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Financing: Trends and Challenges

**The Challenges of Private Supplementary Private Tutoring:
Global Patterns and their Implications for Africa**

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Private supplementary tutoring, in which pupils in full-time schools (both public and private) receive extra lessons after school hours, at week-ends and during vacations, became a major phenomenon in parts of Asia a few decades ago. More recently, it has become a major phenomenon in parts of North America and Europe. In Africa it is less obvious but increasingly visible in urban areas – and there are strong reasons to suggest that it will grow significantly during the coming years.

Supplementary tutoring may have very desirable effects in promoting learning and providing incomes for the tutors. However, it raises major challenges for equity since prosperous households are able to pay for greater quantities and better qualities of tutoring. Moreover, out-of-school tutoring has implications for the nature of in-school work because it has a backwash effect. Especially problematic are situations in which teachers gain extra remuneration for teaching in private lessons after school the content that they have not taught their pupils during school-time. Also, the spread of private tutoring creates pressures even on low-income households, and calls into question the meaning and validity of claims that education is provided free as a human right. Tutoring is thus a component of the education sector that needs to be addressed by both policy makers and planners.

This paper is based on three principal hypotheses:

- ◆ Tutoring will develop in Africa in ways that resemble patterns elsewhere, with rapid expansion and multiple providers that include: (a) mainstream teachers tutoring their own and/or colleagues' pupils, (b) small-scale specialist providers, and (c) large companies, some of which will operate on a multi-national basis.
- ◆ If left to market forces, this expansion will increase inequalities in access, retention and quality. The financial burden will be heavy, especially on the poorer segments of the population, and the tutoring will enlarge disparities in which the rich segments gain better education and greater opportunities.
- ◆ Tutoring is potentially a challenge to education policies and government commitments to the Education for All (EFA) Goals determined in Dakar, Senegal (World Education Forum 2000). Tutoring can be expected to reduce the effectiveness of policies for access (such as fee abolition) and for quality improvement (delivery of the curriculum, teaching-learning transaction, teacher deployment, class-sizes, etc.).

The paper begins by considering global patterns of tutoring. This permits:

- description and analysis of different factors which encourage tutoring;
- examination of the different forms of tutoring (one-to-one, small groups, large groups, at a distance, etc.) and the frequency with which pupils of different levels receive tutoring in different subjects; and
- an analysis of the motives of the different actors and the significance of these different forms of tutoring for mainstream schooling.

The paper then comments on the potential impact of private tutoring on the EFA goals. In the light of these remarks, the paper turns to Africa. The paper notes evidence of growth of tutoring, and remarks on policies in a few countries to control it. However, these policies are not effective, and in most parts of the continent private tutoring is ignored in official circles. The paper suggests that it deserves considerably more attention.

Quantitative Patterns and Variations

Reliable data on supplementary private tutoring are difficult to obtain because much tutoring is conducted on an informal basis. Tutoring establishments may not be registered, and enrolments may be unstable. Further, tutors commonly avoid taxes on their earnings and therefore dislike attention. Pupils may also hesitate to reveal the amounts of tutoring that they receive, partly because they feel shy about seeking either remedial support or competitive advantages over their peers.

