of University entrance examinations in Cyprus routinely drives parents and students towards private tuition (Education Reform Committee, 2004; Lamprianou, 2012). However, other factors may also push students towards private tuition, and the phenomenon is prevalent even in primary education where the assessment system is low-stakes and almost exclusively teacher-based.

The education system in Cyprus is highly centralised and controlled by the state. The MoEC is responsible for regulating all schools, both private and public, at all levels of education. The establishment of *frontistiria* is regulated by a law which

was initially voted by the Parliament of the Republic of Cyprus in 1971 under the heading 'Private Schools and Private *Frontistiria*'. The law was amended by the Parliament in 1983, 1985, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2012 in order to reflect the increased complexities of the operation of educational institutions in a modern society. The 2012 amendment of the Law came to effect in March 2012 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Cyprus, 2012). Legally speaking, one might distinguish between three different types of *frontistiria*.

The first category consists of the privately owned institutions which are legally registered at the MoEC. These institutions need to comply with specific regulations and they are routinely inspected by the MoEC. They offer educational opportunities after school or during weekends and school holidays at variable prices depending on the prestige of the institution, the area it is located in, and so on. According to the amendments of 1983 and 1999, a *frontistirion* (in singular) is defined as 'the organisation and provision of teaching to interested persons or groups using technology or by face to face interaction [our translation]' (MoEC, 2012, p. 2). According to the 2008 amendment, privately-owned *frontistiria*, in contrast to public *frontistiria* which will be discussed later, are those which are not managed or maintained by the Republic of Cyprus. The privately-owned *frontistiria* must comply with the instructions of the inspectors of the MoEC (article 53 of the 1983 amendment).

The second category consists of privately-owned *frontistiria* which are not legally registered. They do not have a license to operate and therefore are not inspected by the MoEC. Allegedly, there are over 1000 such *frontistiria* across Cyprus (Stylianou, 2012). These are normally tax-evading institutions which operate outside the legal framework. This category also includes a special sub-category of (mostly very small) *frontistiria* which belong to teachers who teach at public schools in the morning. These public school teachers offer private tuition secretly in houses or other private places in the afternoon or during holidays. According to article 18(1) of the 2004 amendment, civil servants and teachers who work in public schools cannot work in private *frontistiria* (MoEC, 2012, p. 3). The main characteristic of this sub-category is that it is 'under-ground'. Multiple efforts by the police to deal with the phenomenon of illegal, under-ground private tutoring have generally failed (Kyriakidou, 2009). Several Ministers of Education and Culture repeatedly announced measures to battle illegal *frontistiria* but they generally produced very poor results.

The third category consists of a local paradox: students can attend afternoon classes at state-controlled, state-funded private tutoring institutions. This category of state-controlled *frontistiria* were set up so that they would provide affordable access to private tuition to financially less privileged students. According to the 1983 amendment of the law, public *frontistiria* are those which are managed and maintained by the Republic of Cyprus. We feel that the establishment of public *frontistiria* could be perceived as an official confession that public education has failed to address the needs of the students. Paradoxically, the state has repeatedly declared the war against the *frontistiria* but at the same time, it provides its own

version of the service, only at more affordable prices. We will discuss this paradox in more depth later on.

According to a recent study (Bray, 2011), Cyprus is in the fourth place among European countries when it comes to household spending on private tuition. This fact was given great publicity by electronic and other media (see, for example, enet.gr, 2011; ethnos.gr, 2011). However, shadow education is not a one-dimensional phenomenon. Poumpouris (2010) distinguished between two types of shadow education: (a) the 'mending parapedia' and (b) the 'anticipating parapedia'. 'Mending' parapedia aims to address actual (or perceived) academic weaknesses. It often aims to help students who have academic weaknesses, so that they will do better at school. Moreover, it aims to help the students to increase their chances to gain access to public Universities. 'Anticipating' parapedia allegedly helps the students to be ahead of the curriculum demands at school so that they will avoid academic weaknesses in the future. This may be perceived as a form of 'pre-emptive strike' against the possibility of a low academic performance in the future. One example of the anticipating parapedia is when students start attending French private lessons very early (e.g. when they are at the first years of primary school), so that they will have high performance when – in the future – they are taught French at the school.

Others (e.g. Education Reform Committee, 2004; Kyriakidou, 2012; Vasileiou et al., 1999) have given a more elaborate analysis of the phenomenon of private tuition in Cyprus. Drawing on these studies, six different dimensions (or streams) of private tuition in Cyprus may be identified. The first stream concerns the core curriculum subjects, i.e. Modern Greek, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc. Most students attend private tuition on these subjects so as to improve their academic skills and knowledge in order to do better at school.

The second stream of private tuition addresses the private lessons that prepare the students for the Pancyprian Examinations, which are very competitive, high-stakes entrance examinations to public universities (see Lamprianou, 2009, 2012). The main aim of this stream of private tuition is to give to the students a competitive advantage over the others, so that they will increase their chances to get access to the university department of their choice.

The third stream of private tuition addresses the need of people to pass external, high-stakes, examinations not set by Awarding Bodies in Cyprus, such as GCE, SATs or other professional certification examinations which will allow them to join professional bodies (e.g. accounting examinations). This is an important part of private tuition because a very large proportion of Cypriot students attend university education in non Greek-speaking countries (see MoEC, 2009).

The fourth stream of private tuition addresses the need of the people to learn foreign languages early (e.g. at an age where public education does not offer this option). The initial aim of the public *frontistiria* when they were first established fifty years ago, was to provide mainly language lessons. It was only later that the state decided to expand the curriculum of the public *frontistiria* so that they would compete with privately-owned institutions.

The fifth stream of private tuition consists of developing skills, such as dancing and music and concerns people who would like their children to acquire a broader cultural education. Finally, the last stream is related to athletic education and sports, such as football, basketball, martial arts, and so on. Such provision is beyond the scope of our chapter, which is mainly concerned with private tutoring in formal curricular areas.

Shadow education has long been high on the political agenda of the island. Many students attend costly private lessons, with one of the aims of the MoEC being that of battling the need for private tutoring. Studies have however indicated that little headway has been made in this battle: Loucaides, Chedzoy & Bennett (2004), for instance, found that, on average, students attend private tutoring three times per week. On their part, Stylianou, Savva, Vraka & Serghiou (2004) reported that around 86% of secondary education graduates in the years 1998–2002, attended private tutoring in Cyprus. More than half of the respondents cited increased competition and preparation for examinations as reasons for attending private tutoring. More recently, Vryonides and Zembylas (2008) suggested that women frequently assume the role of a chauffeur to drive teenagers to private lessons in the afternoon, implying that the practice of having private lessons is still prevalent. Lazarou et al.'s (2009) research in primary schools showed that children may spend, on average, more than two hours per day on private lessons.

Past research (Education Reform Committee, 2004; Kyriakidou, 2012; Louca et al., 2012; Papanastasiou, 1978; Vasileiou et al., 1999) has shown that *frontistiria* is a phenomenon which consumes a large proportion of resources in Cyprus. For example, Kyriakidou (2012) reports a study by a group of secondary education students-researchers, under the supervision and the support of academics and teachers in the context of the 'MERA' (i.e. 'students in research') programme of the Research Promotion Foundation in Cyprus. The student-researchers investigated the extent to which upper secondary education students were attending private lessons, how much they paid and how many hours they were spending every week attending these lessons (Louca et al., 2012). They found that almost all of the students attended private lessons (see Table 1).

Table 1. Duration of private lessons per week received by a sample of upper secondary students, Cyprus, 2012

Hours per week	*% of respondents*
0-1	2.3
1-4	10.2
5-8	56.8
9 or more	30.7

Source: Kyriakidou (2012)

The researchers also found a significant cost associated with the private tuition industry. They estimated the average cost per student per month in Cyprus to be around €200 (see Table 2), or else, around €1,800 per year (assuming an academic year of nine months and holidays of three months per calendar year). Unfortunately, the researchers did not provide information whether this cost increases during the long summer breaks when students have plenty of free time to invest on additional educational activities.

Table 2. Monthly cost per student for private tutoring during the academic year

Range of cost	*% of respondents*
€0 - €100	5.9
€101 - €150	2.3
€151 - €200	36.4
€200 or more	55.7

Source: Kyriakidou (2012)

Nevertheless, the sample of that study was not representative of all students in Cyprus. A large and representative sample was probably not within the aims of their study, because the student-researchers would not have had the resources to complete it. Therefore, it is not clear how the cost reported by Kyriakidou (2012) compares with a recent report cited by Bray (2011, p. 46), where it was estimated that the parents in Cyprus spent around €111 million in 2008 on private tuition. The official figures indicated that approximately €30 million was spent by primary education pupils and €80 million by secondary education students. Bray remarks that these household expenditures represent approximately 17% of government expenditures on primary and secondary education. A question remains, of course: can all households afford to spend such large amounts of money just to buy private tuition services for their children? The parents of the middle class could have the discretion to choose the best and consequently the most expensive teachers for their children and afford to pay them, whereas for households with lower incomes this expenditure would be unbearable. In addition to that, there has to be an available 'chauffeur' (see Vryonides & Zembylas, 2008) to drive children from one tuition institution to the other, given that public transport in Cyprus is near to non-existing.

Furthermore, the perceived need to buy private tuition services creates the notion that public schools do not offer knowledge to an adequate level. The fact that much education happens outside schools could stand as an obstacle to the efforts of the MoEC to develop its own agenda and to implement a culture of equity in learning opportunities. In addition to that, a further perception that is probably deeply rooted in the minds of the Cypriot parents is driven by the need for upward social mobility. The majority of Cypriots believe that education leads to

the improvement of the social status of their children (Education Reform Committee, 2004) and guarantees them increased employment opportunities. It has been shown that upward social mobility can routinely happen through education and the relationship between social mobility and education has been investigated by many researchers (see, for example, Vryonides & Lamprianou, 2013).

The *frontistiria* industry has been gradually structured in a complex, and often counter-intuitive way. We have already distinguished between the legally registered privately-owned *frontistiria*, the illegal ones, and the state-controlled. According to Esos.gr there are 300 privately-owned *frontistiria*, which are registered at the MoEC (Esos.gr, 2012). Around half of them are members of a not-for-profit body, a kind of association of privately-owned *frontistiria* (http://www.sifk.org.cy). The association of privately-owned *frontistiria* (SIFK) has been one of the major stakeholders in the battle against the illegal privately-owned *frontistiria*. A cynical perspective might be that SIFK worries because the illegal *frontistiria* absorb a very large proportion of their potential income. However, according to SIFK (personal communication with the Chairman of the Board), the battle against the illegal institutions has several dimensions which are related to the safety of the students who may attend lessons in inappropriate buildings. The SIFK also raises issues of the quality of teaching because the illegal institutions may not comply with the law and are not inspected by the MoEC.

Because of the prevalence of privately-owned shadow education, a mounting pressure on the government led to the establishment of the state-controlled, public private tutoring institutions which are officially called 'Government Training Institutes' (GTI). Although they are not always perceived as direct competitors of the private institutions, they offer the opportunity to the families to buy private tuition for their children at lower prices (Esos.gr, 2012). The GTI were established in 1960 as Institutes for Foreign Language Learning and they are today run under the auspices (and effective control) of the Secondary Education Department of MoEC (Education Reform Committee, 2004). Nowadays, they provide an opportunity for private tuition for the lower income households, since their fees are low (around €200 to €300 annually) and they also provide lessons free of charge for poor and very able students. It may be argued that the government's reaction to set up its own *frontistiria* is a practical confession that shadow education cannot be battled to extinction. Instead of leading the families outside the mind-frame of private tutoring, the MoEC became an active player, in effect, institutionalising and validating the shadow education industry.

The web page of SIFK presents a summary of the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the SIFK which took place in 2010. The minutes of the meeting explain that the SIFK had won a legal battle at the Commission for the Protection of Competition against the state-controlled institutions which was later overthrown. The SIFK was, at the time, considering whether they should take their case to the Supreme Court. At the moment, according to the minutes of the meeting, the state-controlled institutes are the biggest headache of the SIFK. It seems that, the SIFK considers the state-controlled *frontistiria* to be direct competitors, although in principle they target a different segment of the market.

All in all, the situation today regarding the private supplementary education in Cyprus is rather complex. There are educational as well as political, social and financial aspects of the issue. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the social and financial aspects.

METHODOLOGY

Samples and Instruments

For the purposes of this study, we used three datasets from the Cyprus Statistical Service (CSS). The first dataset is the 2009 Cyprus Household Budget Survey (CyHBS2009) which covered around 2,700 households across Cyprus (approximately 1% of the population of households). More information regarding this survey may be found in Cyprus Statistical Service (2011). This is the tenth round of a series of surveys (the first was conducted in 1966) which investigated the spending habits and incomes of the households. One of the spending categories in the 2009 survey was private tuition. This dataset has never been used to produce research regarding private tuition in Cyprus, so we consider this to be one of the original contributions of our study.

One of the advantages of the CyHBS2009 dataset is that the sampling procedure, the design of the instruments, the data collection and validation process were carried out under the strict quality controls of the CSS. For the purposes of our study, we filtered out all the data regarding households which did not include children in the age range 6 to 18 (inclusive). The remaining dataset consisted of 815 households (approximately 0.3% of the population of households of the island).

In addition to the dataset of the tenth round of data collection (i.e. CyHBS2009), we analysed the dataset of the ninth round of data collection (i.e. CyHBS2003). The structure of the dataset was very similar. The sample consists of 2990 households, around 1.3% of the total population of households at the time. After filtering out all the households which did not include children at the age range of 6-18 years, 1,141 households remained in the sample.

The third dataset consists of aggregated data on 'non-formal education' (this is the term used by the CSS, which in fact means institutions which provide private tutoring). The dataset includes information for all the academic years in the time range 2000/2001 to 2009/2010 (we will henceforth call this dataset Aggregates00/10). Every year, the CSS collects data from all private tuition institutions which are registered at the Ministry of Education and Culture and operate legally. This dataset is probably biased because a very large percentage of the private tuition institutions is said to be operating illegally (they are not registered, therefore, they are not included in this dataset).

The information from the Aggregates00/10 dataset gives a measure of the legal private tuition sector of the economy. Contrasting this to the information collected from other sources can give us a measure of the illegal/underground private tuition industry. The Aggregates00/10 dataset consists of yearly tabulated data which

describe the number of 'clients' (i.e. persons) who are registered for different subjects (e.g. English, Maths, Physics, Dance) at private or state-controlled private tuition institutions for different levels of education.

One of the aims of this study was to measure the extent of the phenomenon of illegal private tutoring in Cyprus. The investigation of such a sensitive issue was very difficult. It would not be reasonable to ask the private tutors whether they illegally provided private lessons, because we would expect them to give a negative answer. Similarly, it would be very difficult to ask this question to the parents or the students, because they would probably not want to acknowledge their participation to an illegal activity. We cannot also exclude the fact that parents and students may not (always) know whether their private tutor is lawfully registered or whether they attend classes at an illegal institution. As a result, our only way to estimate the extent of illegal/underground private tuition industry was to follow an indirect method. Our approach was to compare the official statistics provided by the CSS regarding the number of registrations for private lessons to the number of households which acknowledged paying fees for private lessons (through the CSS household surveys). We accept that this is an indirect and imprecise measure of the phenomenon, but it was our only possibility.

Analyses

This study had two dependent variables. The first dependent variable was the expenditure of a household for private tuition as a percentage of the total expenditure of the household. Because of the highly skewed distribution of the dependent variable, Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test was used instead of the classical analysis of variance in order to compare differences between groups of households (e.g. to investigate differences between different regions of the island). For the same reason, we decided to report the median expenditure for groups of households in addition to the means and the standard deviations. The discrepancy between the mean and the median can give an indication of the effects of the long tails of the distribution on the mean expenditure.

The second dependent variable was created by dichotomising the first dependent variable. This variable was coded as 1 if a household paid any amount of money for private tuition and 0 otherwise. The decision to dichotomise the dependent variable was a difficult one because there is a robust body of methodological literature explaining the disadvantages of such a practice (MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002; Streiner, 2002). Dichotomisation often leads to reduced power, loss of information and increased probability of a Type II error. However, there are also advantages and, sometimes, dichotomising a continuous variable might be acceptable. For example, Streiner (2002) suggests that '… dichotomizing continuous variable is justified only when the distribution of this variable is highly skewed or its relation with another variable is non-linear' (p. 262). In our case, the distribution of the dependent variable was greatly skewed to the right, with an inflation of zeros and a floor effect (only positive values are allowed). In addition to this, we have no reasons to believe that the relationship

with other variables in the study should be linear. After investigating transformations and other alternative models, we decided that the option of dichotomisation would be the most appropriate.

The purpose of the logistic regression was to describe the profile of the households which were less likely to engage in the private tutoring industry. We considered this model to be statistically appropriate for our data (see Gelman & Hill, 2007) and theoretically important because it focuses directly on the decision of the household to engage in the specific form of economic activity. Our hypothesis was that households with very low income would hesitate to engage in this type of expenditure at all. However, we could not formulate a hypothesis regarding the relationship between the education of the parents and the likelihood of the household to spend money on private tuition. Interestingly, because of the financial crisis, we would expect to see some differences between the 2003 and 2009 CSS datasets. For example, we would expect to see the effect of income to be larger in the 2009 dataset compared to the 2003 dataset. Unfortunately, at the time when we were writing this paper, some very important background variables of the households were not available for the 2003 dataset, therefore, we do not present regression models for the 2003 dataset.

For purposes of statistical modelling, we considered a large number of predictors but we chose to use only those which were theoretically most relevant. We considered the following independent variables:

- total household income: we used this variable as a continuous one but we also used it as a categorical variable indicating if the household's income was (a) in the lower 25%, (b) in the middle 50% or (c) in the top 25%;
- highest educational degree in the household (either by the father or the mother): this ordered categorical variable could take three values: (a) Lyceum (upper secondary education) not completed, (b) University degree not obtained, (c) University degree (or a postgraduate degree) obtained;
- district: the five administrative (geographic) districts of the island. The economy and geography of different districts can potentially be responsible for differences in the way the households are involved with the private tuition. They differ in size, but also some are touristic, some are more mountainous, some are more urban etc. More discussion on this follows, during the presentation of the results;
- the proportion of children in the household;
- the number of children in the household in primary education. This variable was dichotomised for a specific model (see note in the Analysis section);
- the number of children in the household in secondary education (upper and lower). This variable was dichotomised for a specific model (see note in the Analysis section).
- Urban/rural: a dichotomous variable indicating if the household is in an urban or a rural area.

We also decided to dichotomise other variables (e.g. the number of children in the household). For example, for the variable ‘number of children in the household’,

we only included in the sample those households which had at least one child in education. Since most families in Cyprus have one or two children, essentially the data was split in two categories (those who had one or those who had more than one child). In addition to this, the variable 'total household income' was split into three categories only after a lot of consideration and experimentation with the data and because it was highly skewed and non-linearly related to the other variables.

For the analysis of the data we used the open-source R software (R Development Core Team, 2012). We fitted logistic regression models on the secondary education data and on the primary education data separately. We also fitted separate models for the private and public institutions. In each case, we started from a full model where we included all the independent variables mentioned above. Judging by the significance levels of each variable (and taking theoretical issues into consideration) we gradually simplified the models so that they would be more parsimonious. Arguably, the inclusion of many variables in regression models can potentially make them less parsimonious if we use more predictors while we could achieve similar results with a less complex model. Decades ago, Box & Jenkins (1976, p. 17) formulated the principle of parsimony and described it as the use of the 'smallest possible number of parameters for adequate representation' of the data. Also, Hansen & Yu (2001) suggested that 'the principle of parsimony … motivates the process of data analysis and statistical modelling and is the soul of model selection' (p. 746). In order to facilitate the theoretical explanation of our models, we aimed to make them as simple as justifiably possible, but not any simpler.

RESULTS

The results are presented in three sections, according to the research questions. The first section presents an investigation of the extent of the phenomenon of private tuition regarding the number of students involved. The second section investigates the financial aspect of the phenomenon. The third section investigates the relationship between private tuition and various socio-demographic variables.

The Extent of Private Tuition in Cyprus

We restricted the CyHBS2009 sample to 815 households with children at the age range 6 to 18. We also restricted the CyHBS2003 sample to 1088 households with children at the age range 6 to 18. The rest of the analysis concerns only these households.

For the 2009 dataset, 549 households had children in the age range 12+ to 18 and 479 households had children in the age range 6+ to 12 (some households had children in both age ranges). Overall, 656 out of 815 households (approximately 80%), declared that they were paying money for private tuition services for their children.

For the 2003 dataset, 807 out of 1088 households (approximately 74%), declared that they were paying for private tuition for their children. The difference

between the 2003 and 2009 samples regarding the proportion of households paying for private tuition was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=10.464$, $p<0.001$) suggesting that the observed increase in 2009 was most likely not a result of sampling variation.

The percentage of households paying for private tuition in 2009 was approximately 69% for the primary education and 82% for the secondary education. The corresponding percentages for the 2003 dataset were approximately 58% and 77%. This shows that there was an increase to the percentage of families paying for private tuition for both levels of education (primary and secondary).

Using the Aggregates00/10 dataset, we computed the aggregated number of primary and secondary school registrations for private lessons for each year, from the academic year 2000/2001 to 2010/2011. It is important to clarify here that the Aggregates00/10 dataset provides information regarding the number of registrations for private lessons; it does not refer to the number of different individual students attending those lessons. Since a student may attend more than one subject (e.g. private lessons for Mathematics and Modern Greek), the actual number of individual students must surely be much smaller than the number of registrations reported by the Aggregates00/10 dataset.

For each level of education, it was possible to distinguish between private and public institutions. According to Figure 1, the number of registrations for secondary education was around twice as large as the number of registrations for primary education. Moreover, during the last 11 years, there was a mild overall trend of decline to the number of registrations for private tuition. This decline was much more visible for the primary education rather than for the secondary education. Interestingly, although the overall number of registrations was in a steady decline, the public (state-controlled) institutions increased their clientele (the number of registrations). In both primary and secondary education, most of the students attended private tutoring classes in privately owned institutions, although the number of students attending classes at public (state-controlled) institutions was on the rise. This trend was much more obvious in the secondary education rather than in the primary education.

Arguably, the numbers illustrated in Figure 1 might be misleading because of four factors: (a) as we explained before, Figure 1 illustrates the number of registrations whereas we would like to get an estimate of the number of distinct individuals who attend private tutoring (the latter could be as small as the half of the number of registrations), (b) the number of students in education (in effect, the size of the pool of potential 'clients' for private tutoring) has not been constant in the last decade, (c) some of the legally registered privately-owned institutions may have reported smaller numbers of students for a number of reasons (e.g. by mistake or for purposes of tax-evasion), and (d) the CSS does not report the numbers of students who attended private tuition classes at illegal, not registered, institutions.

Within the present study we cannot solve the issues raised by points (c) and (d) in the previous paragraph, but we can rectify for issue (b) and partly for issue (a). According to the Statistical Service (2011), the number of all registered students in Cyprus at the level of primary education for the academic year 2000/01 was around

63,000 (for all six classes of primary education) and this gradually dropped to around 54,000 for the academic year 2009/10. The total number of registered students at all six grades of secondary education in the same period remained relatively constant at around 64,000.

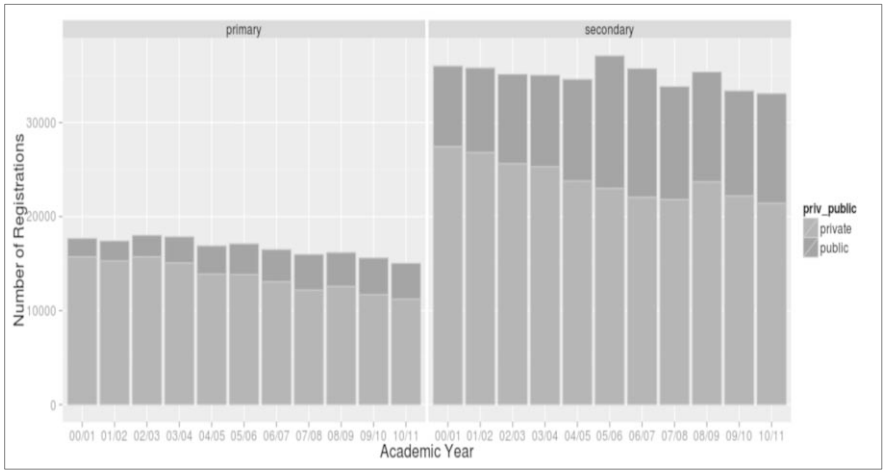

Figure 1. Number of registrations in private and public frontistiria (2000-2011)

Combining the detailed information about the total number of students in Cyprus (see Statistical Service, 2011, summary table VI, pp. 45-49) and the information from Figure 1, we constructed Figure 2 which demonstrates the 'official' percentage of students in Cyprus who attended private tutoring. We call this percentage 'official' because it is based on official numbers published by governmental organisations (although they may not be accurate as we explained above). It is very important to mention that this graph still needs to be corrected for the fact that the Aggregates00/10 dataset provides us with the number of registrations instead of the number of individuals who attend private lessons. So, Figure 2 presents the 'official' upper bound (and a very liberal one) of the percentage of students who attend private tuition. In other words, Figure 2 is built on the assumption that each student is only registered for one subject, but we know that this is not the case.

The liberal 'official' percentage of students attending private tutoring (see Figure 2) was much smaller for primary vs secondary education. Interestingly, for both levels of education, the percentage of students having private tutoring according to the 'official' statistics was much smaller compared to the statistics of any other survey-based published research. For example, according to the CyHBS2003 dataset, the percentage of the households paying for private tutoring in 2003 was 58% for primary education and 77% for secondary education whereas

the upper bound of the corresponding 'official' statistics from the Aggregates00/10 dataset were approximately 29% and 54%. According to the CyHBS2009 dataset, the percentage of the households paying for private tutoring in 2009 was 69% for primary education and 82% for secondary education whereas the upper bound of the corresponding 'official' statistics was much lower. Moreover, according to the data from Lazarou's 2004/05 nutrition study,[1] 94% of the primary school pupils attended one hour of private lessons or more. The upper bound of the corresponding 'official' statistic for the primary education for the academic year 2004/05 was approximately 28%.

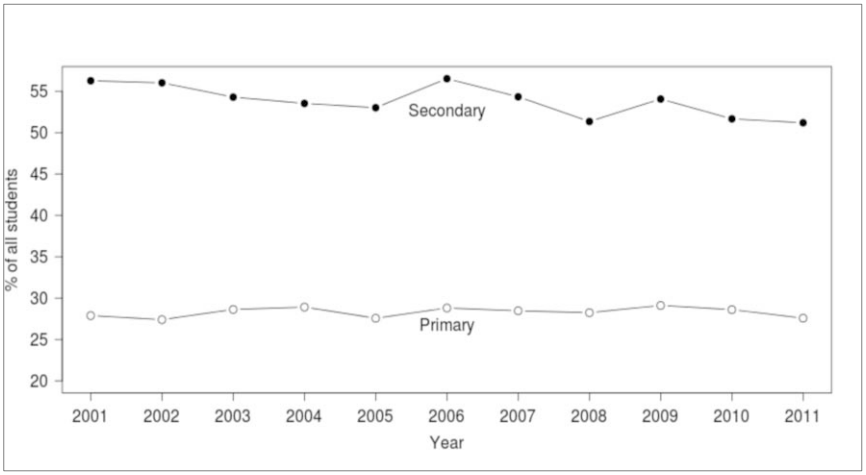

Figure 2. The official number of students attending private tuition classes in Cyprus, as a percentage of the total population of students registered at Primary and Secondary education (an upper bound) (2000-2011)

In brief, this section could be summarised as follows:

- most students attend private tutoring classes in the afternoon;
- the 'official' statistics show a steady declining trend whereas the survey statistics show an increase;
- we have reasons to believe that the 'official' statistics are unreliable and that they heavily underestimate the extent of the phenomenon of private tuition;
- as a result of the above, we infer that the illegal (unregistered) institutions enjoy the lion's share of the private tuition 'market';
- the number of students attending private tutoring classes in state-controlled institutions is on the rise, so the state supports a growing afternoon education system which is not part of the official curriculum;
- although we accept that the state-controlled private lessons 'industry' is indeed large, we believe that the actual numbers we found here are severely inflated. We have reasons to believe that this is caused by the unreliable information

provided by the owners of the private institutions (e.g. they may report declining numbers for tax-evasion purposes);
– the fact that different sources of information (i.e. different datasets) give a slightly different picture of the phenomenon can probably cause some confusion among the researchers and the educationalists.

The Financial Aspect of the Private Tutoring Industry

The financial cost is an interesting dimension of the phenomenon of private tutoring. According to the 2009 dataset, the average annual spending per household was €1,488 (SD=€1,662) with a median expenditure of €972. The average annual per-child expenditure in 2009 was around €895 with a median of €620. It is interesting to observe that there were families with very large per-child costs (one household, for example, had an annual per-child cost of around €5,500). According to the 2003 dataset, the average annual spending per household was €937 and the median was €605. The average per-child expenditure in 2003 was around €320 with a median of €200.

However, the reader must keep in mind that measuring expenditure across time in absolute monetary units is not ideal. Cyprus joined the Euro zone in 2004, so the 2003 survey measured expenditure in Cypriot Pounds. The 2009 survey measured the expenditure in Euros. The amounts mentioned in the 2003 survey were converted to Euros using the official exchange rate between pounds and Euros. Still, the 2003 expenditure amounts have not been adjusted for inflation. Cumulative inflation (i.e. inflation measured as average consumer prices increase) in Cyprus for the period 2003 to 2009 (including) was around 20% (this is probably an upper bound). The expenditure for private tuition as a percentage of the total expenditure of the household is a much more comparable statistic across seven years (from 2003 to 2009). Therefore, in the next paragraphs we will mostly use the variable of expenditure as a percentage of the total expenditure of the household rather than the expenditure of each household in absolute monetary units.

On average, the private tuition expenditure for 2009 represented 2.59% of the total expenditure of the households (this includes all expenses including non-consumption expenses such as loan repayments, investments, etc.) but for 2003 this statistic was 2.19%. The median percentage of expenditure in 2009 was 1.62% (in 2003 it was 1.30%). The maximum observed percentage of expenditure in 2009 was around 17.7% (in 2003 it was 16.87%). We observe a general increase of the expenditure for private tuition as a percentage of the total expenditure from 2003 to 2009.

For primary education, the average cost per household in 2009 was €622 (in 2003 it was €295) whereas the median cost was €432 (in 2003 it was €218). The average percentage of expenditure in 2009 was 1.06% and the median was 0.65% (for 2003 these statistics were 0.71% and 0.44%). For the secondary education, the average cost per household was €1,599 (in 2003 it was €1,138) whereas the median cost was €1,200 (in 2003 it was €841). The average percentage of expenditure in

2009 was 2.69% and the median was 1.93% (these statistics for 2003 were 2.63% and 1.82% respectively).

Excluding the households that did not spend money for private tutoring at all, the average expenditure for the rest of the households (as a percentage of their total expenditure) was 2.96% in 2003 and 3.12% in 2009. However, we have reasons to believe that these surveys underestimate the actual total cost on households for private tuition because they only measure the amounts paid for fees. They do not measure other associated expenses, such as travelling costs, the cost of purchasing related educational material etc. Assuming that the households were honest in giving information regarding their expenditure for private tuition fees, the amounts (and percentages) reported here must be a lower bound of the actual total expenditure because of private tuition.

In summary,

- the households report a non-negligible expenditure on private tuition. This is a private expenditure which complements the funds already spent by the government for public education;
- the households spend more money for private tuition in secondary education compared to primary education but this is not surprising because secondary education students generally prepare for high-stakes examinations;
- we have reasons to believe that we underestimate the actual total cost on households for private tuition because we only measure the expenses of the fees. We do not include in this study the related expenses for travelling, for purchases of educational material and books and the like;
- no reduction to the expenditure for private lessons was observed in the last seven years (from 2003 to 2009). On the contrary, we observed some increase as a percentage of total expenditure suggesting that the financial crisis had not yet affected the market of private tutoring negatively. It is possible that there was a reverse effect where some parents may have turned to more education to give to their children a competitive advantage over the other children.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Private Tuition

As it was explained in the Methodology section, we dichotomised the dependent variable of private tuition expenditure by setting the value '0' for households which spent no money on private tuition and the value '1' for households which spent money for private tuition. The relationship between this dichotomised dependent variable and other socio-demographic independent variables were subsequently investigated for the 2009 dataset.

Table 3 presents the results of the logistic regression models. We found that for the 2009 secondary education data, the variables (a) highest academic qualification of the parents, (b) proportion of boys in the household, (c) the total number of children in the household, (d) the total income of the household were not statistically significant predictors of whether the household paid money for private tutoring. This finding contradicted our expectations; we expected income and education to be decisive determinants of whether the

households would pay money for private tuition. In effect, the results of the logistic regression for the secondary 2009 dataset suggest that the households in two small districts appear to be more or less likely to engage into private tuition although we do not have an explanation for this (this is not an effect of education or income). Also, households which have more than one child in secondary education are more likely to be engaged in private tutoring, probably because the more children a family has, the more likely that a child will need some form of remedial or 'pre-emptive' tutoring.

The results for the 2009 primary education data (see the last line of Table 3) were also contradicting our own expectations to some degree. The highest educational qualification of the household was not a good predictor of whether a household would pay for private tuition. Some districts were more or less likely than Nicosia to have households paying for private tuition. More children in the household registered in primary education also meant that the household was more likely to pay for private tuition. However, households at the top 25% of the income hierarchy were also more likely to pay for private tuition compared to poorer households. More specifically, households at the top 25% of the income variable were approximately 85% more likely to pay (rather than not to pay) for private tuition compared to the households belonging to the low 25% of the income variable.

However, in order to make the results more visual, we created Figure 3 which illustrates the median expenditure (as a percentage of the total expenditure) for each district, and for each income group within each district. The districts are numbered from 1 to 6 (code '2' is not included in the data). It is visible that there is a considerable variation between districts (as it was shown by the Kruskal-Wallis rank sum tests below) but there is also some variation between income groups within districts.

The mean percentage of expenditure ranges from 0.99% for the smallest district (N=50, SD=1.10%) to 4.18% for the second smallest district (N=88, SD=3.67%). The other three districts ranged from 2.25% (N=160, SD=2.25%), to 2.37% (N=218, SD=2.71%) and 2.51% (N=299, SD=2.92%). A Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test gave statistically significant results ($\chi^2(4)=40.165$, $p<0.001$) suggesting that the large differences between the geographic regions were most likely not observed by chance.

Similar variations in spending for private tutoring as a percentage of the total spending of a household were observed in 2003 the smallest district also had the smallest spending (N=69, Mean=1.08%, SD=1.62%) and the second smallest district had the highest spending (N=98, Mean=2.90%, SD=3.30%). A Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test gave statistically significant results ($\chi^2(4)=20.723$, $p<0.001$) suggesting that the large differences between the geographic regions were most likely not observed by chance.

Table 3. Logistic regression models predicting whether households were paying money for private tuition (for the 2009 dataset)

			District				*Income*		*Residual Deviance*	*DF*
Dataset	intercept	Children (dummy)	D3	D4	D5	D6	Middle 50%	Top 25%		
Secondary education	1.02 (0.18)***	1.15 (0.31)***	-0.51 (0.44)	0.65 (0.33)*	0.30 (0.29)	0.91 (0.46)*	–	–	488.09	543
Primary education	0.31 (0.27)	1.56 (0.29)***	-0.80 (0.42)	-0.64 (0.29)*	-0.17 (0.28)	0.20 (0.38)	0.40 (0.25)	0.62 (0.30)*	541.90	471

Notes:
1. For the categorical District variable, the category 'Nicosia' (the capital of the island and the largest city) is not included in the table because it was modelled as the reference category.
2. The variable 'Children' is a dummy variable where '1' means that the household has more than one child in secondary education.
3. For the categorical variable 'Income', the category 'Low 25%' is not included in the table because it was modelled as the reference category.
4. *** means $p<0.001$; ** means $p<0.01$; * means $p<0.05$
5. For the model regarding secondary education, pseudo-R^2=0.10
6. For the model regarding primary education, pseudo-R^2=0.12

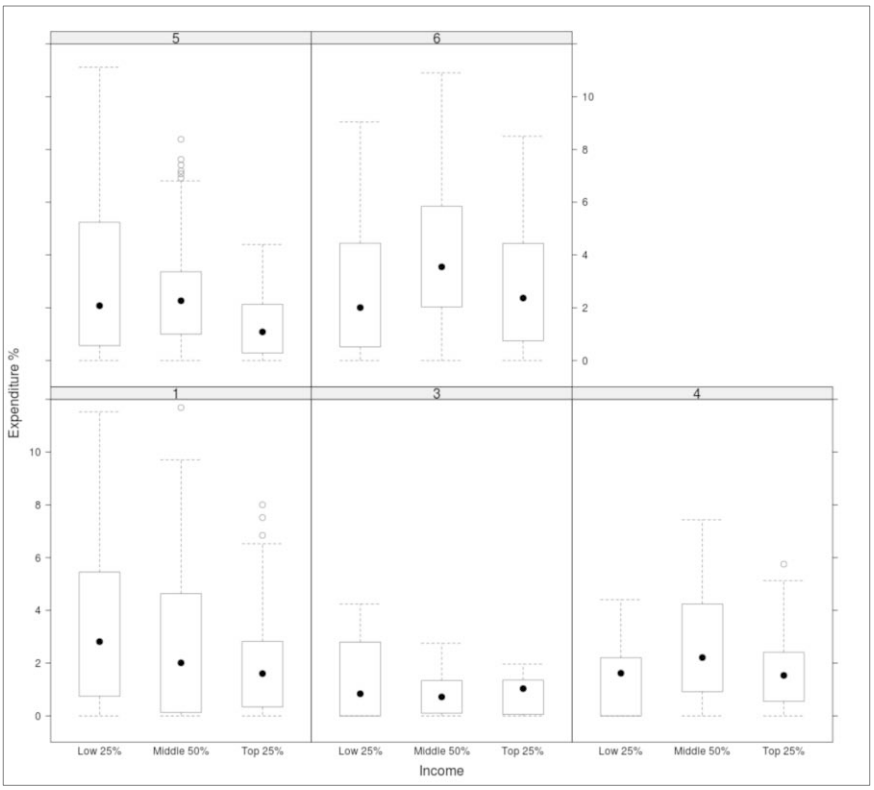

Figure 3. Boxplots of the expenditure of the households as a percentage of their total expenditure, per district and per income group (for the 2009 secondary education dataset)

According to the 2009 secondary dataset, more well-off families invested a larger percentage of their expenditure on private tutoring if they had more than one child in secondary education (Figure 4). Less affluent families were not investing a larger proportion of their expenditure on private tutoring if they had more children in education. It seems that the amounts they could spend on private tutoring were restricted, whereas more affluent families had a larger leeway to invest proportionately more money.

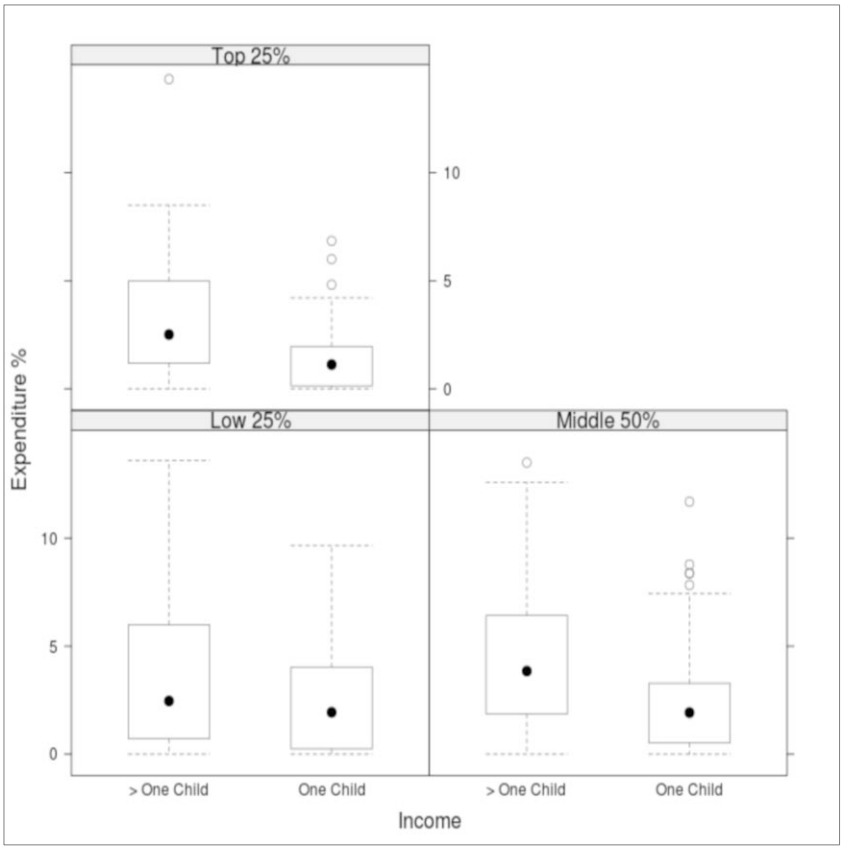

Figure 4. Boxplots of the expenditure of the households as a percentage of their total expenditure, per income group and according to whether they have one or more than one child in education (for the 2009 secondary education dataset)

Finally, we investigated whether there was a relationship between the income of the households and whether the households paid for tuition in private or public institutes (public institutes are normally much cheaper than private ones). Table 4 illustrates data from the 2009 secondary education dataset. The results suggest that the households belonging to the lower quartile of the income variable are more likely not to pay for private tuition at all. However, if these households decide to get involved in the private tuition industry, they do not settle for the public institutes (0% of these households pay for public institutes) but their children will most likely attend private institutes.

Table 4. The percentage of households from different income backgrounds which pay for private tuition services for different types of private tuition (secondary education)

	Income		
	Lower 25%	*Middle 50%*	*Upper 25%*
No private tuition	35.7%	15.1%	21.2%
Private institutes only	57.1%	71.5%	68.2%
Private & Public institutes	7.1%	9.2%	9.1%
Only Public institutes	0.0%	4.2%	1.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: $x^2(6)=17.346$, $p<0.01$

In this section we investigated the relationship between private tuition and various socio-demographic variables. The major findings were:

- the income and the education of the household do not affect the likelihood of a household to pay for private tuition in secondary education;
- in primary education, richer households are more likely to pay for private tuition;
- the percentage of expenditure for private tuition does not increase for poorer households if they have more than one child in secondary education. However, richer households increase their percentage of expenditure if they have more children in secondary education (they can mobilise more resources to cover the perceived needs of all their children for private tuition)
- poorer households are more likely not to engage to private tuition compared to richer households, but if they decide to pay for private tuition, they prefer the private to the public institutes.

DISCUSSION

Cyprus and Greece have been characterised as countries with large per household expenditures for private tutoring (Bray, 2011). Cyprus and Greece are very similar countries, in the sense that their people speak the same language, they have the same religion, the society has a similar structure and they are situated in the same part of Europe. The Gini coefficient for Cyprus was 29 and that of Greece was 33 in 2005, so Cyprus is only slightly a more equal place as far as income is concerned. Their educational systems have many common characteristics. For example, they teach similar subjects using the same language and often using the same books. Another common characteristic of the educational system is the extremely high-stakes nature of university-entrance examinations. This culture of high-stakes examinations routinely leads the students to attend private tuition classes (see Lamprianou, 2012; Mpampiniotis, 2010).

Sianou-Kyrgiou (2008) has reported some very interesting findings regarding the private tuition phenomenon in Greece and its relationship to background (socio-economic) variables:

> … there is a close relationship between parents' socio-economic state and the form of out-of-school support [i.e. private tuition] … High social class parents increase the possibilities of their children's turn to the out-of-school support and especially to the most expensive and effective forms of it … It has become a means for high social class parents to help their children face competition and ensure the reproduction of their social privileges … in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the Greek students attend public lyceums, the out-of-school support has led to the commercialisation of education and the public character of education tends to be dismissed. (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2008, p. 173)

Our own results do not agree with Sianou-Kyrgiou's findings. Neither income nor the education of the parents seemed to be related to the decision of the households to enter the private tuition market. Especially in secondary education, even the poorest families make sure that their children will have some form of private tutoring so that they will not be disadvantaged compared to the children of the more affluent families. We also found that the households spent much more money on private tutoring in secondary education (compared to the amounts they spend in primary education). We found this reasonable, in the sense that we would expect the households to invest most of their money at a later stage of education, when the pressure for performance on high-stakes examinations mounts (see Mpampiniotis, 2010). Households from different districts were more or less likely to engage into private tuition, however, we do not have an explanation at this stage as to why this happens. It is likely that different areas may have a slightly different culture regarding the competition or the urge for investment on booster lessons for their children. However, being a rural or an urban household does not seem to be a decisive factor of whether a household will pay money for private tuition. Education and income do not seem to be related to these differences between the districts as well. Unfortunately we do not have enough evidence to investigate why districts indeed differ.

According to Sianou-Kyrgiou (2008), the households will try to keep up with the competition by offering more affordable solutions to their children for access to private tutoring. We found, in our secondary education data, that the households will not refrain from engaging in private tutoring even if their income belongs to the lowest quartile of the distribution. In fact, as we saw in Table 4, if they decide to get engaged in private tutoring, they will not hesitate to look for an expensive solution, avoiding the public institutes (which are normally cheaper and often less prestigious), and will tend to register for the private institutes. It is true, however, that according to Table 4, the poorer households tend to cluster a little bit more in the category 'No private tuition' but this is only a bivariate association between the two variables. In the logistic regression where other variables are controlled for, the poorer households do not seem to be less engaged in private tutoring.

It is interesting to discuss the decision of the state in Cyprus to offer its own version of private tutoring institutes. The decision to launch the state-controlled and state-subsidised private tuition institutes was meant to accommodate for the needs of the poorest families and to support them in the competition for more education (see Education Reform Committee, 2004). However, it seems that the poorer households do not take advantage of this opportunity. It is likely that while the urge for upwards social mobility through education is mounting, the poorest households will try to channel more money in private tutoring as a form of investment which will later increase the opportunities for better employment and high returns. This, however, and the fact that the education of the parents does not affect the decision of the households to invest money on private tutoring, is an excellent counter-argument against theories which predict that low socio-economic status families cannot support their children adequately in their struggle to upwards mobility (for a related discussion, see Vryonides & Lamprianou, 2013). It seems that in the context of secondary education in Cyprus, the struggle of families to keep up with the competition does not seem to comply with mainstream theories of social reproduction.

Apparently, the low-income households need to spend a higher proportion of their income in order to keep up with competition. Figure 3 suggests that there is no common pattern between geographical districts. However, in Nicosia (panel 1 in Figure 3), which is the capital and the largest district of Cyprus with around 40% of the total population, low-income households channel a much larger percentage of their total expenditure towards private tuition compared to high-income households. However, the spread of the expenditure is as interesting as the median expenditure. In Nicosia, the interquartile range of expenditure is much larger than that of other districts which implies that even within the low-income households, significant differences may exist.

However, in the case of primary education, richer households are 85% more likely to pay rather not pay for private tuition compared to households which belong to the lower quartile of the income variable. We infer that in a low-stakes environment, the poorer households will probably hold back, to reserve their spending capacity for a later stage where the need for private tuition will be more pressing. This is consistent with a prudent strategy where lower income households will channel their spending power towards the situation where they can achieve the maximum impact. Figure 4 is very indicative of the situation where the percentage of expenditure of the poorer households does not increase if they have more than one child in secondary education (they allocate all their available resources whether they have one or more children in secondary education). On the contrary, the middle and the high income households double their percentage of expenditure if they have more than one child in secondary education. This happens because they can afford to mobilise more resources while their number of children in secondary education increases.

It is interesting to observe that no reduction to the expenditure for private tutoring was observed in the last seven years (from 2003 to 2009) according to the survey data we analysed. On the contrary, we observed some increase as a

percentage of the total expenditure of the households and this suggests that the financial crisis has not affected the market of private tutoring negatively. It has been argued that in the case of financial crisis and unemployment, people turn to education to improve their skills and upgrade their employability. In the case of our study, it is possible that some households may have turned to more education to give to their children a competitive advantage over the other children and to increase their employability.

Heyneman (2011) summarised the arguments in favour and against private tuition and suggested that there are ways to turn this phenomenon to the benefit of the society. In this paper, we considered a situation where the private tutoring industry is a coin with two sides: it has a legal and (probably) helpful side and an illegal and under-ground side. The existing body of published research has not, as far as we know, investigated this side of the coin until now. We do not know exactly the size of this illegal industry (although we attempted a rough estimate) and we also do not know what its impact on public education is. In a European democracy where education is expected to be free for all, and a source of social justice and participation, the role of private tutoring is questionable and needs to be publicly discussed by educationalists, politicians and parents.

In Cyprus, we experience a local paradox where the state officially declares war on private tuition and at the same time brands and promotes its own version of the industry. The state has even lost the case of fair competition against the association of private *frontistiria*, although the decision was overruled later. Leaving the legal aspect of the problem aside, there is a clear conflicting message to the families and to the students. The state itself has been locked in a situation where it fights its own initiative to offer supplementary tutoring. At the same time, the parents receive conflicting messages regarding the usefulness or the necessity of private tuition.

Having said all the above, it is interesting to observe that the international literature has not investigated satisfactorily the net effect of private tuition on the chances of students to enter university education through high-stakes examinations. We would like to see more research on this issue. If private tutoring does not have a substantial net effect on the chances of students to enter university or if it does not offer any other substantial advantages, the parents and the students have the right to be informed. If, however, new research actually shows that the impact of private tuition can be substantial, it is likely that the battle for more and better (and more expensive) private tutoring may intensify.

NOTES

[1] The island of Cyprus gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1960 and the Republic of Cyprus was subsequently established with constitutional guarantees by the Greek Cypriot majority to the Turkish Cypriot minority. In 1974, Turkey invaded the island and today Turkish troops control almost 40% of it. The Turkey-controlled part of the island declared itself the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' but is only recognised by Turkey. Today the Republic of Cyprus (legally representing the whole island but having effective security control only over 60% of it) is a member of the European Union and the Euro zone. The Turkish-controlled part of the island and the Republic of Cyprus do not have official diplomatic or other relationships. They maintain totally

separate education systems. This chapter only refers to the 60% of the island which is under the direct control of the Republic of Cyprus.

[2] This dataset was collected to serve the aim of nutrition studies (see Lazarou & Soteriades, 2010; Lazarou, Panagiotakos, Panayiotou, & Matalas, 2008; Lazarou, Panagiotakos, Kouta, & Matalas, 2009; Lazarou, Panagiotakos, Spanoudis, & Matalas, 2011) but contains information which is directly related to our study.

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SARAH HARTMANN

4. EDUCATION 'HOME DELIVERY' IN EGYPT

Private Tutoring and Social Stratification[1]

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the relationship between private tutoring in the pre-university education sector and social class dynamics in Egypt. During the last three decades, tutoring has become an integral feature of the Egyptian education system. Students across all social strata participate in private and group lessons at home, larger study groups, and revision classes with 'star teachers' in tutoring centres. Despite growing disparities in lifestyle, schooling experiences, and opportunities, students' choice of tutors and different forms of tutoring usually follow a common logic. I argue that, while unequal access to tutoring is likely to have a detrimental effect on equity, equality of opportunities has long been undermined by policies of privatisation and an increasing social segregation in the formal education sector.

INTRODUCTION

> The question of education and private lessons is right at the top of the list of Egyptians' concerns, in a place shared only by the struggle to make a living. (…) Private lessons are like brand names. You can find them at all prices to suit every class and segment of society. (Excerpt from Taxi by Khaled Al Khamissi, 2008, p. 111)

The variety of offers in Egypt's heterogeneous and largely unregulated informal education sector ranges from expensive one-on-one private lessons at students' homes to group and mass tutoring in specialised tutoring centres catering for different target groups. The high costs associated with tutoring constitute a heavy burden especially for poorer families, undermining government claims of providing free and equal access to education. While the phenomenon is widely discussed and problematised in Egyptian media and public discourse, scientific (and especially qualitative) accounts of tutoring practices are still scarce. Following a brief overview of the scope and different forms of tutoring that exist in Egypt, two examples are presented to identify the class dimensions of tutoring, its impact on student-teacher relationships and on the social status and professional identity of teachers. The voices and narratives of teachers, students, and parents are at the centre of this analysis.

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 57–75.

Rather than a remedial measure for weak students, private and group tutoring have become a 'normal' and seemingly indispensable part of the education process in Egypt, and prevail across social classes and educational stages. It is no longer a prerogative of the wealthy, as comparatively cheap forms of tutoring like study groups and mass tutoring in centres have enabled the lower classes to participate in this practice as well. While the residents of a middle and upper class neighbourhood of Cairo may have little in common with their neighbours in lower-income or 'informal' areas in terms of income, occupation, lifestyle, and consumption, their strategic choices when it comes to education and tutoring follow surprisingly similar patterns. Regardless of social background and income, most families participate in this informal system and abide by its rules. But are the forms, connotations, associated hopes and aspirations, and the implications of tutoring really the same across different social classes? If tutoring can be interpreted as a strategy of lower-income families to cope with the deficiencies of the public education system, motivated by the hope for upward social mobility through education, how can the prevalence of tutoring practices among upper middle and upper class students be interpreted? Why do parents spend hundreds, sometimes even thousands, of Egyptian Pounds (LE) every month for private lessons even if their children already attend expensive private schools? What kinds of student-teacher relationships are forged by tutoring in different socio-economic contexts, and what is its impact on teachers' status and professional identity? Rather than focusing on its impact on students' achievements and examination success, I am interested in the implications of tutoring for social relations in the education sector and beyond, and in the perspectives of the actors involved, i.e. students and their parents, teachers and the managers of tutoring centres.

Private tutoring, or 'shadow education', as a global phenomenon, albeit with varying local configurations and dynamics, was brought to the attention of scholars and policy makers by Bray (1999, 2003) and others. It has gained increased attention among educational researchers worldwide.[2] However, little qualitative or ethnographic research has been conducted on private tutoring in the Arab countries.[3] The issue is mentioned in a number of publications on education in Egypt, without, however, constituting their focus (e.g. Barsoum, 2004; Cochran, 1986; El-Tawila et al., 2000; Hargreaves, 1997; Herrera, 1992; Herrera & Torres, 2006; Hyde, 1978; Singerman, 1995). In their paper on 'private and group tutoring in Egypt', Assaad and Elbadawy (2004) analysed government census and survey data to find out whether a gender bias exists in the context of tutoring, which they did not find. Tadros (2006) described the effects of economic reforms and structural adjustment policies on the poor's access to education and health services. The study concluded that 'hidden' and informal costs of education, especially through private tutoring, were constituting an increasing burden on poor families, undermining government claims of free and equal access to education. Herrera and Torres (2006, p. 14ff.) interpreted the proliferation of private tutoring as 'the starkest manifestation of unchecked market relations in education' and attributed it to a 'growing neoliberal mentality' in Egypt.

Since the 1970s, education systems have been described as arenas of social reproduction and class struggle, and as serving to maintain and perpetuate class inequalities (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1971). It is generally assumed that tutoring contributes to this reproduction of class privileges and social stratification. The assumption is that 'most forms of private tutoring (…) maintain or exacerbate social inequalities since high-income households are more easily able to afford greater quantities and better qualities of tutoring compared with low-income households' (Bray, 2009, p. 32). Farag (2006, p. 115) described private tutoring as 'a form of class struggle taking place on the educational terrain'. Rather than assuming a straightforward causality between access to tutoring and social reproduction, I would like to take a closer look at some of the social dynamics taking place in the informal education sector in Egypt.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is based on data collected during twelve months of anthropological fieldwork conducted in Cairo in 2009 and 2010 as part of my Ph.D. project. It also builds on earlier fieldwork on tutoring in Cairo conducted between 2004 and 2006 (Hartmann, 2008a, b). While my earlier research focused on tutoring practices in several lower-income neighbourhoods of Cairo, this chapter widens the scope to include tutoring practices in middle and upper middle class contexts. Research methods included participant observation in several centres as well as during private lessons at students' homes and in a private school. Of the 12 centres I visited in 2009 and 2010, seven were located in lower-income neighbourhoods of Cairo, four in middle class areas of Cairo and one in a poor neighbourhood of Alexandria. Four of the centres in lower-income Cairo were affiliated to mosques, and one was located in a church. Apart from classroom observation – mostly during German and English classes at the preparatory and general secondary level – I conducted semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with students, teachers, parents, and the owners, managers, and staff of these centres. In addition, I attended private lessons at students' homes, both in lower and upper middle or upper class contexts, and repeatedly visited a private school, where I observed classes and conducted interviews with students, teachers, and members of the administration.

Due to the informal and partly illegal nature of private tutoring, which is prohibited for public school teachers by law but which is nevertheless widely practiced – access to the field, especially to teachers and centres, was initially difficult. Understandably, most teachers were reluctant to talk about their tutoring activities to a stranger, and centre managers were not interested in admitting a researcher into their premises. A few months into my fieldwork, and thanks to a personal contact, I obtained access to a large mosque-affiliated tutoring centre in a lower-income neighbourhood. I had the opportunity to teach German to young adults at the adjacent 'training centre', and thus to visit the centre at least twice a week throughout a period of six months. After having established trustful relationships with some of the people working there, and especially with a teacher

of German, I was able to accompany him to other centres and to the private school where he was working. From there, I was able to further expand my network of contacts.

SCOPE AND FORMS OF TUTORING IN EGYPT

Reliable data regarding rates of participation in tutoring are difficult to obtain, and available statistics vary considerably. According to the Egypt Human Development Report 2005, the percentage of families whose children took private lessons in 2005 was 64% in urban areas and 54% in rural areas (EHDR, 2005, p. 56). The 'Survey of Young People in Egypt' (SYPE), conducted in 2009, reported the highest incidence of tutoring among students living in 'informal urban' areas (61.4% as compared to 54.2% in 'urban' and 44.7% in 'rural' areas) (Population Council, 2010, p. 204).[4] While it exists from kindergarten through university level, tutoring is most widespread in the final years of preparatory and especially general secondary level, where pressure on the students is highest because results of the final high school examinations (*thanawiyya 'amma*) are decisive for their further progress in the education system.[5]

Tutoring commonly takes place at students' or teachers' homes or in centres, but also at schools and, especially in lower-income neighbourhoods, in mosques and churches. Lessons are closely oriented at the official syllabus, with a strong focus on examination preparation. Egyptian students and teachers differentiate between 'private lessons' (*durus khususiyya*) which are taught on a one-on-one basis or in small groups, usually in teachers' or students' homes, and classes for larger groups of students, referred to as 'study groups' (*magmu'at*) or 'reinforcement classes' (*fusul taqwiyya*), which take place in tutoring centres, mosques and churches, or at school. At the end of the school year, shortly before examinations, many teachers offer 'final revisions' (*muraga'at niha'iyya*) which often take place in larger venues accommodating several hundred students at once. The fees for these different offers vary according to the size of the group, the students' socio-economic background, the perceived importance and difficulty of the subject, and the reputation of the teacher. While the more affluent families tend to prefer expensive private lessons at home, imparted to small groups of friends or neighbours, or even on a one-to-one level, poorer families resort more often to tutoring centres, and those who cannot even afford classes at a centre rely on the cheaper in-school study groups (*magmu'at madrasiyya*) or tutoring provided by religious and other charitable organisations for free or for a nominal fee.

A combination of factors has contributed to the proliferation of tutoring in Egypt during the last decades. Among these are the structural deficits of the underfunded public education system – with overcrowded classes of up to eighty students, multi-shift schools, and very low salaries which make it impossible for teachers to survive without an additional source of income[6] – an examination-focused teaching and learning culture that fosters rote-learning, as well as the competitive nature of final examinations and university admission policies.[7] The strong examination orientation and 'ritualisation' (Hargreaves, 1997, p. 4) of the education system is at

the core of the tutoring phenomenon. After six years of primary school and three years of preparatory school, Egyptian students are tracked either into general secondary school, which lasts three years and qualifies them for entering university, or, if they achieve only lower scores, into vocational or technical schools specialising either in commerce, industry or agriculture.[8] At the crucial junctures of the education system, especially at the end of the preparatory and secondary stages, final grades determine a student's future options and life chances; the pressure to succeed is therefore very high. Higher education is still associated with upward social mobility, social status, and the Nasserist employment guarantee for university graduates,[9] despite high rates of unemployment and underemployment among graduates today. Indeed, 'university graduates are the only educational group to have experienced an increase in unemployment between 1997 and 2006' (OECD & World Bank, 2010, p. 58).

Policies of educational expansion and democratisation of access in the 1950s and 1960s, when the public education system was rendered free of charge at all stages, meant that upward social mobility through education became a reality for a considerable part of the Egyptian population. However, the state soon lacked the resources to meet the educational needs and aspirations of the fast-growing population, and the quality of publicly provided education started to deteriorate (Cochran, 1986, p. 49 ff.). More and more unqualified teachers had to be hired and school facilities were insufficiently equipped for the masses of students they had to accommodate. This development ultimately resulted in a widespread loss of trust in state-provided education. Under the rule of Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011), the privatisation and decentralisation of educational offers was officially encouraged, in line with the demands of international agencies, and especially since the 1990s, increasing numbers of private schools and universities have been established (Herrera, 2008, p. 360 ff.).[10] A heterogeneous educational market has since developed, including comparatively cheap 'Arabic' private schools, which offer the same curriculum as public schools and mostly differ regarding the quality of their infrastructure, more expensive 'language schools', where the national curriculum is (partly) taught in a foreign language, and 'international schools', which offer foreign degrees like the American diploma or the British IGCSE.[11] Those who can afford it can now avoid the pressure of the *thanawiyya 'amma* system by resorting to these foreign diplomas.[12]

Policy Responses

Articles 8 and 20 of the Egyptian constitution of 1971 stipulated that the state should provide all citizens with free education, in order to realise the principle of equal opportunities (MOE, 2008, p. 13). The proliferation of private tutoring not only runs contrary to this declared aim, but actually withdraws valuable resources from the formal education system. Income derived from private tutoring is usually not declared to the tax authorities. Successive Egyptian Ministers of Education have been aware of the problem and have taken a variety of measures in order to curb the prevalence of the practice, without much success. Private tutoring by

public school teachers was prohibited in 1998. Yet, breeches have rarely been sanctioned (World Bank, 2002, p. 42). A legal alternative, i.e. in-school study groups (*magmu'at madrasiyya*), were already introduced as early as 1952, and Law No. 149 of 1986 declared them a mandatory service to be offered at all schools (Herrera, 1992, p. 75). These *magmu'at madrasiyya* take place after regular classes for a small fee, but are usually perceived as being of lower quality than private lessons at home or in centres.

Recently, the *National Strategic Plan for Pre-University Education Reform in Egypt 2007-2012*, an ambitious and comprehensive reform programme, explicitly addressed the issue of tutoring and the equity concerns related to it. Among the suggested remedies are curriculum and pedagogical reforms, a reform of the student assessment system, as well as 'professional development' and enhanced accountability of teachers, with the aim of reinstalling parents' trust in the public education system (MOE, 2007, p.91). The most important measure in this context has been the introduction of a new salary and promotion scheme for public school teachers, the 'Special Cadre Law' (Law No. 155 of 2007), with the stated aim of 'improving the social and financial conditions of teachers' and of linking their promotion to performance (MOE, 2007, p. 43). However, this new payment scheme only applies to teachers who are public sector employees and who pass the specially designed examinations (MOE, 2007, p. 142). It excludes large numbers of teachers who work on short-term contracts and in private schools. The reform has therefore met with a lot of criticism on the part of teachers, who in subsequent protests called for a cancellation of the 'humiliating' assessment examinations and for an unconditional minimum wage for all teachers (cf. Carr, 2008).

'KHALLAS YA USTAZ, EHNA FID-DARS!': A PRIVATE LESSON IN LOWER INCOME CAIRO

When I met Do'aa (all fieldwork names are pseudonyms) in late 2009, she was in the sixth grade of a public elementary school. She was the youngest of six siblings and lived with her family in a small two-room apartment in Masr al-Qadima, a lower-income neighbourhood of Cairo. Her parents were originally from Sohag in the South of Egypt. Her father made a living selling wall paint and her mother was a housewife. Despite her family's dire economic conditions, Do'aa was taking private lessons (*durus*) in English, Arabic and mathematics that year, for which her family paid 150 LE a month, in addition to the official tutoring classes at school (*magmu'at madrasiyya*), which, according to Do'aa were 'compulsory' (*igbari*). Sometimes she took in-school *magmu'at* as well as *durus* in one and the same subject. She told me that 'we have to take *magmu'at* because of the *'amal al-sana* grades, and then we take *durus* in order to really understand the subject matter'. The private lessons in math and Arabic were provided by teachers from her school. She took them in a group of about 10 girls at a friend's house. Every month, she gave 100 LE to her Arabic teacher, who was also the headmaster of her school, and he passed 50 LE on to the math teacher. For the English lessons, which she was taking '*barra khalis*' (literally 'completely outside', i.e. the teacher was not from

her school), she paid another 50 LE separately. In social studies and natural sciences she relied only on *magmu'at madrasiyya*, which cost 16 LE per month and subject.

Do'aa invited me to accompany her to one of her private lessons, which took place in the small, sparsely furnished living room of a classmate's flat. When we arrived, nine girls were already gathered around a small table together with Ustaz Medhat, a young math teacher, who proceeded to explain the subject matter at the usual high speed. After each sentence, the girls rhythmically repeated the main points in chorus. Once in a while, he interspersed his explanations with a question, whereupon the girls eagerly competed to get his attention and answer the question: 'Me, Ustaz Medhat!' Most of the time, they followed his explanations intently, and he made sure that all of them focused and concentrated on the class. Once, when he briefly digressed from the topic of the lesson and started talking about the importance of studying math, not just for school but for life, he was called to order by one of the students: '*Khallas ya Ustaz, ehna fid-dars!*' ('Enough, Teacher, we are in the lesson!), implying that 'this is not school, where you can waste time with idle talk'. After the lesson, Ustaz Medhat told me that he taught the same students at school, where there were about 50 students in one class. In his opinion, the students in this neighbourhood depended on private lessons, because most of them came from a lower class background, fathers had to work a lot and mothers were usually not educated enough to help their children with their schoolwork. And even in the private lessons, he added, groups were too large to really give individual attention to every student (Fieldnotes, 11.11.09).

Education 'Home Delivery': A Private Lesson in an Upper Class Home

I joined Salma and three of her friends on an evening in early April for a private lesson held in her family's spacious apartment in Mohandisseen, an upscale neighbourhood located only a few kilometres northwest of Masr al-Qadima on the opposite side of the Nile. The students had gathered around a large oval table in the dining area, which was furnished in the popular 'Louis XV' style, with heavy chandeliers, gold-framed mirrors, and large pieces of decorative chinaware, just like the adjacent *reception* and the separate *salon*. Salma's father was a successful businessman. Among other enterprises the family owned a hotel and sold real estate in one of the new gated communities in the desert.[13] Salma and her friends were in the third and last year of the general secondary stage at a prestigious foreign school. They attended the *thanawiyya 'amma* track of that school, which meant that they had to study the same subjects and take the same examinations as all other Egyptian students in the 'national system'. Now, in April, final examinations were approaching, so they had basically stopped going to school, as they told me. Instead, they were concentrating on their private lessons at home. The economics teacher, Ustaz Magdi, was a man in his late forties who usually taught at a public school in Giza and had been recommended to Salma and her friends by another teacher. Since the beginning of the school year, they had taken a weekly lesson with him for which they each paid 50 LE per session. Salma

considered 50 LE to be little for a private lesson. She paid 100 LE or more for other subjects, depending on the size of the group and the background of the teacher: 'This teacher would only take 25 LE from other, normal students', she explained to me, 'but we agreed to pay 50 LE, because that's what we are used to'. Ustaz Magdi revised the subject matter with the help of an 'external textbook',[14] asking the students to take turns in answering multiple choice questions from the book. Once in a while, he pointed out the importance of a particular question: 'This is a nice question which always comes up in the examinations!' The students, however, did not show much interest in the class nor respect for the teacher: the girls busied themselves braiding their hair, painting their fingernails, and talking on the phone, while one of the boys had headphones in his ears and seemed to be listening to music and the other one demonstratively put his head down on the table. To my surprise, the teacher did not call them to order and did not even intervene when the boys lit up cigarettes during the lesson. The students told me that this behaviour was quite normal, and not merely a form of playing up in front of the guest at the session. Ustaz Magdi appeared insecure and uncomfortable in this environment. The students seemed to be aware of this, taking advantage of the situation. After the lesson was over (and it was the students, not the teacher, who ended it), they told me that it had been boring because it was a revision class and they already knew the subject matter. They thought that Ustaz Magdi was probably much stricter and better able to enforce discipline when teaching students of a social class background similar to his own. Salma attributed his lack of authority during the lesson to the social distance between him and the students and his financial dependency: 'He doesn't dare call us to order. With other students, he would just shout and scold them normally, because they are … together, on the same level. But with us he is somehow afraid, he thinks we are better … he is afraid of my father. You know how much we pay him for these lessons'. Salma estimated that before the final examinations of the previous year, her parents had spent between 3000 and 4000 LE a month on her tutoring classes: 'Last year I took math with two different teachers, for example. One of them was a very good teacher, he knew exactly which questions would come up in the examination, and the other one explained very well, but he did not know the examination questions. So I ended up taking with both of them during the last two months. I had one teacher come here in the mornings and another one in the evenings, because we had to finish the subject matter' (Fieldnotes, 07.04.09).

Tutoring across Class Boundaries: Differences and Commonalities

Egyptian society is highly stratified and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Economic liberalisation and structural adjustment policies have led to increased social polarisation and spatial segregation along class lines (De Koning, 2009, p. 5 ff.; Singerman & Amar, 2006). Just as lifestyles and consumption patterns differ, the educational experiences of the upper middle and upper classes differ increasingly from those of the poorer majority of society. Despite all disparities, however, I found that students across social class boundaries participated in

various forms of tutoring, including private and group lessons at home, larger study groups and revision classes with 'star teachers' in centres, and that their choice of tutors and forms of tutoring often followed similar logics.[15]

The ethnographic vignettes presented above are not meant to establish a simple contrast between tutoring in lower and upper class contexts. Many of the differences between the two examples can be attributed to factors other than the different socio-economic background of the students. Most importantly, they take place at very different stages of the education system: sixth grade of primary school in the first, and the third and last year of general secondary school in the second case.

Naql *Years vs.* Shihada *Years: Tutoring in Different Education Levels*

Whether they took private lessons with their own class teachers or with other, external, teachers, at home or in centres, depended to a large extent on the stage in the education system students were in. When asked about the reasons behind their choice of tutors, students and parents usually pointed out that different logics applied, depending on whether the student was currently in a '*naql*' (transfer) year or a '*shihada*' (diploma) year: In *naql* years, i.e. grades one to five of primary school, one and two of preparatory school, and the first year of secondary school, 60% of a student's grade in a given subject were determined through end-of-year examinations which were drawn up and graded by the school teachers themselves, and the remaining 40%, referred to as '*daragat 'amal al-sana*' (coursework grades), depended solely on the class teacher. These *'amal al-sana* grades were generally perceived to be a 'weapon' in the hands of the teacher, a tool for disciplining the students, or, as many students and parents reported, a means of pressuring them to take private lessons with them. In the *shihada* years on the other hand, the final and crucial years of each educational stage (i.e. the last year each of primary and preparatory school, and the last two years of general secondary school), final examinations were centrally issued and graded by the Ministry of Education and there were no *'amal al-sana* grades. In these years, students and parents felt free to choose private tutors according to merit or reputation rather than being pressured by – or trying to gain an advantage with – the student's own class teachers.[16] Forms of tutoring chosen ultimately depended on the socio-economic circumstances and educational strategies of each family, as well as on the availability of teachers. Students might choose to take some subjects at a centre and others at home, some in a group and others alone, depending on the perceived difficulty of a subject and their preferences for particular teachers.

EDUCATION 'HOME DELIVERY': PEER PRESSURE AND POSITIONAL COMPETITION

During the last two years of general secondary school, tutoring is considered to be 'compulsory' and often takes priority over formal schooling. '*Mafish ta'lim fil madaris*' – 'There is no education in schools', was a remark which I frequently

heard, especially with reference to public schools. I was astonished to learn that even the students of expensive private schools, like Salma and her friends, were taking private lessons in almost all of their subjects before the final *thanawiyya 'amma* examinations. They hardly attended their regular classes at school any more, which had become 'superfluous' and a 'waste of time' in their eyes. At the same time, their future options depended much less on their final grades than those of lower class students, due to the resources and connections of their families. For most of them, it had already been decided that they would attend either the American University in Cairo (AUC) or the German University in Cairo (GUC), two expensive private universities, so they would not have to enter the dreaded admission process for a place in one of the public universities which is managed by the central coordination office.

Why, then, do private lessons play such an important role even among privileged students like Salma and her friends? Especially at the *thanawiyya 'amma* level, private tutoring has become an integral feature of the Egyptian education system, which is hardly questioned anymore. Students fear missing something if they do not take part in the ubiquitous practice. According to Mr. Ehab, an English teacher who had been working at a private school in a middle class area of Cairo for 20 years, peer pressure and 'materialistic competition' were important factors motivating students and parents to participate:

> Even some of the best students take private lessons, because their parents think that they will benefit more if they see their teacher at home. Often they ask a particular teacher for lessons, because the student likes this teacher. It also has to do with envy or jealousy between the students. If one student asks a teacher to come to his home, the others want to do the same. Even if they don't really need the private lessons, if their friends do it, they want it, too. 'So Mr. Ehab teaches you at home? I will ask my father to get Mr. Ehab'. It is like saying: 'You are not richer than me, I can afford this teacher, too'. Sometimes this turns into a materialistic competition. (Fieldnotes, 07.04.10)

Private tutoring fulfils various functions apart from purely educational ones. Especially during times of intense pressure, such as before important examinations, it provides a socially accepted opportunity for students to spend time outside the house and to socialise with friends. This is especially important for girls who usually enjoy less freedom of movement than boys.[17]

Employing private teachers at home – especially language teachers – has a long tradition among upper class families in Egypt (Abaza, 2006, p. 127 ff.), though not only among them.[18] Rather than having to venture out into the potentially unsafe space of the street, it allows for students to stay in the 'clean' environment of their homes under the supervision of the family, while the teacher is the one who has to cross geographical and class boundaries. In recent years, the phenomenon of 'home delivery' (*tawsil lil-bayt*) has become very popular among middle and upper class Cairenes. There is hardly anything that cannot be ordered comfortably via phone or Internet today, whether it is fast food from a variety of local and international

chains, or groceries from the supermarket. It does not seem very far-fetched to draw a parallel to the 'home delivery' of education, which is sometimes treated as a commodity that is 'conspicuously' consumed for purposes of prestige and distinction.

Across class boundaries, tutoring is regarded as a positional good: parents invest in it in order to provide their children with a competitive advantage, to get ahead of others in the race for a limited number of places in 'top faculties' and later on the job market.[19] The educational process in itself is devaluated: what counts is only the outcome in the form of a degree ('learning to get a job' instead of 'learning to do a job'). The social selection function of the education system is emphasised rather than its qualification function. As Hargreaves (1997, p. 161) points out when applying Dore's 'diploma disease' theory to the Egyptian case, the importance ascribed to the *thanawiyya 'amma* certificate and the fact that it is indeed decisive for a student's future opportunities, have led to a situation where the final examinations dominate the whole education process ('examination-orientation and ritualisation').

MAKING A NAME FOR ONESELF: 'FAMOUS TEACHERS' AND THEIR STRATEGIES

During my previous research on tutoring in Egypt, which was mainly confined to a few lower-income areas of Cairo, I had gained the impression that tutoring centres, especially those operating in a religious framework, cater mainly to the lower strata of society, i.e. those who cannot afford the more expensive private lessons at home (although even in those poorer neighbourhoods, students took lessons both at home and in centres). I assumed that better-off students would mainly rely on private lessons at home. However, through interviews and conversations with students from affluent families in the upscale neighbourhoods of Dokki, Mohandisseen and Zamalek, I learned that they, too, attended classes in tutoring centres, especially during the last two years of general secondary school. They explained their choices with the availability of their preferred teachers. If, due to high demand, a 'famous' teacher was not available for private lessons at home, students might choose to attend classes with him in a centre. Even then, reservations often had to be made several months in advance in order to secure a place in one of his classes:

> We went in February to reserve places for the classes that started in August. You have to go very early if you want a place with a famous teacher. The places in their classes fill up very quickly. If it is just some teacher, not an important one, you can go any time. (Interview, S. & P., 08.04.09)

The concept of 'famous teachers' (*mudarrisin mash/hurin*) is a crucial one when it comes to understanding the logics and dynamics of the informal education sector.[20] It was used by students, parents, centre managers and teachers across class boundaries. According to students, 'famous teachers' were those who could explain the subject matter well, but most importantly they were the ones who were

able to accurately predict the examination questions. Salma did not like to attend classes at tutoring centres, as she explained, because she was not used to their strict teaching methods and the crowded classrooms. Even centres in her middle class neighbourhood were frequented by a socially mixed group of students, and it involved leaving the protected middle and upper class spaces in which she usually moved. Nevertheless, she went to the final revision classes offered by famous teachers, simply because 'during these final revisions they tell you what will be asked in the examinations' (Interview, Salma, 30.03.09).

While word-of-mouth is without doubt the most powerful marketing instrument in the tutoring business, teachers and centres also used colourful flyers, posters, and graffiti to advertise their services. Teachers' reputation and their social networks are crucial resources in the informal education sector, and their reputation depends to a large extent on the examination success of their students. A German teacher showed me a self-produced textbook which he used in his tutoring classes and sold to his tutees. A table on the last two pages featured his former students' excellent examination results. He consciously used the success rate of his former tutees as a marketing tool for attracting new students (Fieldnotes, 12.12.09). In order to boost their 'success rates', some entrepreneurial teachers might accept only high-performing students into their tutoring classes, while others are selective regarding their students' social background. Before introducing me to his former English tutor, the son of a wealthy politician and member of the ruling élite told me:

> This teacher is famous, so he can choose his students. He used to also teach in centres and at students' homes, but now he only teaches at his own house. And he does not accept just anyone … he only takes students from '[reputed] families' (*Mabeyakhodsh ay hadd, beyakhod talaba min 'ailat!*). Students have to behave well. They have to introduce themselves to him, and then he decides whether he accepts them as tutees or not. (Fieldnotes, 09.03.10)

STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE INFORMAL EDUCATION SECTOR

Only a minority of teachers ever becomes 'famous', of course, and the impact of private tutoring on the relationship between students and teachers is ambivalent. Outside the regulated space and framework of the school, this relationship is no longer mediated by the state, but has to be negotiated directly between individual teachers and their 'customers', i.e. students and their parents. In the informal education sector, a teacher's success and income depend mostly on individual skills and personality, entrepreneurship and self-marketing. This may be experienced by some teachers as a form of freedom and empowerment, while others experience it as increased dependence and vulnerability and feel that they are faced with an ethical dilemma: unable to survive on their regular income, they see no other option but to compromise their professional ethics. While some teachers turn into veritable 'stars' and are able to benefit from the system as it is,

others may experience a loss of dignity and (self-) respect when a direct financial relationship is established between them and their students, or students' parents. They feel relegated from the status of a state employee and authority figure to that of a domestic worker. Senior English teacher Mr. Ehab, who taught between two and four private lessons at students' homes each day after school, told me:

> I feel more respected when I teach at school. I don't like teaching private lessons at home. I always have the feeling that 'I shouldn't be here. This is not my job'. I prefer teaching at school, standing in front of a group of students. (…) That is what the job is about, what I am supposed to do. I feel I am better at teaching when I stand in front of a class. At home, I am only there because they pay me, and they think that they need me. (Fieldnotes, 07.04.10)

Aspects of class and power play an important role in shaping the relationship between students and teachers. Most teachers I met during my research came from a lower middle class background. What did it mean for them to depend on the income they earned from tutoring upper class students? The significance of this 'class gap' was especially palpable during the private lesson at Salma's home. Salma and her friends were highly conscious of class distinctions and of their privileged position vis-à-vis the teacher. When talking to me, but also among themselves, they frequently classified schools or centres, and even teachers and other students, as 'clean' (*nedeef*) versus 'not clean' or 'normal' (e.g. 'This is a *clean* centre', or 'In *normal* schools, students don't go to school at all').[21] Ustaz Magdi, who usually taught at a public school in a lower income district, was obviously not feeling comfortable in this situation, but just four lessons a month with this single group of students earned him about the same as his regular salary at a public school. In correspondence with this observation, Farag (2006, p.128) quoted a teacher who complained that 'with the material goal, the teacher loses his dignity; profit-making diminishes status'. A remark by one of Salma's friends captures the ambivalent impact of different tutoring practices on the relationship between teachers and students:

> In the centres, there are about 50 or 60 people in a room, some of these students are absolutely ignorant, they don't know anything, and still, you *have* to sit and understand what the teacher says. Because the teacher knows he is really, really famous, and he knows that you need him, so if you don't do what he says, you will be kicked out after one or two classes. (…) At home you control the teacher more. Because it's just you and him, and yet you get the information you need out of him. (Interview, Rania, 07.04.09)

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CONCLUSION: TUTORING, EQUITY, AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EGYPT

Private tutoring developed as a coping strategy to compensate for the deficiencies of an underfunded and overburdened public education system. It also serves as a means for teachers to supplement their meagre salaries, and a strategy for students and parents confronted with the pressures of a strongly examination-oriented education system. In the process, it has turned into a generalised and deeply engrained feature of Egyptian educational culture during the last decades, with effects that go far beyond the learning process itself. This makes the eradication of private tutoring very difficult for policy-makers.

Equality of opportunities, which is still officially upheld by the Egyptian government and laid down in the constitution, has long been undermined by processes of privatisation and marketisation taking place in the formal education system, which have led to increased segmentation along social class lines. A dual education system has in fact emerged, reminiscent of the system that existed during colonial times.[22] Those who can afford it resort to private 'language' and 'international' schools, and increasingly to foreign diplomas, while the poorer majority of students has to rely on the underfunded and overburdened public system. While the majority of less successful and less affluent *thanawiyya 'amma* graduates ends up in overcrowded public university faculties like commerce, law and the humanities,[23] wealthier students whose grades do not allow them to enter their faculty of choice can opt out of the public system and attend private universities. In the highly segmented Egyptian education system, there is hardly any direct contact or competition between students of different class backgrounds anymore (with the exception of a small number of prestigious 'top faculties' at public universities, where students of different class backgrounds might meet). Spatial segregation and the reproduction of social inequalities takes place through the formal education system, but it is mirrored and reinforced in the informal education sector.

In Egypt, as elsewhere, the better-off are generally able to spend more money on tutoring, both in total numbers and as a percentage of household expenditure (World Bank, 2008, p. 190), but does this also mean that they receive higher quantities and better qualities of tutoring? Wealthier students are more likely to receive individually tailored private lessons at home, while less affluent students more often depend on tutoring in larger groups and in centres, and the poorest have to rely on free or very cheap offers by mosques and churches and on study groups at school. However, private tutors commonly adapt their fees to the financial means of their respective 'customers', and prices at centres vary according to target group and location. Students of different socio-economic backgrounds might, thus, be tutored by the same teachers using the same teaching methods and materials, but in separate study groups and at different prices.

While it seems likely that access to higher quantities and better qualities of tutoring – such as individually tailored private lessons rather than mass tutoring – will help students attain better examination results, this is not necessarily the case, especially in a context where tutoring has become the norm rather than the exception. Depending on the skills of the tutor and the student's motivation, it can

be experienced as helpful and enriching, but also as repetitive and boring. It often takes up a lot of students' spare time, leaving them with little opportunity for independent study and leisure.[24]

And finally, successful transition into the labour market does not merely depend on educational attainment. Barsoum (2004) showed that getting a well-paying job, especially in the private economy, is not just a matter of having the necessary qualifications. It also depends very much on family background and on possessing the appropriate social and cultural capital, which De Koning (2009, p. 7f.) refers to as 'cosmopolitan capital'. This capital, which includes fluency in foreign languages, especially English (spoken with the right accent), and familiarity with Western cultural codes, cannot be acquired in the public education system. Those who can afford it therefore send their children to 'language' or 'international' schools, where, apart from enjoying better learning conditions than in the public system, this kind of capital can be acquired. The mere fact of having studied in the public system rather than at private schools constitutes a stigma and is taken as indicative of a student's lower class background. As Marwa, mother of two college-age daughters, pointed out:

> Education is important in Egypt, but it is not the main issue. There are many children who are well educated, who have attended good faculties and received good grades, who are very gifted and intelligent, but their chances on the labour market are low because of their family background. They are from a lower class background, they don't know the right people, and they don't get the necessary letters of recommendation. (Interview, Marwa, 21.10.09)

No amount of tutoring can help students overcome these obstacles. Nevertheless, many parents who lack economic and social capital invest all their hopes and a lot of money into education. Despite all structural constraints, it is their only hope for upward social mobility and a better future for their children. Tutoring is one way of trying to make the best possible use of this chance.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies at Freie Universität Berlin and to the Fazit-Stiftung for funding and supporting my doctoral research and to the CEDEJ in Cairo for hosting me as an associated Ph.D. researcher from September 2009 to June 2010.

[2] For an overview of worldwide research on tutoring, see Bray (2009). For an overview of tutoring in Europe specifically, see Bray (2011).

[3] Generally, ethnographic accounts of education and schooling in Egypt and the Arab World are scarce. This may partly be due to the restricted possibilities of conducting empirical research in the region, especially with regard to politically sensitive issues and in areas that are, by and large, state-controlled, such as the education sector. Notable exceptions, with regard to Egypt, are Herrera (1992) and the edited volume by Herrera and Torres (2006) which offer valuable insights into the workings of the Egyptian education system based on qualitative empirical data and including the voices of students, teachers and administrators.

[4] The term 'informal urban areas' is used in the SYPE report, and generally in the Egyptian context (informal settlements, Arabic: *ashwa'iyyat*) to denote 'unauthorised settlements on areas which were not intended for housing and residence purposes' (Population Council, 2010, p. 1). These

areas are generally characterised by a lack of state-provided infrastructure and a high degree of informality, but contrary to the extreme level of poverty associated with the term 'slum', 'informal urban areas' may include a significant percentage of middle-income or even wealthy households (Population Council, 2010, p. 7).

[5] According to the SYPE report, 80.2% of students resorted to tutoring in general secondary school, compared to 63.7% of preparatory and 57% of primary school students, and only 22% of students in the vocational secondary track (Population Council, 2010, p. 204).

[6] With starting salaries around 140 LE (i.e. around €20 at the 2009/2010 exchange rate), teaching has long been one of the lowest paying jobs in the public sector.

[7] In the 2010 OECD and World Bank *Report on Higher Education in Egypt*, the transition from secondary to tertiary education is identified as one of the main challenges of the Egyptian education system (OECD & World Bank, 2010, p. 29 ff.). For the details of the university admission procedures see OECD & World Bank (2010, p. 142 ff.).

[8] While they are regarded as 'schools of last resort', the technical and vocational streams account for about 60% of secondary school enrolment. These schools are generally regarded as being of lower quality and as using outdated curricula that do not prepare their students for the needs of the labour market (World Bank, 2007, p. 17 ff.). Unemployment rates are especially high among graduates of these schools (Barsoum, 2004, p. 36). Those who can afford to do so, avoid this forced tracking by continuing their education in private schools and universities. Vocational and technical education is therefore also strongly associated with a lower-income background of its students (World Bank, 2007, p. 21). The high 'hidden costs' associated with the *thanawiyya 'amma* system may constitute a deterrent for low-income families who, out of financial considerations, prefer to send their children to technical or vocational schools, where tutoring is less common and less expensive (cf. MOE, 2007, p. 279).

[9] This guarantee is no longer effective. According to Barsoum (2004, p.77f.), the waiting period for a public sector job had already reached more than 13 years in 1997 and personal connections (*wasta*) have become crucial for securing such a job.

[10] According to the OECD and World Bank Report (2010, p. 60f.), 62% of students at the primary stage were enrolled in public schools, 29% in private schools and 9% in religious Al-Azhar schools. At the general secondary level, 92% of students were enrolled in public schools, and 93% in technical secondary education.

[11] Many private schools also operate within an Islamic framework or combine the promotion of 'Islamic beliefs and values' with a profit-oriented business model (Herrera, 2006, p. 39 ff.). Like the affluent élites, the expensive private schools and universities catering to them are mostly concentrated in and around Cairo and Alexandria.

[12] Interestingly, it seems that even in 'international schools', tutoring is becoming increasingly common. Iman Farag called this the 'Egyptianisation of foreign diplomas' (personal communication, 06.04.09).

[13] Since the mid-1990s, there has been a boom of real estate development and construction in the desert land surrounding Cairo. Large numbers of upscale and luxury housing units are being built by private investors, mostly in gated communities with names such as 'Dreamland', 'Utopia', or 'Beverly Hills' (cf. Denis, 2006; De Koning, 2009). Catering to the (future) inhabitants of these compounds is an increasing number of expensive 'language' and 'international' schools and private universities in their vicinity.

[14] These 'external textbooks' (*kuttub kharigiyya*) are written by experienced teachers and sold at stationeries and bookshops for 10 to 20 LE. Students and private tutors mostly rely on these books rather than on the official school textbooks for their examination preparation. *Kuttub kharigiyya* present the subject matter in a more concise and summarised form and include many additional exercises and model examination questions. In addition, private tutors usually sell or give their own 'summaries' or 'notes' (*malazim*) to the students.

[15] While most tutoring centres are located in lower-income neighbourhoods, where both population density and the demand for cheap tutoring are highest and the space available for tutoring in private homes is limited, some centres can also be found in middle class neighbourhoods catering specifically to middle class students or offering tutoring for the students of specific schools. Some centres could quite clearly be identified as commercial, profit-oriented enterprises, while others, especially in lower-income neighbourhoods were operated by (mostly religious) civil society

organisations and provided their services for a relatively small fee. However, the boundaries between these categories tend to be blurred, and it was not always clear whether centres were operated by religious associations or just located within their facilities, whether they were in fact committed to a religious and charitable framework or whether they were rather using such a framework as a way of inspiring trust and of increasing their legitimacy vis-à-vis the state.

16 The new Comprehensive Assessment System (*al-taqwim al-shamil*), which was recently introduced at the lower levels of the education system and is supposed to be extended to all levels, has replaced the *'amal al-sana* grades with assessment based on ongoing student performance, tests and a 'student portfolio', with the aim of providing 'a more authentic picture of students' performance' (MOE, 2007, p. 88). A primary school teacher told me that he and his colleagues were unhappy about this reform, because they felt that it stripped them of an important tool for controlling and disciplining their students (Fieldnotes, 22.01.10).

17 I could not find any gender imbalance with regards to participation in private tutoring. It was pointed out to me that many parents prefer to have their daughters tutored at home, either alone or in girls-only groups, while boys would be more likely to attend classes in centres. In the centres I visited, however, I usually found more or less equal numbers of boys and girls. Centre managers tried to uphold a certain level of gender segregation by seating them separately. My observations confirm the findings of Assaad and Elbadawy (2004) who did not detect any gender bias regarding either the likelihood of students' participation in tutoring or families' expenditures on tutoring.