Table 1: Cross-National Indicators of Supplementary Private Tutoring

Country	Patterns
Bangladesh	A study of 8,212 households in 10 diverse locations found an average of 43.2 per cent of primary school students receiving private tutoring (Ahmed & Nath 2005, p.71). In the lowest grade the proportion was 33.9 per cent, but in the highest grade it was 54.7 per cent. Boys received more tutoring than girls, with respective averages in the lowest and highest grades of 45.6 and 40.7 per cent.
Cambodia	Respondents in 31.2 per cent of 77 primary schools surveyed in 1997/98 indicated that pupils received tutoring, which consumed 6.6 per cent of the total costs of primary education (Bray 1999b, pp.57, 127). A 2004 follow-up study showed that costs increased markedly at secondary level. In the top grade of lower secondary schooling, average household costs of tutoring were over four times those in the top grade of primary schooling (Bray & Bunly 2005, p.42).
Cyprus	A 2003 study of 1,120 college students found that 86.4 per cent had received private tutoring when in secondary school (Stylianou et al. 2004, p.2).
Canada	The number of tutoring businesses in major cities grew between 200 and 500 per cent during the 1990s (Davies 2004, p.235). In a 1997 random national telephone survey, 9.4 per cent of 501 adults with school-aged children indicated that their children currently received private tutoring outside school hours, and a further 8.4 per cent indicated that their children had done so in the past (Davies 2004, p.242).
Egypt	A 1994 survey of 4,729 households found that 64.0 per cent of urban primary children and 52.0 per cent of rural ones had received supplementary tutoring (Fergany 1994, p.75). A 1997 study estimated that household expenditures on tutoring in all levels of schooling accounted for 1.6 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (World Bank 2002, p.26).
Greece	A 2000 survey of 3,441 students who had enrolled in the eight major universities found that over 80 per cent had attended group (cram) preparatory schools, half had received individual private tutoring, and one third had received both group and individual tutoring (Psacharopoulos & Papakonstantinou 2005, p.105).
Hong Kong	A 1996 survey of 507 students found that 44.7 per cent of primary, 25.6 per cent of lower secondary, 34.4 per cent of middle secondary, and 40.5 per cent of upper secondary students were receiving tutoring (Lee 1996, p.14). A 1998/99 follow-up survey of six secondary schools stratified by ability bands found 35.1 per cent of Secondary 1-3 pupils receiving tutoring. Respective proportions for Secondary 4-5 and 6-7 were 46.6 and 70.3 per cent (Bray & Kwok 2003).
Japan	A 1993 survey found that 23.6 per cent of elementary pupils and 59.5 per cent of junior high pupils attended tutorial schools (Japan 1995, p.6). A 1997 survey added other forms of tutoring, and found that among Primary 5 children 33.0 per cent attended tutorial schools, 5.7 per cent received help from tutors on a one-to-one basis, 24.5 per cent studied on correspondence courses, and 17.9 per cent received home-delivery study materials (Japan 1999, p.68). In urban areas, over 90 per cent of children received some sort of tutoring.
Republic of Korea	In 2003, 83.1 per cent of primary pupils were estimated to be receiving tutoring (Kwak 2004, p.3). The proportion in middle schools was 75.3 per cent, and in high schools 56.3 per cent. These proportions had increased dramatically over the decades. In 1980, respective estimates for primary, middle and high school were 12.9, 20.3 and 26.2 per cent. Korean households in 2003 spent about 10 per cent of incomes on private tutoring, and families with middle and high school students spent about 30 per cent (Lee 2005, p.100).
Romania	A 1994 study of Grade 12 pupils in a national sample found that 32.0 per cent in rural areas and 58.0 per cent in urban areas received supplementary private tutoring (UNESCO 2000, section 4.3).
Turkey	A 1994 survey secured data on expenditures from 3,898 households. In the lowest-income quartile, only 6.5 per cent of households spent money on tutoring, but in the highest-income quartile 24.6 per cent did so (Tansel & Bircan 2006). In the latter group, among 28.8 per cent of households the expenditures on tutoring accounted for over 10 per cent of total expenditures, in some cases exceeding 30 per cent.
Taiwan	Government statistics indicate that in 1998 5,536 tutoring centres had 1,891,096 students. Many secondary students attended more than one after-school cramming institution (Wu 2004, p.16).
Vietnam	In 2002, tutoring consumed about 20 per cent of household expenditures on education. The figure peaked at 29 per cent for pupils preparing for university entrance examinations, and was especially high in urban areas and in the Red River Delta and South East Regions (Henaff 2005, pp.9-10).

Nevertheless, a picture of cross-national patterns and variations may be sketched from a range of studies. Table 1 shows that tutoring is a substantial phenomenon in many parts of the world. In some parts of East Asia, particularly Japan and South Korea, tutoring has a long history, though greatly grew in magnitude during the 1980s and 1990s (Zeng 1999; Seth 2002). These are prosperous countries which are influenced by Confucian cultural traditions that value learning and effort (Rohlen & LeTendre 1996, p.374; Salili 2005, p.92). Tutoring has also become more evident, though perhaps for different reasons, in low-income countries such as Cambodia and Bangladesh. In Eastern Europe, tutoring has emerged as a major enterprise with the collapse of socialism and the advent of the market economy (see e.g. Popa 2003; Silova et al. 2006). The proportion of pupils receiving tutoring in other societies may be lower, but it has also become increasingly evident, with different dynamics and underlying forces, in Western Europe (see e.g. Mischo & Haag 2002; Glasman 2004; Ireson 2004) and North America (Schwartz 1999; Davies 2004; Gordon et al. 2005). Although the scale of tutoring still varies considerably in these different societies, tutoring can increasingly be described as a worldwide phenomenon which must be taken seriously by policy makers and others (Bray 1999a; Wolf 2002; Baker & LeTendre 2005).