18 Before the advent of state-provided mass education during the mid-19th century, domestic instruction by private tutors was the common form of education among the upper classes in Europe. Only during the 19th century did education come to be seen as a responsibility of the state rather than the family.

19 The concept of 'positional goods' was coined by economist Fred Hirsch (1976) and developed by Frank (1985). It draws attention to the social aspects and 'relational value' of consumption as opposed to its 'material' value. Most scholars would agree that formal education usually has a positional element: it is only partly about the skills and qualifications acquired, but also about getting ahead of others in the competition for the best grades, for a limited number of places in higher education and later on the job market. Underlying is the assumption of a zero-sum-game, where 'an increase in the benefits from 'consumption' for one individual is entirely at the expense of benefits to others' (Adnett & Davies, 2002, p. 190). Thus, the positional aspect of education is emphasised when the number of places available at universities is fixed. What matters in this case are not an individual student's achievements and capabilities, but only his or her position within the cohort.

20 For a more detailed discussion of the phenomenon of 'star teachers' in Egypt, see Hartmann (2008a, p. 65 ff.).

21 These students spoke German with me and a mixture of German and Arabic among each other, using the German words for 'clean' (*sauber*) and 'normal' (*normal*).

22 Until 1949, Egypt had a dual system of free elementary schools for the poor, which provided only the most basic skills, and fee-paying primary schools for the well-off. Only the graduates of the latter could continue their education in secondary schools and universities (Starrett, 1998, p. 31). During the colonial period (1882-1922), foreign-language education in foreign missionary schools became popular among the élite.

23 This is particularly true of the faculty of commerce, which is somewhat disdainfully known in some circles as '*kolleyet al-sha'b*' – 'the people's college', as I was told by a group of private school students.

24 My data do not allow me to draw any conclusions as to the effect of private tutoring on students' performance at school and on their examination success. Quantitative data or longitudinal studies would be needed. Fergany (1994), however, did not find any statistically significant correlation between private tutoring and student achievement on the basis of two quantitative studies carried out in Egypt, the first by the Ministry of Education in 1990/91 and the second by Fergany in 1994. For a discussion of the difficulties in assessing the impact of private tutoring on student achievement and examination success, see Bray (2011, p. 47 ff.).

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ANNE-CLAUDINE OLLER & DOMINIQUE GLASMAN

5. EDUCATION AS A MARKET IN FRANCE

Forms and Stakes of Private Tutoring

ABSTRACT

This study examines private tutoring and support currently available in France. It questions its contribution to the equality of educational provision and to school efficiency. It highlights the effects of private tutoring on learning and knowledge acquisition, as well as on families that make use of it. The study is based on field research conducted in school districts, among service providers and clients for the past several years. It also draws on interviews conducted with educational coaches and their students.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, the stakes associated with education have increased considerably in France. On the one hand, the social division of work is such that it is important to possess qualifications in order to enter the labour market. Even jobs that previously did not require formal qualifications now require diplomas. The most sought-after white-collar professions are largely unattainable through within-job promotion for the self-educated (Bouffartigue, 2001; Bourdieu, 1978; Chauvel, 1998). They require school certificates and, as the pace at which such jobs are created slows down, there is no guarantee that all those who hope to clinch employment opportunities will succeed in doing so. On the other hand, the educational system has expanded significantly; *lycées* (secondary schools for 15 to 18-year old students) are increasingly accessed by all. Consequently, academic and social selection, which used to take place before students entered a *lycée*, now occur throughout their entire school career. The latter has become more competitive than ever before. The importance of schooling is widely recognised, including in working class milieus, and students find themselves 'caught up' in the grand game of academic competition, whether they like it or not. Even if they do not take part in it willingly, it runs its course and impacts them (Glasman, 2005; Van Zanten, 2001).

Equally, the stakes of schooling are becoming higher for parents. Transmitting and constructing the social identity of young people is increasingly taking place at school and through academic results, and less through economic background or family ties alone (Bourdieu, 1993). Being a good parent/guardian means enabling one's children to embark upon a path of academic success in which the stakes

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 77–91.

continuously shore up the family's expectations.[1] Within this context, strategies to achieve a 'good' education are devised by parents who tend to take their children's schooling under their control. They no longer leave the school system to take decisions for them. Increasingly, a child's school career is perceived as a 'private' matter. At the same time, parents' associations are increasingly losing their influence over the school system. Educational strategies correlate with the volume and nature of the economic, cultural, and social forms of capital that parents possess. The choice of school is part of these strategies (Van Zanten, 2009), as is private after-school tutoring or support, whether paid for or offered for free (Glasman, 2001, 2005).

This chapter examines private tutoring and support currently available in France. It interrogates the impact private tutoring and support has on the equality of educational provision, and on the latter's efficiency. It highlights the effects of private tutoring on learning and knowledge acquisition, as well as on the families that make use of them.

We maintain that, contrary to trends observed in some other countries (Bray, 1999), private tutoring in France is not a result of deteriorating teaching standards. It is mainly the result of new academic stakes, due to rising competition between schools and between students within school. Nor can the growth in private tutoring in France be explained by a dramatic fall in teachers' salaries, which would have forced them to offer private lessons in order to boost an insufficient income.[2] Thus, the question of private tutoring in France is quite different from that in Egypt or Greece, for example. In the latter, the development of '*frontistiria*' is largely due to the presence of unemployed teachers on the labour market. It is similarly different from private tutoring practices that prevail in countries where teachers reserve part of their schedules for students who receive individual lessons (Bray, 1999, 2003).

AFTER-SCHOOL SUPPORT IN FRANCE

This section examines three types of after-school support: private lessons proper, after-school support, and educational coaching. Each practice is addressed below.

Private Lessons

The term 'private lessons' – *cours privés* in French – refers to paid lessons delivered by private individuals and organisations after school hours, dealing exclusively with academic curricular subjects.[3] Many tutors are school teachers or higher education students who either work freelance or are employed by a specialised agency (Glasman, 2005; Glasman & Collonges, 1994). Even though private lessons represent an easily identifiable type of service, this category includes lessons that exhibit some differences. Some lessons are remedial, catering for school students facing difficulties in a subject, perhaps due to a period of prolonged absence as a result of illness, or to a temporary dip in school results. They may be limited to a few sessions, once or twice a week for one or two months. Other private lessons provide systematic preparation for an examination

and are thus delivered intensively during the two to three months that precede the all-important test. Others, still, are organised during the final two weeks of the summer holidays with the aim of preparing a student for the new school year. Finally, a good part of these lessons involve ordinary, long-term academic assistance. From the beginning of the year, students start taking lessons for one to two hours a week and continue at this rate until the end of the year.

Over the past 15 years or so, a system called 'home tutoring' has developed, whereby parents arrange sessions once a week or more in order to help their children with school homework. Private lessons always offer tuition on a one-to-one basis or in small groups (from three to six), in order to maximise the time spent with each student and, if needed, to stimulate a degree of competition among them. There are different groups of private tuition providers. According to one study, in 2003, 34% of all providers of private lessons for secondary school students were teachers (working in a private capacity), who build on their teaching experience and high level of competence (Rosenwald, 2006). Another study in the early 1990s found that 13% of high school teachers offered private lessons, and 44% had done so at some point in their career (Glasman & Collonges, 1994). To sum up, it is worth noting that about 40% of high school teachers teach at school subjects like Mathematics, Physics, French, English, and German for which there is a high demand for private tutoring. More than half the teachers teach subjects such as Biology, Social Sciences, History, Geography, Technology, Arts, Music, and so on, for which there is little private tutoring demand.

According to the above-mentioned study, students from university or from the *Grandes Écoles* – selective schools where the French élite is trained – represent 31% of all private tutoring providers. They use the name of their highly reputed institutions on their *curriculum vitae* to publicise their service. They also indicate the diploma for which they are studying ('engineer student' for instance), and underline practical aspects that render their offer of service more attractive (e.g. that they can go to their pupils' homes).

Teachers employed by private agencies represent about one third of all providers of private tutoring. While these teachers are advertised as highly educated, they are in fact usually fourth, third or even second year higher education students. Private agencies like *Acadomia*, *Legendre*, *Domicours*, *Complétude* and others have increased their share of the market in private lessons since the mid-1990s. Almost every year, new agencies spring up at a national or local level. They offer either lessons at home or private courses online (Rosenwald, 2006).

Not-for-Profit Associations as After-School Support Providers

After-school support has been available for a long time in the form of assistance provided between neighbours. However, one could say that formal after-school support developed and took form during the 1980s. Currently, working-class neighbourhoods offer after-school support in one form or another, with some making use of different modalities of provision. This support is delivered through non-profit associations staffed either by volunteers (such as pensioners, mothers

and students) or supply teachers (generally students) paid by the hour. These associations are local, organised within a neighbourhood or city, or they can operate on a national level. This type of activity benefits from national (state) or local (municipal) support in the form of grants and the provision of premises free of charge. It is mainly offered to primary school students and those studying in a *collège* (junior secondary), though occasionally students from the *lycées* are included as well. Provided free of charge, or for a symbolic fee, this service demands a commitment on the part of the student to attend regularly and behave in a manner conducive to study.

After-school support sessions are organised once or twice a week. They usually last an hour and a half, and are dedicated to completing homework as well as to activities intended to broaden children's minds, widen their vocabulary, boost their cultural references, and improve skills such as cooperation, observation, and critical thinking. All these skills are perceived as useful, if not crucial, for acquiring academic knowledge and making the most out of it. In fact, dividing the time of each session between school homework and activities that are not purely academic is a source of conflict between students and their parents on the one hand, and with their tutors on the other. The former seek mainly to complete their homework. The latter consider such an exclusive emphasis insufficient for academic success. As such, the activities they propose go beyond merely helping with homework set by the school.

Free of charge support programmes vary widely. Some are organised on a collective basis, for groups of eight to 15 students, who are not necessarily from the same class or sharing the same teacher. Others are offered in homes, through one-to-one sessions or tutoring in groups of two or three. Depending on the balance of power between students, parents and suppliers, some programmes emphasise extra-curricular activities. Others devote most of their sessions to homework alone – either deliberately or due to 'client' demands (Glasman, 1994, 2001).

Elementary school students attending *Cours Préparatoires* (classes in which pupils learn to read and write) benefit from a programme called *Coup de Pouce en Lecture et Écriture*' (i.e. 'a helping hand in reading and writing'). The formal aim is to serve groups of five pupils from working-class neighbourhoods without a strong academic record. Their sessions last an hour and a half, and help familiarise the pupils with reading and books, in the same way that middle-class parents would help their young children at home at the end of a day. Other after-school support programmes seek to help students complete their homework and, if necessary, revisit specific points they had not understood in class.

Educational Coaching

Coaching is an established practice in the fields of sport and business, and more recently it has made an appearance in education. In France, the first coaching advertisements appeared in the early 2000s. Magazines for teenagers began featuring articles discussing the benefits of coaching in a relatively critical tone. Coaching does not aim to provide lessons in any specific academic subject such as

mathematics or physics. It rather seeks to help students define their individual academic and professional goals in order to motivate them study. The idea is that students need to be made aware of their strengths (and draw on them) and weaknesses (to overcome them). They also need to be taught how to tap into all of their knowledge and resources during exams. This form of one-to-one support aims to allow coached student to fare well in academic competition and overcome difficulties (Oller, 2010, 2011a).

THE STAKES OF PRIVATE TUTORING

There are both similarities and significant differences between the three forms of private support introduced above. They stem from private initiative, as opposed to action undertaken by a public authority. Nevertheless, not all private tutoring services must be paid for. Fees are charged for private lessons and in particular for coaching, but after-school support provided by associations requires parents to make only a symbolic contribution, at most. Notwithstanding, not all programmes that are provided free of charge are run by associations. As will be noted below, there are also free state-run support programmes. Some state programmes, however, are only available upon payment. We limit our discussion to private tutoring in order to examine its various forms in a comparative manner.

A Very Unequally Distributed Resource

Although all forms of private tutoring are thriving in an academic climate dominated by competition for entry into the 'right' study programmes and the 'best' diplomas, they are not equally accessible to everyone. Furthermore, they are not used equally by all students or by all families.

Financial barriers do not limit access to after-school support. Even students from the most economically disadvantaged social classes can benefit, as long as it is offered close to their homes. This is often the case, particularly in urban areas. The fact that after-school support is generally free of charge does not however mean that students from all social classes make use of it. Rather, it is only children and teenagers from modest backgrounds that attend and those from middle-class and wealthy backgrounds are hardly ever present. This is because after-school support is primarily available in working-class areas. It is practically non-existent in middle-class residential areas since the students or their families can afford private lessons and also because the presence of certain working class students tends to dissuade peers from wealthier backgrounds from participating. Association-based after-school programmes are attended mainly by children and teenagers from economically less established working classes, those who have recently immigrated to France from the Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa, Kosovo, and other regions, and by those who are from marginalised communities (e.g. 'travellers'). However, not all working-class primary and junior secondary school students take part. Some consider going to school every day to be enough. Others abstain from the local amenities and the support programmes organised there in order to avoid

children and teenagers from the neighbourhood who are perceived as 'threatening'. Despite their modest resources, some parents turn to private lessons because they are more customised, delivered by tutors deemed more competent, or are exclusively focused on schoolwork (Glasman, 2001).

In contrast, private lesson services are most often used by middle to upper-class students.[4] The highest percentages of children taking private lessons can be found among the managerial classes, white-collar professions, and traders. Nevertheless, although they use private lessons less frequently and less intensely, the working classes are not completely absent from this market. This is perhaps a sign that awareness regarding the importance of education has spread to all socio-economic classes and that the working class, which in the past tended not to be concerned with school and academic success, now views them as very important (Beaud & Pialoux, 1999; Poullaouec, 2010; Terrail, 1997).

The cost of private lessons is a decisive factor in enabling or restricting access (Collas, 2010). However, a fiscal measure introduced by the French government in 1996 changed this state of affairs. The measure offsets half the amount spent on home services of any kind against income tax. This includes babysitting, cleaning, ironing, and private tutoring.[5] Consequently, this measure halves the actual cost for parents – at least, for households that pay tax, given that in France households that earn less than a certain threshold are exempt from direct taxation. More recently, the *Loi Borloo* of 26 July 2005 introduced state aid reimbursing half of the amount paid for home services, thus enabling tax-exempt families to afford private tuition. Even so, managers of specialist agencies admit that most private lesson clients hail from middle-class and wealthy backgrounds.[6]

It is not only in the extent of use of private lessons that we find differences: the ways in which such services are used, and the reasons for which they are used, also vary. Generally speaking, the economically more established social classes resort to private lessons in their bid to strive for excellence.[7] Students take them in subject areas in which they are already performing very well, with a view to doing even better so as to ensure access to the most prestigious and selective study programmes at *lycées* or higher education institutions. This can also form part of a family's strategy aiming for excellence. Some students combine private lessons with attending a 'good' state or private school. Private school students take more private lessons than their state counterparts. Many secondary school students who opt to study German – often because they believe that by choosing this language they will be in a 'good' class – also go to private lessons in different subjects. Among working class students, private lessons help students catch up or maintain good results in a class or school that they entered with some difficulty.

Educational coaching is not a widespread practice. Parents need to pay more for this service because it does not qualify for tax deductions – typically, a one-and-a-half hour coaching session can cost between €80 and €120. In addition, not all parents are aware of the service and its possible benefits. Although coaching is common among private or even public sector executives, it is much less known among working class parents. The vast majority of coached students are teenagers from wealthy backgrounds, children of senior executives, company managers, and

so on. This practice has not penetrated working class areas and is rarely found among teenagers of immigrant origin. It also appears to attract slightly more boys than girls, which could be explained by gender stereotypes and expectations from coaching. For girls, coaching is chiefly a matter of seeking guidance and learning to manage stress and increase self-confidence – the same reasons which encourage them to resort to private lessons. Boys more often look for guidance with learning techniques and for help to boost their motivation and academic performance (Oller, 2011a, 2011b).

The Effects of Private Tuition

Different forms of private tuition have different effects on students. First, however, it must be stressed that all forms of tuition require participants to affirm their commitment to 'do their job as students' (Glasman, 1994, 2001, 2005). Before benefiting from additional support, a student needs to show some degree of commitment to schoolwork and a minimal willingness to be a 'good' learner or, at least, to be ready to respond positively to scholastic and parental expectations. In other words, students do not attend local after-school support programmes, resort to private lessons, or seek coaching if they do not also become disposed to engage with schoolwork. On accepting to follow a support programme where they are guided and helped in a variety of ways, participants confirm their commitment to 'do their job as students'.

The expectation that students adopt a positive and pro-active stance towards learning was expressed by school teachers and parents during our interviews with them. This is one of the most obvious virtues – and the least called into question – of after-school support provided by associations: students become committed to actually doing their homework. This is not dependent on the quality of the tutors they have: they do complete their homework assignments, and this is what matters to the teachers, even if the work submitted is not perfect. Indeed, when the homework is too 'perfect', teachers end up suspecting that tutors have done the work for their students. Such commitment to school-related work is reinforced when students receive glowing reports from their school teachers, who now comment positively about their diligent work, serious attitude to homework, progress made in a subject, or increased motivation to pursue an academic or professional goal. Support programmes, therefore, located as they are outside both the school and the family home, act as 'intermediary spaces' in which children and adolescents have the chance to admit gaps in their knowledge without being punished at school or harassed by impatient parents. Students can thus do and redo tasks they did not perform well and, ultimately, take charge of their own learning.

In terms of academic results, the effects of private tutoring are rather mixed, and differ depending on whether one considers coaching, private lessons, or after-school support. Coaching does not directly strive to improve academic performance, even though, according to coaches, that is an aim pursued by some clients, and particularly by boys (Oller, 2011a). Coaches aim to help students

change their attitudes towards their studies so that they can then take the necessary steps to achieve the goals they have in mind.

Private lessons, on the other hand, focus on students' grades: that is the key expectation of both parents and students. The agencies' advertisements underline this point, and boast of the improvements achieved by the students who make use of their services. Students do commonly register progress, even if the extent of such success is not as much as agencies tend to claim. Most students who take private lessons say that their results have definitely improved, although to varying degrees. Since these lessons are aimed at students who achieve slightly below classroom average or who are already doing relatively well – and rarely at those experiencing major difficulties – they enable individuals to increase their grades in the subjects studied. In contrast to school teachers, tutors offering private lessons find themselves in a very favourable position to help motivated students progress: they offer one-to-one tuition, have enough time to identify needs and knowledge gaps, are not constrained by the task of managing a large class or covering a broad syllabus, can more easily revisit items that students have difficulty learning, and are not stressed by questions of discipline.

With regard to after-school support provided by associations, it is not uncommon for tutors to have groups from different school grades in the same room, with a couple of adults supervising. Students typically attend such programmes to get help in completing their homework, rather than to get support in revising aspects of the school curriculum that they found difficult to understand. Indeed, tutors in these programmes do not always have the skills needed to respond to specific syllabus-related questions that the pupils may have. It is hence difficult to draw a consistent conclusion about programme effects: whereas some students maintain school results acceptable to them, their parents, and their teachers, this is not the case for everyone. Generally speaking, students having difficulty in understanding what is being taught in the classroom do not actually improve their school results with individual tuition provided by charities (Glasman, 2001). An approach that succeeds one year could fail the next, when students and tutors change. Support programmes which are most effective in improving students' academic results may be those that focus on curriculum-related learning rather than those that only focus on helping students do their homework. One reason for this may be that homework assignments can be completed without necessarily mastering the cognitive skills required. Other programmes which seem to be effective include the 'helping hand with reading and writing' initiative referred to earlier, which does seem to help beginners from social backgrounds that are not exposed to books to become average or good readers.[8]

In terms of improving academic results, private lessons are therefore clearly more efficient than after-school support provided by associations. Moreover, the clientele of the former is more closely involved in academic competition than that of the latter. Furthermore, private tutoring deepens inequality for students who already face challenges in relation to school and its expectations. A sizeable proportion of students in classes preparing for entrance examinations for the *Grandes Écoles* took private lessons at one point or another while studying at the

lycée. This does not mean that private tutoring is crucial in order to gain a place in these preparatory classes for the *Grandes Écoles*, but it does suggest that they substantially increase a student's chances. Thus, this form of tutoring boosts the likelihood of entering these prestigious study programmes, which in turn help to secure a professional future.

The stakes associated with school results are so high that they create sharp tensions in the household: children and teenagers are supposed to value school highly, as it determines their future. Parents also feel they have to show they are model parents by doing their 'job'. It is not by coincidence that the most common and recurring arguments between parents and their children are related to schoolwork (Glasman, 2005). The fact that children complete their homework outside their homes or under the supervision of a third party – i.e. other than their parents or one of their teachers – helps to reduce tension and to pacify relations. The work is done and the focus is on academic work as the parents wish, but they are not the ones who need to supervise it. Whether the children are attending after-school support or private lessons, they meet their parents' expectations without being subject to their pressure or impatience. Some examples from our data help bring this point to life. One working-class mother, for instance, exclaimed, 'Every day it was such a fuss to get him to start working, so I would rather see him go to after-school support' (Glasman, 2005). A boy taking private lessons in mathematics said that he could never face studying the subject with the help of his mother again, despite her being a math teacher in a secondary school and therefore perfectly competent to support his efforts. He needed somebody outside of the family circle. A mother claimed that thanks to home tutoring services, she finds that her son has already finished his homework when she returns from work. This makes her feel happy, given that she can thus 'spend quality time with her child'. One can imagine that children who, thanks to coaching, find the will and motivation to learn and to be self-directed in their approach to schooling are spared many family disputes in this sensitive, stress-inducing area. This idea was underlined by a mother who had just finished a training course to become a coach: 'I felt [my daughter] had difficulties in various subjects but I also felt I was probably not the best person to help her'. The transfer of concerns about formal learning to a physical or symbolic space outside the family circle helps pacify family relations, thus at least partly accounting for the popularity of after-school support programmes, of whatever kind. The appeal of such 'pacifying effects' has been reported in all types of families, whether middle- or working class.

GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

The government has gradually become aware of the role being played by private tutoring in students' education and the inequalities it introduces between those who can access it and those who cannot. The government's declared objective is to help the so-called '4p.m. orphans' (a term coined by a former Education Minister) to complete their homework – the 'orphans' here being children whose parents have not returned from work when they come back from school. In an effort to show

that students who cannot afford private tuition or extra support will not be abandoned to market forces, the government has implemented two programmes within the public education system. First, an 'educational tutoring' system has been set up in primary and junior secondary schools. This tutoring is carried out inside the school, after school hours, or during the lunch break. Activities include sports, cultural activities and classes in modern languages, but the main activity consists in helping students complete their homework.

Secondly, 'tailor-made support' programmes allow students to use a classroom after school hours to complete their homework under adult supervision – usually a teacher, who need not be the regular teacher of the student in question. Sessions last two hours and replace the three hours of lessons that in the past were offered on Saturday mornings. This support programme also provides cultural and physical activities, and is free of charge. Created in 2008, this initiative was initially to be implemented only in areas with special education needs (*Zones d'Éducation Prioritaire*, or ZEPs), but it was soon extended to include other primary and junior secondary schools. To our knowledge, the programme has yet to be assessed. What we do know is that the implementation of this individualised support programme has varied greatly from one school to another due to discrepancies in resource and staff availability. It often targets children perceived by teachers as facing difficulties, whereas the initial objective was to create conditions for all students to complete their homework at school.

The year 2008 also saw the launch of the Individualised Programme for Educational Success (PPRE), in which teachers assist pupils who have difficulties in the teachers' specific subjects, during school hours. A distance-learning department of the National Ministry of Education – the *Centre National d'Enseignement à Distance* (CNED) – set up tutoring lessons during the summer holidays, for which a fee is charged. Offered at €49, this service was significantly less expensive than that offered by private companies, which in contrast demanded almost four times as much.[9]

Despite these state-led initiatives, the past few years have seen the government reduce the number of teachers. Starting in 2007, the French government failed to replace between a third and a half of retiring civil servants and cut more than 10000 teacher positions each year. Among these were some dedicated to help struggling students. Some observers think that this will penalise students who are most in need for help and will shift the responsibility for dealing with these difficulties back to the families.

Government measures do not appear to have slowed down the growth of private tuition. A recent report shows that French students are amongst the biggest consumers of this kind of tuition compared to other national contexts (Bray, 2011). Government support for private tutoring companies has not declined: the goal is definitely not to deter such companies from proposing services, or parents from taking matters into their own hands and resorting to such services. It is common knowledge in France that one of the major disputes between those supporting secularism in schools and the state has long been the question of government funding of private schools. And yet, it is not widely appreciated that private lessons

benefit from public funds on a substantial scale. On the one hand, clients can deduct half the amount they spend on such services as home tutoring from their income tax. This measure was taken in order to encourage people to use such services and guarantee that individuals providing these services have social security coverage. It therefore means that public authorities are bearing some of the costs that private individuals incur when using the services of private tutoring companies. On the other hand, companies benefit from a reduced Value-Added Tax (VAT) rate as well as reduced social charges (CERC, 2008). The *Conseil Emploi, Revenus et Cohésion Sociale* (CERC, the Council for Employment, Income and Social Cohesion) estimates that this sector is benefiting from €240 million in public funds per year. This represents 'nearly two-and-a-half times the budget allocated to public after-school support and almost a quarter of that allocated to ZEPs' (CERC, 2008). These public funds do not appear to be a problem in that they are directed at private individuals rather than businesses, thus enabling them to use a service that many families could not otherwise afford.

The argument supporting individual freedom and social justice is often used, as in the case of the *chèque éducation* system – i.e. subsidised vouchers to pay for school. This is in line with a wider neo-liberal trend in public policies whereby individuals who show the will to succeed should be supported. Moreover, in their advertisements, private tuition companies do not hesitate to emphasise that families can benefit from this tax break, which is considered vital for the companies themselves: 'If the government abolished the 50% tax deduction on private tuition expenditures, we would be finished', admitted the manager of the leading company in the sector (*Le Monde de l'Éducation*, 2007). Yet even though this deduction reduces the cost of private tuition for parents, it does not eliminate it altogether. Furthermore, households who do not pay income tax or who could potentially benefit from tax credit due to their meagre revenue must still pay for the cost of the lessons upfront and wait for the state to reimburse half of the paid sum. We thus see another example of the current trend in government policies, which tends to help private persons rather than target particular areas or populations.

Paradoxically, private tutoring companies do not seem to have been affected by government policies. In contrast, not-for-profit associations which offer free tutoring to pupils in working-class districts have been weakened and sometimes even destroyed by the implementation of 'educational tutoring' and 'tailor-made support' that have often taken their place. It is however too early to make a final assessment of how the tutoring sector has been transformed and how the 'customers' are now shared out between the public education system and associations. The latter fear they will lose some of their subsidies and 'clients'.

Clearly, in the public school system, programmes are launched and run essentially by the state. But local initiatives should not be dismissed, and some public school teachers are convinced that 'the school must be its own resource for its own success' (Perriollat, 2011), and consider that the public school – and not the market – have to find ways to support students. A math teacher, for instance, backed by a few other teachers and two school counsellors (*Conseillers Principaux d'Éducation* – CPE), created a system called 'individualised support' in a technical

secondary school in Haute-Savoie. It is worth mentioning this initiative because of its originality. Its aim is not to help pupils in a particular subject, but to provide them with an opportunity to discuss their schooling, the difficulties they are facing, their inability to work properly, and their difficulty in finding meaning in what they are doing at school. This initiative offers a free public system that the students can attend on a voluntary basis, and that offers something very similar to the educational coaching services described earlier. The teachers who organise these sessions are paid a few hours as overtime (Perriollat, 2011). They are convinced that this service, created in 2006, should be set up in all schools to provide a forum for open discussions between students and teachers.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted questions surrounding private tutoring, particularly those directly concerned with educational inequalities. It seems to us that it is not the quality of teaching that accounts for the growth in private tutoring, but the prevalence and importance of 'homework' assignments, which are insufficiently integrated within the school day. The state has made some attempt to address the issue of increased demand for tutoring. This said, government policies have reduced the number of teachers in public schools who could, in principle, offer students the support they need within the regular school hours.

Furthermore, as school competition increases, it is far from certain that students (or their parents) will be content with what is offered to them at school: they are striving for longer study cycles, diplomas, and access to the 'best courses'. To achieve their goals, they are prepared to discard many other aspects associated with a well-rounded education. They would rather concentrate on the academic and competitive side of education. This shows how in recent decades, academic stakes have become the most important factor for different socio-cultural and economic groups in French society. Till the 1980s, the frontier between public and private schools in France was drawn between the secular school (i.e. the state school) and religious (mainly Catholic) schools. The 'school war' was very hot (Poucet, 2011), before abating in the mid-1980s. Many people and educators – even if they are in favour of public education – see little problem with resorting to private tutoring, if need be. The frontier-line between public and private remains, but the school war seems to be largely behind us. A new frontier has been re-drawn, between market and non-market education. In France, since Jules Ferry's decision to make school free, compulsory, and secular in 1881-1882,[10] French citizens have been used to considering the public school and the social cohesion it advocates as the paragon of the French Republic. The expansion of the school achievement market and the rise of a 'quasi-market' in education (Walford, 1996) have shaken up French society painfully (Dutercq, 2011).

NOTES

[1] School officials often consider parents of underachievers as 'educationally absent parents'. Furthermore, parents tend to be seen as responsible for difficulties their children encounter at school (underachievement, inappropriate behaviour). They are expected by school teachers or headmasters to find a solution (extra-school help, psychologist, doctor, and so on) by themselves. Teenagers are given more and more freedom by their parents in different fields of life, but not at school. Parents keep this area of the lives of their children under control; at least, they try to (Dubet, 1991).

[2] Of course, such lessons do provide a much-appreciated supplement, all the more so since, up to a certain income point, teachers are not required to declare this additional income for tax purposes.

[3] This excludes, for example, guitar lessons, dance clubs and Chinese calligraphy classes, since these are not perceived as having the status of an academic subject within schools.

[4] In the early 1990s, middle-class high school students used to take at least two times more private lessons than working class students. The study by Glasman and Collonges (1994) found proportions of about 30% for the middle class (executive managers, professionals, employers) and about 18% for the working class. In 1998, about 12% of middle class junior high school students took private lessons, whilst working class students accounted for only 8% (Glasman, 2010). In 2003, the rates (for all school levels) were 25.7% for the children of professionals and employers, 16.7% for executive managers and 5.9% for working class children. The percentage of private lessons grows as household income grows: it is under 10% if the income is less than 27,000 Euro per year, and almost 30% if the family income exceeds 68,000 Euro. In addition, the higher the academic qualification of the parents, the more children have private lessons: only 1% of students whose parents have no diploma have private tuition; 14,3% when parents have their '*baccalauréat*'; 20% when parents have a first degree or equivalent, or a higher qualification (INSEE, 2003, quoted by Collas, 2010).

[5] In 1991, the 'Loi Cresson' (named after the socialist Prime Minister at the time) stated that private lessons at home (or any home service) were permitted, but private companies were not allowed to provide the service. In January 1996, the '*Loi Juppé*' (named after the Prime Minister) extended this to providers, who could be companies as well as individuals. This law opened up major opportunities for private companies, and was a key factor in their take-off.

[6] For instance, the '*Complétude Corporate Profile 2010*' states that the students who take Complétude private lessons belong to families of executive managers (30% of their students), white collar workers (22%), employers and professionals (11%), craftsmen and tradespersons (8%), working class, shop assistants, bank clerks, etc. (25%) (Costiou, 2011). In France, the blue or white collar working class represents over 50% of the population, and executive managers about 10%.

[7] In the early nineties, about 10% of students taking private lessons did so in order to improve their school performance and to attain superior results (Glasman & Collonges, 1994). Excellence in school results accounts for part of the market for such service providers as *Acadomia* and *Complétude*. In 2008, the CERC (Council for Employment, Income and Social Cohesion) Report 'Personal and Household Services' stated that about 25% of students going to private lessons did so to improve their results despite the fact they already were doing well at school (CERC, 2008).

[8] The Association for the Promotion of Social Equity at School (APFEE) runs this programme in partnership with schools and town councils. Four times a week, after school hours but on the school premises, five first-grade children spend one hour and a half with a tutor, who can be a teacher from the school or a volunteer. They play reading games, listen to nursery tales, and are encouraged to become familiar with books and to read. Rather than repeating what they learn during the school day, the aim is to provide working class and immigrant children with exposure to the cultural capital (and more precisely, a daily exposure to books and reading) that middle-class children absorb from home.

[9] The difference in price (a 1 to 4 ratio) is difficult to assess because the services offered are not the same, even though those offered by the CNED are of good quality. The CNED offers a manual with the key parts of the programme, many exercises accompanied with answers, two assessments with a customised correction, standard corrected versions (plus an audio support for modern language lessons), and a teacher who can be reached by phone or via the internet. *Acadomia* offers a course

lasting 5 consecutive days, 2 hours per day, at the end of the summer holidays, in the company's premises, where groups of no more than 8 pupils work together.

[10] Jules Ferry was the Minister in charge of Public Education at the beginning of the Third Republic (1875-1940).

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6. SHADOW EDUCATION IN GREECE

Characteristics, Consequences and Eradication Efforts

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines shadow education in Greece, with a focus being placed on private supplementary tutoring offered at secondary education level, and particularly to high school students wishing to continue their studies in higher education. The historical and socio-economic factors that have contributed to the emergence and development of shadow education are discussed, and key aspects of the educational system associated with it are analysed. Moreover, the forms of shadow education and its negative consequences in Greek society generally, and education more specifically, are considered. In this context, we point to the role of shadow education in generating educational inequalities and amplifying the economic burden on Greek families. Finally, we address the educational policies pursued by Greek governments in the recent decades in order to reduce shadow education.

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, shadow education refers to the supplementary teaching offered for profit beyond formal (state or private) schools in order to help students with their school subjects or to prepare them for various examinations (Bray, 1999). It includes different forms of 'cramming schools' and one-to-one or small-group private tutoring.

Shadow education in Greece is known as *parapedia*, i.e. 'parallel education'. For Greeks, *pedia* signifies a well-rounded general education. The term *parapedia* has negative connotations in the Greek language. Those who are engaged in shadow education claim that this term should only be applied to those who offer private tutoring illegally. Some Greek writers have characterised shadow education as the 'guilty secret of the Greek educational system', referring to it as a 'parasite' (Verdis, 2002, p. 36) or as 'the boxing bag for the weaknesses of the mainstream system' (Tsiloglou, 2005, p. 15), and even as a necessary 'evil' (Kyprianos, 2010; Lakassas, 2009).

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 93–113.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The emergence and expansion of shadow education in Greece is intertwined with various historical events, as well as with a number of socio-economic factors. Special reference should be made to three historical events as their consequences are directly or indirectly related to the development of shadow education. The first is the Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922) that ended up with the so-called Asia Minor Catastrophe. Owing to that war, about 1.5 million refugees (one fourth of the population of Greece at that time) moved from Asia Minor into continental Greece. This forced inflow of refugees broadened the basis of the lower social strata, deepened the social differences, and thus favoured the establishment of mechanisms for social control, like the selection of university students. Furthermore, the student population increased and the demand for higher education intensified – a demand that the existing higher educational institutions were unable to satisfy. Moreover, the failure of the schools of that time to meet the overwhelming educational needs resulted in the lowering of the quality of studies in secondary schools. Thus, the ability of all graduates to continue their studies at university level was questionable. For all these reasons, the events of the third decade of the twentieth century, in conjunction with such factors as the political efforts to protect the labour market from a flood of graduates, favoured the gradual introduction of entrance examinations to control access to higher educational institutions. This, in turn, laid the foundations for the growth of shadow education (Kassotakis & Papagueli-Vouliouri, 2009; Mouzelis, 1978; Papadimitriou, 1991; Tsiloglou, 2005).

The second event which can help explain the rise of private tutoring in Greece is the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), which left Greek society deeply divided between Left- and Right-wing sympathisers. Before, but especially during and shortly after this war, many of the defeated Leftists were driven to exile and thousands others were sent to prison. Some Left-wing teachers were forced to resign from their schools. A number of these teachers turned to work as private tutors (Bouzakis, 1991; Hagitegas, 2008; Tsiloglou, 2005).

The third historical development relevant to this account is the dictatorship of 1967-1974, which contributed greatly to the continuation of political instability. The dictators slowed down the development of the country, postponed the modernisation of its educational system, and excluded teachers opposed to the regime from state schools. Many of these teachers resorted to offering private lessons (Bouzakis, 1991; Kargakos, 2010; Tsiloglou, 2005).

With respect to the socio-economic factors and the role they played in the expansion of shadow education, the following comments can be briefly made. During a long period after the recognition of Greece as an independent state (1830), various unfavourable circumstances – including wars, political instability, insufficient financial resources, and so on – delayed the growth of the country's economy. Greece remained quite underdeveloped till the 1950s, but did manage to make steady socio-economic progress. The problem was that the Greek economy never quite overcame its structural weaknesses. Its service sector – and particularly its public sector – became bloated over the years, its disproportionate growth

creating a high demand for civil servants. This, in turn, boosted the demand for education, particularly for that offered at general secondary and higher institutional levels. The imbalance between supply and demand for education increased the competition among candidates for places in tertiary education and laid the foundations for the development of a strong shadow education system.

The administrative hierarchy in the public services, which is primarily based on educational degrees, has been the main pillar upon which Greek society is stratified. Thus, education in Greece has become the key mechanism for social mobility, a situation that contributed to high demand for a university degree even from those belonging to lower social strata (Fragoudaki, 1985; Tsoukalas, 1975, 1981, 1986). Consequently, the vast majority of Greeks are ready to pay whatever they can afford for tutoring services that might help their children attain the highest educational level possible. This, together with the other factors outlined above, help to explain why Greece is the country with the highest rate of private tutoring in Europe (Bray, 2011, p. 24).

KEY ASPECTS OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The spread of private tutoring was also affected by reforms that altered the structural transition points of the Greek school system. After gaining its independence, Greece attempted to put into place a modern education. However, over the years, the changes made have not always been either coherent or consistent, while the financial resources invested in education have generally been insufficient. Thus, Greece has failed to bring its education up to the expected standards (Dimaras, 1985; Kazamias, 1990). Since the public sector was unable to offer quality education to its youth, shadow education flourished, serving as a mechanism to compensate for the inefficiencies of the formal service.

Changes in the structure of the Greek educational system went through several phases, the detailed presentation of which is beyond our scope. The most important modifications relating to the examinations that mediate the transition from one educational level to another will however be briefly presented here, since private tutoring is mainly associated with them.

Up to the 1976-1977 educational reform, the transition from a six year compulsory primary school to the then non-compulsory secondary education (six grades gymnasium) was based on entrance examinations. During this period some pupils received private tutoring that prepared them for these examinations. According to this reform, secondary education was divided into two cycles: (a) a three-year lower secondary school (gymnasium again), and (b) an upper secondary cycle further subdivided into: (i) the general lyceum, and (ii) a vocational education path comprising a technical and vocational lyceum and various vocational schools. The old gymnasium entrance examinations were abolished and compulsory education was extended to nine years. However, new entrance examinations were introduced, this time for the lyceum. As a result, students with lower scholastic achievement received private tutoring in order to prepare themselves for these examinations. Lyceum entrance examinations were abolished

in the early 1980s. Thus, the demand for private tutoring during compulsory education was diminished.

The following factors contributed further to the decrease of private tutoring in primary education: (a) the better quality of home support in the last decades owing to the improvement of the parents' educational level; (b) the quasi-universal progression to the next class since the beginning of the 1980s, and (c) the establishment of all-day primary schools programmes, in the late 1990s, which operate in many primary schools, helping pupils with their homework. Notwithstanding, the need for supplementary tuition in the primary school subjects was never completely eliminated. Since 1977, 'cramming schools' for primary pupils may have been discontinued, but private tutoring was now offered in the form of individual lessons at home. In big Greek cities 'evening study Centres' were introduced recently, offering private tutoring to primary pupils in the main. Private tutoring for primary school pupils is available mostly for foreign languages courses, and for such activities as music, dancing, and athletics.

Currently, private tutoring is much more prevalent among secondary school students, and especially among lyceum students who seek to enter higher education such as universities and the Higher Technological Education Institutes (*Technologika Ekpedeftika Idrimata* – TEIs).[1] The vast majority of students who finish the first cycle of secondary education (gymnasium) continue their studies in the general lyceum leading ultimately into higher education through very competitive examinations. The vocational route has always been followed by a small proportion of students – less than a third of those attending upper secondary schools in recent years – and mainly by those with lower scholastic achievement. Most of the secondary school students who fail to pass their class at the end of the school year receive private tutoring during summer holidays in order to prepare them for the same examinations at the beginning of the next school year. Moreover, a small number of low achievers receive private tutoring to enhance their performance.

TYPES OF SHADOW EDUCATION

Shadow education is known in Greece mainly under two forms: (a) the 'cramming schools' called *frontistiria* (singular, *frontistirio*) i.e. a term that refers to the activity of supplementary education offered outside the formal (state or private) schools, as well as to the place where this activity is carried out, and (b) private lessons known as *idietera mathimata*, referred to hereafter as *idietera*. *Frontistiria* provide mainly classroom-based tutoring as well as tutoring in small groups. The prevailing form of *idietera* is the one-to-one tuition which takes place either at the tutor's or the student's home. However, some tutors may also offer private supplementary lessons to groups of two or three students at a time. In this study, the terms *idietera*, 'private lessons' and 'one-to-one' tuition are used interchangeably.

According to Law 2545 of 1940, *frontistiria* are classified as follows: (a) foreign languages *frontistiria* (known in fact as 'Foreign Languages Centres'), (b)

frontistiria for secondary education, which offer supplementary tuition in subjects taught in mainstream secondary education, and (c) *frontistiria* for higher education, which help higher education students with their examinations.

Moreover, a number of candidates who participate in competitive examinations for positions in the public sector or in other large non-state enterprises (like banks and businesses), receive private tutoring, which is usually offered by *frontistiria* for higher education. Distance tutoring based on new technologies is also on the rise.

Initially, Law 2545 of 1940 provided also for the operation of *frontistiria* for primary education, as well as for the operation of *frontistiria* for the study of such subjects as music, accounting, shorthand, commercial correspondence. Currently, these areas of study are not included in any *frontistiria*. In the past, the higher education *frontistiria* also prepared candidates for entrance examination to tertiary education. Today the *frontistiria* for such preparation are classified as *frontistiria* for secondary education.

The majority of *frontistiria* for secondary education – excluding those for foreign languages – offer supplementary courses in groups of subjects examined in the national examinations. Students have the option to select some of the courses from each group. Generally, secondary school students seek private tutoring in courses such as Ancient and Modern Greek, mathematics, sciences (physics, chemistry, and biology), history, economics and Latin. *Frontistiria* place their students in groups according to their ability and needs. They also create special groups for some students who only need help with their everyday studies. *Frontistiria* may also operate in private schools as an additional and separate activity, independent of the official curriculum.

A *frontistirio* requires a permit issued by the Ministry of Education to individuals who possess the qualifications that enable them to teach in state schools. Recently, private companies have also become entitled to start a *frontistirio*. As part of granting this permit, the Ministry of Education inspects the building for safety, and requires a payment as a start-up fee. The tuition fees, the recruitment and hiring of the teachers, as well as the content of teaching are not subject to official control. *Frontistiria* tutors are usually qualified teachers who have not been appointed to formal schools, but who have the appropriate teaching certificates granted by the Ministry of Education. Teachers at Foreign Language Centres are individuals with an adequate level of proficiency in a foreign language. Those who complete the various courses in language *frontistiria* are eligible to sit for examinations organised by authorised agents – such as the British Council, for instance, or the *Institut Français d'Athènes* – to certify their level of proficiency in the corresponding language. Since 2003, the Ministry of Education has also been organising examinations in a number of foreign languages, granting certification for proficiency.

Private lessons may be offered either by qualified teachers not appointed in mainstream schools, or by higher education students. They may even be offered by school teachers, even though formally they are not permitted to engage in this activity. Many university graduates end up offering private tutoring services, given

the high rate of unemployment among teachers, and the low salaries of those who work in mainstream schools.

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE EXPANSION OF SHADOW EDUCATION

Until the early 1920s there were no significant barriers for those seeking entry to higher education. Examinations aiming at the selection of students for a limited number of available places (*numerus clausus*) were gradually introduced in some university faculties from the 1920s onwards, a practice that became widespread after 1930 (Kassotakis & Papagueli-Vouliouri, 2009). Entrance examinations to higher technical schools had been introduced earlier, at the end of the 19th century.

While some *frontistiria* were already set up at the end of the 19th century, before the 1964 educational reform, entrance examinations to higher education were organised separately by the faculties of the then existing universities in Athens and Thessaloniki, where the first important *frontistiria* were established. Since 1964, the entrance examinations to tertiary education have been conducted at national level under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, in a uniform manner and with common questions for all candidates in each examined subject. The 1964 educational reform allowed for the above entrance examinations to take place not only in Athens and Thessaloniki but also in other major Greek cities. After 1999 students were allowed to sit for national examinations in their own schools. These changes contributed to the creation of *frontistiria* in almost every Greek city, including small ones.

Two student selection reforms, applied in 1979 (the 'Pan-Hellenic Examinations' reform) and in 1999 (the 'Arsenis Reform') respectively, introduced national examinations in the second class of lyceum as well. Other measures related to access into higher education also favoured the growth of shadow education.[2]

Despite the growth in the number of university and TEI seats, especially after the mid-1980s, the number of candidates far surpassed the number of available places. The ratio of candidates to seats in tertiary education was 4.1 in 1975, 3.5 in 1980 and 2.9 in 1990. In 2000, it dropped to 1.6, and remained approximately at the same level in 2011 (Kassotakis & Papagueli-Vouliouri, 2009, p. 319). The disproportion between applicants and admitted students has been much greater in high-demand schools, such as technical universities, medical schools, and so on. This imbalance, along with the shortcomings of secondary schools, further explains the recourse to private tutoring.