Turning specifically to Africa, Table 2 presents data collected by the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). The data refer to all types of extra tuition, including that provided free of charge by teachers, relatives and others. Thus, the definition used was wider than that for supplementary private tutoring, and some doubts may be expressed on the extent to which the questions asked in the survey were fully understood and accurately answered. Nevertheless, the data do provide an indication for those countries.

Table 2: Percentages of Grade 6 Pupils Receiving Extra Lessons, Southern and Eastern Africa, 2000

	%	Standard Error
Kenya	87.7	1.91
Malawi	79.7	3.47
Mauritius	86.6	1.07
Namibia	44.7	2.33
Zambia	55.1	3.56
Zanzibar (Tanzania)	55.9	0.95
<i>Average</i>	<i>68.3</i>	<i>2.22</i>

Note: All results were significant, with a level of significance of 95%

Source: Paviot et al. (2008).

Other specific research in Africa includes the following:

- *Burkina Faso*. Pare-Kabore (2006) called attention to the fact that tutoring is “gaining momentum”, especially in the urban context. She did not make numerical estimates of its scope, but observed that skilled teachers commonly charged 2,000 FCFA (€3.00) per hour in lower secondary and up to 3,000 FCFA per hour in upper secondary. Students and other unskilled persons charged between 1,000 and 1,500 FCFA. Pare-Kabore observed (p.4) that this was “a non negligible investment”, and that parents made double payments for the education of their children: “that of school fees and that of the money paid to tutors to make up for the deficiencies of school”.
- *Ghana*. Montgomery et al. (2000) sampled 1,535 pupils in 39 schools in a range of communities around the country. Among the primary pupils, 32.8 per cent were receiving supplementary tutoring. This compared with 49.5 per cent of junior secondary pupils and 72.3 per cent of senior secondary pupils.
- *Kenya*. A team of interviewers collected data from 506 households in Nairobi, Kwale and Murang’a. Tutoring was especially common in the urban areas and among boys. The report noted (Buchmann 2002, p.150) that at the time of the examinations “girls and rural youth are competing on an uneven playing field”.

- *Mauritius*. Private tutoring has long been recognised as a major challenge in Mauritius, and successive governments have sought policy measures to control and channel it (Foondun 1992; Obeegadoo 2007; Parsuramen 2007). Statistics cited by Foondun (2002, p.490) suggested that over half the pupils in Grade 8 received private tutoring and that by Grades 11 and 12 the proportion reached 100 per cent. One recent estimate was that fees for private tutoring were equivalent to over 10 per cent of the government's recurrent budget for education (Bah-Lalya 2006, p.72).
- *Tanzania*. Sambo (2001) collected data from 100 students, 50 parents, and 50 teachers and headteachers in Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Zanzibar. Seventy per cent of the students and 72 per cent of the teachers said that they participated in private tutoring. Sambo remarked (p.107) that "from one perspective, private tuition is a possible solution to the varied quality of education and teachers' need for supplemental incomes". However, he added, from another perspective "there are serious concerns about the long-term side effects".
- *Uganda*. Eilor (2007) organised a "rapid assessment exercise" (p.5) in the four districts of Uganda, and complemented findings with data from informal sources and personal experience. He remarked (p.14) that tutoring "appears to have grown tremendously ... in the last two decades and is now widely visible across all sectors of the education system and in all parts of the country". He added that it was concentrated in the towns but was also found in rural areas.

Also notable is that one of the leading global market providers, Kumon, has opened tutoring centres in Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia. Kumon, which is headquartered in Japan, has become especially well-known for its mathematics programmes but also provides tutoring in languages. Thus, Africa is being served by multinational as well as national and local tutoring enterprises.

Diversity in Forms of Supply

The sketch of patterns and variations in the scale of tutoring should be supplemented by remarks about the forms of tutoring. Considerable diversity is evident within countries, and features vary further across countries.

The nature of tutoring is partly determined by class size. At one end of the scale is individualised tutoring, often in the homes of the pupils or the teachers; and at the other end of the scale are mass lecture theatres with overflow rooms served by closed-circuit television screens focusing on what in Hong Kong are called 'idol tutors' who in some respects resemble film stars and popular musicians (Bray 2003, p.49). Between these extremes may be small groups, medium-sized classes and large classes. Much advocacy in mainstream education systems insists that classes must have fewer than 35 pupils in order to be effective (see e.g. Pritchard 1999; Biddle & Berliner 2002; Blatchford & Catchpole 2003); but in some societies pupils commonly pay to attend tutoring classes that are much larger than this.