The content of the university entrance examinations also drives the continued growth of the shadow education sector. Before 1964, some of the examination items were not directly related to the content of the secondary school curricula (Tsiloglou, 2005). From 1964 to 1979, however, examination questions targeted the curriculum of the then secondary education schools more explicitly, leading to a scramble for private tutoring since one could thus revise in a more strategic manner. Since 1980, examination questions have been based exclusively on the

syllabi of the last class of the lyceum.[3] These examination questions generally require memorisation skills rather than critical thinking. Consequently, the main aim of private tutoring in Greece is to teach to the test. In addition, the heavily loaded curriculum and the large classes in some of the formal schools leave little time or opportunity for teachers to respond to student questions and difficulties. Many topics remain unclear, and students are encouraged to attend *frontistiria* if they cannot keep up.

THE EXTENT OF SHADOW EDUCATION

Recent official (but unpublished) statistical data concerning students' receipt of private tutoring are available for *frontistiria* and not for *idietera*. In 2010-2011, 149,386 students attended *frontistiria* for secondary education – which amounts to about 22% of the total population at that level. This percentage reaches about 59% if it is calculated on the basis of the general lyceum students and it is about 45% if it is calculated on the basis of the total population of the currently existing lycea types (general and vocational).[4] In order to give an idea about the extent of shadow education, we briefly present the results of studies related to shadow education carried out after 1990 – without, however, referring to private tuition in foreign languages.

A survey conducted in 1994 among a sample of students attending the final class of the general lyceum concluded that 75.3% attended *frontistiria* and 36.5% received *idietera* (Kassotakis & Photiadou, 1996). A 1999 study, based on a representative sample of 2,325 students of the two last classes of the integrated lyceum (*enieo likio*)[5] showed that 42.3% of the pupils in the second class and 49.1% in the third class received *idietera*. The corresponding figures for those who attended *frontistiria* were 75.1% and 77.4% respectively. Over 21% of the students who attended either *frontistiria* or received *idietera* replied that they had started private tutoring already at the gymnasium (Kassotakis & Giovanni, 2002).

A study carried out among 1,225 students who attended the last integrated lyceum class in 2000 found that 60.2% of the participants attended *frontistiria*, 11.7% of them received *idietera*, 18.4% combined both types of shadow education, while 9.8% did not participate in any form of private supplementary courses (Verdis, 2002). Another survey conducted in 2000 among 3,057 first year students in seven Greek universities showed that 90.3% of state school graduates had attended *frontistiria* and 61.1% had received *idietera* (Papakonstantinou, 2006).

In Crete, a study carried out in 2000 among 1,491 integrated lyceum students (all three classes were included) found that 42.3% of them attended *frontistiria*, 15.1% private lessons, 19.1% both *frontistiria* and private lessons while 23.1% had not received any private tutoring. The corresponding figures during the last class of the lyceum were 48.3%, 13.4%, 29.5% and 8,9% respectively (Polychronaki, 2004). Most of the respondents declared that they had started attending *frontistiria* or taking *idietera* as gymnasium students (*frontistiria*: 3.3% in the first class, 5.1% in the second, 9.9% in the third; *idietera*: 6.0%, 7.5%, 18.1% respectively).

A 2007 survey involving a sample of 340 individuals aged 18-24 years in a district in Athens conducted by a poll company on behalf of the Association of *Frontistiria* Owners of Attika concluded that 84% of the participants had attended frontistiria while 16% had not (ASEFOA, 2008). Among those who had attended *frontistiria*, 3.3% had done so in the first gymnasium class, 4.4% in the second, 8.9% in the third, 37.2% in the first lyceum class and 84.7% in the second lyceum class. Attendance at *frontistiria* peaked at 95.6% in the last lyceum class. Sixty percent of those who took part in the study answered that they had received *idietera* during their school years (ASEFOA, 2008). It is worth mentioning that 1.2% of the students who had received *idietera* claimed that they had taken private lessons in primary school, 5.0% in the first, 8.1% in the second and 14.3% in the third gymnasium class. The corresponding figures are much higher in the lyceum, reaching 87.6% at the last class. Similar findings have been reported for the city of Thessaloniki (Association of North Greece *Frontistiria* Teachers, 2007).

On the basis of the findings reported in the above studies as well as in similar ones (i.e. Dimou, 1999; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2005) we can draw a number of conclusions. The vast majority of students who attend the last two general (previous integrated) lyceum classes – especially the last one – and a number of students attending the first lyceum class or the gymnasium (even the primary school, in some cases) take, in parallel, supplementary private tuition courses. Many students receive simultaneously *idietera* and classroom-based tutoring at *frontistiria*. Thus, students have a double learning programme, the one offered formally by the school, and another through private tutoring. The above claim is in line with the view expressed by some Greek authors who observed that 'the spread and the social importance that shadow education has in Greece cannot be found in another country in the world' (Dimou, 1999, p. 11).

Students' participation in private tutoring appears to have increased over the past decades. According to an unpublished national survey carried out in 1984 by Kassotakis, about 75% of the graduates of the then public general lyceum who had participated in the university entrance examinations had received both *frontistiria* courses and private lessons. This proportion is smaller than the one reported in the abovementioned studies if the percentages corresponding to all forms of private tutoring are added. This increase may be attributed not only to the educational changes mentioned earlier but also to growth in family income, allowing them to spend more money on their children's education, that is to say, until the recent economic crisis in Greece.

The demand for private tutoring is not only associated with the prevalence of learners who need remedial help but also with the prevalence of high achievers who seek to maintain their competitive edge. For example, some surveys (Kassotakis & Photiadou, 1996; Polychronaki, 2004) show that few lyceum graduates had received private supplementary courses in order to get help to pass their school examinations. Rather, the vast majority of respondents declared that the motive for doing so was to improve their performance.

Regarding the students of vocational lycea (less than 24% of the whole lyceum population in 2009-2010), there are no recent data available concerning the use of

private tuition, although some *frontistiria* have special programmes for the students of this type of lycea.[6] According to estimations provided to us by a number of vocational lycea directors, the percentage of their final class students who resort to extra-school supplementary courses is much lower than the corresponding proportion of students in general lycea. The discrepancy in the percentages between the two types of lycea may be attributed to the following reasons: (a) a very limited percentage of vocational lycea graduates are oriented towards universities, (b) the different preparation required in the special subjects examined for entrance to TEIs (and there is a fixed number of places in TEIs exclusively for the students of vocational schools) is considered to be offered satisfactorily within the school, and (c) most of vocational school graduates are oriented towards the labour market.

The progressive growth of shadow education is also reflected by the increase of the number of secondary education *frontistiria*. Their number grew from 1,500 in the early 1980s (Federation of Secondary School Teachers, 1982, p.96) to 2,352 in 2010-2011, representing a 56.8% increase. It is worth noting that in 2009-2010 there were 1,788 lycea (general and vocational). The number of foreign language centres operating in 2010-2011 was 7,025, while the total number of the schools of formal primary and secondary education was 9,776 in the school year 2009-2010.

According to unpublished statistical data made available to us by the Ministry of Education, 18,159 teachers were employed in secondary education *frontistiria* in 2010-2011 while the number of teachers in the Centres for Foreign Languages was 23,720 in the same year. Although data regarding the number of tutors who give private lessons *outside frontistiria* are not available, it is common knowledge in Greece that it may be higher than that for teachers who work *in frontistiria*. Thus, we can reach the conclusion that the total number of those engaged in various types of private tutoring may approximate the total number of teachers working in the formal secondary schools, which, for the 2009-2010 school year, was 90,108.

STUDENTS' JUSTIFICATIONS FOR TAKING PRIVATE TUTORING

In the studies noted earlier most students declare that they attend *frontistiria* or individual courses at home mainly because they want (a) to get extra help in order to enhance their performance and thus prepare themselves better for the university entrance examinations, (b) to fill learning gaps owing to the shortcomings and the weaknesses of the formal school, and (c) to get encouragement in order to strengthen their self-confidence and thus cope successfully with highly competitive examinations. There are additional reasons cited, though by fewer students, including (d) to improve their study skills, (e) to be in the friendly climate of the *frontistiria* where they can feel more comfortable than in their schools, (f) to acquire supplementary help in order to pass their class, (g) to be in line with what their friends and classmates do, (h) not to feel disadvantaged as compared to attendants, and (i) to obey parents who press them to follow these courses.

Based on the above justifications, it could be argued that shadow education in Greece plays not only a supplementary educational role, but it also satisfies

psychological and social needs of students and their families. Support for such a claim is also provided by the widely accepted view that private tutors show a great interest in their students; are flexible to adapt teaching to the students' needs and provide them with the positive reinforcement in order for them to be able to cope more efficiently with competitive examinations (Dimou, 1999; Kassotakis & Giovanni, 2002; Manos, 2008; Polychronaki, 2004). Further, the organisation of 'mock national examinations' at *frontistiria* familiarises students with the demands of formal evaluation, thus helping to manage anxiety. Recently, some *frontistiria* – particularly those in big cities – offer career counselling, services which are insufficiently offered in mainstream schooling. Attending *frontistiria* or taking private courses has also a positive impact upon the families of the students. As Bray (2011, p.38) notes, private tutoring is often 'a way to remove the tensions away from the house', a remark which resonates with the way many Greek families feel.

To all these reasons one should add the fact that private tuition is now such a long-established tradition, and so deeply engrained in Greek society, that most if not all students and their parents take it for granted. They assume that it is quite 'normal' practice to take private lessons in preparation for entry into higher education. It is worth adding that there are parents who actually 'feel uncomfortable' if they do not manage to secure private tutoring for their children, especially during the last years of lyceum. The irony is that most of these parents and students consider private tutoring as a necessary 'evil' owing to the shortcomings of the mainstream educational system.

GENDER ISSUES RELATED TO SHADOW EDUCATION

Polychronaki's (2004) study suggests that there are no differences between boys and girls in the overall rate of taking tutorials: 76.7% of the boys and 76.9% of the girls involved in this research attended *frontistiria* and/or received *idietera*. The same study indicates, however, that there are differences between the sexes related to the type of tutorials attended. More girls (21.4%) than boys (15.8%) attended both types of tutoring at the same – i.e. both *frontistiria and idietera*. Boys, however attended *frontistiria* more often than girls did – 46.2% and 40% respectively. On their part, Kassotakis & Photiadou (1996) found that girls receive private lessons/*idietera* more frequently than boys do – 40.8% and 29.5% respectively. Furthermore, boys declare more often than girls do that the knowledge offered at *frontistiria* and/or received through *idietera* is more engaging and essential when compared to that offered during formal schooling. Girls state that private tuition strengthens their self-confidence to cope with the demands of the examinations more often than boys do (Polychronaki, 2004).

Moreover, with a few exceptions, lyceum students' perceptions of the effectiveness of *frontistiria* are not differentiated by gender (Dimou, 1999). The few significant gender differences suggest that girls believe more than boys do that one gains essential knowledge in *frontistiria* and that assessment is more objective in *frontistiria* than it is in the regular schools. Boys, however, are more likely than

girls to hold the opinion that compared to formal schools, *frontistiria* offer better services and allow a more active participation in learning activities.

Despite the lack of relevant data, there is widespread belief in Greece that boys are more likely than girls to receive private tutoring in mathematics and sciences, and that girls are more likely to receive tutoring in ancient Greek, history and foreign languages. This is due to perceived different academic orientations of the two sexes after the lyceum, whereas girls opt more readily for humanities and the arts, whereas boys choose sciences and especially technology (Maratou-Alipranti, 2008).

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF SHADOW EDUCATION

The substantial increase of private tutoring has had multiple adverse social, economic and educational consequences. The most important of these consequences are outlined in the following sections.

Economic Burden on Households

In 1979, the annual cost of attending *frontistiria* and receiving private tuition was estimated at about 11.5 billion Greek drachmas (GDR) – equivalent to 33.7 million Euro – while the annual state expenditure on secondary education stood at 9.7 billion GDR – or over 28 million Euro (Federation of Secondary School Teachers, 1982, p.96). Pesmatsoglou (1987) noted that the amount of private expenditure for *frontistiria* – including those catering for foreign language instruction – increased for the whole period of 1976-1985. The same author underlines that 'this expenditure represented, in 1976, 20% of all private expenditure on education, reaching about 30% after 1980. In fact, the cost of *frontistiria* is estimated to be 50% higher than that mentioned above' (pp. 101-104). Liodakis (2010), referring to 2007 data, calculated that the supplementary education cost for Greek households stood at 1.7 billion Euro per annum, a figure that represents 35% of all private household educational expenditures in Greece.

According to the 2011 Report of the Educational Policy Development Centre of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (KANEP), household expenditure on private tutoring for primary pupils was 344.5 million Euro in 2008. This amount was equal to 48.4% of the total private expenditure on primary education (41.4% for foreign languages and 7% for supplementary education in other subjects), and to 16.1% of the public expenditures (ordinary budget) on preschool and primary education in the same year. According to the same report, family expenditure on private tutoring for secondary education was about 1.3 billion Euro in 2008, corresponding to 82.4% of the private expenditure on secondary education (25.8% for foreign languages and 56.6% for *frontistiria* and *idietera* in other subjects). This corresponds to 50.4% of the public expenditure (ordinary budget) on secondary education in 2008.

The high cost of private tutoring in Greece is also reported in a number of other studies (*inter alia* Dimou, 1999; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridi, 1995;

Papakonstantinou, 2006; Papas, 1989; Polychronaki, 2004; Psacharopoulos & Papakonstantinou, 2005; Psacharopoulos & Tassoulas, 2004). This sheds light on the extent of the economic burden put on Greek families by the excessive expansion of shadow education. Over this backdrop, the Greek Constitution's provision for free education for all citizens is practically ineffective (Pyrgiotakis, 2009).

Social Inequalities

The preparation of candidates for higher education is associated with the socio-economic level of their parents. For example, Verdis (2002) found that access to *idietera* was highly associated with both parents' occupation, while classroom-based tutoring was associated with the mother's occupation. Other recent studies have also shown that *idietera* are preferred by people belonging to the privileged economic strata, while people from the middle and lower social strata opt more often for *frontistiria*. For example, according to a study by Sianou–Kyrgiou (2005), only 10% of the integrated lyceum graduates whose fathers were classified as semi-specialised manual workers had received *idietera*, 60% had attended *frontistiria* while 30% had not attended either *frontistiria* or had received *idietera*. The corresponding figures for the highest category of white-collar workers were 66.7% and 33.3% for *frontistiria* and *idietera*, respectively. In addition, the same study showed that the amount of money spent on tutoring is related to the father's social status.

A similar trend is reported by Polychronaki (2004) who shows that the proportion of students whose fathers are affiliated with the upper-middle class, and who receive *idietera* exclusively, is about 2.3 times higher than the corresponding proportion of the students whose parents are affiliated with economically less established social strata. The inverse trend is reported when it comes to *frontistiria*. Comparable trends can be observed if supplementary education is examined as a function of the mother's occupation. The frequency of receiving *idietera* or combining *idietera* and *frontistiria* increases as a function of parents' education: as the parents' educational level increases the percentages of those receiving *idietera* or combining *idietera* and *frontistiria* increase too, while the percentage of those who do not attend either *frontistiria* or *idietera* decreases.

The differences noted above are among the factors contributing to social inequalities in access to higher education. Thanos (2007) reviewed twenty studies of educational inequalities in Greece which were carried out between the middle 1960s and the early 2000s. The review shows that students whose fathers were farmers or blue-collar workers were less likely to enter higher learning institutions when compared to those belonging to the remaining social classes.

The influence of private tuition in creating social inequalities is related to the size of the effect that private supplementary courses have upon the students' achievement. Studies have reported that the percentages of those entering tertiary education are higher among those who attend *frontistiria* and/or *idietera* in comparison with those who do not attend (Drettakis, 1977; Kassotakis &

Papagueli-Vouliouri, 2009; Papageorgiou, 1979). Such a result is not likely to be attributed to private tutoring only. The high socio-economic (and mainly the cultural background) of those receiving *frontistiria* and even more *idietera* may play a more significant role in determining students performance than private tuition itself. For example, a study conducted by Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridi (1996) on various influences on the achievement of lyceum graduates who participated in the 1981 national examinations showed weak and in most cases insignificant multiple regression coefficients between the time spent on private supplementary courses (*frontistiria* and *idietera*) and academic achievement. A similar study conducted by Verdis and Kriemadis (2003) among integrated lyceum students demonstrated that attendance at *frontistiria* is positively correlated with academic achievement, controlling for other variables like the socio-economic status of students, their prior achievement, educational route, and classroom climate. Access to *idietera,* however, failed to correlate significantly with academic achievement. Such a result is not compatible with the fact that, as Polychronaki (2004) notes, most teachers believe that private lessons contribute to student achievement more than *frontistiria* do. In addition, there are findings showing that, without controlling for other variables, students who receive *idietera* present higher percentages of success in entering higher education than those who attend *frontistiria* (Kassotakis & Papagueli-Vouliouri, 2009; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridi, 1995; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2005).

Further research is required in order to assess the effect of tutoring on academic achievement. Such research becomes even more imperative in countries such as Greece, and this for a number of reasons. Despite the fact that Greek students attend *frontistiria* and/or receive *idietera* in very large numbers, their performance in the national examinations is far from being satisfactory. Very often, as many as 50% and more are awarded less than 10 on a 20-point scale in some examined subjects. Furthermore, despite the fact that Greece ranks among the top countries of the world when it comes to the incidence of private tutoring (OECD, 2010b), Greek students score below the OECD average in such international comparative studies as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), performing poorly in all examined skills including reading, and scientific and mathematical literacy (OECD/UNESCO, 2003; OECD, 2004, 2007, 2010a).

Regional Disparities

A study by Kassotakis (1989) examining access to higher education during the years 1983 and 1984 reported that the percentage of students receiving private tutoring in urban areas was higher than the percentages of their counterparts in rural areas. A similar pattern emerged in a more recent study showing that 83.1%, 80.3% and 61.4% of the participating population had received *frontistiria* and/or *idietera* in urban, semi-urban and in rural areas respectively (Polychronaki, 2004). The same study also indicated that 22.4% of the students living in urban areas received only *idietera* whereas the corresponding percentages of those living in semi-urban and rural areas were 5.5% and 5.0% respectively. These differences are

due not only to the greater economic power of urban dwellers, but also to the greater offer of private courses in urban Centres. Differences also exist among different geographical regions of the country, such as mountainous areas, islands, and big cities (Manos, 2008; Mastoras, 2011).

Differences in access to private tutoring services contribute to inequality in access to higher education and help to at least partially explain the variations in students performance observed between urban and non urban areas, and between the different geographical regions in the country (Kyridis, 2003; Kyridis & Photopoulos, 2009).

Student Burnout

Private supplementary courses take place after school hours. In the PISA 2010 report Greece is classified among the top three participating countries when it comes to the number of hours spent every week on tutoring and out-of-school classes by 15 year-old students (OECD, 2010b). The number of hours increases dramatically when it comes to students attending lyceum classes, and especially so in their last year of study there. Recent research shows large variations in the amount of time that students spend receiving private supplementary courses (Dimou, 1999; Kassotakis & Giovanni, 2002; Polychronaki, 2004). Students in their final lyceum year are currently estimated to spend, on average, between 12 to 16 hours per week attending *frontistiria* (President of the Association of *Frontistiria* Teachers, personal communication, October 3, 2011). This number is smaller for students in lower classes. Generally speaking, the time spent in *frontistiria* sessions is higher than that for one-to-one or small-group tuition courses, where on average students spend about 4 to 8 hours per week on average. According to Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantinou (2005), on average lyceum students attend *frontistiria* for the duration of 2.4 years, with the corresponding figure for *idietera* being 1.8 years. Private tutoring in school subjects is sometimes received during weekends and holidays, as well as throughout the summer. In addition, a number of students take after-school classes in a foreign language, as well as in music, dancing and related areas – all this over and above attending mainstream schooling, where they are expected to cope with what many consider to be an overloaded official curriculum. To this, one should also add the time that students spend in commuting to and from the *frontistiria* or the tutors' homes. We argue that an important consequence of shadow education in Greece is 'student burnout' – and this is particularly so for those in the final classes of the lyceum, confirming the popular saying that 'the hardest working people in Greece are senior high school students'.

IMPACT ON MAINSTREAM SCHOOLING

Shadow education impacts mainstream schooling in a number of different ways. For one thing, students' interest shifts from mainstream schooling to private tutoring. Moreover, the emphasis on memory-based teaching approaches in the

frontistiria is transferred to the formal schools, with the obvious negative effects on learning. Furthermore, school absenteeism increases weeks before the national examinations, since students attend *frontistiria* sessions more frequently, particularly so in the case of final lyceum class students. An additional problem arises in the case of school teachers who clandestinely offer private lessons to their own students, given that they may be in a position to show special favour towards them. School teachers who also act as private tutors may have limited time to prepare for their regular teaching duties, preferring to invest their energies in shadow education where monetary rewards are higher. Others fail to make enough efforts to ensure that all students have integrated the curriculum, assuming that those who lag behind will be able to supplement their learning in *frontistiria*. This is particularly relevant given the increasing diversity among students in the same classroom, which renders teaching more challenging.

POSITIVE DIMENSIONS

Thus far we highlighted the negative implications of private tutoring for learning and equity. Notwithstanding, some tutors and scholars have attributed positive dimensions to private tuition. They claim that private supplementary courses have become necessary because of the ineffectiveness and the low quality of formal education. They also claim that private tutoring contributes to the improvement of the general educational level in a given society (Dimou, 1999; Hagitegas, 2008). Moreover, a large number of higher learning institutions graduates are employed in *frontistiria* and/or offer private lessons – and these would have otherwise joined the ranks of the unemployed (Athanasouli, 2009). For instance, about 72% of teachers participating in Polychronaki's study (2004), declared that they worked at *frontistiria* and/or had given private lessons before their appointment in a state school – that is when they were still looking for regular work. It is noteworthy that some *frontistiria* tutors have become influential figures in the social, political and scientific life of Greece. Further, certain textbooks written by *frontistiria* tutors and some of the teaching innovations applied to *frontistiria* have been subsequently introduced into formal schools.

When it comes to the users of private tuition services, the picture is quite positive too: students who attend *frontistiria* generally declare themselves to be very satisfied with the help they receive (ANGFT, 2007; ASEFOA 2008; Dimou, 1999; Manos, 2008; Polychronaki, 2004). Most parents also express positive opinions about the service (Dimou, 1999). In contrast, student satisfaction with mainstream education is not very high (ASEFOA, 2008; Maratou-Alipranti et al., 2006). Significantly, most students who have made it into higher education institutions attribute their success to private tutoring rather than to the education received in their schools (Dimou, 1999; Papadimitriou, 1991; Siannou-Kyrgiou, 2005). Such convictions are reinforced by the *frontistiria*, given that they publish the names of registered students who gain entry to higher education, thus taking credit for their success and advertising the effectiveness of the services they offer.

Despite all this, however, one can safely claim that the vast majority of Greeks still consider *frontistiria* and *idietera* as undesirable necessities, a necessary 'evil' which should, in principle, be eradicated (Kyprianos, 2010; Lasassas, 2009; Panaretos, 2009).

NATIONAL POLICIES TO REDUCE SHADOW EDUCATION

Various policies have been implemented by Greek governments with a view to limiting the extent of the shadow education system – without, however, much success. Policies targeting private tutoring can be divided in two categories: (a) those seeking to provide free supplementary education to students, and (b) those seeking to improve the quality of teaching in the formal education sector – and especially so in lyceums – and to increase access to higher education thus making private tutoring unnecessary.

Examples of the first policy category include the establishment of Post-Secondary Preparatory Centres (*Metalikiaka Proparaskevastika Kentra*), the creation of the programmes for remedial or additional teaching, and the recent establishment of the so-called 'state electronic *frontistirio*'. The Post-Secondary Preparatory Centres were introduced by a socialist government in the 1980s. Beginning with the 1982-83 school year, lyceum graduates who failed to enter tertiary education, or those who wanted to re-take the entrance examinations which were then in place, had the right to attend the Preparatory Centres. Significant funding was allocated to the Centres during 1980s, and they seem to have boosted the success rates, though, as Kassotakis and Papagueli-Vouliouri (2009) argue, the difference in achievement is more likely due to the candidates' increased familiarity with the national examinations which they had already sat for before. In addition, many of the Preparatory Centre students also attended a *frontistirio*, so it is difficult to identify what caused which effect. Eventually, a number of negative factors came to be associated with the Centres. A good number of the students who enrolled in them had stopped attending by the end of the year, and it seems that the Centres were deemed to be less effective than private tutoring – a conclusion reported in the study by Kassotakis and Papagueli-Vouliouri (2009). The Preparatory Centres lacked a permanent teaching staff, infrastructure and buildings, exhibited a high annual turn-over of personnel, and their staff received low remuneration. By the end of the 1980s, the Centres were in decline and were finally abolished.

Efforts to establish remedial teaching in official schools include the 'Supportive Teaching' scheme (*Enishitiki Didaskalia*) and the 'Additional Teaching Support' scheme (*Prostheti Didaktiki Stirixi*). The first programme was piloted before 1985, with legal provisions made in 1988 and in 1991. Supportive Teaching was henceforth made available in all primary schools and gymnasia, offering supplementary courses with a view to helping students overcome learning problems, thus eliminating the need for outside school support.

The Supportive Teaching programme was first introduced into the lyceum in 1982 and was further developed after 1997, under the name of 'Additional

Teaching Support'. It started off with the same aim of helping low achievers improve their performance. Subsequently, it was extended to more students, thus reducing the demand for private after school help. Despite high hopes and the significant national and European funds allocated for the purpose, these measures did not succeed in addressing the private tutoring problem. The reasons for this vary. Among the oft-cited ones are the dysfunctions, inflexibility and ineffectiveness of the educational system; the insufficient and delayed remuneration of teachers; the difficulty in attracting and motivating competent teachers; the lack of time available to offer additional teaching support, given that many students attended *frontistiria* or received *idietera*; difficulties related to the transportation of students to and from their schools, particularly in rural areas, and so on (Kassotakis & Giovanni, 2002). In our opinion, the most important reason is the lack of confidence that Greek families have in the capacity of state schools to prepare students for competitive examinations. Indeed, it is worth mentioning that the majority of students think that Supportive Teaching in schools cannot eliminate the need for private tuition (Kassotakis & Giovanni, 2002; Polychronaki, 2004). After 2008, the within-school support programmes were subject to financial cuts, to the extent that during the last school year 'Additional Teaching Support' was offered only in the final class of a small number of lycea, and that only in remote regions.

Finally, we should mention that since the late 1990s remedial courses (*frontistiriaka tmimata*) and inclusion classes (*taxis ipodohis*) were introduced into mainstream schools, targeting immigrant and repatriated Greek children and, exceptionally, a few native underachieving students who needed extra help. In 2010-11 these courses and classes became integrated in so-called 'Educational Priority Zones'. At this time, there is little research evidence as to the effectiveness of these measures. Our guess is that their impact on reducing the need for outside school help is likely to be insignificant given that the initiatives target a limited number of special categories of students.

With regards to the second category of policies, it is worth noting that following the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, efforts to upgrade the quality of public education and thus reduce the need for shadow education included the introduction of changes in school curricula, the renewal of teaching materials (text books, audiovisuals aids, and so on), the expansion of in-service teacher training, the introduction of new technologies, the inclusion of the average students' performance in the selection criteria for entrance to higher education, and the increase of places in higher education. However, none of these measures succeeded in significantly upgrading the formal education and eliminating the need for private tutoring. This failure could be attributed to many causes, the most important of which are the frequent changes in educational policy, discontinuities in the reform process, the insufficient professional training of teachers, low state expenditures on education, and the absence of teacher and school evaluation.

It should be added here that the current government created the so-called 'New School', and set about restructuring the higher education sector. Other relevant initiatives by the Ministry of Education include efforts to help students with their

studies, particularly through making use of the new technologies. The so-called 'Digital School' (www.digitalschool.gr), as well as 'digital *frontistirio*' (www.study4exams.gr) are two cases in point. The latter is particularly relevant to our topic, given that it is meant to support students in preparing for the national examinations (the *Paneladikes Exetasis*). These services are too recent for any data to be available to assess their role in limiting shadow education.[7]

What government measures have failed to achieve through reforms seems to have been accomplished by the economic crisis that Greece is now facing. According to media reports, there has been a decrease in the attendance at *frontistiria* and especially in receiving *idietera*, because many Greek parents can no longer afford to pay for private tutoring. As a result, *frontistiria* owners have reduced their rates. Although these claims need to be confirmed by more reliable data, it may be assumed that the economic crisis will lead to deeper inequalities in educational opportunities because the crisis affects disadvantaged households more severely.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Shadow education in Greece has a long history and deep social, political and cultural roots. To eradicate such a deeply ingrained phenomenon is not an easy task, to say the least. Doing so requires time and serious efforts by Greek policy makers to address the inconsistencies and discrepancies of past educational policies, and to improve the quality of schooling. These should include the evaluation of schools and the assessment of teachers, as well as the improvement of their professional training. In parallel, radical reforms in higher education are needed, including changes in the national examination system. Since the problem is not entirely educational in nature, it will also necessitate major changes in the economy, society and the labour market in order to rationalise the demand for university education.

The authors of the present study consider that a substantial renewal and upgrading of the official remedial educational activities in mainstream schools are extremely important if policy makers want to reduce educational inequality and grapple effectively with the system of shadow education. This effort should also include the expansion of all-day schooling to the level of secondary education, where effective forms of supporting teaching practices could be further implemented. It is imperative that these efforts are made so that Greek society regains confidence in the state school system.

NOTES

[1] TEIs, previously known as KATEE (Non-University Centres for Technological and Vocational Education), were categorised as higher education institutions in 2001.

[2] Examples include the possibility of lyceum graduates who failed to enter higher education to participate in the national examinations again, the increase of the number of the examined subjects in national examinations after 1999, etc.

[3] For the periods 1979-1982 and 1999-2004 during which national examinations took place both in the third and in the second lyceum class, the examination questions were based on the curriculum of the corresponding class.

[4] The percentages are calculated on the basis of 2009-2010 unpublished data, more recently available for formal education.

[5] The integrated lyceum was introduced by the Arsenis' reform (1997) and replaced all the existing forms of lycea (i.e. the general, the technical-vocational, and the multilateral). From 2005, Greek lycea are divided in general and vocational.

[6] The 1999 study of Dimou is the only one conducted after 1990 which includes in its sample a percentage of technical lyceum students. However, it does not provide separate results concerning the rate of use of shadow education for the different types of the then existing lycea.

[7] In the past, the Ministry of Education has sometimes taken various measures against frontistiria – for instance, obliging frontistiria to use the official textbooks that were also used in regular schools, or prohibiting them from carrying out mock examinations. These measures have however been withdrawn (Hagitegas, 2008).

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7. PRIVATE TUTORING IN ITALY

Shadow Education in a Changing Context

ABSTRACT

Private tutoring is not a new practice in Italy, having accompanied the structuring of the education system since the middle of the 19th century. It has, however, assumed different guises over the years, depending on the political spirit of the age, and whether Italy was under the sway of liberalism, fascism or post-war democracy. The growth in private tutoring since the turn of the century has different causes, among which are a number of reforms introduced by the two right wing governments that led Italy between 2001 and 2011. This chapter provides a historical and critical overview of the diverse root causes of private tutoring, as well as its significance to different groups of citizens. It thus illustrates the fluid versatility and context-dependent features of the phenomenon. The chapter further suggests that under certain political configurations of hegemonic power, private tutoring can operate as an enclave of resistance, offering some forms of economic and socio-cultural redress for a persecuted class of individuals or groups. As such, private tutoring operates as much in relation to the political as it does in relation to the economic, and expresses the embedded tensions, struggles, and aspirations associated with conflicts over the aims of education.

INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring or *lezioni private* has deep roots in Italy. For teachers, private tutoring has mainly represented a complementary income, given the fact that salaries have always been quite low – and just above the survival level in the 19th century. The decision to keep salaries low for teachers was shared by successive Italian governments – whether liberal, fascist, or republican. This decision mirrored an approach that, even under a totalitarian regime, governments never invested fully in public education, considering it as complementary to other private institutions such as the family and the Church. The feminisation of school staff since the 1960s may have reduced the teachers' need to give private lessons in order to survive, but the presence of different categories of private tutors, such as students and unemployed intellectuals, has always guaranteed a sufficient offer in the field.

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 115–128.

Families find in private tutoring an indispensable support for ensuring successful school trajectories for their children in an educational system deeply implicated in the reproduction of social divisions. Consequently, the costs of private tutoring were somehow considered by families as 'part of the picture'. Furthermore, students found in private lessons the individualised attention that the school did not, and still does not offer. During some periods – such as under fascism (1922-1943), private tutoring offered an alternative education that ensured alternative cultural, political and ethical perspectives to those advocated by the state. Indeed, some of the greatest intellectual personalities of the anti-fascist movements were private tutors.

If one had to take into account these contextual elements, then, how should one account for the recent 'boom' in private tutoring in Italy?

PRIVATE LESSONS: A COMMON PRACTICE SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY

The study by Carla Ghizzoni (2003), published in a book edited by the well-known historians Roberto Sani & Angelino Tredde, analyses the reports of the Inspectors to the *Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione* (Higher Council for Public Education), between the 1861 National Unity government and World War I. This period of Italian history is also called the 'liberal age', from the perspective of the dominant political ideology expressed by governments, in which both the right and the left of the liberal political spectrum were represented (Banti, 1996). The 'liberal age' ended in 1922 with the arrival of fascism. Ghizzoni's study offers important information about private tutoring in the 19th century. The fact that the Higher Council for Public Education had introduced a question which asked whether primary school teachers gave private lessons for a fee, was indicative of an established practice, given low teacher salaries. The inspections carried out by the Ministry of Public Education are the main source concerning private tutoring, a phenomenon that, in most documents of the time, appears linked to remuneration issues. The profile of the teacher in the years after the National Unity (1861) can be reconstructed through Inspection Reports, relevant statistics, and the pedagogical literature. The historical studies concerning the topic (Tomasi, 1978; Chiosso, 2009) underline a contradiction between the mission that the government assigned to teachers, described as 'soldiers of wisdom and freedom', and tasked with contributing to the moral elevation of the lower classes in order to build the nation – and the *tenue stipendio* (low salary), which the rewards for service occasionally given could not provide adequate compensation (Ghizzoni, 2003, p. 24).

The 1859 Education Act, called the Casati Law (after the Minister who promulgated it), addressed teachers' salaries (Ansovini, 2010). It established a division of powers between the state and local authorities, leaving a certain degree of autonomy to municipalities. The latter were in charge of elementary schools, and could not always guarantee adequate salaries and work conditions for teachers. It was accepted that 'the job of the teachers was modest, full of sacrifices and badly remunerated' (quoted by Ghizzoni, 2003, p. 35). Increases in wages were not granted across the board. They were rather allocated for specific reasons, such as

when teachers distinguished themselves through exemplary commitment. Ghizzoni (2003, p. 35) noted that 'most primary school teachers gave private lessons to compensate for the meagre salary that municipalities granted them and that, in many cases, [it] was below the minimum levels set by the Casati Law'.

Because of low salaries, inspectors were generally tolerant of teachers who were giving private lessons. One Turin inspector noted in 1864: 'Teachers are to be pitied if they are expecting to give private lessons for the sake of some gain. Their salaries are so thin that if they get sick or have a little of fun, they end up without money, and must survive on stale bread' (quoted by Ghizzoni, 2003, p. 36). In the inspector's view, less understanding had to be shown towards primary school teachers who lived in cities where they enjoyed higher salaries. According to this inspector, city teachers gave private lessons only out of 'greed'. Nevertheless, the practice was widespread in the cities, such as Milan where most teachers gave private lessons. The teachers ran some risks in order to secure a little supplementary income. Indeed, the accusation that they were neglecting their work at school because of the time they spent giving private lessons could have negative effects on their career as the case of Pietro Pasquali shows. Renowned for his pedagogical publications, in 1887 Pasquali was appointed general director of primary schools in Monza, a town in Lombardy. A local newspaper, *Il Lambro*, expressed reservations about this appointment, due to Pasquali's private tutoring activities. As a result, he was only appointed after proving his commitment to school work in front of a jury (Pruneri, 2006, p. 227).

During the first 40 years that followed the Italian National Unity (1861), private tutoring was a second job for many primary school teachers, supplementing their low income. Only in 1904, under the 'reformist' government of Antonio Giolitti, did the condition of primary school teachers improve thanks to the Orlando Law. However, despite salary increases, private tutoring continued as usual. The Orlando Law did not change the division of powers between state and local authorities in education-related matters that had been established under the Casati Law. Prime Minister Giolitti, representing as he did a liberal school of thought, was not in favour of statism and centralisation of public services, which he considered 'pernicious', politically as well as economically. Faced with the 'slow' and 'bad organisation of state services', including 'the disorder in public education', Giolitti supported decentralisation policies 'in opposition to the proponents of state control' (Redi Sante Di Pol, 1996, p. 27). In such a context, private tutoring continued to be a widespread strategy to make up for the deficiencies of the public education system. The burden of ensuring a sound education therefore remained on the shoulders of families.

The Orlando Law therefore failed to address the nexus between teachers' low salaries and private tutoring. Wages remained too low. In a book published in 1919 under the title *Il Problema Scolastico del Dopoguerra* (*The Educational Problem in the Post-War Era*) the fascist philosopher Giovanni Gentile denounced the fact that teachers – and especially those in primary schools – were so badly paid that they had to offer private tutoring in order to survive. According to him, this situation badly affected the quality of Italy's education system.

It was not only primary school teachers who gave private lessons in 19th century Italy. Students and unemployed intellectuals also worked as private tutors to earn a living, often holding down other precarious jobs as well. Among the Italian intellectuals who at one point or another survived by offering private lessons, one can mention Francesco de Sanctis (1817-1883), writer, literary critic, philosopher, politician, and also Minister of Education between 1861 and 1862. Today, he is mainly remembered as a literary critic and historian: his history of Italian literature is still a classic, studied in high schools. Having participated in the insurrections of 1848 in Naples, Francesco de Sanctis was first jailed and then exiled to Turin in 1853. Biographers say that, in the town of Piedmont, he survived as a teacher at a girls' private school and by giving private lessons.

Francesco de Sanctis was no exception: Carlo Tenca (1816-1883), Milanese writer, journalist and Italian politician, partially paid for his university studies by giving private lessons. Alberto Castigliano (1847-1884), who became a well-known mathematician and engineer, performed various jobs during his years of study at the University of Turin, including private tutoring. In the early years of the 20th century, Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936), then professor at the University of Rome, needed a second job because of the economic situation of his family, and ended up offering private lessons. In 1934, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

FASCIST ITALY (1922-1943): PRIVATE TUTORING AS SURVIVAL FOR ANTIFASCIST INTELLECTUALS

During the years of fascism, many regime opponents who were not allowed to work in public schools survived through private lessons. This extremely interesting page of Italian history has been little explored. Mussolini took power in 1922 and began the process of turning Italy into a fascist state: the *Gentile Reform*, ushered in by the eponymous Minister of Education, was one of the first achievements of the fascist wave, a sign that the school was considered central to the creation of a new Italy. Further reforms followed from 1925 onwards, seeking to extend political control over teachers and teaching, to make the curriculum serve propagandistic interests, and to recruit students into fascist youth organisations. Reforms introduced Catholic religious instruction as a fundamental cornerstone of education, in clear contrast with the secular spirit of the public school during the liberal age (1861-1922).

The Act of 24 December 1925, made effective by Royal Decree of 17 March 1927, stipulated that teachers could be dismissed for not fulfilling their contract and when their behaviour was considered 'incompatible with the general policy directives of the government'. In 1931, an oath of allegiance to the state was imposed on university professors, although in reality the possibility of being dismissed for incompatibility with government policy had already existed since 1927. In this context, private lessons became the only means of survival for many antifascist teachers and intellectuals. Private tutoring became a real 'shadow education', where curricula and values alternative to those promoted by fascist

propaganda could be taught. It is well worth recalling some of the well-known anti-fascist intellectuals, as well as less well known teachers, who survived those dark years by offering private lessons.

Among the renowned journalists and political activists, Giovanni Zibordi (1870-1943) and Floriano Del Secolo (1877-1949) are of particular relevance to this chapter. Zibordi (Cavazzoli, 2012) was the director of the newspaper *La Giustizia* of Reggio Emilia, considered among the most prestigious publications of Italian socialism. Zibordi was also a local administrator and Member of Parliament representing the Socialist Party. Forced by the fascists to leave the city, Zibordi took refuge in Milan where he spent two decades offering private lessons. Unable to publish political articles, he devoted himself to literature both as a critic and writer. He celebrated the arrest of Mussolini – on 20th July 1943 – five days before passing away.

Del Secolo, professor, journalist and intellectual, signed a 'Manifesto of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals', published on 1st May 1925. He was one of the few teachers who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the fascist state. For that reason he was dismissed from school. He managed to make a living through private tutoring and writing. His house became a cultural landmark with young anti-fascists turning to him for private lessons. He guided young generations in the study of classical and renaissance authors, helping them to rediscover the value of freedom.

Other intellectuals who fell afoul with the fascist regime include the philosopher Aldo Capitini (1899-1968), whose reflections on non-violence were inspired by Saint Francis of Assisi and Gandhi. In 1933, Capitini was dismissed from the *Scuola Normale Superiore* of Pisa, one of Italy's highly selective institutions, after refusing to sign up as a member of the Fascist Party. He went back to his hometown in Perugia, and survived by offering private lessons. Similarly, the celebrated poet Cesare Pavese (1908-1950) – who graduated in 1932 from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Turin with a thesis on the poetry of Walt Whitman – was not allowed to take part in the competitive examination to become a teacher. He was obliged to earn a living by translating classics written by such authors as Herman Melville and James Joyce, and by offering private lessons.

There were less known teachers too who, like their more famous compatriots, offered private lessons in order to survive in fascist Italy. These included members of the Resistance, many of whom met their death at the hands of German and fascist forces between 1943 and 1945. Among them was Adolfo Vacchi, born in Bologna in 1887 and killed by fascists in Camerlata in the Como region in 1944. Vacchi was a Mathematics teacher, a socialist and militant trade union leader in Venice. He was repeatedly attacked by militiamen, and expelled from both his school and the city in 1923. Vacchi moved with his family to Milan, where he lived by offering private lessons and 'educating his young students to the ideals of freedom', according to his biographer. Another example is provided by Jacopo Lombardini, born in Gragnana in Massa Carrara in 1892, and gassed by the German authorities at Mauthausen in April 1945. He was an elementary school teacher and, as a key figure in the anti-fascist resistance movement, was forced to

leave school after 1924. To make ends meet he was compelled to offer private lessons.

The case of Antonio Giuriolo is similar, and drives home the fact that private lessons could have a great impact on students. Born in 1912 in Arzignano, Giuriolo was a literature teacher when the fascists were in power. His decision to refuse to join the Party meant that he could not find employment in Vicenza's public schools. He was therefore obliged to become a private tutor. Many of his students followed him to the Resistance movement, and joined the *Partito d'Azione*. Under the name of Captain Toni, he was with the partisans in Friuli and in the Plateau d'Asiago. Wounded in the hand and hospitalised in Bologna, once recovered he resumed guerrilla warfare, this time in the Apennines, where he organised a local training unit known as the Brigade Matteotti. Giuriolo died in combat on 12th December 1944. Massimo Vareschi (2012) notes that he was mourned by students who acknowledged that it was thanks to their teacher that they had been able to overcome the influence of fascist propaganda. One finds additional insights on the impact of private tutoring on the growth of anti-fascist movements in the biography of Guido Guidasci (1890-1943), from Tuscany. Dismissed from the Railway Service for his political convictions, Guidasci gave private lessons to people who wanted to obtain the primary school diploma. Gioacchino Gesmundo (1908-1944), on his part, taught Philosophy in a prestigious Roman high school, the *Liceo Cavour*. While holding a membership card of the Fascist Party, he nevertheless used private tutoring in classical literature, ethics and aesthetics as an occasion to educate students against fascism. As some students of Gesmundo recall, the rejection of the regime started with ethics and aesthetics, given that fascism was ignoble and vulgar: Portelli (1999, p.89) captured this nicely when he stated that 'Fascism was despicable. It was the voice of fake radio announcers, and then you opened the newspaper and the news was false, the words were false. That was fascism'. Gesmundo was martyred at the Fosse Ardeatine.

SCHOOL REFORMS BETWEEN DEMOCRATISATION AND EXCLUSION – PRIVATE TUTORING IN ITALY AND THE CHOICE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL

In post-World War II Italy, private tutoring was such an established practice that it continued as usual. It no longer fulfilled the important social function of providing an alternative means of survival for anti-fascists. Rather, it represented an important supplement to meagre teacher salaries. The end of fascism and the onset of liberation did not bring about a radical change in Italy's education system, and the country's social structure would only be altered during the 1960s as part of a wholesale economic transformation.

In the 1960s two major educational reforms that led to the democratisation of the system were launched, namely the introduction of the comprehensive middle school (in 1962) and the opening up of the university to those with any secondary level of education (in 1969) (Pruneri & Bianchi, 2010). The idea that the education system has to ensure equal opportunities for all grew stronger and deeper roots. Don Lorenzo Milani's famous book, *Lettera a una Professoressa* (*Letter to a*

Teacher) (1967), powerfully articulated the condemnation of selective practices based on class origin.

Despite these two major reforms and the wholesale transformations in Italian society, the school's implication in the reproduction of inequality on the basis of class origin remained unaltered for several years. Class-based inequalities are still affecting the trajectories of Italian students from primary schools to university, even if the number of children of lower classes arriving to University has increased. Table 1 draws on the data collected by the Consorzio Universitario Almalaurea for 2009, showing the social origins of graduates from an Italian University.

Table 1. Social origin of Italian graduates

Social class	*%*
Upper middle class ('borghesia')	21.7
Middle class ('classe media impiegatizia')	29.7
Lower middle class ('piccola borghesia')	21.6
Working class ('classe operaia')	23.5

Source: Consorzio Universitario Almalaurea (2009)

Class-based selection persists because of strong differentiation at the secondary education level, which caters for ages 14-19 and which is neither comprehensive nor inclusive. At ages 14 and 15, children must choose between the highly selective classical and scientific schools (*licei*), where Latin and Greek are compulsory, and technical schools of various kinds (*istituti tecnici ed istituti professionali*). The latter have higher rates of school leaving without diplomas than the former (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2000). The situation deteriorated during subsequent economic crisis: 18.8% of young people left school without having obtained a high school diploma or a professional qualification – as against a European Union average of 14.1%. Most of these 'early leavers' were from technical schools (Dacrema, 2011), and this is due to a combination of factors including class selection (with children from poorer families going to technical schools) and inferior learning contexts (with technical high schools often being overcrowded). Over 52% of the students who received university diplomas came from classical and scientific schools compared with less than 30% from the technical schools, with the remaining 18% coming from pedagogical and linguistic high schools (Consorzio Universitario Almalaurea, 2009). At the high school level the question of equal opportunities for all students is crucial. Opportunities also depend on the possibility that families have to pay supplementary private lessons. Consequently, private tutoring is a piece of the mosaic that contributes to the production of class selection. During the 1960s and 1970s, the feminisation of the teaching profession reduced the need for a supplementary income for teachers. Married women's salaries were generally considered supplementary to the husbands' salaries, with the men being perceived as the main 'bread winners'. However, while female teachers were not under pressure to give private lessons to

increase the family income, another reason for boosting private tutoring services appeared on the scene: graduate unemployment. This remains an important feature of the Italian labour market, contributing a large workforce for private tutoring given that as many as 20% of young people fail to find regular work one year after graduating (Consorzio Universitario Almalaurea, 2010, 2011).

The problem of persisting class-based selection contradicts the idea of a school offering equal opportunities to all. In spite of different attempts at reforming the school system, inequalities have gone from bad to worse. Data published in 2010 by the Ministry of Education show that 31% of students enrolled in public technical and professional high schools do not complete their studies. The percentage is even higher in vocational schools (40%), followed by technical schools (just over 30%) and the *licei* (around 20%). *Licei* students come from the upper middle classes and more frequently resort to private tutoring, which lessens the likelihood that they leave school without diplomas.

Studies show that the choice of the secondary school strongly depends on social class and the family's economic situation (Checchi & Flabbi, 2007). Checchi (2008) analysed the relationship between effective learning and student achievement (as demonstrated by performance in tests, and marks and grades obtained) on the one hand and family expectations and teachers' advice as to future education pathways on the other. Checchi found that teachers formulate proposals for orientation not only on the basis of learning outcomes, but also on the basis of their perception of available family support, based on knowledge of parental education and income. In another collective work, Checchi (2009) integrates the data from PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2006 and that about income from a European survey (EUSILC), in order to analyse the contribution of economic resources of the family to the choice of secondary school for their children. The measure of family income is significantly correlated with the probability of choosing the 'best' secondary schools (*licei* first, and technical schools second, when compared to vocational tracks). Checchi noted that the growing trend of Italian families to enrol their children in high schools was less affected by the cultural capital of the family and increasingly by employment status and income. Finally, he shows how the financial resources of the family influence the formation of students' skills, even when available cultural resources are taken into account. This effect can measure the availability of additional resources to the schools, including private tutoring, books ownership, and access to the Internet.

Private tutoring, then, is an additional resource, necessary for some students to keep up with the standards required by the *licei*. Empirical evidence and partial estimations indicate a constant presence of private tutoring for students in high schools (mainly *licei*), especially for subjects such as Greek, Latin, and Mathematics. There is even empirical evidence (Schiavazzi, 2009) that teachers in the formal school system sometimes refer parents to tutors who would offer the best supplementary support to their children in these subject areas. In some cases, there is even a sort of 'complementarity' between the formal system and the work of private tutors, particularly in the case of well-to do or middle class families whose children find it difficult to keep up with the programmes of the 'best' high

schools, especially in the key subjects mentioned above. In other words, teachers in the formal system rely on private tutoring – often offered by colleagues, and occasionally by university students – in order to maintain a certain academic level in the classroom. This does not necessarily mean that teachers in the formal education system have direct contacts with private tutors – even if this is not entirely unknown. What certainly does happen, however, is that they encourage parents to resort to private lessons in order to help solve their children's learning difficulties.

In more recent years, the expanding shadow education sector has fulfilled additional functions. It has gone beyond the 'complementary' role to become a 'substitute' for services that mainstream schooling should offer, particularly in relation to activities that schools were supposed to organise in order to combine better training and an inclusive approach. This trend towards 'substitution' will be analysed in the next section.

THE BOOM IN PRIVATE TUTORING AND 'REFORM' MEASURES

Consumer associations (ADOC, CODACONS) and trade unions (CGIL) alike denounce Italy's present 'boom' in private tutoring. This is not surprising, given that it is estimated that no less than 40% of secondary school students resort to private lessons. The contingent causes are associated with policy measures taken by the Minister of Education, Mariastella Gelmini (2008-2011), and with budget cuts introduced by the centre-right government led by Prime Minister Berlusconi between 2008 and 2011. As trade unions and teachers' associations have emphasised, the private tutoring boom is the consequence of political choices that have been made regarding education.

It is important to consider these educational policies in some detail starting with the *debito formativo*, loosely translated as 'educational debt'. The latter refers to a student's failure in a school subject, registered by the class teacher in June, with the student being expected to 'recover' the 'debt' (*debitus solutus*) during the following school year. The notion of an 'educational debt' was introduced by Minister Francesco D'Onofrio on the basis of Law 352 of 8th August 1995, replacing the previous system of examination re-sits (*riparazione*) in September. In 2007, Minister Giuseppe Fioroni (under the Prodi government) reformed the system of debts, obliging students to show evidence of mastery of the contents in which they had failed prior to the start of the new school year. Under the new decree, schools are required to organise special courses during the summer, after which students must sit written and/or oral examinations to demonstrate that they have 'paid' their debt. This system is similar to the one which existed before 1995, the so-called 'make-up examination' (*esami di riparazione*). The decree also allows families to decide whether the children will follow the 'remedial' special classes at school, or prepare for the examinations on their own. Whichever option is chosen, all examinations have to be taken on school premises.

The decision of the Minister was explained on the basis of the fact that 42% of the 'indebted' students – i.e. around 800,000 individuals – did not 'pay their debt'

within a school year but carried it over, right up till the examinations of the final year. Minister Fioroni intended to develop special courses in every school in order to improve the general quality of teaching. For this reason, he launched a provision – Article 1 of Decree 80 for 2007 – which, in practice, implied that schools could not reject any student if the institution had not put into place reasonable measures to help students recover their debt, for instance through the offer of special courses. The change of government in 2008 had dramatic consequences on the implementation of the special courses as a result of the cuts in the education budget. Moreover, the approach of the right-wing government was certainly not hostile to the 'private' sector. On the contrary, it was the public sector that came under attack.

Budget cuts affected the delivery of the special 'recovery' courses. Trade unions pointed out that in 2010 many schools did not offer the courses, and the ones that did offer them did not do so in all subject areas. As a result, families found themselves obliged to employ private tutors if they wanted their children to pay off their debt through re-sit examinations. The number of high school students in this position is constantly growing: over 600000 students every year have education debts. Mauro Antonelli (Schiavazzi, 2009) of the consumer association CODACONS declared that,

> If the boom [of private tutoring] has come in the last two years it is because schools are not able to offer anything beyond the organisation, much less in the summer when in principle they should offer 15 hours of courses. Well, at most, they put together three or four classes, and not in all subjects … So, families who have children who are about to start high school have to put aside at least €500 a year for lessons in the most difficult subject.

Another policy that accounts for the growth of private tutoring in Italy is the decision by Minister Gelmini to link admission to the high school graduation examination – the so-called *maturità* – to the achievement of a satisfactory pass, or *sufficienza*, in all disciplines. This decision has been criticised by teachers' organisations as being anti-historical: never in the history of the Italian school has there been such a rigid constraint. Even the fascist Minister, Giovanni Gentile, was more flexible: a royal decree of 1925 had envisaged as a minimum requirement for admission an overall average of five marks out of 10 – keeping in mind that in Italy, grades range from zero to 10, with six being the threshold. Gentile's regulation remained in force until 1998, when Minister Berlinguer abolished admission requirements. The teachers' council has the power to change a five to a six, thus using their professional discretion to help a student attain the threshold and qualify for the *maturità*. However, the threat of failure drives families to resort to private tutoring in increasing numbers during the last year of high school.

THE COSTS OF PRIVATE TUTORING

Two Italian consumer associations – ADOC and CODACONS – have studied the costs of private tutoring. Their findings show that an hour of tutoring in Latin and

Mathematics costs at least €30. On average, a month of tutoring offered by a private tutor, with two hours of lessons per week, costs €240. The price can reach €50 an hour, and prices differ according to the subjects taught and the tutor's profile. Teachers are more expensive than university students, who have been known to charge as little as €10 per hour. For six months of tutoring, the cost can run up to €1,700 a year – a prohibitive sum for many families, considering that the average revenue of an Italian family in 2011 was €2,679 a month, with 20% making less than €1,281, and 70% around €2174 (ISTAT data).

Despite the financial burden that this represents for many families – as further detailed in Tables 2-5), many are now finding themselves obliged to pay for private tutoring during the summer, given the reintroduction of the 'school debt', as described above. If around 40% of students take private lessons, then the calculated annual turnover from this activity amounts to over €420 million. The increasing resort to privately provided education is not only visible in private tutoring: the number of students applying for entry into private schools in order to make up for the shortcomings of public education is also burgeoning.

Table 2. Average cost for one hour of high school private tutoring in 2009 and 2010 in Milan (€)

Subject	*Teacher*		*University Student*	
	2009	*2010*	*2009*	*2010*
Italian	29	30 (+3,4%)	20	20 (=)
Latin/Greek	32	32 (=)	25	25 (=)
Mathematics	33	35 (+6%)	25	27 (+8%)
Foreign languages	27	28 (+3,7%)	20	20 (=)
Other subjects	25	25 (=)	18	20 (+11,1%)

The sign (+…%) indicates percent growth in the cost of one hour of private tutoring, between 2009 and 2010, due to increased demand. The sign (=) indicates no change between 2009 and 2010.

Table 3. Average monthly cost for two hours of tutoring a week in 2010 (€)

Teacher as tutor	*Student as tutor*	*Difference teacher/student %*
240	179.2	33.9%

Table 4. National average price for one hour of high school tutoring in 2012 (€)

Subject	*Teacher 2012*	*Student 2012*
Italian	32	20
Latin/Greek	35	27
Mathematics	35	28
Foreign Language	27	22

Table 5. Average cost in August of three hours of tutoring a week to prepare for debt exams 2011 (€)

Teacher as tutor	*Student as tutor*
350	270

Source: Elaboration on the basis of ADOC estimates
http://www.adoc.org/ntizie/5800/scuola-adoc-e-boom-ripetizioni-private-1-ora-di-le

Additional information derived from interviews (Neri, 2012) with private tutors suggest that as already noted, university students charge less, to the tune of €10-15 per hour. The economic crisis that commenced in 2008 reduced the number of families able to pay for private tutoring, and the fees charged by university students consequently spiralled downwards.

A final note needs to be made regarding the financial aspects related to private tutoring. This service falls within the 'informal' economy, which in Italy accounts for as much as 30% of the Gross National Product. In this sense, private tutoring should be seen as a component of the market of services that has considerably grown in Italy in the last 20 years. Many of these private services cater for the care of children and of senior citizens.

CONCLUSION

Private tutoring is an established practice in Italy, linked to a number of features specific to the Italian education system, including low teacher wages and strong selective practices at the high school level. In recent years, educational policies have negatively impacted the quality of education and encouraged private tutoring, thus imposing further economic burdens on families. The new directives of Italy's Ministry of Education concerning high schools, the reintroduction of examinations in September, and new regulations for admission to final exams have all contributed to the increase in demand for private tutoring.

Private tutoring is an outcome of the absence of adequate provisions in public schools to assure equal opportunities for all students. The Italian school is failing to cater for all students in an equitable manner, thus falling far short of upholding a core democratic aim of public education. In other words, shadow education in Italy is an indicator of hidden yet pervasive privatisation and commercialisation of public education. In one of his reports on private tutoring, Bray (2011, p. 60) quoted the General Secretary of Education International, the umbrella body for teachers' unions, who wondered:

> [Is] education about giving each child, each young man or woman, the opportunity to develop his or her full potential as a person and as a member of society? Or is education to be a service sold to clients, who are considered from a young age to be consumers and targets for marketing?

In the case of Italy, the school system has failed to live up to the first expectation, increasingly assigning the responsibility for the fulfilment of that aim onto the family. And this trend is, sadly, worsening.

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8. THE PRIVATE TUITION PHENOMENON IN MALTA

Moving toward a Fairer Education System[1]

ABSTRACT

Private tuition is increasingly being equated to unfairness. Although it has the potential to help students who experience learning difficulties at school, it is also an inequitable ploy in the hands of other students as they work up their way to reach status, power and wealth. A review of Maltese research reveals how this purchase of educational privileges appears to favour mostly students from families with a strong financial and educational background. This situation undermines local policy initiatives aimed at providing all students with equal access to quality education and life opportunities. However, rather than suggesting the curtailing of such privileges, this chapter proposes the creation of an educational ambience in which these privileges are less effective. The idea is to blur the existing boundaries between private tuition and mainstream schooling as a starting point toward rendering the Maltese education system fairer.

INTRODUCTION

Until quite recently Malta[2] had a highly differentiated education system that was regulated by means of high-stakes examinations. This 'fractured' reality – which arguably persists, even if in a diluted form, to the present day – intensified the pressures on students to attend private tuition. The underlying notion has always been that private tuition (or 'private lessons' as they are more commonly known in Malta) increases the likelihood of 'doing well' in the selective processes that are inherent in the local system (Calleja, 1988; Grima & Ventura, 2006). But as has happened in other countries (see Bray, 1999, 2006, 2009; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; Smyth, 2009), local policy makers and researchers so far have paid little attention to the phenomenon of private tutoring in spite of its far-reaching implications for full-time schooling and life opportunities.

Even though so much has been written and said about private tuition in Malta, as yet it has been investigated specifically only by prospective teachers as part of their initial teacher education[3] – what we are calling 'ITE research' – though a few other local studies provide some additional evidence. A unifying factor among all the local studies is that they all look at private tuition from the perspective of students, teachers and parents. No researcher has ever directly participated or

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 129–149.

observed what actually happens during private lessons. Although there are various forms of private tuition (see Bray, 2006; Ireson, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Smyth, 2009), this phenomenon is largely understood in Malta as supplementary tutoring in academic school subjects to replicate or compensate for insufficiencies in daytime schooling that is provided by tutors for financial gain outside the school and the family (see Bray & Kwok, 2003; Foondun, 2002; Ireson & Rushforth, 2004; Mischo & Haag, 2002).

It is not the intention of our chapter to come up with new empirical evidence on the phenomenon. We are interested instead in reviewing the existing data in order to explore the phenomenon of private tuition in Malta from a perspective of 'social justice'. We use this term

> … to gesture at the unifying factors underlying the general movement towards a fairer, less oppressive society. This is a movement towards opening up from the few to the many the rewards and prizes and enjoyments of living in society – including schooling. (Griffiths, 1998, p. 301)

But we would like to see an 'opening up' that moves away from entitlement, important and baseline as this is, to also include what Corbett (2001) has called 'a thoughtful concern for equity' (p. 120). We would argue like her that while 'Entitlement is about the allocation of resources, placement and individual rights … Equity is about equitable value systems, the fair sharing of finite resources and a demonstrable respect for differences' (p. 117). Our emphasis on equity or fairness arises from the knowledge that not everyone who is entitled to a right actually gets to enjoy it. This encourages us to work in favour of a fairer Maltese education system that values all students by providing them with the best possible chances to reach their full potential irrespective of social class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and disability. We prefer to speak of 'fairer' rather than 'fair' in the belief that what Stobart (2005) said about assessment – that is, 'while we can never achieve fair assessment, we can make it fairer' (p. 275) – applies equally well to the wider education system.

Our understanding that student learning and achievement are highly related to equitable practices encourages us to position ourselves among those who think that practices that are not equitable need to be challenged and changed (Stone, 1998). We therefore set out to explore in this chapter whether the provision of private tuition in Malta is creating and/or perpetuating social inequalities. Creating awareness around an issue that has the potential to distort fairness within the education system would constitute, in our view, an important first step in moving forward our agenda of a fairer education system. Toward this end, we start by reviewing the international literature which is increasingly equating private tuition to a 'shadow education system' that increases educational and social inequalities (see Bray, 1999, 2006, 2009, 2011; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson & Rushforth, 2005; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). In the next section, we provide an overview of private tuition in Malta. We discuss here the high visibility of supplementary tutoring in Malta, its links to examinations, and how provision and costs interact

with family background. This is followed by a fairness-oriented analysis of local research that sheds light on private tuition. Then, after considering the significance of this analysis and the ongoing efforts to improve schooling in Malta, we offer suggestions in line with our desire for a fairer education system. In the final section, we take a long-term view of what needs to be done, arguing in the process that this journey toward greater fairness still has to begin with sensible small steps.

PRIVATE TUITION: EXACERBATING INEQUALITIES

Private tutoring has a long history. It originated before the institutionalisation of schooling when wealthy families employed private tutors to teach their children (Ireson, 2004). But nowadays, in spite of universal education, many parents still choose to supplement what their children receive at school through private tuition (Ireson, 2004). Bray (1999, 2006, 2009) explains why private supplementary tutoring, which has now become a vast enterprise, is being described as a 'shadow' education system in many countries. He writes:

> First, private supplementary tutoring only exists because mainstream education exists; second, as the size and shape of the mainstream system change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring; third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream system. (Bray, 1999, p. 17)

Private tuition has long been prominent in many Asian countries, but it is now growing in many other parts of the world, including North America and Europe, to become a major global phenomenon (Bray, 2006; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Foondun, 2002; Ireson, 2004; Mischo & Haag, 2002; Smyth, 2009). This growth 'is driven by a competitive climate and strong belief in the value of education for social and economic advancement' (Bray, 2006, p. 526). Education is viewed thus as a 'positional good' – that is, something whose value declines if others posses more of it – which provides entry into desired occupations, status, wealth and power (see Griffiths, 2009). Believing that private tuition helps students to do well in tests and examinations (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011), people are increasingly willing to 'throw money at the problem' (see Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004) in order to acquire this 'positional good'. Some well-off parents, especially where competition is fierce, are even known to resort to 'double tuition' in the same subject by sending their children to a second more qualified and competent tutor (Foondun, 2002).

With the increased marketisation of education (see Smyth, 2009), private tutoring has become part of what Bray and Kwok (2003, p. 618) call 'out-of-school strategies to enhance in-school success' (also Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004). The situation is such that while low achievers feel compelled to attend private tuition for fear of being left behind, many families of students who are doing well in mainstream schooling still invest in this form of tutoring in order to maintain a competitive edge (Bray, 2006). The head-start that both sets of students seek is 'to perform better in school, stay longer in the education system,

and in turn secure greater lifetime earnings' (Bray, 2006, p. 526; also Bray & Kwok, 2003). The demand for private tuition increases in the proximity of decisive tests and examinations that determine one's successful transition through the education system (Bray, 2006; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Grima & Ventura, 2006; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; Smyth, 2009). Moreover, the demand is greatest in subjects – normally Mathematics and the national languages – that are prerequisite qualifications at each stage of the transition (Bray, 2006).

Although private tuition is commonly perceived as a gateway to higher levels of education and high status occupations, there has been little research on its effectiveness and the findings are mixed (Ireson, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Smyth, 2009). But Bray (2006), while acknowledging the diversity of the findings, concludes that 'It still seems reasonable to assume that prosperous families are in a position to invest in forms of tutoring which significantly promote their children's performance in the school system' (p. 523; see also Mischo & Haag, 2002). But it is not just a question of money. Money can make the difference best when there is no dissonance between the family culture and the school culture (see Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; also Smyth, 2009). The realisation that a well-resourced family – which is different from simply being rich – can influence school performance through the purchase of private tuition raises in turn a number of ethical concerns linked to the fact that not all students have access or equal access to this additional support.

> Families with the necessary resources are able to secure not only greater quantities but also better qualities of private tutoring. Children receiving such tutoring are then able to perform better in school, and in the long run to improve their lifetime earnings. By contrast, children of low-income families who do not receive such benefits may not be able to keep up with their peers and may drop out of school at an earlier age. (Bray, 2006, p. 515)

This reality suggests that private tuition, rather than simply being a remedial strategy used by students who experience difficulties in mainstream schooling, is also a proactive strategy used by students who want to accumulate further advantages to the significant ones they already enjoy in the formal education system (Stevenson & Baker, 1992). This exacerbation of educational inequalities places private tuition among the various measures that link educational achievement to family background and, in particular, to the role of social class (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; also Bray, 2006; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Smyth, 2009). Being so closely linked to success in examinations, access or lack of access to private tuition becomes a form of social control that, as Foucault (1977) contends, describes and classifies individuals according to differences and creates a distribution among the population. This invariably builds upon what Bourdieu (1977) sees as a characteristic of schooling to systematically create fair and unfair situations

according to social context. Particularly pertinent here is Bourdieu's (1977) argument that:

> The action of the school, whose effect is unequal among children from different classes, and whose success varies considerably among those upon whom it has an effect, tends to reinforce and to consecrate by its sanctions the initial inequalities. (p. 493)

By making it easier for social advantages and disadvantages to be transferred across generations (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004; Stevenson & Baker, 1992), private tuition, if anything, serves to intensify the inequalities perpetuated by schooling. As such, it plays a crucial role in widening the divisions between the 'education rich' and the 'education poor' (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004). The further realisation that 'unlike most shadows, private supplementary tutoring is not just a passive entity but may negatively affect even the body which it imitates' (Bray, 1999, p. 18) is behind growing calls for further research on this theme in order to redress, among others, what Scanlon and Buckingham (2004) have termed as 'cycles of disadvantage'.

PRIVATE TUITION IN MALTA

High Visibility

Private tuition is a highly visible phenomenon in Malta. We all know many parents who send their children for private lessons; we all know individuals who give private lessons at home; we have all seen placards advertising private lessons displayed prominently outside private houses; and we have all witnessed students coming in and going out of private houses and educational institutions after school hours. And this list can go on and on. Not surprisingly, one of the popular songs that featured in a local cult comedy/satire series that hit Malta's TV screens in 1986 was called 'Privatijiet'[4] (which means 'private lessons' in Maltese). The refrain of the song, loosely translated from Maltese, said:

> Study my son, study my daughter
> as examinations are arriving soon.
> Keep in mind all the money
> I've had to pay for your private lessons!

This widespread presence of private tutoring was also noted by Roger Murphy, an educational consultant who has been invited to the islands on various occasions. He remarked that 'A very strong emphasis, and reliance, upon private tuition outside normal schooling, before and all through the years of schooling' (Murphy, 2005, p. 5) is one of the distinctive characteristics of the local education system. The notion of 'going to private lessons' is so well-ingrained in Malta that it can easily be used as an explanatory metaphor with the general public. One of the authors, Michael, recounts one such episode which he recently witnessed during a Catholic Church service:

> During today's Sunday mass, a married couple made an appeal to persons aged over thirteen years to start attending catechism classes for adults that will soon be starting in our parish. The officiating priest also urged the congregation to attend. He told us: 'Take it as if you're going for private lessons … every now and then we all need to recharge our batteries if we want to start walking on our two feet again'.

Given the high visibility of private tuition in Malta, the lack of proper regulation[5] – which we share with other countries (see Ireson, 2004; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004) – is somewhat surprising. In practice, it is possible for anyone who thinks that he or she can teach to start offering private tuition classes. All it takes is to advertise and recruit students. Basing ourselves on a number of mail shots that we came across and the paid adverts that appeared in six consecutive issues of *The Sunday Times* (from 19 December 2010 to 23 January 2011), Malta's top selling newspaper and arguably the most influential, we could note how private tuition providers market their services. Their main selling points were: solid content knowledge, long teaching experience, individual attention through small or one-to-one groupings, convenience of location for clients, the provision of notes, and past paper coaching.

Links to Examinations

Malta's lucrative private tuition market needs to be understood within the traditional local dominance of examinations over the schooling process which arguably continues to the present day. The recently launched consultation document, which paves the way for the new National Curriculum Framework, in fact identifies a de-emphasis on examinations as a precondition for having an assessment system that truly reflects what matters in learning (Ministry of Education, Employment and the Family [MEEF], 2011). The examinations' long-lasting control over the system has caused excessive stress among school administrators, teachers, students and parents (see Calleja, 1988; Farrugia, 1994; Grima & Farrugia, 2006; Mansueto, 1997). In particular, Maltese families live under continuous psychological tension as children's failure in examinations is almost always judged as a failure of the family (Calleja, 1988).

This pattern may have to do with self-esteem which appears to be linked in Malta with examination performance. We tend to value ourselves and others tend to value us on the basis of examination results – that is, value is attributed to achievement and valuelessness to examination failure (Chetcuti & Griffiths, 2002). In an effort to seek 'value', Maltese families are willing to send their children to private lessons, accepting in the process the extra mental, physical and financial stress that this brings (Grima & Ventura, 2006). Griffiths (2009) suggests that there are two main reasons why people value education: first because it provides entry into a desired occupation (i.e., vocational value) and second because it can have value for its own sake (i.e., liberal value). The strong local emphasis on private tuition in connection with the desire for examination success (see Camilleri, 1995)

would suggest that the predominant value associated with education in Malta is 'vocational'. This, together with the Confucian notion of self-improvement through hard work that has traditionally influenced South East Asian countries where private tuition has long been a major phenomenon (see Ireson & Rushforth, 2011), ensures that private tuition enjoys a position of strength within the Maltese education system. The local newspaper *The Times* commented that 'Private lessons seem to have become the norm rather than the exception' (Editor, 2011, p. 9). In this scenario, it has often been suggested by education experts, politicians, Church authorities and the general public that many of the students who go for private lessons in Malta are doing this unnecessarily (see e.g., Calleja, 2011a, 2011b).

Provision, Costs and Family Background

There are three main tuition service providers on the island: (i) individuals who are not necessarily qualified and licensed to teach; (ii) private institutions that specialise in this sector; and (iii) the Directorate of Lifelong Learning that offers evening classes to persons aged over fifteen years. While the first two types of providers offer the service against payment, the third provider – which is a government entity – charges a nominal fee and even waives this fee, among others, for students from families facing financial and social difficulties. But other providers (e.g., the Catholic Church, the state-funded Foundation for Educational Services and the Labour Party) from time to time offer fee-free private tuition or similar educational initiatives, especially for students from disadvantaged groups.

The expenses related to private tuition have long been a thorny social issue in Malta (see Cauchi, 1996; see also Grima & Ventura, 2006). For reasons mentioned by Bray (1999, 2006) – namely, tutors' unwillingness to declare their earnings coupled with the fact that private tutoring is beyond the reach of the government's data collection system and students' reluctance to publicise they are seeking either remedial support or competitive advantages over their peers – it is not possible to get a detailed or accurate picture of this phenomenon in Malta. But we do know, however, that these classes cover from pre-primary level straight up to university level. The indications – sporadic as they are – suggest that these classes gradually become more expensive as one starts moving up the educational ladder. Based on information obtained from individual providers, private institutions that provide this service and a number of students, it seems reasonable to say that Maltese families – depending on the level of tuition sought and the number of subjects involved – end up paying considerable amounts each year on private tuition. Given Malta's relatively low wage structure[6], the costs involved for non-government subsidised private tuition represent a serious financial problem to many local families. This situation raises equity issues linked to increases in social stratification as some students are being excluded from private tuition of their choice for financial reasons.

Exclusion, however, may also depend on family factors that go beyond finance. In Malta, the relationship between class and finance threads a very fine line. Baldacchino (1993) argues that while class distinctions do exist in Malta, they

cannot be very clearly defined mainly due to the importance of kin and friendship networks, partisan politics, and a 'perverse' distribution of income where some skilled blue-collar work is very likely to be a better source of income than any white-collar work. In Malta 'it is not what you do (that is, occupation) or what you know (formal qualification) which matters but more importantly, who you know and who you are, as well as who you know well and who would therefore not just promise but will, at the end of the day deliver the goods' (Baldacchino, 1993, p. 19). In terms of private tuition this means that parents might have the necessary finances, but not the necessary knowhow or connections to find the best private tuition for their children. This was not the case of Deborah, one of the authors, who talks about her 'advantaged struggle' to find a private tutor for her son:

> This summer I needed to find a private language tutor for my son. I first referred to the adverts in the local newspapers, which were available to everyone. But I did not trust this … so I resorted to my network of colleagues and friends … sending emails and asking for information about private tutors … It was only when I was convinced that I was being recommended the best people in the area that I finally made contact with the tutor.

Parents with a higher educational background or social class are thus able to pass on to their children material and cultural advantages which give them a head-start in life (see Bradley, 1996). We would therefore argue, following Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), that the organisation of private tuition and access to private tuition retranslates the inequalities in the social level into inequalities in the academic level and vice versa, creating a tightly knit circle which is very difficult to break. This circle ensures that parents from a certain background, with educational knowhow and the right contacts can buy the services of the best private tutors who coach their children toward success. The inability of other parents to do the same for their children helps to perpetuate the status quo of the social strata.

A FAIRNESS PERSPECTIVE ON MALTESE RESEARCH

We reviewed ten B.Ed. (Hons) dissertations and one PGCE long essay. This ITE research reported empirical studies conducted at primary (kindergarten to Grade 5), secondary (Grades 6-10 in the USA) and post-secondary (Grades 11-12 in the USA) levels in state, Church and independent schools in Malta. We also refer here to additional local evidence, including a survey conducted on behalf of a local newspaper.

Incidence of Private Tuition

One of the main questions addressed by local research has been the incidence of private tuition in Malta. Different studies have come up with different percentages. The figures obtained from ITE research range from a high of 51.9% (Falzon & Busuttil, 1988) to a low of 37.6% (Fenech & Spiteri, 1999) at primary level, and

from a high of 82.9% (Falzon & Busuttil, 1988) to a low of 36.3% (Bouvett & Cuschieri, 2007) at secondary level. The only available figure for post-secondary education is 19.4% (Buhagiar, 1997). On the other hand, a survey conducted for *The Sunday Times* found that 36.7% of the respondents who had school-aged children in their family said that they send their children for private tuition (Editor, 2003). Caution is called for, however, when interpreting these figures. Apart from the variety of subjects and sampling methodologies, as we have already pointed out there are a number of reasons why it is always difficult to obtain good estimates of private tuition attendance. Still, the available evidence suggests that private tuition has had and continues to sustain a strong presence in the Maltese education system. A European Commission study (Bray, 2011), after noting the particularly high rates of private tutoring in Southern Europe in comparison to other European regions, places the rate of tutoring in Malta right behind that of Greece and Cyprus. In the majority of countries, tutoring is compensatory, in the sense that it helps students to keep up with their school work. But the significant number of students who attend private tuition in Malta indicates that supplementary tutoring is also satisfying demands that have nothing to do with remedial help. One of the parents interviewed during the 2005 review exercise of the local national examination system referred to the consequences of this scenario by saying:

> … our sons and daughters go to private lessons even if they do not need to go. They attend even if they are doing well at school. Private lessons are held from Monday to Sunday … some parents push their children to go to private lessons … leaving no time for other activities like sport. (Grima & Ventura, 2006, p. 216)

This high incidence of private tuition is causing Maltese students considerable stress (Brincat, 2000; DeBrincat & Falzon, 1996; Gauci & Wetz, 2009). The situation is confounded further in view of research (see Bonnici & Camilleri, 1994; Falzon & Busuttil, 1988; Fenech & Spiteri, 1999) indicating that a substantial number of Maltese children start attending private tuition from a very young age. For instance, 13% of the students in Falzon and Busuttil's (1988) study claimed to have started attending private tuition before they were in Year 3 of primary school (i.e., younger than age 7) and Bonnici and Camilleri (1994) found that 38% of parents of male students attending Year 4 of primary school (i.e., age 8) send their boys to private tuition. Fenech and Spiteri (1999), on the other hand, reported instances of 7-year-old children going to private lessons, but pointed out that this was not the norm.

These findings are in line with UK trends reported by Scanlon and Buckingham (2004) which reveal how private home tutoring is becoming increasingly available for ever younger children in response to parents being bombarded about 'their sense of what they *should* be doing in order to qualify as Good Parents' (p. 288). These decisions, however, are ultimately based on social norms, more precisely on parents' cultural beliefs about the nature of childhood and the value of educational achievement. It appears that many Maltese parents, rather than ensuring that children enjoy life while they are young, prefer to invest in private tutoring to

guarantee that their children do well at school in the hope that they subsequently escape the drudgery that adult life might otherwise bring. Conceding momentarily that this strategy bears fruit, we would still argue that the very notion that so many students either feel the need or are forced to attend additional lessons after school hours goes against the entitlement of every Maltese child to experience quality education (see Ministry of Education, 1999; MEEF, 2011). For we believe, like Griffiths (2009), that education should be about the 'delight of entrancement' as students learn to 'inhabit new imaginative neighbourhoods' and that an injustice occurs when this does not happen. The widespread incidence of private tutoring in Malta indicates that this entrancement with learning is lacking in the Maltese education system. We therefore take it as a sign of the defectiveness of the local education system.

Main Reasons for Attending Private Tuition

It appears that most students, parents and teachers in Malta see private tuition attendance as a necessary component of one's educational journey. In Falzon and Busuttil's (1988) study, 76% of the students, 67.4% of the parents and 53.1% of the teachers opined that private tuition had become an integral part of education. Only 20.8% of the students did not feel the need to attend some form of private tuition. Moreover, 'doing well in examinations' has been found to be either the top reason (see Falzon & Busuttil, 1988; Gauci & Wetz, 2009) or one of the top reasons (see Fenech & Spiteri, 1999) behind private tuition attendance (see also Grima & Ventura, 2006). In line with this, and similar to reports in other countries (see Bray, 2006; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004), private tuition attendance in Malta is strongly linked to the high stakes examinations that characterise the more important transition phases throughout students' educational journeys. While these examination-based transitions used to occur at 11+ (i.e., the now defunct end-of-primary examinations that determined entry into the more academically oriented secondary schools), they still do at 16+ (i.e., the end-of-secondary examinations) and 18+ (i.e., the pre-university examinations). In primary school, the higher incidence of private tuition occurred in Year 6, that is, the final year (Rapinett, 2001). Likewise, in secondary school, most students attend private tuition during the final two years (i.e., Forms 4 and 5) as they prepare for their end-of-secondary examinations (Vella & Theuma, 2008). The argument favouring a strong link between private tuition and high stakes examinations is reinforced by Buhagiar's (1997) study which found that during the first year of post-secondary education – a period that is not characterised by such examinations – only 19.4% of students attend private tuition.

The evidence suggests further that Maltese students resort mostly to private tuition in order to increase their chances of continuing their studies along a scholastic route that emphasises academic achievement, thus keeping their options open to enrol eventually at university. As normally happens in other countries (see Bray, 2006), the greatest demand for private tuition therefore concerns subjects that are prerequisites for academic advancement and career choices. At primary level,

the subjects most frequently taken for private tuition are Mathematics, English and Maltese (Fenech & Spiteri, 1999; Rapinett, 2001). These used to form the backbone of the 11+ examinations that guaranteed entry to a secondary school that focussed primarily on preparing students for the end-of-secondary examinations, which pave the way in turn to post-secondary sixth form education that primarily prepares students for university studies. The link between private tuition and the academic route – as opposed to the vocational one that was considered a dead end until quite recently – is sustained throughout secondary education. Vella and Theuma (2008) found that the most popular private tuition subjects at secondary level are Mathematics, Physics, English and Maltese. Passes in the end-of-secondary examinations of Mathematics, English, Maltese and a science subject (which could be Physics) are pre-requisites to join one of the sixth form colleges.

The evident link in Malta between private tuition attendance and furthering one's studies along the academic route, ideally up to university studies, is another indication – that is, apart from the considerable volume of attendees to which we have already referred – that a good number of students use private tuition as a proactive strategy to increase their chances in the educational allocation contest. For these students, extra private tutoring is not a remedial strategy. It helps them instead to boost further their already good grades to obtain placements into what Scanlon and Buckingham (2004) call the 'right schools' and eventually into the more financially rewarding and socially prestigious university courses (see also Bray, 2006; Foondun, 2002; Ireson, 2004). The high stakes involved explain why Maltese parents – not just the financially secure ones – are willing to make big financial sacrifices in order to ensure that their children do not miss out on important, possibly life-changing, opportunities (see Grima & Ventura, 2006). But there are still students from disadvantaged backgrounds who, in spite of all the possible good will of their families, cannot afford to manoeuvre their educational path in such a fashion. One may think that they may find all the support and push they need from some form of fee-free 'voluntary tutoring'. This option, however, is not unproblematic. For a start, it does not offer parents the choice of deciding what type of tutoring to purchase and from which tutors, nor can they choose easily accessible locations and convenient timeslots. Again, students may see in this form of free tutoring a constant reminder of their inferior economic and social status. Some students may consequently even choose not to access the free tuition market for fears of being publicly labelled as forming part of the 'have-nots' in society. For them, not getting any support is less painful than to be singled out publicly.

Students Who Attend Private Tuition

According to Vella and Theuma (2008), there are basically two types of students who attend private tuition in Malta: (i) those that get high marks but want to get even higher marks; and (ii) those that obtain low marks and feel that private tuition can improve their marks. Using the terminology used by Stevenson and Baker (1992), private tuition attendance is a proactive strategy for the former group and a remedial strategy for the latter group. Vella and Theuma (2008) also pointed out

that some students feel obliged to attend private tuition as some of their school classmates are disruptive, resulting in material either being left uncovered or not treated in sufficient depth. Private tutoring, thus, is also covering for subjects that students, for a variety of reasons, perceive to be poorly taught in schools. But there is also another side of the coin. Local research shows that when students attend private tuition they tend to switch off in class during school hours, and can become uncooperative and disruptive (Bonnici, 2010; Brincat, 2000; Buhagiar, 2005; Gauci & Wetz, 2009). In such instances, private tuition – far from being an innocuous shadow – interferes directly with and distorts the educational processes within mainstream classes (Bray, 1999; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson, 2004). In either case, it is mostly students from low income families who suffer the brunt of the situation. They neither have the means to seek extra help when the school system does not deliver, nor can they fall back on external support when the private tutoring that benefits other students impacts negatively on their mainstream lessons.

At secondary level, the academic orientation of the school also appears to play a significant role in determining private tuition attendance. A number of local studies (Azzopardi & Camenzuli, 2009; Falzon & Busuttil, 1988; Vella & Theuma, 2008) show that students who are enrolled in schools that put greater emphasis on academic achievement and examination success are more likely to attend private tuition. Within the Maltese educational scenario, which has since started to change, this means that students enrolled in the less academically oriented state schools – practically those who would have failed or did not do well enough in the then existing end-of-primary high stakes examinations – are the least likely to attend private tuition. Similar to what has been reported in some other countries (see Bray & Kwok, 2003; Smyth, 2009; Stevenson & Baker, 1992), it is the lower achieving students who are in most need of private tutoring that tend to receive the least of this extra support. The higher achievers, who could have found themselves in the 'better' secondary schools also thanks to the known links between their parents' education and economic circumstances and the purchase of shadow education (see Ireson, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011), are thus better positioned to continue benefitting from their likely advantaged family background through additional tutoring. This raises an important issue concerning claims related to school standards. Although private tutoring in Malta is highest in schools with higher-band intakes, these schools tend to ignore this phenomenon and attribute to themselves the credit for their students' generally positive results. This is in line with a trend noted in the UK that private tutoring has become 'an important, yet also unacknowledged, factor in a child's school performance' (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004, p. 296).

Experiencing Private Tuition and Its Effectiveness

Buhagiar (1997) and Gauci and Wetz (2009) report that private tuition in Malta often contains a strong element of coaching that relies on past examination papers. The trend is for tutors to offer 'more of the same' in an effort to reinforce materials already covered in school and to focus almost exclusively on strategies and

knowledge for examination success. Supplementary tutoring, moreover, normally takes place in relatively big groupings that can reach up to 20 students (Falzon & Busuttil, 1988; Gauci & Wetz, 2009). Consequently, as pointed out by parents and teachers in DeBrincat and Falzon's (1996) study, tutors are often unable to give students more individual attention than they get at school (see Bray & Kwok, 2003). Such concerns are justified in the knowledge that 'tutoring is likely to be of much higher quality if it is delivered individually or in small groups than in large classes' (Ireson, 2004, p. 112) – which explains why certain local private tuition providers use 'class size' as a selling point in their adverts. This introduces the further socially divisive issue of who has more money among those who attend fee-paying private tuition. Students from more affluent and ambitious families have an additional advantage, as they can seek better quality by opting for the more expensive options of either small-group or one-to-one tutoring. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the family's financial situation, in conjunction with its educational background, serves as a student allocator along the private tuition attendance continuum. At one end of the continuum, students from the poorer and/or educationally deprived backgrounds either miss out completely on private tuition or else have to content themselves with the free-fee type of tutoring that occasionally comes their way. At the other end, the richer students who also happen to come from families with big educational ambitions for their children have at their disposal an unlimited choice both with regard to the quantity and quality of private tutoring.

Earlier on we referred to the link between high levels of private tuition attendance and student stress. One might therefore think that the poorer students who cannot afford to attend private tuition are spared at least this extra pressure and, as pointed out by Scanlon and Buckingham (2004), the resulting resentment felt by many students. But the issue of stress is not so easily resolved. The reportedly stressed students in DeBrincat and Falzon's (1996) study, including those who were not fully convinced of the benefits of private tuition, were in fact still reluctant to forfeit their private lessons as they claimed to find an additional form of scholastic security through them. The realisation that extra tutoring was helping them on motivational and attitudinal levels (see Ireson, 2004; Mischo & Haag, 2002) explains why these students had ambivalent feelings: they felt stressed because they attended private lessons, but at the same feared the stress that would ensue if they didn't. The frequent decision to live with the fatigue and stress of private tuition attendance shows how important it is for local students to feel well-prepared for examinations – a demanding option that is however denied to students from the more disadvantaged backgrounds. Interestingly, although Maltese students and parents seem to believe that private tuition helps to improve examination grades (see DeBrincat & Falzon, 1996), the majority of teachers interviewed by DeBrincat and Falzon (1996) and Rapinett (2001) maintained that this is not necessarily the case. Along the same lines, Gauci and Wetz (2009) reported that while private tuition can help to improve the results of fairly weak students, it makes no difference to the results of the very weak or excellent students. The Maltese evidence – just like the international findings (see Ireson,

2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Smyth, 2009) – is thus inconclusive. Still, it seems to favour those who argue like Bray (2006) and Mischo and Haag (2002) that private tuition has the potential to improve school performance, thereby advantaging students whose families value educational achievement and can also afford the extra tuition fees.

MAKING THE SYSTEM FAIRER

Local research suggests that the Maltese education system allows what Russell (2002, cited in Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004) sees as the 'invisible' purchase of educational privilege by some parents. This situation appears to favour mostly students who come from financially secure families that value education. Private tuition makes it easier on these students to attend either the more academically oriented schools in a stratified school system (such as Malta's previously highly differentiated system) or the 'better' classes in a school system that favours equalisation among schools (such as the one Malta is trying currently to implement). In either case, these students are advantaged along their journey up the educational ladder in pursuit of the more economically lucrative and prestigious university courses. This reality undermines one of the important values that supposedly characterise the educational processes in Malta. The value at stake is equality of access to the education system without discrimination on grounds, among others, of socio-cultural and economic background (Ministry of Education, 1999). Lacking such access there can be no equality of opportunity, which is based on the premise 'that each individual in society experiences opportunities to achieve and flourish which are as good as the opportunities experienced by other people' (Griffin, 2008, p. 12). Rather than attempting to make everyone equal, equality of opportunity is about creating a 'level playing field' that gives each student a fair chance to make the most of his or her life without being held back by unfair barriers (Griffin, 2008).

When, as in Malta, education functions as a 'positional good' (see Griffiths, 2009), all the possible advantages provided by private tuition work against fairness within the education system, as these advantages constitute in turn unfair barriers for others who do not have any or equal access to supplementary tutoring. Conscious of these and other problematics, the Maltese education authorities have launched over the years a number of interrelated initiatives that are meant to ensure an education system that is built on the principles of entitlement and quality education for all (see MEEF, 2011). Arguably, the educational developments that could have had the greatest impact on private tuition attendance were: (i) the localisation of the end-of-secondary and pre-university examinations; (ii) the abolition of the end-of-primary examinations; and (iii) the overhaul given to vocational education at post-secondary level. With regard to the first development, Grima and Ventura (2006) report that, contrary to expectations, the introduction of the indigenised examination system did not reduce the demand for after-school private tuition. This comes as no surprise once one realises that these examinations – instead of being 'ambitious instruments aimed at detecting what mental

representations students hold of important ideas' (Shepard, 1991, p. 9) – are largely anchored to the traditional notion of simply demanding knowledge regurgitation from students. Success in such examinations is likely to be influenced by the type of coaching that often takes place during private tuition.