Diversity may also be found in the ages and qualifications of tutors. In many settings, secondary school students earn pocket money by tutoring primary school children, and similarly university students tutor secondary students. At the other end of the age scale, many tutors are retirees who wish still to contribute to society and earn some extra money. Between these two extremes of age are others who provide tutoring on a full-time or part-time basis, and who may or may not have formal training. Again this picture contrasts with mainstream schooling, in which teachers are widely expected to be aged between 21 and 65 and to have formal training.

In many systems, mainstream teachers themselves provide supplementary private tutoring. In such countries as Australia and Singapore, teachers are prohibited from providing such paid tutoring to the children for whom they already have responsibility in the mainstream (Tan 2007; Watson 2007). However, in such countries as Azerbaijan, India and Turkey it is common for mainstream teachers to provide remunerated supplementary tutoring for their own mainstream pupils (Silova & Kazimzade 2006; Sujatha 2007; Tansel & Bircan 2007). In some settings this creates a problematic form of blackmail, in which teachers cover only part of the curriculum during school hours and then require pupils to come to the private classes for the remainder of the curriculum. This mainly occurs in countries in which mainstream teachers receive low

salaries. The level of salaries on the one hand forces the teachers to seek supplementary incomes, and on the other hand makes society more sympathetic to the practice than it might otherwise be.

Some societies have additional forms of tutoring that harness technology. Telephone tutoring is one option, but has increasingly been displaced by internet tutoring. Such technology means that the tutors and tutees may be distant from each other and perhaps even in different countries. For example, one company in the USA is named InteractiveMathTutor.com. “No longer is there the discomfort to have a math instructor in your home”, it declares on its website, “or the inconvenience to travel to a learning center for math tutoring assistance and make a one-hour tutoring session a three-hour debacle”. The company adds: “Whether you live in New York, California or any location around the world, effective, personalized math tutoring help is only a sign up away”. Payments can be made online by credit card to people whom the tutees are unlikely ever to meet in person.

In a rather different context, tutors in India are providing services to children in the USA. As described in one report (Nanda 2005, p.1): “Sitting in small cubicles, fitted with a headset and pen mouse, these tutors are teaching subjects like mathematics from course curriculum specified in the US”. The service is provided through software called White Board, in both voice and text platforms. The student and teacher can see each other over the computer and talk on the headphone. The wage rates in India make the service attractive to the US clients, and are in effect a form of outsourcing in a globalised world. It is partly driven by the US “No Child Left Behind” legislation passed in 2002, which expressed alarm at mathematics failure rates in US schools within a context of a shortage of mathematics teachers. By October 2007, one of the largest companies in India, TutorVista, had signed up 10,000 subscribers in the USA and an additional 1,000 in the United Kingdom (Lohr 2007). The company employed 760 people, including 600 tutors in India, and had ambitious plans for growth.

For direct face-to-face tutoring, however, location becomes of considerable importance. In most countries, face-to-face tutoring is much more readily available in cities than in rural areas. This is partly because the population density of cities provides sufficient supply of pupils to allow the tutors to set up classes which are large enough to permit affordable prices, but also because cities commonly have more competitive environments and higher per capita incomes. Tutors commonly site their businesses in locations that are convenient to clients – near clusters of schools, at subway stations, on bus routes, etc..

Concerning the subjects available for tutoring, in general the supply is shaped by demand. The subjects in greatest demand are ones required by examination systems at each stage of transition. This typically means mathematics and the national languages. The supply of tutors for elective subjects, such as art and religious studies, is usually more limited.

Whereas much tutoring aims to give “more of the same”, i.e. reinforcement of materials already covered in mainstream classes, other forms of tutoring aim at enrichment. Much depends on whether the tutoring is remedial and helping pupils to keep up, or whether it is targeted at high achievers who want to achieve even more. In some cases, the approach taken by the tutors conflicts with that taken by mainstream teachers. The Kumon system of teaching mathematics may be in this category. Kumon is a multinational company which started in the 1950s as a father-to-son mathematics operation. It now has 3.7 million clients served by franchised outlets around the world and particularly in Japan, South Korea, the USA, Taiwan, Brazil and Australia. The Kumon method is based on worksheets which have a rote-style progression through skill levels. Many satisfied clients are firm advocates; but many teachers who believe in approaches to mathematics based on comprehension are vigorous critics (Ukai 1994; Russell 1996; Ma 2005).