Given this characteristic of local examinations, it is quite understandable to think that the discontinuation as from 2011 of the end-of-primary examinations, which used to determine the type of secondary school in which students attend, would lead to a substantial reduction of private tuition at primary level. But this may yet be an unsubstantiated conjecture as the new end-of-primary benchmarking assessment exercise, which will now regulate the bulk of the transitions from primary to secondary schooling in Malta, also includes examinations. Knowing that these new examinations are being used to allocate students in different sets within the same school, at least in some subjects such as Mathematics, makes us argue that irrespective of whether or not the whole benchmarking exercise is 'placed at the service of learning' (see Glaser, 1990), the incidence of private tuition at primary level may not change much after all. There might be a dip in numbers at first, but once parents start realising that these new examinations can still influence their children's life chances, they are very likely to resort once again to private tutoring in order to boost examination grades and consequently the set allocation.

The question of grades rises again at the end of secondary school as further studies along the academic route still depend a lot on one's performance on the end-of-secondary examinations. While this academic sixth form education is available for all students with the necessary 16+ qualifications, the more prestigious sixth form colleges only accept students with the highest grades. So the race is still on at secondary level. However, for those with little or no 16+ qualifications, the revamped post-16 vocational route is starting to hold much promise (see Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology, 2011). It is no longer an educational dead end. Instead, students can now go on to earn first cycle vocational degrees that act as gateways to good employment opportunities and further studies, even along the traditional university route. These developments may explain why the Maltese, who have traditionally shunned vocational education, are now starting to feel very positive about this form of education and related opportunities (see European Commission, 2011). This newly found appreciation may help in turn to lessen the pressure on primary and secondary students to seek supplementary tutoring in the belief that this would contribute to build a decent future for them. Our reading of local educational reforms consequently seems to suggest that the most likely long-term detractor on the incidence of private tuition in Malta is the gradual putting at par of the academic and vocational routes. This parity, however, will not be able to redress the inequalities of opportunities that the students who choose the academic route will still be facing.

So where does this leave us vis-à-vis the promotion of a fairer education system in Malta? To start with, for both practical and legal reasons, it would make no sense to propose the prohibition of private tuition. This was tried in some countries

– including Cambodia, Mauritius and South Korea – but authorities eventually had to relax or rescind the ban following evidence that private tuition had continued unabated and accusations that it was an infringement of human rights (Bray, 2006; Foondun, 2002). The question of proper regulation – which is lacking – therefore comes to mind in order to ensure that standards are reached and maintained by all providers. However, although we welcome the announced initiatives in this direction (see Calleja, 2011b) which would rightly safeguard the interests of those who want and can opt for private tuition, we would still argue that regulation cannot rectify the inequalities that are embedded in a system, such as the Maltese one, that is inundated with private tuition practices. Possibly more promising would be initiatives taken by schools to involve parents as 'partners' in an effort to emphasise out-of-school learning, even if these initiatives still tend to favour families who already have good links with schools (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004) either through common social networks or shared values. As socially advantaged parents and those with higher levels of education have a keener interest to keep close contacts with schools in order to ensure that their families do not risk social demotion (Smyth, 2009).

Another avenue worth exploring would be for schools to organise voluntary extracurricular activities that include, among other things, after school support classes that target important examinations. In many UK schools, such classes have been found to benefit students, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Ireson, 2004). Students from financially needy families could find such an initiative less threatening to their pride than the overtly 'charity model' type of tutoring that occasionally crosses their path in Malta. On the other hand, students from families who attribute little value to education would have the accessible opportunity to benefit from an educational service that they would not otherwise seek out on their own initiative. Schools, however, are more likely to consider similar initiatives once they have more time on their hands. It might therefore be opportune to reconsider the school calendar in Malta which, with 170 school days at best, has one of the shortest school years in the world (see Calleja, 2011a). Roger Murphy, whose consultancy has been frequently sought by Maltese education authorities, has conjectured in fact that this local characteristic contributes to push parents to send their children to private lessons in order to make up for the reduced contact hours with their school teachers (Calleja, 2011a).

LET THERE BE 'PENUMBRA'

Our main strategy, thus, is to blur the existing boundaries between private tuition and mainstream schooling through the introduction of study support initiatives that supplement normal school activities. This would mean that while traditional private tuition continues to form a 'shadow' system, this type of study support falls in the 'penumbra', a region of half-shadow. In this in-between region, students can gain from the real or perceived benefits of supplementary tutoring without any reference to their family's social class or educational background. In addition to helping students understand the academic content in which they require assistance, these

study groups should function as 'learning communities' where learners can feel safe to engage in social relationships that develop their identity as learners as well as their self-esteem (see Griffiths & Davies, 1995). This would encourage students to start valuing themselves for who they are, regardless of family values, class, gender, race and so on. With this ambitious agenda, the study support services within schools can hope to attract all sorts of students from all sorts of family backgrounds in spite of the continuing availability of the fee-paying private tuition market. Most importantly, students from disadvantaged backgrounds would now be able to access readily available learning support from which they were previously precluded.

By allowing all students the possibility to continue developing a strong sense of identity as learners within the penumbra region, it becomes less likely for private tuition to continue acting as a 'trump card' toward achieving educational success. Unlike the problematic 'charity model' that offers educational favours in recognition of one's financial and/or cultural deficits, the driving force behind the service being proposed here is the right of every student to receive adequate and timely attention that addresses his or her individual learning needs. We see this quality after-school support service as a natural step that should run side-by-side to a quality education system for all students during school hours. By ensuring quality both during and after school hours, we would be moving closer to an equitable education system that realises entitlement promises – basically, the provision of a good learning environment that empowers all students and allows them to achieve their full potential. The embedded shift toward 'equality of prospects' renders our proposal, which carries important financial implications, also viable on economic grounds, as Malta's economy would no longer be precluded from the potential assistance of individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of free study support services will not stop the more ambitious among the privileged students from continuing to seek status, wealth and power through fee-paying private tutoring. As long as education remains conceived as a race toward 'something' that not everyone can possess, there will always be those who start and continue to participate from an advantaged position. Still, the solution is not to diminish or prohibit privileges, but rather to create an ambience in which these privileges are less likely to make a difference. For only then will the system be fairer. It would indeed be ideal to have a system in which the value of education is intrinsic – as opposed to 'positional good' – as this would make it possible for everyone to benefit from the expansion of education (see Griffiths, 2009). In this scenario, pedagogy can promote deep learning as opposed to shallow learning (see Marton & Säljö, 1976) and the assessment system can be consistent with the heterogeneity of the population (Murphy & Gipps, 1996). This would make it possible 'to attend to justice *in* education as well as *from* education' (Griffiths, 2009, p. 1). At this stage, however, this socially just vision seems distant. We therefore feel obliged to consider social justice as a verb – that is, to engage in action in the hope of getting more fairness into educational practices. Our suggestion in favour of developing study support initiatives around existing school practices is a point of departure, not arrival. We say this in the

knowledge that social justice in education requires action along two interlinked strands: the empowerment of individuals and the righting of structural injustices due to race, class, gender and special needs (see Griffiths & Davies, 1995). Clearly, our proposal cannot hope to achieve all this. Still, we consider it as an exemplar of what can be done to soften inequalities in a system where unfair advantages continue to be tolerated under the guise of meritocracy. It may seem to be a small step, but we would argue that it is a significant step in the right direction.

NOTES

[1] We are indebted to our friend and colleague George Cremona for generously offering his valued assistance throughout this research project.

[2] The Maltese archipelago – or Malta, as it is better known – is a small Mediterranean island state with a total surface area of 316 km^2 and a population of slightly more than 400,000 people. The two main islands are Malta (the largest) and Gozo. Malta, which is a predominantly Roman Catholic country, gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1964 and joined the European Union in 2004.

[3] The Faculty of Education at the University of Malta is the main provider on the island of pre-service teacher education. The Faculty runs two initial teacher education programmes – the four-year Bachelor of Education (Honours) degree course and the one-year Post Graduate Certificate in Education course. B.Ed. (Hons) students are required to write a dissertation of 10,000 to 13,000 words. PGCE students, up till the 2010-2011 cohort, were required to produce a long essay of circa 8,000 words.

[4] This song, which is available on YouTube, has lyrics by Joe Saliba and music by Vince Fabri.

[5] The only form of regulatory limitation is point 1.11 of Legal Notice 81/1988 which states that 'The teacher shall not use professional relationships with pupils for private advantage' (see Government of Malta, 1988) – which has long been taken to mean that the teacher cannot give private lessons to students that he or she teaches at school.

[6] The average gross annual salary of employees in Malta (excluding extra payments such as overtime, bonuses and allowances) was estimated at €14,448 in the fourth quarter of 2010 (National Statistics Office, 2011).

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9. PRIVATE TUTORING IN PORTUGAL

Patterns and Impact at Different Levels of Education

ABSTRACT

Project 'Xplika', undertaken at the University of Aveiro, studies the private tutoring market, school effectiveness and students' performance in Portugal. This chapter summarises and integrates the findings of the main project, and a number of further related studies. Conducted in four secondary schools, the project examined the impact of private tutoring on students' academic results and on the use of after-school time. Other studies focused on other schools, both in the same region and beyond. In addition, one study obtained data on private tutoring in higher education through questionnaires distributed in two universities. The range of findings confirms the significant impact of private tutoring on academic achievement (with its expected improvement) and personal life (with the extra workload for students). Tutoring is a burden for family budgets. Students who receive tutoring benefit in their competition with fellow students.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the nature and impact of private tutoring on the academic achievement of students in Portugal. Private tutoring, widely known as 'shadow education' (Bray, 1999), is less frequently studied than formal education. Yet private tutoring has been slowly emerging from the 'ghetto' of overlooked educational practices.

The Xplika Project, on which this chapter is based, took its name from the common abbreviation of *explicações* (private tutoring) used by students in Portugal.[1] The researchers desired to understand a phenomenon that was unfamiliar in the research literature but familiar in the sense that almost everyone either had private tutoring lessons, or had worked as a private tutor, or knew someone who had been in one of these situations. The researchers also wanted to understand the complex and sometimes blurred process of construction of student achievement in school, including the dimensions of the internal work of schools and the external work of private tutoring.

The notion that private tutoring serves mainly students with low academic achievement is not confirmed by the present studies. Rather, it shows that the 'new heirs' are the ones who try to gain more advantage with this additional support

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 151–165.

(Costa, Ventura & Neto-Mendes, 2008, p. 157). In order to understand the factors that underpin the development of the private tutoring market, Afonso (2008, p. 27) pointed to three factors: [a] the extended crisis of the public school, and the academic and social issues related to it; [b] the reinforcement of the strategies of preservation of (old) status and class privilege; and [c] the strategies aimed at increasing the probability of fulfilling social mobility expectations.

Ball (2004) observed that private market values legitimise and trigger certain actions and compromises, such as the entrepreneurial spirit, competition and excellence. At the same time, it inhibits and delegitimizes others, such as social justice, equity and tolerance. The impact of neoliberal influences has also been felt on a global scale in education (Whitty & Power, 2002). The 'public school crisis', and financial pressures to make the educational sector leaner and more competitive, contributed to 'encourage the market' (Barroso, 2005, p. 741) as an alternative to public policies that promote 'education as a public monopoly' (Ball, 2005, p. 196). Belfield and Levin (2002) identified, amongst several different forms of privatisation, three common patterns in the privatisation policies of education. These included increase in the private offer (through, for instance, the increase of the number of private schools), increase in private funding (paid directly by the consumers), and growth of private regulation, management and monitoring (control and choice by the parents). Nevertheless, privatisation is strongly influenced by the contexts of each country.

As noted by Belfield and Levin (2002), the pressures for privatisation can also be generated by both demand and supply. On the demand side are parents' wishes to provide their children with an education that differs from that provided by state schools. This is a form of diversified demand. On the supply side, the pressures are linked with perceptions of a decline in the quality of public schooling and the availability of alternatives.

PRIVATE TUTORING: A GLOBALISED PHENOMENON OF INCREASING COMPLEXITY

Costa, Ventura, and Neto-Mendes (2003) presented private tutoring as an educational practice that corresponds to a private and paid service, generally offered by teachers outside the school. The main aim of private tutoring is the improvement of students' academic success. This definition has certain limitations, though it conveys the essential: private tutoring depends on a relationship between the offer and the demand of a specific educational service, through a formal or informal contract from which apparent advantages result for all parties. Private tutors gain incomes, and students gain competitive advantages in the struggle for marks. Marks are perceived as providing access to the higher grades in school, and to better degrees and universities. Beside these advantages, the literature on private tutoring identifies a problematic side: the maintenance and increase of social inequalities; negative influence on the values and behaviours of teachers; and increased differences in the classroom (Bray, 2009, 2011).

In previous research (Ventura, Neto-Mendes, Costa, & Azevedo, 2006) we showed how private tutoring is a global dimension, in spite of very different realities (geographic, developmental and of the insertion in the global economy). Reviewing the importance of private tutoring in France, the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey, Canada, Japan, Egypt, Kenya and Portugal – to which later we added Brazil, South Korea, Hong Kong and the United States (Costa, Neto-Mendes, & Ventura, 2008b) – we identified some common features and also some specificities. Broadly, there is an increase in the sophistication and complexity of this activity. In a country such as Portugal, conditions for the practice of private tutoring are associated with the growth of the business offers (under the most common labels of 'private tutoring centre' or 'study centre') against the more traditional offer of the domestic private tutor. Another factor is the diversification of business forms with the arrival of franchising businesses, either national (such as *Academia do Estudante*, *Morangos* and *Teen Academy*), or international (such as the French *Acadomia* and the American *Mathnasium* and *Tutor Time*). Not least, the use of the Internet has also introduced great changes in the relationship between the service provider and the consumer (Ventura & Jang, 2010).

THE XPLIKA PROJECT

Research on private tutoring in Portugal began in the early 2000s at the University of Aveiro, and was conducted by Jorge Adelino Costa, António Neto-Mendes and Alexandre Ventura. The project, entitled 'The Private Tutoring Market, School Effectiveness and Students' Performance' was carried out between 2005 and 2008. Its main objectives were: [a] to describe the private tutoring phenomenon in a specific geographic context; [b] to identify the factors which underpinned the development of this business; [c] to identify the reasons why students attended private tutoring; [d] to examine the relationship between the position of schools in the evaluation 'rankings' (12th Grade) and the percentage of students attending private tutoring; [e] to discuss the issue of private tutoring as an element hindering equity in access to educational and social success; and [f] to contribute to school improvement by providing the participating schools with data regarding their respective situation.

The project used a questionnaire for students in the 12th Grade – the final year of Portuguese high school – in four public schools of a medium-sized town in the centre of the country. The town's name, '*Cidade Aquarela*', is fictitious, to preserve the anonymity of the city, and of the schools and their students. Another crucial point was the warranty of scientific treatment of the data, to ensure the fulfilment of ethical principles of research in education (Burgess, 1997, p. 203).

The questionnaire had five thematic areas:

- personal characteristics (curricular area/stream attended by the student, gender, age, zone of residence);
- family characteristics (parents' education and occupations);
- relationship with the school (school enrolments, school choice, school and classroom integration);

– teaching and learning process (students' performance, subjects in which the student attended private tutoring, number of hours of tutoring, costs and impact); and
– perspectives on higher education (courses and institutions that the students wished to attend).

The researchers visited each of the four schools, and spoke with the directors and the teachers who handed out and collected the questionnaires in each of the 12th Grade classrooms. All the students who agreed to participate completed the questionnaires. The authors were aware of the ethical dangers associated with distributing questionnaires to 'captive audiences' and ensured that students' participation was truly voluntary. International ethical protocols – such as those promoted by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) – were carefully followed.

The teachers distributed the questionnaires in classes teaching compulsory subjects in order to ensure a large sample. This questionnaire was distributed consecutively for several years in the four high schools. However, the present chapter only provides data obtained in 2004/05, 2005/06 and 2006/07, with a total of 1505 responses (Table 1).

Table 1. Student respondents, parents' education, perceived impact and desire for further study (%)

Years	*Students (n)*	*Parents with Higher Education*		*Students with Private Tutoring*	*Perceived Positive Impact in Mathematics*	*Desire for Further Studies*
		Father	*Mother*			
2004/05	509	22.2	25.3	56.2	73.9	92.0
2005/06	547	21.2	26.3	58.0	78.1	92.1
2006/07	449	25.8	30.3	54.1	78.1	88.5

In Table 1, the column 'Parents with Higher Education' shows the percentage of students that stated that their parents had degrees (including three year degrees, four/five year degrees, Masters degrees and doctorates). Only these results are included, but the options for this question also included: 'illiterate', 'knows how to read but has no diploma', '1st cycle of basic education' (grammar school or the first four years of schooling), '2nd cycle of basic education' (six years of schooling), '3rd cycle of basic education' (nine years of schooling), and 'secondary education'. The column 'Perceived Positive Impact in Mathematics'[2] presents the percentage of students (among the students that answered that they had received private tutoring in this subject) that answered 'Yes' to the question 'Did private tutoring help you obtain better results during this academic year?'. The last column presents the percentage of students (also among the students that answered that they had

received private tutoring) that stated the intention to pursue higher education studies.

In order to examine changes over three years, Chi-square tests for independence were undertaken. Neither the percentage of fathers nor that of mothers with higher education studies differed by academic year: for fathers, $X^2(2, n = 1406) = 1.21$, $p = .55$; for mothers, $X^2(2, n = 1430) = 1.40$, $p = .50$. Among students, there was no statistically significant relationship between receiving private tutoring and the academic year in which they were studying, $X^2(2, n = 1459) = 1.28$, $p = .53$. Further, the relationship between the declared impact of private tutoring in Mathematics and the academic year was not significant, $X^2(2, n = 628) = 1.81$, $p = .40$. Notwithstanding, the Chi-square test did show a relationship between academic year and the desire of students with private tutoring to pursue higher education studies, $X^2(2, n = 818) = 7{,}08$, $p = .03$. The last year for which data is available, 2006/07, showed a lower percentage than the other academic years in students who stated their intent to pursue higher education studies. Over half of the 12th Grade students had attended private tutoring in at least one subject during that Grade.

Table 2. Subjects in which students received private tutoring (%)

Years	*Nº of students taking PT*	*Mathematics*	*Biology*	*Philosophy*	*History*	*Geometry*	*Portuguese*	*Physics*	*Chemistry*	*French*	*English*
2004/5	287	75.3	5.9	0.3	2.1	10.1	14.3	16.4	33.1	3.5	1.7
2005/6	325	73.2	2.8	0.6	2.2	17.8	10.8	12.6	25.2	1.8	3.1
2006/7	243	80.7	3.7	0.8	2.5	6.2	13.2	11.1	8.2	1.2	1.6

Note: Students may receive tutoring in more than one subject, so may be counted more than once.

The students were asked to state in which subject(s) they had received private tutoring. Table 2 shows that Mathematics was clearly the subject most in demand, followed by Chemistry, Physics, Portuguese, and Geometry. Foreign languages (French, English) and Philosophy came last. This disparity between subjects favouring the exact sciences over the humanities cannot be explained only by the unequal 'degree of difficulty' in these subjects. Other important factors include the nature of national examinations for access to higher education in certain fields of study, such as health and fine arts.

Table 3. Weekly time devoted to private tutoring (%)

		Weekly time (hours)				
	Students (n)	*1-3*	*4-6*	*Over 7*	*N/A*	
2004/05	287	51.0	38.5	9.8	0.7	100.0
2005/06	325	56.5	31.2	11.4	0.9	100.0
2006/07	243	52.7	40.7	05.8	0.8	100.0

Table 4. Monthly expenditure on private tutoring *(%)*

		Monthly expenditure (Euro)				
	<€70	*€71-140*	*€141-210*	*Over €210*	*N/A*	
2004/05	26.6	46.9	16.1	7.0	3.5	100.0
2005/06	32.5	42.9	15.5	5.7	3.5	100.0
2006/07	26.7	56.0	11.5	2.9	2.9	100.0

Students were also asked how many hours they spent per week on private tutoring (Table 3),[3] and how much they spent per month (Table 4). The Chi square test did not show a relationship between the hours stated by the students and the academic year in which the questionnaire was distributed, $X^2(4, n = 858) = 7.18$, $p = .13$. However, for expenditures a relationship was found between the responses and the academic year, $X^2(6, n = 836) = 13.98$, $p = 0.03$. The last year observed, 2006/07, presented different levels of expenditure, and more students stated having spent between €71 and €140 (Table 4). The findings showed that most students spent one to three hours weekly in private tutoring, but a significant percentage spent four to six hours. As for the monthly expenditure of households to support this type of activity, the amount between €71 and €140 was stated by almost half of the students. In Portugal the minimum monthly wage in 2011 was €485 and the median wage was €777 (official data from the Portuguese Statistics Institute). This provides a benchmark against which to assess the burden of expenditures.

Since Mathematics stood out as the most demanded subject, we chose to explore this domain more thoroughly. Table 5 shows that among the five possible reasons identified in the questionnaire for seeking tutoring in Mathematics, students selected as most important the following three: 'earlier failure in the subject'; the need to 'get a mark that will allow access to the degree of choice in higher education' and 'fear of not being able to succeed without help'. The proportions highlighting access to higher education reaffirm its centrality.

A Chi Square test was undertaken to verify if there was a relationship between academic years and the reasons given by the students for private tutoring in Mathematics. The results, $X^2(8, n = 562) = 26.40$, $p = 0.01$, showed that there was a statistically significant relationship. As can be seen in Table 5, the answers given in 2005/06 to some extent differed from those of the other two years. Nevertheless,

the findings also showed a possible connection between the use of private tutoring and the desire to access higher education, the positive opinion that students have of the impact of private tutoring, and the amount of time (Table 3) and expense (Table 4) devoted to tutoring.

Table 5. Reasons for private tutoring in mathematics (%)

Reasons	*Academic year*		
	2004/05	*2005/06*	*2006/07*
Earlier failure in the subject	31.2	28.3	24.5
Get a mark that will allow access to the degree of choice in higher education	30.3	21.5	32.1
Fear of not being able to succeed without help	17.4	28.8	13.3
Lack of competence of the current teacher	08.7	07.3	05.1
The high number of students in the class prevents the teacher from giving the necessary support	00.9	00.4	01.0
Other reasons	00.5	03.0	04.6
No answer	11.0	10.7	19.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOME RELATED STUDIES

Ventura, Costa, Neto-Mendes and Azevedo (2008, p. 133) mentioned a questionnaire distributed by the Portuguese Ministry of Education to students who were candidates in the first phase of the national procedure access for higher education[4] in 2004/05. The authors had access to a brief report of the responses to this questionnaire, entitled 'Survey of the conditions and use of private tutoring (final results)'. Among 30,886 respondents, 17,775 (57.9%) indicated that they had received private tutoring at some point in time during their academic life. Most respondents (73.5%) answered that they took private tutoring lessons at the tutor's home, 20.9% at a private tutoring centre, 4.8% in some other location, and 3.2% in their own home. Mathematics was by far the most popular subject, sought by 72.0% of respondents. It was followed by Chemistry (33.0%), Physics and Portuguese (11.3% each), Biology (9.6%), and Geometry (7.5%). Just over half the respondents (57.5%) stated having spent two to four hours per week in private tutoring, and 30.1% spent less than two hours. At the other end of the scale, 9.9% of students with private tutoring spent five to eight hours per week on the activity. The average hourly expenditure on tutoring stood at €14.80. Nonetheless, the significant standard deviation shows that many students paid considerably less and others a lot more. The mode was €10. The fact that most sessions were held in the

tutors' homes suggested that the informal type of tutoring was dominant. Tutoring in centres and in students' homes was less common. This said, private tutoring centres appear to have multiplied in recent years. Thus, some educational policy initiatives that are being taken in public schools, which are under direct supervision of the Ministry of Education, can be better understood, particularly those on the regulation of teachers' private activity and on the measures of educational support to the students.

Turning to a different study, Bento (2009, p. 6) undertook what he described as the first exploratory study of private tutoring in the Portuguese Madeira Autonomous Region. He focused on 45 students from the 12th Grade who were attending a secondary school in 2007/08. Sixteen students indicated that they had received private tutoring in the 10th Grade, 24 in the 11th Grade, and 24 in the 12th Grade. The students in the 11th and 12th Grades received more private tutoring than their counterparts in the 10th Grade. Mathematics was the subject most in demand, followed by Chemistry, Physics and Biology. The children of parents with liberal professions and with higher academic qualifications received more private tutoring; students spent an average of four to six hours per week in tutoring sessions; the cost of private tutoring was around €70 to €140 per month; and the students and, by inference, their families, recognised levels of effectiveness in private tutoring.

Two additional studies were undertaken by Sá and Antunes (2007) and Antunes and Sá (2010). The authors considered the phenomenon of private tutoring as a 'fabrication of excellence through private investment' (Antunes & Sá, 2010, p. 169) with effects at the level of the regulation of the pedagogy and of the competition for enrolment in higher education. The researchers distributed a questionnaire to a sample of parents from three schools. The parents were asked about the attendance of private tutoring by their children in the school year in which the questionnaire was distributed or in previous years. Among the 806 parents who answered this question, 488 (60.5%) stated that their children had received private tutoring and 318 (39.5%) answered that they had not (p. 169). Among the parents whose children attended the 10th Grade, 136 (49.3%) stated that their children had never had private tutoring. At 11th Grade, 124 (39.2%) of the parents stated that their children had never received private tutoring; and at 12th Grade, 56 (26.1%) of the parents stated that their children had never received private tutoring (ibid., p. 170).

EXTENSIONS OF THE XPLIKA PROJECT

Five studies were conducted in Portugal as an extension of the Xplika Project. Four were published as M.A. dissertations (Amaral, 2009; Madaleno, 2009; Neto, 2006; Silveirinha, 2007), and one as a Ph.D. thesis (Azevedo, 2011). All these works were supervised by Xplika Project researchers. They deepened our knowledge of private tutoring.

Neto (2006) distributed a questionnaire to students from the 5th to the 12th Grade[5] and to their parents, in a school cluster located in a small peripheric seaside town.[6] The findings indicated that 16.9% of the students of the 2nd cycle (10 to 12

years old), 20.6% of the students in the 3rd cycle (12 to 15 years old), and 23.8% of the students in secondary school (15 to 18 years old) stated that they had received private tutoring during the academic year (Neto, 2006, pp. 131-132). Concerning the secondary school more particularly, the proportion of students receiving private tutoring was around 20% in the 10th and 11th Grades, and 30% in the 12th Grade (ibid., p. 133). Students from every school level from the 1st cycle to the 12th Grade were receiving private tutoring. The higher demand for private tutoring in the 12th Grade confirmed the tendency detected by the Xplika Project and stressed the effect that the 12th Grade national examinations had on the demand for tutoring.

Conducting her study in the same town as the Xplika Project, Silveirinha (2007) interviewed 15 private tutors, allocating them to two groups: [1] 'household' private tutors that she defined as professionals whose main activity was teaching but who in their free time worked as private tutors in their homes; and [2] 'public' private tutors employed by tutoring centres. These, she said (ibid., pp. 144-145) 'are professionals who (outside the domestic space and clearly present in the public domain) … may or may not be teachers in public or private schools and for whom, besides undertaking the activity legally, in most cases private tutoring constitutes their main and sometimes only professional activity'.

Most of the household tutors interviewed were secondary school teachers, with the exception of a teacher who taught in the 2nd cycle. The public tutors had more diverse training in areas such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Engineering and Management (Silveirinha, 2007, p. 162). The research revealed the larger context of the private tutoring in *Cidade Aquarela*: 15 private tutoring centres, five language schools, and 132 household private tutors.

The third study, conducted by Amaral (2009), examined the impact of private tutoring in the classroom. She conducted a case study in a secondary school with 3rd cycle and night classes. The school was located in a small city with an important industrial activity. Using a questionnaire for classes of the 11th and 12th Grades, Amaral asked the students about the use of private tutoring by subject. She analysed the data by curricular area (or stream). Based on 361 completed questionnaires (ibid., pp. 68-70), findings indicated that 53% of the sampled students in the Sciences and Technologies stream received tutoring. In other streams, 26% from Languages and Humanities received tutoring, while this was the case for 8% of the students in the technological stream in Computer Technology and Management. No student in the technological stream in Sociocultural Animation reported receiving private tutoring (ibid. pp. 72-73). Amaral analysed the impact of private tutoring in the classroom, and reported a mix of positive and negative aspects. Regarding the attitude of students[7] in the classroom during/after the attendance of private tutoring sessions, she reported as follows:

- Science and Technologies stream: 34% of students claimed a greater interest in the subjects and were more motivated; 16% claimed that they participated more in classes; but 16% stated that they were more easily distracted;
- Languages and Humanities stream: 35% of students claimed a greater interest in the subjects and were more motivated; 17% claimed that they participated more

in classes; 15% felt a greater commitment; but 17% stated that they were more easily distracted;
– Technological stream in Computer Technology and Management: 35% claimed that they were more easily distracted; 23% claimed that they participated more in classes; 19% felt a greater commitment.

In this research 108 secondary school teachers[8] also answered a questionnaire. Most teachers (89%) stated that the attendance of private tutoring changed the behaviour of students in the classroom. Slightly less than one third of these teachers (31%) felt that the students became noisier; 23% that the students improved their participation in classes; 19% that the students were more easily distracted; and 15% that the students showed increased self-confidence.

The fourth study, by Madaleno (2009), was based on a questionnaire distributed to 86 students in the 12th Grade of the general streams (Sciences and Technologies, Social and Human Sciences and Visual Arts) of a Catholic private school in 2007/08. In this Lisbon school, 26.7% (23 students) of the respondents stated that they had received private tutoring during secondary education (pp. 78-79). The percentage of respondents was low, but the study showed that the demand for private tutoring was also present in the private sector.

Data from the national survey conducted by Portugal's Ministry of Education in 2005, cited above, revealed that 10.1% of private tutoring students studied in private schools. This percentage closely resembles the one provided by the Portuguese Cabinet for Studies and Planning of Education, which indicated that 10.2% students in general streams (11th and 12th Grade) enrolled in private schools. We can conclude that this type of support outside school has the same magnitude in both public and private schools. The popularity of private tutoring in Portugal can also be seen in the results of the Xplika Project: in the four schools studied, the aggregated results of three years (2004/05; 2005/06; 2006/07) show that 56.6% of students in the 12th Grade had received private tutoring. Findings based on the questionnaire sent out by the Ministry of Education in 2005 indicated that 57.9% of students had received private tutoring during their academic career. In her analysis, Amaral (2009) distinguished between 11th and 12th Grades students by stream of study. She concluded that students of Science and Technologies were the most frequent users of private tutoring (53%), followed by students of Languages and Humanities (26%), and students of a technological stream (8%). Azevedo and Neto-Mendes (2010) showed that 49.4% of Portuguese university students surveyed stated having received private tutoring during high school. Despite the admittedly exploratory nature of some of these studies, they seem to agree that about half of high school students seek this type of support provided outside school.

Azevedo's (2011) study was the first Ph.D. thesis conducted on private tutoring in Portugal. It was also the first study to include a focus on tutoring in higher education in Portugal. At an international level, the study of private tutoring in higher education has not received much attention. Questionnaires were handed out to students attending the 1st, 2nd and 3rd year of their degree studies in two Portuguese universities in the second semester of 2008/09. The questionnaire had

five main parts, focusing on the respondents' personal and family characteristics; experiences with private tutoring in secondary school; use of this service in higher education; the use of private tutoring during the 2008/09; and the activity of the student as a private tutor.

Based on 791 validly answered questionnaires, results indicated that the use of private tutoring was greater in secondary school (49.4% of the total sample) than in higher education (8.2% of the total sample). Only 65 students answered they had used this service during their university studies (see also Azevedo & Neto-Mendes, 2010). These students were questioned about several aspects of their use of private tutoring. Most students (46.2% of the students who answered positively to the question of whether or not they had received private tutoring during higher education) answered that they had received private tutoring mainly in the weeks or days preceding a test or examination. Concerning the impact that this activity had on their academic achievement at university, 16 students (24.6%) indicated that the service had either a negative impact or a neutral impact. By contrast, 47 students (72.3%) answered that private tutoring had a positive impact (1 extra point, 2 extra points or 3 or more extra points) on their academic results. The questionnaire also asked students if they were attending private tutoring sessions in the academic year in question. Of the 65 students who indicated that they had received private tutoring at some point in time during their higher education studies, 19 stated that they were doing so in the present year. Regarding the main reason that led students to private tutoring, three students answered that it was due to a lack of competent teachers, five stated that they were fearful of not being able to succeed without help, and three stated that they had to bridge gaps from secondary education.[9]

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter analysed some aspects of the impact of private tutoring on Portuguese students. Private tutoring cuts across all levels of education, from primary school to university. Tutoring is visible in both public and private spaces, including homes, shop windows, cafés, and bus stops. It certainly cannot be disregarded in terms of its consequences and implications.

Private tutoring is not evenly distributed across the school system. The highest demand occurs in the 12th Grade, a pivotal moment in the Portuguese education system. The 12th Grade is the year of high school completion and certification. It is also a decisive year for access to higher education, particularly universities (in contrast to polytechnics), where the very few seats available in medicine and architecture are highly competitive. To enter the prestigious programmes at top universities, prospective students have not only to get the best possible marks in high school but also in the final national examinations. National examinations of high school certification therefore transform high school graduates into potential customers. Private tutoring is present in both public schools (in which most of the studies mentioned in this text were undertaken) and private schools.

The impact of private tutoring is varied. The surveys indicated that at least one quarter of students who received private tutoring had a parent with higher

education. This suggests that the demand for private tutoring is especially strong among the middle and upper classes. The fact that over 90% of the students surveyed stated they wanted to pursue studies and that 85% stated that private tutoring had a positive impact on their school results seems to reflect an environment conducive to the affirmation of the interests of 'new heirs', i.e. those who seek to strengthen an already privileged social position in the fight for places in the best programmes at top universities. This scenario fits the conclusions advanced by Tavares et al. (2008). These researchers found a relationship between the level of education of parents of students in higher education and the subjects chosen. Students from the less established social classes tend to be concentrated in educational sciences and economics, whereas those from families of higher social and academic privilege choose areas such as law, arts and sciences.

The use of private tutoring has a significant impact on household budgets. In a country where the minimum monthly wage is slightly below €500, it is easy to understand why low income families may have serious difficulties paying for this kind of support. Analysis of the type of degrees according to the social and academic level of the students in higher education shows the deep stratification in Portugal. When almost half (48.5%) of the students spend €71-140 per month, 14.4% €141-210, and 4.9% over €210, there is evidence of a highly selective process in the construction of students' achievement.

The impact of private tutoring on the personal life of students also deserves attention. In addition to the time devoted to school, 44.3% of the students surveyed in the Xplika Project devoted four to 10 hours per week to private tutoring and may also have had other complementary activities such as sports and music. The first national study that we mentioned appeared to show a more modest time devoted to this activity, but still significant enough to let us wonder about the quality of the socialisation and experiences that contemporary society offers to young people at this crucial stage of their lives.

The educational impact of private tutoring at school, particularly the impact in the classroom, has also been noted. Tutoring has both positive and negative effects on students and teachers. For many students, the effect is positive, promoting interest, motivation, participation in class, and commitment; but it can also increase the moments of distraction. Many teachers (89% of respondents in high school) feel that the use of private tutoring changes the attitudes of the students in the classroom. A significant proportion (31%) of these teachers negatively evaluate this change in attitude, mentioning noisier students. However, positive changes are also reported, such as improvements in classroom participation and self-esteem.

The present chapter shows the importance of private tutoring in Portugal. Yet private tutoring is still a relatively new field of research, and a broadening of the ground that supports this research is needed. Nevertheless, knowledge on this subject is increasing and academics and policymakers can no longer claim ignorance of this matter.

NOTES

[1] This work is financed by FEDER funds through the Operational Programme 'Thematic Factors of Competitiveness' – COMPETE and by Portuguese national funds through FCT – Foundation for Science and Technology, in the scope of the project 'Xplika International – comparative analysis of the private tutoring market in five capital cities' (PTDC/CPE-CED/104674/2008).

[2] Mathematics was chosen, as it was the most sought-after subject in private tutoring in the sample analysed.

[3] In order to undertake a Chi square test, the choices 'seven to ten hours' and 'over 10 hours' were grouped into one category, namely 'Over seven'.

[4] Access to higher education is determined by two components. The first is the result of the classification the student acquires with the completion of secondary school; the second depends on the national examinations for completion of secondary education, organized by the Ministry of Education and used by institutions of higher education for the selection of their students. These examinations are called 'entrance tests'. Each university can choose one or two of these entrance tests, except for the degree in medicine in which three entrance tests can be chosen (the areas of Biology, Physics, Mathematics and Chemistry are mandatory, according to the *Guias do Ensino Superior – Provas de Ingresso 2011*). The formula for the calculation of the final access classification has flexible grading intervals that are chosen by each university.

[5] The questionnaires were distributed to two classes, at each of the 5th to 9th Grades; to three classes, each at the 10th and 11th Grades; and to two classes, each at the 12th Grade (Neto, 2006, pp. 116-117). In total 748 questionnaires were distributed (374 questionnaires to students – 225 of the 2nd and 3rd cycles and 122 of the secondary school – and 374 to parents). From the questionnaires that were delivered, 337 were answered (215 from students of the 2nd and 3rd cycles and 122 from students in secondary school). From the questionnaires distributed to parents, 247 were answered (Neto, 2006, p.168).

[6] This school cluster comprises a head school (a basic 2nd and 3rd cycle school with students from the 5th to 9th Grades), a secondary school (with students from the 7th to 12th Grades), nine basic schools (with students from the 1st Grade to 4th Grades) and eight kindergartens.

[7] Only the answers of 15% of students or more are reported.

[8] Only the answers of 15% of teachers or more are reported.

[9] Eight students did not answer.

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ARMAND FAGANEL & ANITA TRNAVČEVIČ

10. CONSTRUCTIONS OF PRIVATE TUTORING IN SLOVENIAN ONLINE CHATROOMS

A Content Analysis

ABSTRACT

This chapter presents an exploratory study of discourses about private tutoring. Slovenia, as a young democracy just entering its third decade, is still struggling to embrace the free market economy. It has many grey areas with no or little tax regulation. Private tutoring has been widely recognised as one of the strongest components of the shadow economy, but no previous research has been undertaken on its scale and implications. For the present study, a qualitative analysis was chosen to explore the content and nature of discourses on different forums and websites reflecting both demand and supply of tutoring. The findings are discussed and compared with international knowledge about the phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring is becoming a global phenomenon. It has different roots, reflecting cultural, educational and financial differences among countries and continents. Private tutoring is widely described as 'shadow education' (Baker et al., 2001; Bray, 1999; Kim, 2005; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). In Slovenia, private tutoring comprises supplementary teaching provided to students who have low marks in some school subjects or who want to achieve higher marks in school. Students, or more commonly their parents, pay for private tutoring. Hence, private tutoring in Slovenia is generally understood as those study hours that are (a) organised and regular (e.g. during the school year a student has one hour/tutorial per week); (b) provided by professional tutors, university students, retired teachers or teachers seeking additional incomes to complement their school salaries; (c) provided in exchange for a fee; (d) delivered individually or in groups; and (e) held after school hours, outside school buildings.

No statistical data are available regarding the extent of private tutoring in Slovenia. Informal evidence indicates that many students receive such tutoring, especially as they approach high school graduation. Not all dimensions of private tuition are positive. Košak Babuder (2011, p. 228) states, for instance, that often the expectations toward parents of children from poor families are unrealistic, as

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 167–176.

they cannot help their children because they lack appropriate education and because they do not have enough resources to pay for expensive tutoring.

Semen (2011) analysed the responses of 1,173 pupils – representing 15.0% of all 4th class pupils – in an electronic survey of general secondary schools in Slovenia, focusing particularly on their preparations for graduation. She reported that 20.6% of respondents received tutoring. Most of them sought help in Mathematics (16.2% of respondents) and English (6.8% of respondents). When asked why they sought such support, 8.9% of respondents replied 'To improve good grades', 6.6% wanted to transform low grades into higher ones and improve on good grades already obtained, while 5.8% were specifically targeting low grades.

Private tutoring in Slovenia is widespread and embedded in family practices and routines, but remains a covert phenomenon, with both legal and illegal features associated with it. Some of it is offered through the shadow economy – payments for private tutoring are in cash and are not registered anywhere as income. However, there are also companies which operate as businesses and provide tutoring as complementary learning for students. This kind of business is legal and above board. The authors designed a qualitative exploratory study of discourses and representations of private tutoring in online chat rooms in order to understand how private tutoring is negotiated and constructed.[1]

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE TUTORING

The authors remember that when they were still at school, in the 1960s and 1970s, private lessons were available but were not as widespread as now. Most tutoring was provided by retired teachers. In elementary schools, those who needed more support to engage the curriculum were given more time. Moreover, there were special hours for gifted pupils to deepen their knowledge. These hours were taught by teachers without charge to students, before the regular school hours started in the morning, usually twice weekly, and in such subjects as Mathematics, grammar, foreign languages, and so on. Teachers received extra payment from the government for this work. The bulk of tutoring was however provided by pupils who had good school grades. The practice was encouraged by teachers and school management on the grounds that the content could be transmitted in less formal ways and that both parties benefited from such help. Pupils who instructed their peers had to prepare themselves and thus deepened their learning. Pupils who requested help or were instructed by the teacher to do so had the opportunity to learn the content from a peer and were perhaps less inhibited to ask additional questions. Pupils had an opportunity to socialise, experience volunteer work, recognise the importance of teamwork, and appreciate the value of help from peers. This mode of learning led to less competitive and stressed environments in schools.

Following Slovenia's independence in 1991, the transition to market economy brought the country to the same path as many others with regard to private tutoring. Marketisation and commoditisation of education, the massification of enrolments, and reductions of funding for education were the main causes underpinning the

gradual erosion of the established modalities of support to students offered within school. The demand for private tutoring increased at every level of education.

RESEARCH METHODS

The present study offers a content analysis of chat room texts and messages concerned with private tutoring. Using Google, we screened web advertisements[2] and reviewed chat rooms concerned with private tutoring. Every forum dealing with the subject of tutoring found among the first 100 searches on Google was screened and, if relevant, included in the study. Criteria for relevance were very broad, because we did not want to exclude possible sources of information in the first stage. We wanted to identify types of people involved in online writing. Then we focused on their opinions, comments and discussions about fees, supply, reasons for tutoring, criticisms and other dimensions which were included in the search as key words added to 'private tutoring', or *zasebne inštrukcije* in Slovenian.

We used content analysis along the lines discussed by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). These authors distinguished between three distinct approaches to content analysis: conventional, directed, or summative. The most important differences among the approaches are associated with the coding schemes and threats to trustworthiness. In conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, the analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes. In contrast, summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of keywords, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context. The summative approach was adopted for the purposes of this chapter, because texts on chat rooms were not lengthy or rich in content.

We screened over 30 websites when browsing on Google, and found that the site with most concentrated, organised and geographically spread information about tutoring was *MojUčitelj.net* (MyTeacher). The site server was located in France, and the server's IP address was 92.243.0.59. The average website traffic was about 420 unique visitors per day, with 1,931 page views. This portal brought together the largest Slovenian tutoring community online, since it also offered a vast number of solved problems with examples, previous school tests, and so on. It offered a transparent and verified list of instructors, together with options to evaluate and comment on individual instructors. Advertising group tutoring was free of charge, while advertising individual tutoring required payment of €16 per month or €10 for every contract secured.

To advertise on the portal *MojUcitelj.net* it was necessary to have a regular tax status, in accordance with the law. On *MojUcitelj.net* we found advertisements divided by educational levels (elementary, secondary, tertiary), by subjects (Mathematics, languages, etc.), and by towns where the offer was available. A translation of a code of ethics for instructors was available, prepared by the National Tutoring Association in the USA. A comment above the code said that if users of tutoring services noticed behaviour from their tutors which was

inconsistent with the code, the students should consider changing their tutors. Other website users were students, people seeking tutoring, and parents.

The research was conducted in June 2011. After the first step of screening the advertised offers of private tutoring, we counted 536 advertisements covering the following subjects: Mathematics (135), German (133), English (123), Chemistry (75), and Physics (70). Among other advertisements, other languages were also mentioned (Italian, French, Russian), as well as Business Mathematics, Biology and Statistics. Interestingly, we found only 13 advertisements for Slovene language tutoring. In total, these advertisements had 81 postings, opinions and commentaries.[3]

In the second stage of the study we submitted these advertisements and their associated texts to content analysis.[4] Collected data were analysed using a discourse analysis method (Silverman, 2000) and documentary analysis (Merriam, 1998).

FINDINGS

Scope and Breadth of Private Tutoring

The most diverse choice of private tutoring was available for students in or near the capital city, Ljubljana. Some tutors, particularly of languages, advertised their services in more towns. Most of them offered Skype connections, so it did not matter where the students and instructors were located. Instructors could be evaluated by customers using stars of satisfaction ranging from one to five. Only registered users could enter their remarks in the various fora.

In a first step, we decided to study only the offers for the five most frequently advertised subjects, namely English, German, Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry. These postings were evaluated on the basis of the positive or negative tone of writing, appraising or criticising individual tutors (e.g. X awakened my interest and motivated me to complete my studies; my daughter was previously instructed by students, now she is attending Y and the difference in quality is visible). Altogether 77 comments out of 81 were found to express positive opinions. Only three were negative, and one was neutral.[5]

Secondly, we examined the distribution of tutoring offers by educational level: approximately 43% concerned elementary school, 41% secondary school, and 16% university. The length of the tutoring unit was uniform, with most tutors charging for 45 minutes of tutoring as the basic unit and calling it a 'tutoring hour'. We compared the fees for individual hours and for tutoring in groups of two or three students. No group-tutoring offer for more than three students was found. Fees varied considerably. One tutor claiming to hold a doctorate demanded €25 per 45 minutes of individual tutoring. In contrast, one higher education student charged €7. Group tutoring was organised as courses (or '*tečaji*' in Slovenian), mainly for languages and as preparation for the high school final examination. It was unclear what was really being offered in these courses, the length of which varied from 10

to 64 hours. We could not easily compare them with individual tutoring, so we focused only on individual and small group tutoring.

Table 1. Average fee (in Euro) per tutoring hour in Ljubljana and other Slovenian cities for the five most advertised subjects, June 2011

	Ljubljana			*Other Cities*		
	elementary	*secondary*	*university*	*elementary*	*secondary*	*university*
English	11.12	10.61	13.80	11.17	10.92	13.70
German	12.50	12.67	13.75	12.10	12.51	14.42
Math	11.20	12.12	13.20	10.48	11.79	13.34
Physics	11.39	12.05	11.67	09.12	11.36	12.20
Chemistry	12.31	10.12	17.33	11.98	11.17	15.67

Source: Compiled from www.mojucitelj.net

Table 1 does not show a clear pattern of differentiation in fees between capital city and periphery. Ljubljana and its bordering municipalities include the most affluent regions of the country. Sometimes tutoring in Ljubljana is cheaper, sometimes not, probably depending upon the demand/supply ratio and competition between suppliers. The same applies for elementary school and secondary school tutoring: no clear patterns were identified. At university level, tutoring was on average €2 more expensive per tutoring hour than at lower levels. The aggregate hourly tutoring fee for the five most advertised subjects was €10.37 for elementary school, €10.90 for secondary school, and €13.89 for university students. To understand the level of fees better, we noted the average wage in Slovenia. The average monthly net earnings for June 2011 were €985.95. This was 65% of gross earnings (SORS 2011b), with 84.6% of available income spent on consumption expenditure (of which 14.9% was for food, 14.0% for transport, and 10.9% for housing – SORS 2011a). It seemed that fees were market driven and depended on a demand-supply relationship. However, if almost 15% of consumption expenditure in Slovenian households was spent on food, then €10-11 per hour meant €40-44 per month spent on tutoring, which was almost 5% of income per family with children. It was thus a significant expense for households, implying strong motivation from parents.

The majority (75%) of all analysed postings were about tutors and fees. Forty per cent were written by high school and university students asking for information about tutors and the fees they charged, and 35% of postings were written by parents asking the same questions and adding comments. Some of these comments criticised teachers or tutors – such as in the following example, where the tutor is reported as having 'always started to read a newspaper after he gave my son an exercise to do and left him alone'. Another 20% of the postings were supposedly written by tutors or by individuals who wanted to be hired as tutors, responding to questions, offering their services, explaining the modalities of tutoring, placing contacts, or advertising their expertise. Finally, 5% of the postings did not provide any detail regarding the identity of their respective authors.

Thematic Aspects of Private Tutoring

We identified five major issues for discussion:

(a) *Value for money:* The most frequent types of questions regarding fees were: 'Is it worth what is charged?' and 'What can I expect to pay for a tutoring hour of Mathematics for my son?'. In effect, these questions were about value for money. The authors most frequently found under this rubric were students and their parents.

(b) *Parental help:* Parents tried to explain why they could not help their children with study. Some parents noted: 'I don't have the time to help my children study/do homework'. Among common questions that were asked by parents we find: 'Who is the best tutor?', 'What is the appropriate price?', 'Do I really need tutoring?', and 'Do we have a bad education system?'. Some parents provided reasons behind their reliance on private tutoring: 'It's too difficult for him'. 'The teacher does not invest enough effort to teach them'. 'I don't have the time to do the homework with my child'. The authors under this rubric were students' parents.

(c) *Tutor reputation:* Seeking help from unknown persons creates much uncertainty. One important question is whether to place a child in the care of a tutor in a one-to-one relationship in either the tutor's home or the child's home. We are daily informed by the media about cases of child abuse and paedophilia. If somebody is being invited to our home, we would like to know about the person's credentials and reputation. Scholastic outcomes are also very important and usually time-bound. It was quite common to read questions such as: 'Does anybody have experience with [that Tutor]? What results can I expect?' The authors found that under this rubric were students and their parents.

(d) *Overburdened school teachers:* Students were critical about the school's efforts to teach them. Some declared: 'I don't understand when the teacher explains the material, and we don't do enough exercises in school'. Parents, on their part, observed: 'Teachers don't do exercises and examples at school, and children are being left to themselves'. Another wrote: 'I heard that the curriculum is too demanding and teachers cannot teach everything during the school year, so they just race through material'. The authors of these posts were students, their parents, teachers and tutors.

(e) *Modalities of tutoring:* Different issues were discussed regarding modalities of tutoring and related aspects of the service offered. One person wondered: 'Does anybody know if [Tutor X] comes to students' homes, when giving instructions? How much time before the final exam of 7th Grade Math would be good to take private tutoring hours?' Tutors answered questions, and explained the importance of regular tutoring as early as possible when the problem occurs. On their part, students criticised individual tutors and their approaches, praised the results of tutoring, discussed pleasant ways of teaching, valued personalised treatment, and commended the tutors' availability on the phone, Skype and/or

internet. We cannot exclude the possibility that some of these comments had been posted by tutors or their friends.

Social Contexts of Private Tutoring

In what follows we analyse particular postings in order to reveal the social contexts of tutoring and tutor-student pairing. This analysis helps to demonstrate the dynamics that underpin private tutoring in different social spaces.

A respondent to the question about who was the best English teacher warned that even the best tutor cannot help if the child has no motivation. Several tutors explained that the child should have a plan (worked out together with parents, teachers and tutors) what he/she would like to accomplish, should know what expectations are realistic, and should understand the extent of effort that has to be invested in the achievement of desired goals. Some postings advertised the name of the best tutor. One posting warned that tax officers could apprehend this tutor if his activity was not legal. Another posting observed that tutors who pay taxes consider non-regulated competition a threat that undermines the fees they charge. To prevent this from happening, they denounced their rivals to the authorities. In an interview on national television, a tax inspector said that controlling services like tutoring is difficult because these activities take place in homes. To the best of our knowledge, no one has yet been charged in Slovenia for not paying taxes on income from private tutoring.

Another chat exchange focused on the hourly fee. One teacher admitted that teachers in the school discuss fees among themselves so that there are no discrepancies. This was in an elementary school in a smaller city, and there seemed to be a cartel agreement as little competition could be expected in such a closed environment. Teachers sit down at the beginning of the school year and determine the fee per tutoring hour. It is easy to understand why teachers do this, as it is better if the competition is balanced and under their control.

In other chats, students told stories about how they came to study with a particular tutor. One posting read: 'When I first entered high school, I got a negative mark in Math. An older friend told me that home teacher [name] helped her successfully. She gave me her phone number, and we agreed about the first two hours'. In another case, a student wrote: 'I frequented [name of tutor] and wasn't very satisfied. When I already thought that I would not find help, a friend on Facebook gave me a tip. I am so happy that I met [this other tutor], because I started to understand the content'. These postings show that word-of-mouth communications play an important role in searching for and choosing the private tutor. Social networks operate among peers, colleagues, online friends and others. Social media also plays an important role in the sharing of information among students and in creating a market in which students behave as consumers who search for information.

Other postings reflected debates about the modalities through which private tutoring is delivered. One student wrote: 'I don't like group tutoring because I prefer the full commitment from tutor. I expect her to adapt to my level of

knowledge and wishes, and she never reproached me about what I should already know from previous schooling. Such things occurred with some tutors, and it made me lose my motivation'.

Students or parents trying to get help could be confused when facing such vast and diverse set of offerings. If they do not know personally a suitable tutor, they might seek advice from friends, or get some opinion online. If they find a tutor's web page, they would probably wish to see his/her credentials and references. So, a wise and trusted online offer would include some feedback from satisfied customers and even allow the forum to take place on their web site. Exchange of experiences is one of the most efficient tools to gain trust in front of the purchase of a new service.

CONCLUSIONS

Education was seen as a public good in Slovenia for much of the 20th century. Free market policies are now transforming education into a commodity. Private tutoring has been affected by these dynamics, with the growth of tutoring services resembling patterns elsewhere (see *inter alia*, Bray, 2009, 2011).

Households seek to provide the best possible education for their children. In our study we found that Mathematics, German, English, Physics, and Chemistry were the most frequently advertised subjects for private tutoring. This reflected their importance for progress in the education system, and in securing the desired certification awarded after successfully sitting formal examinations.

The advertised price per 45 minutes of tutoring varied according to a number of criteria, including the education level targeted, the subject taught, the professional degree of the tutor, and so on. Slovenia has a few legally registered companies which offer extensive services and which employ many instructors. The country also has many tutors who try to earn some extra income, but without declaring it for tax purposes. Some tutors – such as those who advertised their services on the *MojUčitelj.net* – have the status of a small company or that of individual entrepreneur. Tutoring as a private business and as an entrepreneurial activity indicates a major shift in Slovenia's understanding of the role and position of education in society. Whether education should be seen as a private or public good is no longer the subject of debate, and few are considering how such shifts in values impact on educational practices. Indeed, approaching education as a field where entrepreneurship and business can be exercised is taken for granted, and above all, it is seen as legal. If we look at schooling from the perspective of the debates as to whether education should be a 'private' or 'public' service, then it could be concluded that Slovenia is, formally at least, still very much a 'public education' based system. However, if we look at education from the perspective of tutoring, then we realise that education is increasingly being transformed into a service industry, where teachers and private companies compete for clients. From the vantage point of this perspective, tutoring appears as a market-based and market-generated activity.

Tutoring fees stand at the heart of chat exchanges. Important issues came to light here, including the contrast between 'competition' on the one hand, and 'solidarity' and 'support' on the other, with the latter perceived to have prevailed in the past. Other issues that were raised in the chat exchanges included patterns of expenditure, with private tuition prices reaching 5% of monthly household income; concerns regarding equal opportunities and equity, given that only some parents can pay for the service; and reflections on the role of education in society, with parents justifying private tutoring by criticising schools and the quality of teaching offered in them. Markets have changed the nature of what has historically been defined as 'public good'. This is not to say that there was no competition and diversity between schools and related activities in Slovenia in the past. However, competition between students and schools, competition for jobs in the labour market, and a shift towards consumerism have generated different attitudes, perceptions and assumptions about the nature, role and value of education, and how the service should be offered in the context of markets and quasi-markets.

While there has been no longitudinal study about the rate of private tutoring in Slovenia, it appears that the post-socialist regime has brought with it different values. Toš et al. (1999) observed, for instance, that people in Slovenia now place greater emphasis on materialism. The authors associated that shift in value orientation with the development of a market economy and with broader changes in society. Private tutoring in Slovenia has become a 'service industry' targeting individuals who aspire – and can pay – for 'more'. This chapter has offered preliminary data on a theme which deserves much further attention. The internet chat rooms have provided a convenient window through which to look into the phenomenon. Future research should deepen the investigation, drawing on a broader range of methodologies, such as direct surveys with students and their families.

NOTES

[1] Online chat rooms have become very popular among children and youth in Slovenia. Tankošič and Trnavčevič (2008) stated that the number of internet users increased by 253% between 2000 and 2007. Eurostat (2011) indicated that 58% of Slovene inhabitants aged between 16 and 74 were using e-mail, compared with an average of 61% for all 27 countries of the European Union. In addition, 42% used the internet to search for information, compared with an average of 32% for all 27 EU Member States.

[2] Of course there are numerous non-registered tutors who may or may not advertise on websites. Many gain clients through word of mouth, or through advertising on bulletin boards.

[3] It must be emphasised that postings reported on diverse issues in addition to tutoring.

[4] Content analysis focuses on the actual content and internal features of media. It is commonly used to determine the presence of concepts within texts and to quantify their frequency use (Busha & Harter, 1980). This method has also been used to analyse exchanges in web forums (e.g. Guan et al., 2006).

[5] Questions regarding privacy and data-sharing of internet material have been raised, even when this material is public. Some unresolved legal issues remain (Parry, 2011; Zimmer, 2010). In this chapter, we therefore present only aggregated results.

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AYSIT TANSEL

11. PRIVATE TUTORING AND INEQUITABLE OPPORTUNITIES IN TURKEY

Challenges and Policy Implications[1]

ABSTRACT

This chapter considers private tutoring in relation to two national, high stakes selective examinations in Turkey, and the way these three interact in such a manner as to negatively impact the quality of education for all, as well as equity. Drawing on previously published research, the chapter focuses in particular on the influence of Private Tutoring Centres, and the way these collude with students and parents in developing strategies that seek to ensure success in entrance examinations. The chapter argues for the need to critically rethink the inequitable layers of educational structures, policies and practices prevalent within public education, pointing to the need for reforms that transform education into a meaningful enterprise for all social groups in Turkey.

INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring is one of the most important issues in countries where there is a large demand for higher education but access is limited by entrance examinations. Passing these competitive examinations becomes the exclusive goal for prospective higher education students. In this chapter I argue, with others such as Gök (2010), that with an emphasis on selection, the quality of teaching and learning practices in school are impoverished, hampering the educational rights of individuals. In such a situation, both parents and students become overly concerned with entrance examinations, an attitude which inevitably reinforces reliance on private tutoring.

Not all students have equal access to private tutoring, given that the use of such a service depends on the ability of parents to pay. This exacerbates socio-economic inequalities. In Turkey, students from wealthy backgrounds attend the most prestigious private tutoring institutions that prepare them for the University Entry Examination (UEE). Students from less wealthy backgrounds cannot afford private tutoring to the same extent, or even the same type of tuition. Günçer & Köse (1993) examined the effects of family background, high school type and private tutoring on the academic achievement of Turkish high school seniors. They found

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that family background is more important than other factors in explaining academic achievement. Dinçer and Uysal (2010) reported similar results.

In Turkey, inequities in the provision of educational services are evident when comparing private (household) and public (government) expenditure on education. The total private educational expenditure is higher in Turkey than in most other countries, estimated to stand at 2.5% of the GDP in 2002 (TURKSTAT, 2011). The OECD average of private educational expenditure as a proportion of GDP was 0.9% in 2008 (OECD, 2011). Private educational expenditure includes expenses on private tutoring as well as fees for private schools. In contrast, Turkey's GDP share of public educational expenditure was 4.8% in 2002 (TURKSTAT, 2011), lower than the OECD average of 5.0% for 2008 (OECD, 2011). The high private expenditure and the low public expenditure in Turkey are indicative of socioeconomic inequity in the provision of educational services. In the academic year 2001-2002, parents spent 1.4% of Turkey's GDP on private tutoring (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). In 2005, per student expenditure on private tutoring in preparation for the UEE was equivalent to US$5,322 (Turkish Educational Society – TED, 2005). According to Özel Dersaneler Birliği – or Öz-De-Bir as the largest and oldest Private Tutoring Association is commonly known – the average annual private tutoring expenditure for the academic year 2010-2011 from the primary education level to preparation for UEE ranged from about US$1,300 to US$6,500, depending on the number of hours of instruction and the number of students in the classroom (Öz-De-Bir, 2012). The extent of this expenditure becomes more obvious when one takes the official minimum wage into account. Thus, in 2012, the annual Turkish net minimum wage of a worker (16 years of age and over) was just under US$5,000 (Turkish Accountants Association, 2012). It is clear, therefore, that a worker earning the minimum wage would be unable to afford private tutoring for even a single child. The Education Initiative Report (*Eğitim Reformu Girişimi*, 2011) observes that, for many, private tutoring is a response to poor public education. An increase in public education expenditure to improve quality of public schools may reduce the demand for private tutoring, though this is not to be taken for granted: Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea have excellent public schools, but private tuition is widespread nevertheless, spurred on by social competition.

PRIVATE TUTORING CENTRES

There are three main forms of private tutoring in Turkey. The first is one-to-one individualised teaching delivered either by students from prestigious universities or by teachers, whether retired or still active. This is the most expensive form of tutoring. Tutors often guarantee the success of their students, and are thus able to charge high fees. The second form of private tutoring takes place on school premises, and is offered by volunteer teachers for a nominal pay, outside formal teaching hours in support of students needing help in mastering specific aspects of the curriculum. A nominal fee is charged for this service, which is organised by school boards with the permission of the Turkish Ministry of National Education.

Such private tuition tends to be more common in primary rather than in high schools. The third and most prevalent form of private tutoring is provided by Private Tutoring Centres (PTCs), known as *dersane* (which literally means 'house of courses') in Turkish. Licensed by the Ministry of National Education, these centres are similar to schools, with professional teachers working for a fee. Teachers who work in public schools are prohibited from teaching in PTCs. PTC courses supplement the teaching of mainstream school subjects, but the main activity of the centres focuses on preparing students for the national examination for entry to élite high schools and for the national UEE. They also provide counselling and guidance on the choice of universities, study pathways, and the selection of a future career. Individuals applying to enter a PTC need to sit for a test, with the best-performing candidates paying reduced registration fees or being exempted from them altogether. In this way, PTCs attract top students whose eventual success in the high school examination or in the UEE is used to advertise the effectiveness of teaching in a particular centre – though of course these students were already high achievers *before* entering the PTCs.

The first Private Tutoring Centre association was established in 1985 under the name of Öz-De-Bir, then representing 174 centres across the country. The association claims two important functions for PTCs: the first is to support students in the subjects in which they under-achieve; the second is to prepare students for the national selective examinations (Öz-De-Bir, 2012). Öz-De-Bir is not only the oldest but also the largest of PTC associations, and represents its members in official meetings and in public fora. One of the current topics of discussion between Öz-De-Bir and state officials is the reduction in tax payments of its members, bringing them down to the same level as that paid by private schools.

A review of state policies reveals the constantly shifting approaches by Turkish governments towards PTCs, ever since the state legalised private tutoring in 1965, and before and following the establishment of Öz-De-Bir. The 1980 military government in Turkey banned PTCs, citing equity considerations as its motive. A 1983 law required the closure of the PTCs within one year. The ban was lifted before it took effect because of the lobbying activities of PTCs. In April 2010, newspapers reported that the Prime Minister considered closing down PTCs. Öz-De-Bir responded by pointing out that PTCs are treated as scapegoats for the educational problems of the country, and complement the education provided by mainstream schools (Öz-De-Bir, 2012). At the same time, the strategic plan of the Ministry of National Education for the period 2010-2014 considered the possibility of transforming 70% of PTCs that reached adequate standards into private high schools or primary schools by 2014 (Ministry of Education, 2009). Indeed, in a recent interview on 25 March, 2012 the Prime Minister re-iterated plans to eliminate the UEE and convert PTCs into private high schools (Hürriyet, 2012).

A typical PTC provides 500-700 hours of class time instruction annually (Vatan, 2009). Teaching takes place after school hours during the weekdays and during weekends. In 2009 there was a 25-30% increase in the number of PTC-registered students. This was mostly due to the registration of vocational high school students who were allowed to sit the UEE during that year (Cumhuriyet, 2009).

Ever since its establishment in 1985, Öz-De-Bir has organised annual 'mock'/'pilot' examinations in the run up to the national selection examinations. These mock examinations are run on the same date and at the same time across the whole country, and are meant to familiarise students with the official examination, thus helping them cope with anxiety, identify weak areas, and have sufficient time to improve. Öz-De-Bir is run like an educational NGO, and organises conferences and workshops on social, cultural and educational issues for its members and for the general public, whom it keeps updated through its newsletter. It conducts studies to develop teaching standards which increase the effectiveness of its members. It also follows worldwide developments in the field of private tutoring and even organises trips to countries such as the UK, Japan and Greece in order to learn how private lessons are delivered in these contexts. The association publishes various guidebooks and test banks which help students prepare for the national examinations. In 2010, Öz-De-Bir celebrated its 25th anniversary by holding conferences across the country for parents, students, and school counselors on such topics as 'Success in Examinations and in Life' and 'Psychological Support for Children' (Öz-De-Bir, 2012). More generally, Öz-De-Bir sees the future of PTCs in providing lifelong learning opportunities.

With the expansion of enrolment in primary and high schools over the years, the growth of PTCs followed apace, registering an increase of 148% between 1997 and 2006. The number of primary and high school students receiving private tutoring increased by 198% (TED, 2005). In the academic year 2010-2011, there were 1.235 million students registered, with services provided by 4,099 registered PTCs and 50,209 private tutors (Ministry of National Education, 2011). The extent of the phenomenon can be better appreciated through comparison with the total number of students for the same academic year: 10.981 million primary school pupils, and 4.749 million general and vocational high school students (Ministry of National Education, 2011). All in all, the potential market for PTCs is over 15 million students, though the most likely clients are students from the senior years at the primary and high school levels, given the national selection examinations they have to sit. For the academic year 2010-2011, the number of final year primary school students (8th Grade) was 1.367 million, and of final year high school students (12th Grade) 1.552 million (Ministry of National Education, 2011). Hence, close to 3 million students from the senior years of both the primary and secondary cycle are most likely to resort to PTC services. The attractiveness of such services for students and their parents becomes even more evident when we consider that, in a survey conducted by Turkish Educational Society – TED (2005) as many as 44% of high school seniors, 65% of high school graduates, and 34% of university students believed that the quality of teaching was better at the PTCs when compared to that offered by mainstream schools.

While Tansel and Bircan (2006, 2008) have pointed out the reproductive social role of private tutoring, Öz-De-Bir officials have counter-argued that PTCs provide services for middle- and low-income families at prices which are affordable, when compared to the cost of private, one-to-one tuition. The association also points out that PTCs are required to register 5% of the total number of students from lower

income families free of charge – and that indeed, this social obligation is taken so seriously that the figure is closer to 10% (Öz-De-Bir, 2012). Clearly, the controversies over private tutoring in Turkey are deeply enmeshed with social class dynamics and interests. Notwithstanding, social class represents only one axis of demarcation with regard to the nexus between private tutoring and educational inequities. There are other axes of demarcation along which these inequities and inequalities operate. These include gender, region, rural/urban background, type of high school. Girls have only a small advantage over boys in terms of attending private tutoring (Tansel & Bircan, 2008). A comparison of the geographic distribution of PTCs and general high schools per high school age population is found in Tansel & Bircan (2008). PTCs operate mostly in urban areas. Moreover, students from the Black Sea region, as well as Turkey's east and south-east regions, are somewhat less successful in UEEs compared to other parts of the country, even if these regional differences are not significant when it comes to the 1999-2002 UEEs and the 2003 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) examination results (Berberoğlu & Kalender, 2005).

SCHOOL TYPES, SUBJECT STREAMS, ACHIEVEMENT, AND PRIVATE TUTORING

Differences in school quality represent additional facets of the larger question of equity. A vicious circle thus feeds on inequalities between schools, raising the demand for private tutoring. There are large differences in school quality in Turkey. In particular, high schools differ according to type, differences which become quite visible when one considers student performance in national and international tests. According to UEE and PISA results, students from science high schools, Anatolian high schools,[2] and private high schools are more likely to succeed in the UEE compared to their peers in general high schools. Their performance in PISA is well above the international average. In contrast, students from general high schools are less successful in the UEE and their performance in PISA is below the international average. Several studies indicate that socio-economic and family backgrounds are important determinants of UEE performance (Dinçer & Uysal, 2010; Günçer & Köse, 1993). Students from science, Anatolian, and private high schools generally come from more affluent family backgrounds (World Bank, 2011, p. viii). There are only a few élite, high quality high schools compared to the number of general high schools. Therefore, students compete with an entrance examination for access to élite high schools for which it is common to prepare by taking private tutoring.

Since the academic year 2010-2011, the Turkish high school curriculum has included a core group of obligatory courses common to all students, as well as elective courses which students are required to choose from. Choices are made on the basis of student interests and higher education and career plans. The first year in high school now includes all the common, obligatory courses. The following years now include both compulsory and elective courses. This curricular reform is meant to provide a degree of flexibility in selecting educational pathways. However, before the reform, there were four major general high school subject

streams that students could choose from, namely Mathematics-Natural Sciences, Turkish-Mathematics, Turkish-Social Sciences, and Foreign Languages. Prior to the reform, students who were at the end of the 12th Grade in high school, as well as high school graduates, could sit for the UEE. Mathematics-Natural sciences and Turkish-Mathematics were the most popular streams, and students from these streams were perceived as being more likely to succeed in the UEE. These students were offered a more intensive Mathematics curriculum when compared to that offered to students in the Social Science and Foreign Language streams. Among high school seniors and graduates who applied to sit for the UEE in 2008, 33.3% had Mathematics-Natural Sciences background, 31.2% had Turkish-Mathematics background, 13.3% had a Social Sciences background, and 23.1% graduated from Foreign Language streams (Berberoğlu & Tansel, 2012). Analysing 2008 data supplied by the Student Selection and Placement Centre, Berberoğlu and Tansel (2012) found that 85% of UEE applicants from the Mathematics-Natural Sciences high school stream had received private tutoring. This was true for 71% of the applicants in the Turkish-Mathematics stream, and for 53% of the applicants in the Social Sciences stream. Thus, students from the more popular high school streams of Mathematics-Natural Sciences and Turkish-Mathematics were more likely to receive private tutoring. This may be due to a more rigorous Mathematics curriculum in these streams. The presence of these streams before 2010 were thought to contribute to inequities.

Berberoğlu and Tansel (2012) also compared students who received private tutoring with those who did not, focusing on differences in parental background. They found that students who did not receive private tutoring typically came from modest socio-economic backgrounds, while those who did receive private tutoring more often than not had more affluent parents. Students who attended private lessons also tended to have a higher interest in academic success, which they valued more highly than students who relied only on mainstream schooling.

Ekici (2005) investigated the attitudes of a group of high school students from various schools in Ankara towards UEE. He found that students who attended PTCs developed positive attitudes towards the examination, compared to students who did not go to the centres for private tuition. This finding did not differ by gender or by the type of high school attended. These results suggest that students attending PTCs tend to experience an increase in self-confidence in relation to the UEE. Within this larger context, and despite 12 years of formal schooling, parents and students tend to have a strong belief in private tutoring, considering it as the main solution to performing well in the entrance examination to élite high schools and university. Kuban (2011) observes that, as a result, regular schools and teachers lose their status and influence in society at large, given that PTCs are valued more (TED, 2005) – even if PTCs actually emphasise memorisation of sample question formats and their answers (Gök, 2010). Private tutoring, therefore, seems to have less to do with imparting a true education, and more to do with training for entrance examinations. Given that such services are most accessible to the better off, what we have here is an exacerbation of social inequalities, with

service providers selecting the higher achieving students, measuring success in terms of examination passes, thus consolidating their own prestige and standing.

EDUCATORS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS PTCS

Baştürk and Doğan (2010) investigated how Mathematics teachers in Istanbul view PTCs. These teachers explained that, in their view, students attend PTCs in order to learn about the techniques of taking multiple choice tests and gain experience in taking such tests. Teachers expressed concern both about the profit motive driving the powerful PTCs, and the fact that students' success in the university entrance examination was often solely attributed to the centres, thus discounting the contribution made by the regular teachers at school.

According to Morgil et al. (2001), teachers think that attending PTCs has a negative effect on students' attitudes in their regular class. Teachers argued that some students do not pay attention in class, thinking that they will learn the topic at the PTC. Students who have already learned a particular topic at the PTC can become disruptive when the regular teacher tries to cover the subject in class. Teachers also think that two groups of students end up forming in the classroom, namely those who attend PTCs and those who do not. Such a division reinforces the perception that PTCs are important, consequently relegating mainstream schools to second place. Teachers reported that they too felt the pressure exerted by the UEE, ending up focusing more on topics that were likely to feature in the UEE (Morgil et al., 2001). Tutors in the PTCs, however, enjoyed more freedom and could more flexibly respond to student demands, such as teaching test-taking techniques, coaching for the examinations, and helping students overcome examination anxiety by taking a lot of mock tests.

The question of course arises as to how much such coaching and teaching to the test constitutes a 'good education'. From the perspective of students and their parents, of course, the fact that performance in PTC mock examinations predicts the actual score obtained in the UEE – a fact corroborated by Morgil et al. (2001) – carries much weight, suggesting as it does that the probability of UEE success increases with attendance at the centres. However, the same researchers also note that the examination-centred nature of the teaching experience leaves students without much opportunity to develop self-expression skills. Similarly, higher education faculty members point out that first year undergraduates lack the skills needed to explain, analyse and interpret, given that they had hitherto, and throughout their primary and high school student careers, concentrated on answering multiple choice questions – a practice reinforced by PTCs (Ortaş, 2006).

NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS AND THE QUALITY OF HIGH SCHOOLS

As already noted, there are two high-stakes national examinations in Turkey. The first is that taken at the end of compulsory schooling on the basis of which students gain access to élite and high quality schools, thus opening up a pathway to accessing the best universities. The second is the UEE, taken at the end of the 12th

Grade, determining which programmes in which universities can be attended. Lucrative careers depend on success in both examinations. With so much at stake, students invest heavily in private tutoring. This investment intensifies during the last years of compulsory school and of high school. The preparation process for these two national examinations often leads students to avoid attending regular schooling, particularly during the second semester of the senior years of primary and high school in order to attend PTCs. To that end, some students pay expensively for false medical reports in order to justify their absence from their school. But that is not all: national examinations do not cover all high school subjects. Sports, the arts, music and foreign languages do not feature in the UEE. They tend to be given short shrift in high school teaching. It therefore does not come as a surprise that most high school graduates lack foreign language skills – with the exception, of course, of those graduating from the foreign language stream. Moreover, the competitive nature of the examinations adversely affects social relations among students, leaving little possibility for mutual trust and cooperation to develop.

The number of students affected by the race for university seats has increased over time, given the growing number of high school graduates, and the shifting policy regarding quotas imposed on university admissions. In 1980, the number of students sitting the UEE was 466,963; of these, only 41,574 – or 8.9% – were selected and all were placed in a four-year university programme, given that at that time there were as yet no two-year programmes. However, the number of applicants to the UEE and the proportions of those who are placed in a university programme have increased over time, along with the increase in the number of high school graduates. In 2008, only about a third of all 1,574,928 applicants were selected and placed in the two or four-year higher education programmes. In 2010, there were 1,587,866 UEE candidates, and of these 874,306 were admitted, representing 55.1% of the total number of hopefuls (Student Selection and Placement Centre, 2012). The increase in the proportions of those who were placed in a university programme was due to the increase in the quotas of the universities and the foundation of additional public and private universities. In such a context, private tutoring is hardly likely to diminish: if anything, the boom in private tuition services will increase, given that more and more students are participating in the 'race'.

CONCLUSION

Private tutoring is deeply entrenched in Turkish society. It can be considered as a remarkable societal and institutional phenomenon. It operates at the juncture of social class divisions, regional economic disparities, the inequitable distribution of schooling opportunities in a context of highly stratified school system, and a rigid set of national examinations. Against this backdrop, it is not uncommon for students to start resorting to private tutoring centres when they are barely ten years of age (World Bank, 2011, p. viii). Notwithstanding, access to private tutoring remains largely contingent on parental income and wealth, exacerbating social

stratification and inequitable social and educational opportunities in Turkish society.

The main challenge facing policy makers in Turkey is not so much to fight the manifestations of private tutoring. Rather, the challenge is to critically rethink the inequitable layers of educational structures, policies and practices prevalent within public education, in ways that build sustainable reforms for an education worth wanting, equitably accessible and equally meaningful to members of all social groups. In that sense, addressing the manifestations of private tutoring in Turkey means first and foremost redressing the structural, social and educational inequities that underlie the current educational system in ways that render schooling an empowering venue for a robust participatory enactment of Turkish citizenship.

NOTES

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the comments and suggestions of Giray Berberoğlu. Any remaining errors are mine.

[2] Anatolian high schools are public schools that cater for high-achieving students. Most of their courses are taught in a foreign language. They are the equivalent of private grammar schools, though free of charge.

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HÜLYA KOŞAR ALTINYELKEN

12. THE DEMAND FOR PRIVATE TUTORING IN TURKEY

Unintended Consequences of Curriculum Reform

ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on the private tutoring phenomenon in Turkey. It seeks to analyse the impact of the revision of primary school curriculum on the demand for private tutoring. It also outlines various academic, economic and social implications of private tutoring. Based on interviews with school management and teachers in eight public schools in Ankara, the chapter discusses the perceived contradictions and tensions in relation to the introduction of competency based curriculum in a highly exam-oriented education system. It highlights teachers' concerns with regard to student learning and the implications of learning 'less' in mainstream schools on students' further educational and career possibilities. The majority of teachers who participated in this study believed that the revised curriculum has inadvertently contributed to the intensification of the demand for private tutoring. The chapter underscores the importance of aligning education policies in order to avoid such unintended consequences.

INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring is a burgeoning industry in Turkey, responding to a market niche driven mainly by entrance examinations to universities and prestigious secondary schools. It has recorded dramatic increases in the past two decades, and the expansion has reached such a scale in recent years that some people view the sector as being 'out of control'. Private tutoring is a controversial and heated topic among educationalists, politicians and the general public, indicating rather contentious opinions and feelings about the sector. It is not uncommon to observe statements in the media referring to private tutoring as a 'malaise', or as a phenomenon that erodes the public education system, or as a major equity issue. In the past, a number of politicians have attempted to abolish private tutoring centres (PTCs) (Tansel & Bircan, 2008) or made promises to eliminate them (Milliyet, 2012), but until now these attempts have failed. The issue became an important topic of discussion after the announcement by Prime Minister Erdoğan in March 2012 that he was determined to eradicate PTCs by transforming some of these centres into private schools and more importantly by eliminating the demand for private

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 187–204.

tutoring. He insisted that here was no turning back from his political commitment (Haber Türk, 2012). Nevertheless, many pointed out the 'impossibilities' of executing such a decision (Milliyet, 2012), as the demand for private tutoring was perceived to be deeply ingrained within the education system in rather complex ways.

A number of studies have investigated the nature, scale, effectiveness, costs and consequences of this increasingly widespread phenomenon in Turkey[1] (Akgün, 2005; Doğan, 2010; Gök, 2006; Morgil et al., 2000; Nartgün et al., 2012; Tansel & Bircan, 2008). Some of these studies have described the examination system as the main determining factor. In recent years, increasing numbers of students were registered at PTCs, and these increases were mainly attributed to the changes in the regulations of entrance examinations to secondary schools and universities (Cumhuriyet, 2009; Şahin, 2007; Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Another highly relevant development was the revision of the primary school curriculum. Following international trends, Turkey adopted a competency-based curriculum after a major review effort in 2004. The new curriculum attempted to move away from a content-based focus, and emphasised the development of a select number of competencies (MONE, 2005). As noted internationally (see e.g. Bray & Lykins 2012), the content of curriculum often has direct consequences for demand for private tutoring. Hence, any changes in curriculum content are likely to have direct or indirect ramifications on the demand for private tutoring. However, the recent changes and their implications for private tutoring received little attention among Turkish scholars despite a high-profile court case insinuating a close link between the two, and eventually resulting in the abolition of some parts of the curriculum in 2009.[2]

Drawing on a larger study analysing the implementation of the competency-based curriculum in Turkey, this chapter examines the implications of the revised curriculum for student learning and the demand for private tutoring. It aims to contribute to our understanding of how curriculum reforms influence the demand for tutoring. The chapter first reviews private tutoring in Turkey and outlines the changes in the curriculum. It then introduces the methodology, and presents the main findings by referring to reflections of teachers and school management on the revised curriculum. These reflections particularly concern learning in mainstream schooling, the examination dilemma, and increasing demand for private tutoring. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the social, economic and academic implications of private tutoring. The study confirms that the revised curriculum has inadvertently resulted in an increasing demand for private supplementary tutoring.

PRIVATE TUTORING IN TURKEY

Private tutoring is a widespread phenomenon in Turkey, expanding rapidly since the turn of the century (Yılmaz & Altınkurt, 2011). The most common form of private tutoring is provided by profit-oriented organisations, where qualified teachers who are not employed in the public sector teach in relatively small classes. These are commonly referred to as *dershane* in Turkish. Private tutoring has also

been increasingly provided by public schools after official lesson hours at low cost. Another common type is one-to-one instruction by educators, who can be teachers employed at public schools or even university students. Although the second and the third types of tutoring are mainly understood as remedial teaching (e.g. improving students' understanding of the subjects taught at school and helping them perform better academically), the form of private tutoring offered by private companies is mainly aimed at preparation for high-stakes examinations. Hence, the content of learning materials in such PTCs is entirely determined by the content of examinations, and teaching is geared to achieving high scores. In addition to offering intensive courses on subjects covered by the national examinations, PTCs also teach test-solving techniques and offer guidance and counselling services to help students make informed choices about their educational and occupational careers (Tansel & Bircan, 2008).

It is widely acknowledged that the demand for private tutoring in Turkey is primarily determined by highly selective and examination-oriented nature of the education system (Gök, 2006; Tansel & Bircan, 2004; Temelli et al., 2010). There are two important educational transitions for Turkish students: the transition from primary to secondary education, and the transition from secondary education to higher education institutions. All students who successfully complete eight years of primary education (ages 6-14) are eligible to attend schools at secondary level, which offer four years of education (ages 14-17). Secondary education is broadly divided into two: general secondary education, and vocational and technical secondary education. In principle, students are free to choose any type of secondary school, and although exceptions are made, they are expected to enrol at schools close to their residential addresses (MONE, 2011a).

Nevertheless, even at this level, high competition among students persists because in addition to secondary schools at which any primary school graduate can directly enrol, another group of secondary schools selectively enrols students via a centrally administered examination called 'Level Determination Exam' (Seviye Belirleme Sınavı [SBS] in Turkish) (Ministry of National Education [MONE], 2011a). The exam is administered at the end of primary school, among grade eight students. The schools, which selectively enrol students, include Anatolian high schools,[3] Science high schools, and some élite private schools that use foreign languages as the medium of instruction (mainly English, but occasionally German or French) and have small classes. They are widely acclaimed for their higher quality education. The perception is that they increase the chances of students to secure placements at universities. High competition for élite secondary schools fuels demand for private tutoring and contributes to the creation of a lucrative market for PTCs.

Secondary school students are a larger market for PTCs, since admission to higher education institutions is also governed by a highly competitive nationwide examination (Gök, 2006). The stakes are even higher at this level. For instance, in 2008, around 1.6 million students registered for the university entrance examination, and only around 265,000 of them were placed at higher education institutions that offered Bachelor's degree programmes (Öğrenci Seçme ve

Yerleştirme Merkezi [ÖSYM], 2008). Private tutoring is widely viewed as indispensable at this level (Özden, 2010), suggesting that a student has to be exceptional, brave or naïve to expect success at the examination without private tutoring. For instance, in a study conducted by Tansel & Bircan (2008), more than half of the respondents believed that without private tutoring it was difficult, if not impossible, to get a placement at universities.

According to 2010/2011 Ministry of Education statistics, there were 4,099 PTCs in total, mostly located in urban areas. PTCs are also more concentrated in the western and central parts of the country, with Istanbul and Ankara recording the highest numbers. Studies have shown that households with higher income and higher parental education levels invest more resources in private tutoring, and private tutoring expenditures are higher in urban areas in comparison to rural areas (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). In 2010/2011, 1.2 million students attended these centres and 50,209 tutors were employed (MONE, 2011b). Although these figures give an idea about the extent of private tutoring in Turkey, they do not reflect the actual scale of the phenomenon. This is because, as in other parts of the world (Bray, 2006; 2010), many teachers do not register their after-school economic activities in order to avoid paying tax. Reliable data is therefore difficult to obtain. Some sources suggest that at least 4,000 more PTCs are operating unofficially without licenses to evade taxes and to avoid inspection by the Ministry (Tansel & Bircan, 2008). These estimates highlight the fact that private tutoring is a much larger sector than official figures suggest.

CURRICULUM CHANGE

The Rationale

A major revision of the primary school curriculum was foreseen in Turkey in 2004, as the previous curriculum was considered to be outdated, overburdened with content, and inadequate when it came to preparing children and youth for contemporary labour markets. The new trends and demands that were emerging in the global environment, such as globalisation, the knowledge based-economy, and the information and communication technologies also influenced Turkish policy makers and curriculum designers. According to the Ministry of National Education (MONE), these developments rendered knowledge accumulation and its application key determinants of national economic development and competitiveness in global markets. Hence, they have greatly influenced the content and the processes of education, and made it imperative to reform educational thinking and practices. Curriculum change was also perceived as critical in addressing concerns relating to education quality and equity, such as low student motivation, making education more relevant to social and economic needs, and improving the performance of Turkish students in various international tests (MONE, 2005).

In adopting a competency-based curriculum as a core feature at all levels of education, Turkey has followed recent and pervasive international reform trends,

alongside countries such as the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Canada (Han, 2008), not to mention other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). This curriculum model has been developed to compensate for the 'irrelevance of much knowledge-based education to occupational performance and the failure of educational qualifications to predict occupational success' (Raven, 2001, p. 253). In other words, as the world of work started to make stronger demands on what and how schools teach, the notion of competence has become a key consideration in defining the educational enterprise (Han, 2008).

The Competency-Based Curriculum

The revised curriculum introduced changes that affect the extent and organisation of content, as well as the pedagogical approach and assessment methods. Adopting a thematic approach, the coverage of content and the number of concepts taught were reduced. Although in the previous curriculum terms such as 'goal', 'objective', and 'targeted attitudes' were frequently used, the revised curriculum often makes reference to 'competencies' (Educational Reform Initiative, 2005). It emphasises the development and reinforcement of eight core competencies, including critical thinking, creativity, communication, problem solving, research, using information technologies, entrepreneurship, and language skills in Turkish, for grades 1-5 (MONE, 2005).

When it comes to teaching methods, the revised curriculum adopts a student-centred pedagogy (SCP), thus setting out as an objective the move away from a teacher-centred or subject-centred approach. The new educational programmes recommend that the majority of the lesson time should be spent on classroom activities, and teachers should facilitate, guide and supervise students' learning processes. Moreover, students' roles and responsibilities are redefined as they are expected to assume more responsibility for their own learning, and to participate in learning and teaching activities by interacting with their peers and teachers, handling materials, developing projects and doing research. Furthermore, assessment methods have been altered and a range of alternative methods has been suggested in an attempt to move beyond testing. The new approach, called 'authentic assessment' (see Koh et al., 2012 for a discussion on the subject), aims to evaluate the learning processes of students, and introduces such methods as self-evaluation, evaluation of classmates, project and performance assignments, observation forms and student portfolios (MONE, 2005; 2009). The revised curriculum was piloted in 2004/2005 in 120 primary schools across Turkey. The nationwide implementation started in the following academic year at the first five grades at the same time. In the upper grades (6-8) the implementation was phased over three consecutive years.

METHODOLOGY

The chapter is based on a doctoral study, with fieldwork conducted in 2009. Public schools, which were involved in piloting the revised curriculum, were selected

since teachers in these schools received more extensive in-service training, and had more prolonged contacts with institutions involved in curriculum implementation. It was therefore assumed that these teachers were more informed about – and experienced in using – the revised curriculum. Eight of the 25 public schools which piloted the revised curriculum in the 2004/05 academic year in the province of Ankara were randomly selected, each from a different district. The schools were situated in middle to low-income neighbourhoods. The number of students registered in these schools ranged between 662 and 3,339. With the exception of three, all the schools operated on a double-shift basis.

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on semi-structured interviews with teachers and school administrators. In total, 69 interviews were conducted with teachers (26 at grade one, 24 at grade two, and 19 at grade five), and 14 interviews with school management. With one exception, all head teachers and deputy head teachers were male. In contrast, the majority of teachers were female (57 female and 12 male). Teachers were between 30 and 64 years old, with the average age standing at 40. In terms of education level, five had Master's and 62 bachelor degrees, and only two teachers were graduates of teacher training institutes. Teachers' years of experience ranged from nine to 43, with the average being 16. The majority of teachers had work experience in various parts of the country, in urban and rural settings. Interviews with teachers sought their views and experiences on a range of issues including curriculum content, pedagogical approach, textbooks, responses received from students and parents to the curriculum reform, and teachers' classroom practices. The interviews with school administrators set out to understand how heads and deputy heads evaluated the new curriculum and what contradictions and tensions they observed within the system. Interviews with both groups included questions regarding private tutoring, the implications of the revised curriculum on the demand for private tutoring, and the various social and economic ramifications of such increased demand.

TEACHERS' REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REVISED CURRICULUM FOR PRIVATE TUTORING

It is important to note that teachers, like policy makers and curriculum designers, were equally critical of the older curriculum. They were concerned about content overload, the inclusion of outdated information, and the curriculum's inability to measure up to the needs and expectations of contemporary Turkish society and economy. Teachers and school management alike therefore confirmed the need for curriculum change. Their views on the reform were, however, different. Some welcomed the change while others expressed serious reservations concerning the implications of the reform on student learning and their performance in the secondary school entrance examination. These concerns closely relate to increased demand for private tutoring and the accompanying apprehensions about the intensification of social and economic inequalities within Turkish society. In the next section, teachers' concerns with student learning in mainstream schools will

first be outlined. Then, the entrance exam dilemma and the issue of the increasing demand for private tutoring will be considered.

LEARNING IN MAINSTREAM SCHOOLING

Reduced Content Load

All but two teachers interviewed were of the opinion that the coverage of content in the revised curriculum was substantially reduced when compared to the previous one. Teachers differed, however, when it came to their views on the appropriateness of such reductions. A small group of teachers expressed satisfaction since they believed that children up to grade five did not need to acquire so much knowledge and information. According to them, with children of this age group the emphasis should be on behavioural and attitudinal development. They consequently believed that an increased focus on competencies and skills related to such areas as communication, oral and written expression and confidence building, was appropriate. Moreover, teachers noted that content reductions were most pronounced at lower grades, given that some subjects were transferred to upper grades. Furthermore, these teachers argued that lessons were generally easier for students, and more enjoyable, and success rate increased since a greater number of students were able to attain competencies defined for their grade level. In contrast to the positive opinions of this small group, the majority of teachers who participated in this study expressed concern about the revised curriculum. They were convinced that the coverage of content had been dramatically reduced, and that topics within several subjects were either shifted too much to upper grades or several of them were omitted altogether.

The Quality of Textbooks

Another important dimension of the discussion on student learning relates to the quality of textbooks. The majority of teachers stated that the quality of new textbooks was unacceptably low. The textbooks provided insufficient information on subject matters; the themes were listed, but there was little content on them, or they were treated superficially. Teachers often used statements such as ‘the books are empty’, ‘they are simple’, ‘they are not even serious’ or ‘the books are a joke’. There was a pervasive conviction among teachers that especially the books for upper grades should have given more information, since students do not learn much when they read the books. A teacher remarked: ‘The books keep asking questions all the time. Rather than giving information, the books encourage them to do research’. Given that the textbooks are viewed weak in content, but the entrance exams to secondary schools remain focused on coverage, parents feel obliged to compensate by sending their children to private tuition institutions.

Student-Centred Pedagogy

Teachers' concerns were also closely related to SCP, the new pedagogical approach advocated by the revised curriculum. Although various aspects of SCP were praised and appreciated by teachers (see Altınyelken, 2011), they also complained about the fact that the lessons were mainly based on classroom activities intended by curriculum designers to more actively engage students in their learning. This was leaving less time for lecturing and direct transmission of knowledge. Teachers were told during in-service training that their role as a teacher was no longer imparting knowledge, but teaching children about the ways to seek and attain knowledge. Some teachers agreed with their new role and perceived themselves as 'mediators' of learning (see also Altınyelken, 2012). The following quotations illustrate the opinions of such teachers and indicate a significant change in the philosophy of learning and the role of schooling for them:

> Information is not important. When children's intellectual capacities improve, they can and will learn themselves. What is important and essential is to teach them how to find information.

> You can find knowledge everywhere. Knowledge is abundant in our age; we are flooded with knowledge. What is critical is to have the skills to attain knowledge that one desires to have.

Research Assignments

These statements indicate the importance accorded to research skills and research assignments in the revised curriculum. The curriculum documents state that in the contemporary world, the future of individuals and societies is dependent on competencies to access, use, and produce knowledge (MONE, 2005; 2009). Research assignments were designed to serve as an important tool to improve students' competencies in accessing and retrieving relevant information, and to encourage them to be autonomous and self-directed learners. Nevertheless, the rationale behind assignments *falsely* assumes that children have easy access to internet or written educational resources. Yet, many households do not have computers, an adequate amount of reference books or financial resources for frequent visits to internet cafés. Moreover, as some teachers commented, not all students like doing research: 'the curriculum is too idealistic. The curriculum designers assume that the kids love doing research and they do research. The reality is very different'. Consequently, several students cannot either do the assignments or they delegate such responsibilities to parents. Few years after its implementation, parental involvement reached such a scale that the revised curriculum came to be known as 'parent-centred pedagogy' (see Altınyelken, 2011). Such export of school work to the home, the resultant pressure on parents, and limitations of research assignments in stimulating learning have consequently contributed to the intensification of the demand for private tutoring.

THE EXAM DILEMMA

Any real or perceived deterioration in student learning is a legitimate concern on its own, given the intrinsic value of education. However, teachers also had a more immediate concern about the entrance exam to secondary schools. In 2008, the entrance regulations to secondary schools were reformed. Accordingly, the entrance exam, which was administered only at the final grade, was administered three times, namely at grades six, seven and eight. The Ministry's rationale was to decrease the demand for private tutoring and improve the fairness of the regulations by considering the average of the scores obtained in three exams, and students' grade averages in the final three years of primary education (MONE, 2007). However, this produced the opposite result, leading to an increased demand for PTCs. In 2010, the Ministry changed the regulations again, requiring students to sit in the entrance exam only at the end of grade eight.

The entrance exam has traditionally evaluated students on the basis of their knowledge acquisition. Some teachers acknowledged improvements in the first SBS exam but they needed to see how the type of questions would evolve through the years. At the time of the research though, several teachers believed that since students received less knowledge after the implementation of the revised curriculum, mainstream schools fail to prepare them adequately. The following teacher accounts exemplify these concerns:

> The success rates of these students might be lower at the entrance exam.

> The books are not sufficient for the exam.

> The new curriculum appears to emphasise the assessment of the learning process, the use of ICTs, the development of competencies, such as self-confidence, the ability to say 'No' and so on… All of these do not matter when you require them to take an exam at the end of primary. These competencies are not critical for them. Success in the exam is what counts.

Such concerns were not only expressed by the teachers but also even with greater concern by school management. Two head teachers, for instance, exclaimed that:

> The government is initiating contradictory policies. It introduces a curriculum, which emphasises competencies and skills and yet keeps an examination system that assesses knowledge acquisition. Then how can we implement this curriculum effectively, with the full knowledge that our students want to be admitted to good quality secondary schools, while the education we offer them does not prepare them for that goal?

> Within a highly competitive environment, a curriculum approach de-emphasising the grades was introduced. It claims that memorisation is not important, knowledge acquisition is not important, but the development of competencies matters the most. However, the entrance exam and the competition it generates take away all the possible gains of the new curriculum. There is a clear contradiction.

These apprehensions appeared to cause much frustration among teachers and school management. Genuine interest about the well-being and future success of students was at the root of many teachers' frustrations. Several teachers highlighted the importance of aligning the exam questions with the philosophy and objectives of the revised curriculum, and were concerned that lack of policy alignment intensifies the need for private tutoring.

It is also worth noting that student performance at entrance exam was also directly related to the success of teachers and school management and to the prestige of their schools. In fact, the number of graduates who are admitted to prestigious secondary schools often determines the quality of schools and their standing. A head teacher noted the following:

> The education system is highly competitive. The schools announce the lists of their students who received high scores at the entrance exam and are admitted to good quality schools. These are announced as 'Our Honour List'. The schools compete with each other to have higher number of students admitted to Anatolian high schools or Science high schools. The schools try to outperform other schools in their neighbourhood.

When school success is defined in terms of high scores obtained in the entrance examination and of admission to prestigious secondary schools, the result is that the vast majority of students – as many as 90% in fact – are deemed to be 'failures'. Likewise, some teachers maintained that the tension between a curriculum that preaches the value of developing competencies, abilities and skills, and an entrance exam that merely assesses knowledge undermines teachers as well: If their students do not achieve well at the exam this would make teachers look 'unsuccessful'. Some were also concerned that they would be criticised by parents as well because of that. Consequently, according to some, the education system generates much frustration among students, parents and teachers alike, and leads to a systemic crisis. The intensity of this crisis appears to be magnified with the introduction of a competency-based curriculum within a highly competitive, exam-oriented education system.

INCREASING DEMAND FOR PRIVATE TUTORING

It is not only teachers and school administrators who were concerned about the contradictions between the competency-based curriculum and the entrance exam. Parents were as well, and indeed some were quite alarmed by the dilution of knowledge in the new curriculum. A teacher noted that 'Parents are very concerned. Their anxiety level is very high. They keep asking, "Can they succeed at the exam?" … They do not care about the competencies. Competencies are not important for the exam'. Furthermore, some teachers stated that they encountered pressure from parents to compensate for the omission of the revised curriculum and to do more lecturing to transmit knowledge. Parental coping strategies did not only include pressuring teachers but also arranging private tutoring for their children.

Depending on their economic situation, several parents reacted by sending their children to PTCs so that they would be better prepared for the entrance exam. Parents were also motivated by guilt and social pressure. As a teacher noted, 'Parents are concerned that if their child is unsuccessful they would feel guilty for not sending them to PTCs. Enrolling them at such centres gives them reassurance that they have at least done their best'.

All teachers and school administrators in visited schools noted that increasing numbers of students at upper grades had started to attend PTCs. In some schools, the increase was 50% while in some others the rate of students attending PTCs doubled. Moreover, students attend private tutoring at an increasingly younger age, starting as early as in the fourth grade at age ten. According to estimates provided by school administrators, some classes had up to 60% of their students attending PTCs. The participation levels were lower in schools situated in low-income neighbourhoods, but even there the estimates were around 30%. These rates are not indicative of general trends in Turkey since participation rates in PTCs and household expenditure on private tutoring are generally higher in urban areas (Tansel & Bircan, 2004). Some teachers argued that private tutoring had become an imperative and even an obligation rather than an option.

PERCEIVED OUTCOMES OF PRIVATE TUTORING

Performance at the Entrance Exams

Some of the teachers interviewed argued that private tutoring helps students improve their knowledge since, in their view, PTCs compensate for the weaknesses of the curriculum taught in mainstream schools. PTCs are generally considered to be effective in drilling students with facts and preparing them for exams, thus reflecting a rather different learning philosophy and objectives compared to the revised curriculum. Some other teachers, however, suggested that many PTCs are not successful at all, and are even 'a fiasco'. A brief look at the research on the subject indicates that some studies confirm higher exam performance of students who receive private tutoring (Morgil et al., 2000; Okur & Dikici, 2004; Tansel & Bircan, 2005), while some others suggest a difference only when spending on private tutoring is substantial (Gürün & Millimet, 2008).

Despite criticisms levelled at PTCs by various educational stakeholders, their effectiveness in coaching students to answer multiple-choice questions is widely acknowledged by them. Some other studies in the field confirm that PTCs were primarily perceived by parents and students as centres where students learn test techniques (Doğan, 2010) and familiarise themselves with the types of questions asked in the exams (Özden, 2010). Hence, they do not contribute to the general aims and objectives of the national education system (Büyükbaş, 1997). Instead, similar to tutors in other countries, they focus exclusively on knowledge and strategies to improve student performance at the exams (Bray & Kwok, 2003). Such skills are considered critical since the exam is administered within a limited time period, requiring students to analyse, interpret and respond to the questions as

swiftly as possible. Acquiring test-solving skills has become even more important with the implementation of the revised curriculum, since it introduced authentic assessment, requiring teachers to focus on the assessment of the learning process by using a variety of evaluation tools. While the efforts of curriculum designers to move beyond testing and consider more creative and rich ways of assessing students is acknowledged, teachers were also concerned that students who did not receive private tutoring would encounter great difficulties as they would be less exposed to testing in mainstream schools.

Impact on Mainstream Schooling

According to teachers, private tutoring interfered with mainstream schooling in a number of ways. Students are exposed to two different curricula with different learning objectives (the competency-based curriculum in mainstream schools, and subject-based curriculum at PTCs), pedagogical approach (SCP at mainstream schools and more teacher centred, traditional teaching methods at PTCs), and assessment system (continuous assessment at mainstream schools and multiple-choice tests at PTCs). In other words, teaching and learning activities at schools and PTCs are not complimentary as learning objectives differ in these institutions (Özden, 2010; Temelli et al., 2010), PTCs having a narrow focus on topics and techniques to improve success at the entrance exams. Existence of two parallel systems also interfered with the successful implementation of the revised curriculum at primary schools, and has sometimes led to mismatches between what has been learnt at school and at PTCs, resulting in confusion among students. Moreover, it created disparities between students who received private tutoring and those who did not. Consequently, the ability differences between students within a given classroom widened. Similar findings were reported by Baştürk and Doğan (2010) in their study on teachers' views of PTCs.

Teachers remarked that many parents and students tended to believe that the quality of instruction was better at PTCs. Hence, teachers were concerned that their respect for and confidence in mainstream schools were lower. One deputy head teacher noted that 'PTCs argue that mainstream schools cannot provide good quality education, but we can. Parents take public schools less seriously. What is told and taught at "*dershane*" is taken more seriously'. Teachers seemed wary of a general conviction within society that PTCs provide better education compared to public schools, and resent attempts to attribute student success at the entrance exams solely to PTCs. An episode from 2005 reflects such resentments: The student who got the highest score at the entrance exam to secondary schools in that year was interviewed on TV. The officials of the PTC where he attended asked him not to mention his school's name during the interview, in an attempt to get all the credit for his high score (Milliyet, 2005).

Teachers also complained that they could not organise extra-curricular activities with students at upper grades because they go to PTCs after school hours. Parents in general seemed reluctant to permit their children to participate in sports and cultural activities organised at school, since such activities were regarded as a

waste of time. Furthermore, private tutoring dramatically increase the rate of absenteeism in the months preceding the nationwide examination, causing disruption to mainstream education – a phenomenon that has been discussed by such authors as Tansel and Bircan (2008). Teachers in this study also confirmed that after mid-May, the student absenteeism rate often increases to 50% in the upper grades. Parents obtain false medical certificates and claim that their children cannot attend school since they are sick, thus ensuring legitimate leave of absence.

Economic Implications

Private tutoring also has serious financial implications for families as many have to incur substantial costs in order to register their children at PTCs. Teachers commented that even families who have a low income do their best to have their children attend private tutoring. Some head teachers were in fact surprised that even if their school is situated in a relatively poor neighbourhood, participation rate at PTCs was high among their students: 'In our school, between 40 to 45% of students attend PTCs. This is a very high rate considering that the neighbourhood is relatively poor. In most households, there is only one parent working'. This implies that such additional expenses are a serious burden on family budget for many households. There was also frustration and irritation among teachers and school management that large sums of money is spent on private tutoring while the public education system is very much in need of additional resources, which can be partly raised by increasing parental contribution. One concluded that 'If the money invested in private tutoring was invested in public education, our problems would have been resolved. The education quality would have improved substantially'. Therefore, investment in private tutoring was perceived as a diversion of resources. Some teachers interviewed in this study considered private tutoring sector as a substantial industry with its own direct connections with the Ministry, with some policy makers allegedly having vested interests within the sector (see also Gök, 2006). Many suggest that it would be very difficult to challenge the private tutoring industry and to adopt policies that might limit the scope for profit-making. Considering the expansion and growing influence of private tutoring, a teacher openly asked: 'What is the intention of the government? Privatisation of education? In a *de facto* manner?' Some other sources also refer to private tutoring as an alternative sector to public education due to high parental expenditure in this area (Akgün, 2005), leading to the emergence of two parallel education systems.

Intensification of Socio-Economic Inequalities

Many of the teachers interviewed also expressed serious concerns about the consequences of private tutoring for educational, social and economic inequalities. PTCs often charge high admission costs; hence, they are beyond the reach of some households, particularly those residing in rural areas (see Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Consequently, private tutoring limits intergenerational socio-economic mobility and accentuates regional income disparities. Furthermore, some teachers suggested

that previously there was substantial information in the textbooks. Therefore, highly motivated, intelligent, and driven students could still succeed in the entrance exams by mastering the books, even if they did not receive any private tutoring. One teacher exclaimed with frustration:

> Now, the books only have titles, they are full of inquisitive questions and activities which assume that students already know the content or they would gather background information from other sources. Yet, the books are the only educational material for students in poor urban neighbourhoods or for the majority of students in rural areas.

Consequently, many teachers believed that in the absence of private tutoring, students from underprivileged backgrounds were more likely to fail in the exams. The quality of secondary school education has a direct impact on access to universities and employment opportunities in the labour market. Therefore, there was a strong conviction among these teachers that the educational gap between income groups, urban and rural areas, and the western and the eastern parts of Turkey would be further accentuated, leading to an increasingly stratified society.

A Compromised Childhood

Another major concern was related to children's own well-being. Teachers believed that attending both mainstream schools and private tutoring institutions consumed the majority of children's time and left little room for play and interaction with peers. This is in line with the findings of a study that has shown that children who attend PTCs have a more limited social life (Nartgün et al., 2012). Moreover, attending both mainstream schools and PTCs placed children under considerable pressure and stress, negatively influencing their social and psychological development. Consequently, children grow up with considerable anxieties. A teacher remarked: 'The children are studying all the time. They do not play. They keep on reading and answering multiple-choice questions. This is very unhealthy. Their mental health is compromised'. Some other teachers commented that childhood is a period in which children are highly active and energetic. Yet they remain within walls for prolonged hours because of attending both mainstream schooling and private tutoring. This is not considered appropriate for their healthy development.

CONCLUSION

Concerns over reduced curriculum content, a high emphasis on research assignments, the 'emptiness' of the textbooks, and the ramifications of SCP led the majority of teachers in this study to conclude that students learn less with the revised curriculum for primary schools. Consequently, several teachers argued that the development of competencies is emphasised at the expense of knowledge acquisition, marginalising access to knowledge within mainstream education system. These concerns echo similar concerns within Europe pointing to the

dangers of 'emptying the content' (Young, 2009), and perceiving the development of 'skills' and 'competencies' as diametrically opposed to 'knowledge' (Alexander, 2008).

Teachers were not only concerned about student learning but also the implications of this on students' further educational and career possibilities. According to them, some of the principles of the curriculum are in contradiction with the highly exam-oriented education system in Turkey, indicating lack of policy alignment. The curriculum emphasises the development of skills and competencies, yet the education system retains a highly competitive exam structure that primarily assesses knowledge acquisition. Substantial reduction in textbook content seems to lessen schools' capacity to prepare their students adequately for the exams. As a result, many teachers believed that the demand for private tutoring has increased. In turn, private tutoring functions as an additional sorting out mechanism, which is not equally available to everyone. Hence, it reproduces and even exacerbates social inequalities and stratification, as also suggested by some other studies (Gök, 2006). Equity concerns are not peculiar to Turkey but also highlighted in other contexts where private tutoring is widespread, such as Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore and Romania (see Bray, 2006, 2009).

At a time in which political commitment to reducing the demand for private tutoring is expressed in Turkey (Haber Türk, 2012), there is much wisdom in not attacking the private tutoring sector, getting too defensive about it or not making it the scapegoat for the structural problems of the education system. Instead, policy makers need to pay closer attention to the phenomenon and understand the dynamics of the demand (Bray, 2009). This requires attention to curriculum issues, and how curricular policies might lead to some unintended consequences. The case of Turkey reaffirms similar experiences in other countries where curricular changes have unintentionally intensified the demand for private tutoring. Bray and Lykins (2012) reviews a number of cases in West Bengal (India), Georgia, Hong Kong, Singapore and Cambodia, demonstrating how changes in curriculum content or pedagogical approach have inadvertently resulted in increasing demand for private tutoring. These cases highlight the importance of aligning education policies and eliminating possible conflict between them (see Fullan, 2007). Without good alignment, teachers face a conflicting configuration of demands on their practice, making it difficult for them to interpret and act upon the policy makers' demands (Fuhrman, 1993). Furthermore, as suggested in this chapter, disconnects between curricular policies and the examination system may actually reinforce private tutoring, rather than help reduce its incidence.

NOTES

[1] The majority of these studies are published in Turkish in national journals or are unpublished MA or PhD studies.

[2] Soon after the nation-wide implementation of the new curriculum, a parent who had a son at primary school applied to the Supreme Administrative Court (Danıştay) in 2006 for the abolition of the new curriculum on the grounds that the revised curriculum would lead to further commodification and privatisation of the education system. She expressed deep concerns about education quality, and criticised children's pre-occupation with classroom activities and lack of learning. She claimed that

her son was not learning much, and that as a single mother she could not afford to send him to PTCs in upper grades. In March 2009, Danıştay decided to abolish some parts of the curriculum (Öğretmenlersitesi, 2009), on the grounds that they were inadequate for stimulating a democratic culture and patriotism.

[3] Colleges that teach in foreign languages have been established in Turkey since 1955, known as 'Anatolian high schools' since 1975. The defining characteristics of these secondary schools is that they use a foreign language, mostly English (or German and French) as the language of instruction. Highly selective, they enrol students based on their achievement at the nationwide entrance exam. The number of lesson hours is higher and the classroom size is smaller (maximum 30 students) compared to other general secondary schools. The quality of education is considered to be much higher in these schools, and the success rate of their graduates at university entrance exam is also high. Consequently, the increasing competition over access to such secondary schools fuels the demand for private tutoring (MONE, 2011a).

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13. BEYOND SHADOWS

Equity, Diversity, and Private Tutoring

Private tutoring – a fee-based supplementary out-of-school individual or group instruction – is a pervasive phenomenon. As shown by various authors (e.g. Bray, 2009; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Dawson, 2010; Silova, 2010), and the chapters in this collection, private tutoring plays out across, alongside, and in some instances even as part of formal school systems, whether formally or informally. Bray (2010) observes that, 'tutoring has moved beyond being just a shadow of the regular system to become a system in its own right which offers additional learning opportunities' (p. 10). Moreover, it transcends national and social class boundaries. The expansion of web-based technologies and offshoring practices have further weakened (though not entirely eliminated) 'geographical constraints both for the service providers and to their clients' (Ventura & Jang, 2010, p. 66). Private tutoring is found in states upholding different political ideologies. Continually morphing, it assumes multifaceted forms, occupies diverse institutional spaces, and is provided through different modes of delivery.

Policy initiatives that ban, regulate, control, or bring various forms of private tutoring under scrutiny are periodically launched in different national contexts, triggering vehement opposition on behalf of private tutors and private tutoring companies. Some of these initiatives end up introducing elaborate administrative mechanisms that consolidate 'hidden forms' of privatisation of educational provision. A notable example is the mandating of privately designed and publicly funded 'supplemental education services' (SES) to economically disadvantaged students by the *No Child Left Behind* Act in the United States (Burch, 2009, p. 55). Hursh (2005) notes that as part of this legislation, schools labelled as 'failing' are 'required to use funds to pay for student tutoring by outside for-profit or faith-based organizations' (p. 7). He further observes that 'while the federal [US] government aims to hold public schools accountable, there is no effort to develop regulations and to hold accountable the private tutoring companies' (p. 13).

Private tutoring does not stand on its own. It metaphorically 'shadows' the operation of formal school systems. Its landscape and contours depend on policies and practices that shape public school systems, opportunities they offer, and the trust different groups place in the public school's capacity to provide venues for social and economic mobility. Notwithstanding, approaching private tutoring as the exclusive mimetic other of public school systems – largely dependent on supply

M. Bray et al. (eds), Private Tutoring Across the Mediterranean, 205–216.

and demand (Dang & Rogers, 2008, pp. 164-165) – reifies the complexity of this phenomenon and its deeply rooted historical, cultural, political, social class, and market dynamics. For example, the chapters on Turkey, Greece and Italy indicate that private tutoring predates the emergence of national schooling systems, or has been part of intense state-building processes. In other cases, such as in the Balkans and the adjoining eastern European region (Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Slovenia), private tutoring expanded more forcefully as part of the restructuring of national economies and their shifting into entrepreneurial capitalist markets, following the political and territorial disintegration of Socialist states from the early 1990s onward.

The chapters in the present collection bear witness to the complexities that underpin these multifaceted articulations of private tutoring. They also bear witness to the imbrication of private tutoring with larger debates over affiliation and citizenship, national identity, the (re)distributive role of the state and, more broadly, the extent of equity and social justice promoted by educational policies. These complexities require a critical reading of private tutoring, as a phenomenon both *embedded* within situated contexts of practice, and as a phenomenon that reflects *embodied* forms of struggles. Private tutoring is embedded within contexts of practice in the sense that it is part of larger tensions and contradictions that underpin the meanings of education in society, indicative of the debates over what constitutes an 'educated person'. Private tutoring reflects embodied forms of struggle in the sense that it is grounded in power politics, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic positions, and in social struggles more broadly. By positioning private tutoring over this wider backdrop we start to fully appreciate not only its economic aspects, but also its social and political meanings, the range of its policy impacts, and its effects on the quality and equity of educational provision.

A CONTESTED POLITICAL TERRAIN

Private tutoring is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, part of larger debates over the meanings and aims of education and schooling. The political dimension of this phenomenon is well highlighted by Campani's chapter on Italy. Campani shows that while the general understanding of private tuition as contributing to the social reproduction of privilege holds true, it is also true that, under particular political conditions, it can serve as a bulwark of resistance to oppressive forms of power. Analysing the case of Fascist Italy, her chapter shows how private tutoring can operate as an enclave of counter-hegemonic action in a totalitarian state, offering modest economic redress to members of an excluded intellectual class, and a space for subtle political engagement outside the bounds of a totalitarian state and its institutional apparatuses. Quite differently, Tansel's and Altinyelken's chapters on Turkey help reflect on the political dimensions of private tutoring. They describe tutoring centres not only as free market entrepreneurial initiatives, interested in maximising capital gain, but also as organised (and ideologically identifiable) power groups, having stakes in domestic welfare and fiscal policies with which the government needs to reckon. Their agenda is as much cultural as it

is economic. These multifaceted aspects of private tutoring are also partly captured by Buhagiar and Chetcuti, in their chapter on Malta. Private tutoring is a political terrain in which the state, parties and social movements vie for recognition, and through which they can both assert their patronage over different constituencies ('disadvantaged groups'), and constitute particular social groups as publics by navigating through kin and family networks, partisan politics, and professional groups.

These chapters show that private tutoring operates as much in relation to the political and cultural spheres, as it does in relation to the economic. It is embedded in the tensions, struggles and aspirations associated with conflicts over the role of the state and its interfaces with civil society.

MARKETS AND THE 'RESPONSIBILISING OF THE SELF'

The rise of private tutoring markets across the Mediterranean can be seen as an extension of the logic that Ball (2008), among others, refers to as 'responsibilisation', and which Lash (2003) portrays as 'insourcing'. These terms signal a reallocation of functions, activities and responsibilities to the individual that were previously regarded as primarily the responsibility of institutions and collectives. This 'socially constructed autonomy' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), which often accompanies discourses on private tutoring (Heyneman, 2011), helps highlight the 'paradoxes' reported in virtually all chapters, and which point to the manner in which, despite frequent condemnations of the business of private tutoring, the state seems unable (or unwilling) to stem the tide. Seen from this perspective, where the traditionally provident state adopts a minimalist stance, the recourse to private tutoring is yet another manifestation of the very reflex that informs life more generally, and a case of 'positional competition' (Brown, 2000) that parents undertake on behalf of their children. It also positions parents to act as entrepreneurial, competitive, self-reliant and responsible individuals in order to garner the best possible outcomes for themselves and their own. Private tutoring thus becomes another 'positional good' (Adnett & Davies, 2002; Bray & Lykins, 2012), an additional string to one's bow in the effort to succeed. It ushers in privatized forms of education, as service. It also introduces a culture of 'quick-fix maintenance over sustained renewal' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 77), and a 'redistribution of insecurity and risk from government institutions to private individuals' (p. 77) in the field of education and in the economy as a whole.

A recurrent theme across the chapters of this collection is that private tutoring reflects deep insecurities, anxieties, and fears about the future of one's children in a world that is increasingly experienced as hostile. With an endless succession of reforms and counter-reforms (see the chapters on Italy and Turkey), 'Tutoring businesses have benefitted from parental uncertainties, confusion and unease' (Aurini & Davies, 2004, p. 434). This political economy of fear and competition, Aurini & Davies (2004) more specifically argue, generates 'a need to secure and multiply customer bases' through the establishment of private tutoring franchises. The latter make 'tutoring a grander enterprise, requiring far more financial and

intellectual resources than can be possessed by a lone shadow educator' (p. 433). At the same time, Hartmann's chapter on Egypt, Kassotakis and Verdis' chapter on Greece, and Tansel's and Altinyelken's chapters on Turkey show that many teachers are themselves implicated in a tutoring market which deepens their dependency on precarious and highly competitive employment outlets while offering a select number lucrative income. These processes neither enhance teachers' sense of professional agency, nor contribute to articulate coherent visions of schooling – and visions of the curriculum – that are meaningful, inclusive, and solidary.

The state, deliberately or otherwise, actively or by default, might be considered to be a key promoter of the private tutoring market, through economic and labour market policies. States can act through a neo-liberal political commitment to privatisation, thus leading to an ideological and legal environment that encourages private provision and entrepreneurship. Oller and Glasman's chapter on France provides an example by focusing on how the state's fiscal policies and tax returns to parents introduce a voucher subsidy of sorts that ultimately benefits the expansion of corporate tutoring companies. Similarly, in Egypt, Sobhy (2012) notes that, 'The growth of private tutoring was part of a deliberate policy of the deposed Mubarak regime of promoting privatization and reducing public spending on education' (p. 47). She observes that by not providing adequate salaries to teachers, adequate resources in schools, and adequate learning support services to under-achieving students, the state effectively leaves parents, students, and communities at the mercy of coercive private tutors and tutoring companies (Sobhy, 2012). Thus, states can roll back their commitment to public services, so that quality education is no longer regarded as a 'public good' to which all citizens are entitled, but rather as a service that can be individually bought and sold on the market, and for which value consumers are exclusively responsible, as one Croatian interviewee notes in Chapter 2.

In many Mediterranean countries, perhaps paralleling or even more than in other parts of the world, this political economy of fear is particularly consequential. The link between investment in education, expected returns from employment, and access to better salaries and secure livelihood has broken down (Mazawi, 2010, 2011), locking youth into what Brown (2003) refers to as the 'opportunity trap'. This is at least one partial explanation that may account for much of the popular disillusionment that underpins the 'Arab spring'. While there is evidence of the 'broken promises' of education, this is particularly severe in the Arab region, given demographic structures and youth unemployment. According to Kabbani and Kothari (2005, p. 50) youth unemployment is estimated at a regional average of 25% for the 15-24 age-group, among the highest in the world. While some social groups might give up on education, others try to maintain or increase their advantage through a range of strategies, among them private tutoring, thus further exacerbating the mismatch between private investments in education and increasingly scarce and inequitable market opportunities.

Notwithstanding, chapters in this collection also report that the pressures on parents to send their children to private tutoring may open up new opportunities

and spaces for new actors active in the field of education, with important sociological ramifications. Voluntary and charitable associations occupy some of the space in order to provide specific publics with accessible alternatives to commoditised provision in the market. Traditional organisations, such as political party centres in Malta (Buhagiar & Chetcuti's chapter), community or neighbourhood-based associations in France (Oller & Glassman's chapter), religious organisations and movements in Egypt (Hartmann's chapter), and also Koranic centres in the Maghreb (Akkari, 2004), adopt new roles, in an effort to engage perceived community needs, and also consolidate and broaden their membership base. In the process, the interface between state and civil society is dynamically reconfigured as part of a constant over-hauling, construction and reconstruction of frameworks of social solidarity. Here, Oller and Glassman's chapter on France suggests that, alongside the corporatisation of educational provision, and the retrenchment of the neo-liberal state, the motivation to assist children in their studies can be turned by local groups 'from a distortion of the public good to a general benefit' (Heyneman, 2011, p. 187) which reclaims a sense of community in an increasingly corporatized reality. The field of private tutoring reflects therefore a myriad of contemporaneous practices that vie for recognition. Researchers across the Mediterranean and beyond must unpack these multifaceted dynamics and the ways they usher in not only new economies of scale, new market commodities, and new meanings regarding civic responsibility; but also how private tutoring mediates new politics of community and experiments in social solidarity, as vulnerable and local as these may be.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND CLASS STRUGGLES

In his work, Bourdieu (1989) highlighted the 'mechanics' of social class reproduction through the institutional and organisational workings of formal schools and higher education systems. The present collection points to additional confluents that amplify the effects of power and status differentials and their transmission across generations through private tutoring. Without exception, all contributors to the present collection identify private tutoring as a site powerfully associated with and implicated in social class reproduction. The chapters offer valuable insights regarding how private tutoring in various societies translates power differentials into academic achievement, transmitting them from one generation to the next.

In terms of access to private tutoring, the most significant line of demarcation is not necessarily between social classes who can afford private tutoring services and those who cannot. The different chapters rather observe that the private tutoring market exhibits a myriad of customised practices and modes of delivery that accommodate groups of radically unequal economic capacities. From Egypt to Slovenia, from Portugal to Turkey, the flexibility of the private tutoring market, from its lone teacher version to its corporate formalised one, bears witness to the entrenched power of private tutoring as a 'necessary' logic of practice regarding parental investment in education, cutting across social classes. Rather, what

emerges is that private tutoring operates in relation to the larger field of private education, of which it can be deemed a specific case in point. In other words, economically more established social classes have greater recourse to private education (Bray, 2009, pp. 32-38; Safarzyńska, 2013, p. 150); less established social classes tend to engage cheaper and more affordable versions of private education, for instance in the form of differentially packaged and dynamically negotiated and customised private tutoring services. This is reflected in the chapters by Jokić, Soldo, and Ristić Dedić on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Faganel and Trnavčevič on Slovenia, and by Hartmann on Egypt. Negotiations over affordability and mode of delivery between tutors and prospective clients give rise to elaborate networks of information sharing among clients too, the pooling of sorts of social capital regarding the most cost-effective service and, in some cases, the forging of virtual constituencies of service providers and customers.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above. First, the rise and expansion of private tutoring signals the institutional consolidation of private-sector educational services as a new *hegemonic* space in which social class competition and struggle over social resources and mobility opportunities occur. Second, the stratified and stratifying power of private tutoring displaces the school as the primary educational setting involved in social reproduction. Modes of private tutoring exhibit new markers of status and distinction in the guise of differentially packaged tutoring services that are traded in the educational marketplace.

INSTITUTIONAL INTERSECTIONS AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS

As a social practice, private tutoring reflects the general intensification and acceleration of working lives, where the very notion of life, leisure, and conviviality – and perforce of childhood – has been/is being radically altered. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the whole notion of exporting schoolwork to after school – whether through 'homework' or 'private tuition' – has historically been conceptualised in different ways. The former has been seen as 'school imperialism' (Gill & Schlossman, 2003) over family time, and in some cases opposed by parents because it diminished the opportunities for children to make an economic contribution to the family. While the issue of private tuition is somewhat different, there are important links. Exporting formal learning tasks to the home makes time and knowledge demands on parents to which they might find difficult to respond positively. The resort to private tutoring as a strategy to cope with school demands – for instance, as discussed in Oller & Glassman's chapter on France – entails additional costs, not only in terms of paying for tutoring, but also in employing labour (such as house help) which would in some cases have otherwise been done by the children themselves.

This said, the cultural dimensions of private tutoring should not be forgotten, not least because they have a bearing on learning. Private tutoring provides opportunities for young people to leave the home, to have something to do, to meet friends in a safe environment after school hours, and to engage in mixed gender settings (which in many Mediterranean societies, is not possible during formal

school time). Hence, as some aspects of Hartmann's chapter on Egypt and Oller and Glassman's chapter on France suggest, private tutoring is not only about deprivation from play and leisure. Rather, for some, being out of home, or out of formal institutional settings, opens up opportunities for socializing. This has a strong gender dimension, particularly in societies where girls and young women are not allowed in the public space on their own. Contexts for social interactions that are qualitatively different from those experienced at school could facilitate learning, if one agrees with Vygotsky's notion of learning as a social accomplishment (see, e.g., Fernyhough, 2008).

If private tutoring opens-up some spaces for social engagement, it also 'closes' others. Paralleling Altinyelken's and Tansel's analyses of the reforms in Turkish public schooling, Sobhy (2012) points out with regard to Egypt, that the 'general school has been almost completely eliminated as a site of learning, as it becomes displaced by tutoring centres and home tutoring' (p. 63). In this regard, the effects of educational transitions on students' resort to private tutoring are overwhelming. The notion of 'transition' refers to students' mobility through the various stages of a school system – primary, secondary, and tertiary – and the achievement and examination requirements students need to fulfil in order to move to the next stage. Undoubtedly, transition into secondary school and into higher education emerge as the most significant feeders of private tutoring, particularly when these transitions are accompanied by high stakes screening examinations or are subject to quotas. Transitions are particularly onerous for students who need to re-negotiate their learning environments, their social relations, and make sense of school and academic requirements (Jindal-Snape, 2010). These challenges are exacerbated, as the chapter by Neto-Mendes, Costa, Ventura, Azevedo, and Gouveia shows with regard to Portugal, when 12th graders are required to pass both a high school matriculation examination, and compete for the few seats available in some prestigious university faculties. The Portuguese case resonates with Tansel's discussion of the Turkish school and higher education system, and their multi-layered systems of examinations. At this juncture, recourse to private tutoring, in the years leading to these examinations is particularly 'pivotal' and consequential for students and their families. Moreover, the state's inability to align curriculum policies with teaching and assessment practices, leading to insecurities on the part of teachers, learners and parents, exacerbates the effects of transitions on the demand side of private tutoring. These insecurities 'code key' school subjects – such as mathematics and the sciences, depending on the context – as areas of the highest curricular priority, while marginalising other subjects in the curriculum. As the chapters clearly show, the fragmenting effect this has on the coherence of school curricula is significant, emphasising learning for the test, and test performance.

EQUITY, DIVERSITY, AND THE PUBLIC GOOD

The relationship between private tutoring and equity is complex and context-dependent. It touches not only on the reproduction of social inequalities, but also

on the ends of education and what it means to be an 'educated person'. The chapters in this collection show that extensive privatisation in education, and the reconfiguring of the lines of demarcation between what stands for a public good and what stands for a private good, have radically altered the meanings and status of 'education' and 'knowledge' in society. As noted in several chapters, private tutoring has radically transformed the structure and experience of public schools and of schooling more generally, given the wider fragmentation of curricula and their differential social coding as 'more', 'less', or 'not' relevant for learning, employment, and social mobility. This process has also transformed the conditions under which teachers work, the work they perform, and how, as well as the conditions under which their work is regulated and assessed. It has witnessed the rise and expansion of corporate entities that supply instruction as a packaged service and employ teachers on a wide scale. Private tutoring is situated within a larger public problematic related to the transformation and restructuring of central social institutions. The debates over private tutoring therefore raise foundational questions over the political philosophy and the political economy that frame the distribution of educational resources, as public goods, and the organisation of society more broadly.

Over this backdrop, private tutoring raises a host of correlative questions with regard to power, social and political participation in the public sphere, and the equity and fairness underpinning the distribution of social and economic opportunities. These questions are related to the redistributive role of the state and to its commitments to equality of opportunities. As suggested in some chapters, they are also related to the role of civil society associations and movements within societies marked by diversity and conflict. How the burden of private tutoring is distributed, what are its economic and social costs (both hidden and manifest), and who benefits from its provision, cannot be limited to questions of supply, demand, and the right of parents to choose (and pay for) a service. These questions require that researchers consider the distribution of *means* associated with these choices, and the extent to which parents from diverse social and economic backgrounds can effectively pursue their choices without being marginalised or excluded (as Buhagiar & Chetcuti note in their chapter).

Questions of equity are particularly central in many parts of the Mediterranean region. States and their distributive mechanisms are often 'territorialised' by dominant groups. The latter often shape institutions in their image while disregarding the social, ethnic, and cultural diversity prevalent in the wider society. Thus, questions of equity and fairness are intricately linked to questions of inclusive diversity and to the political viability of the state in deeply divided societies. Moreover, how private tutoring plays out within contexts of civic strife, regional wars, and historically-entrenched political conflicts remains largely unexplored across the Mediterranean. One thinks here of the ways in which private tutoring may be implicated in mediating, reproducing or otherwise exacerbating larger dynamics of social, economic, territorial, and political fragmentation – such as in Cyprus, Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, or in the Maghreb and Balkan regions. For many Mediterranean societies, answering these questions

means that educational researchers must reflexively and critically engage issues of equity, social justice, and social inclusion when researching private tutoring. This engagement would open-up new analytical and policy horizons of imagination that ensure the articulation of viable notions of education in society – ones that contribute to the fulfilment of long inhibited or suppressed aspirations. This engagement will also allow a consideration of private tutoring, not only in terms of an equitable *distribution*, which does not disadvantage those who do not have access to it, but also in terms of its *impacts* on various social groups, and their visibility in the larger political community. For instance, how do tax credits (returns) for private tutoring (as reported by Oller & Glassman for France) impact economic and access differentials of various socioeconomic groups to educational and social opportunities, more generally? In a different context, Wilson (2002) points out that, in the state of Arizona (US), tax credits policies for private education are inequitable if they are not dependent on income. They were also found to increase access to private educational services among those who are already enrolled in private schools. Such matters deserve further exploration.

Equity questions also impact school, classroom, and student-teacher relations. As noted in several chapters, private tutoring emerges as a daily practice that reflects wider power dynamics. Evidence provided in this collection, and elsewhere (e.g. Herrera, 2010; Sobhy, 2012) suggests that when school and classrooms become sites of coerced contractual relations with regard to private tutoring, both teachers and students are trapped within institutional and organisational dynamics which exacerbate the marginalisation of the weak, and the oppression of the different other. The impacts of these dynamics on the school's culture are devastating, rendering private tutoring an embodiment of domination, oppression, marginalisation, and exclusion, fuelling wider social conflicts.

More broadly, however, equity considerations regarding private tutoring are culturally embedded, for instance in relation to gender and cultural difference (Bray, 2009, pp. 32-38). Some of the chapters (e.g. France) indicate different gender-based patterns in the use made of different types of private tutoring. Similar issues arise in terms of ethnic groups in Cyprus and Turkey. The chapters in the present collection have not addressed these aspects consistently, however. Given the financial burden of private tutoring on family budgets, one wonders how parents opt to invest scarce resources in the education of boys and girls. How do parents of different background 'choose' the instructor that will teach their children, and to what extent do such choices endorse wider ethnic and cultural stereotypes prevalent in the society at large, exacerbating unemployment among particular groups in deeply divided societies? Obviously, the same question could be raised with regard to the choice of students by private tutors.

FUTURE STUDIES

The present volume has captured the perspectives of a range of actors involved in private tutoring, including parents, teachers and administrators in formal schooling, teachers' unions, policy makers, and occasionally students and private tutors

themselves. Future research should pay more attention to the diversity of perspectives and voices informing the private tutoring experience. The contributions by Faganel and Trnavčevič on Slovenia, and by Hartmann on Egypt, provide some insights into what students themselves think about the private tutoring experience. In the Slovenian study this is limited to student evaluations of their private tutors, and would be a useful domain to explore further.

The political dynamics underpinning private tutoring have not been consistently and evenly engaged across all chapters. Despite the fact that the chapters in this collection examined private tutoring in nationally and/or culturally diverse and deeply divided societies, few insights were offered to clarify the contribution of private tutoring to wider political conflicts, for instance between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus. This context requires sustained and historically situated research. Relevant questions could also be raised with regard to Turkey and Eastern Europe. Some sources do provide a few insights which may incite deeper reflection. For instance, Labaree and Lesser (2003) argue that in 2002 the Turkish government 'passed legislation legalising broadcasting and private tutoring in Kurdish', but not the teaching of the Kurdish language in public schools, in order to promote its open accession negotiations into the European Union (pp. 59-60; see also Faucompret & Konings, 2008, pp. 42ff). Here, the positioning of private tutoring in relation to the field of politics is indicative of the dynamics underpinning the construction of national and political identities and geopolitical alliances. Over this backdrop, it is crucial that researchers across the Mediterranean remain open to the fluid versatilities and context-dependent political features that underpin private tutoring. This is necessary if they are keen to unpack how private tutoring is effectively implicated in the mediation of political dissent, cultural/ethnic struggles, and state power, not just economic processes and social stratification. Greater attention needs therefore to be granted to how access to private tutoring re-allocates and re-positions various social, ethnic, and cultural groups in relation to the field of identity politics and in relation to domestic and regional-geopolitical interests of the state.

Undertaking rigorous critical ethnographic accounts of the lived experiences of tutors, students, policy makers, and families would add depth and breadth to our understanding of the private tuition phenomenon in its manifold dimensions. They would also provide fresh perspectives that might very well challenge some assumptions, providing a stronger basis for a sound conceptualisation (largely still lacking) and an informed policy-making in this area. Particular attention must be granted to the relationship of private tutoring and learning, as well as to the use of internet-based platforms for private tutoring, increasingly by corporations and franchises (Ventura & Jang, 2010). The emergence of the internet as a venue for private tutoring signals deeper changes in pedagogy, raising the question as to whether the informality of internet-based exchanges between tutor and student produces different learning effects.

The methodological challenges faced in the study of private tutoring are many, reflecting the complexity of the phenomenon. One challenge is to secure the relevant data, given that international databases do not offer reliable, valid, and

culture and context-sensitive information that allows meaningful comparisons of private tutoring practices and services across and within societies and institutional settings (Bray, 2010, pp. 5-6). It is also difficult to carve appropriate research designs because the 'literature on shadow education focuses on many units, including individuals, classrooms, schools, provinces, whole education systems, and world regions' (p. 9). Dynamics associated with private tutoring play out at differently nested 'levels' of action. In other words, 'the actions of individual pupils may be influenced by the cultures of their classrooms, which in turn are influenced by the cultures of their schools, which in turn are influenced by the cultures of their communities, districts, countries, and world regions' (p. 9).

Many additional aspects of private tutoring have not been captured in this collection and in this chapter, more particularly. Notwithstanding, we hope that the collection facilitates the consolidation of interest and the focusing of research efforts on the part of educational researchers, in view of engaging one of the more neglected – yet consequential – aspects of schooling in contemporary Mediterranean societies, and well beyond. The wide diversity characterising the Mediterranean region, and the diverse (yet powerfully imbricated) political and cultural histories and economic trajectories experienced by its societies, have been noted by many writers. In *Mediterranean Crossings*, Iain Chambers (2008) points out that 'The Mediterranean proposes a multiplicity that simultaneously interrupts and interrogates the facile evaluations of a simple mapping disciplined by the landlocked desires of a narrow-minded progress and a homogeneous modernity' (p. 25). We suggest that the study of private tutoring across the Mediterranean is one such horizon of possibility. It holds a promise of interrupting the facile evaluations and simple mappings of education and progress, as homogeneous and technicised conceptions of the nexus between modernity and education, opening them up to the vibrant, contested, and multifaceted articulations that social life offers in its infinite political, cultural, and economic complexity.

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