Motives for Seeking Tutoring

Davies (2004, pp.238-239) has pointed out that many parents invest in tutoring as part of “intensive parenting”:

That is, the hiring of tutors may be part of a wider strategy in which parents place a great premium

on education, value a cognitively stimulating environment for their children, and closely monitor their children's activities. This style of parenting emphasizes a careful plan of structured activities for children, in which tutoring is part of a series of private lessons that also include music, dance, and sports.

Davies' remarks were made in the Canadian context, but could equally apply to ambitious and elite families throughout the world. Such families are particularly likely to favour individual and small-group tutoring. Their investments in social and human capital can indeed promote learning and generate long-term rates of return. Children who receive such tutoring are likely to perform better in school and to stay in the education system for longer durations.

In sharp contrast are parents in low-income societies who are faced by unavoidable demands on their children by their mainstream teachers. In Cambodia, for example, teachers commonly provide private tutoring for their own students in the same classroom after the close of the official school day (Asian Development Bank 1996, p.107; Bray & Bunly 2005, p.40). Teachers may stress that the system is not compulsory; but parents know that if they do not pay, their children will be handicapped not only by failing to secure the curricular knowledge but also probably by incurring the disapproval of the teachers. Moreover, since the teachers control the end-of-year examinations and determine who proceeds from one grade to the next, parents are aware that if they do not pay for tutoring their children are likely to have to repeat grades. For many parents, the arithmetic becomes simple: it is less expensive to pay for the tutoring than to pay the costs of repeating a year.

These two sharply-contrasting settings have in common the fact that the parents may make rough economic calculations to assist in their decision-making. Few parents have read the writings of economists such as Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004), who showed that it is generally a good investment for individuals to stay in education systems for as long as possible, but parents can reach the same conclusion through casual observation.

A further gloss, but with the same basic thrust, is presented by the Egyptian situation. In that country, the national preparatory examination, taken by all pupils at the end of primary school, determines which students are tracked to the low-status vocational schools which are generally considered to be a dead end, and which students will go to the general secondary schools from which placement in a heavily-subsidised public university is almost guaranteed (World Bank 2002, p.35). Families with sufficient resources invest in tutoring to help their children pass the preparatory examination and proceed to the general secondary schools. Those families incur early costs, but benefit later through the subsidies to the public universities and through the greater lifetime earnings. Once the children reach university, they no longer need to receive tutoring. Rather, at that stage they may become tutors themselves.

The corollary of these patterns is that other families give up hope at an early stage. Seeing that schooling has major costs which escalate at each step, families may decide simply to abandon schooling because they perceive that their children will never get far enough in the system for the investment to yield returns. Increasing numbers of studies (e.g. Mehrotra & Delamonica 1998; Boyle et al. 2002) have highlighted the importance of household costs in such decision-making, pointing out that in the drive for fee-free education such costs are commonly overlooked.

In addition, parents may make gender-related decisions. In some settings, boys are considered a better investment than girls because boys are more likely to find wage-earning employment. This observation has been made with reference to tutoring in countries as different as Japan (Stevenson & Baker 1992, p.1647) and Kenya (Buchmann 2002, pp.142-143). Concerning the latter, Buchmann noted significant progress towards equality of enrolments in the mainstream education system, but added that "lingering gender stereotypes regarding job prospects and gender biases in children's expected contributions to housework may mean that parents are less willing to provide *additional* educational resources to their daughters, especially in cases where family resources are severely limited (i.e. in poor families or those with many children)". Buchmann showed that girls did more housework than boys, and observed that this was detrimental to their chances of receiving supplementary tutoring.

Effectiveness of Tutoring

When the above remarks refer to tutoring as an investment, they should not be taken to imply that all types of tutoring in all circumstances are necessarily a good investment. As with other forms of education, much depends not only on the quality and orientation of the tutoring but also on the motivations and aptitudes of the pupils, and on the structures and contexts of the education systems. Relatively little research has been conducted on this theme, but the studies that are available deserve review.

In Mauritius, Kulpoo (1998) led a team which assessed the impact of multiple interlocking variables on reading literacy in a sample of Grade 6 pupils. The researchers distinguished between non-malleable factors which cannot be shaped by planners, and malleable factors which can be the focus of interventions. Supplementary tutoring was placed in the latter category, together with family interest, regularity of homework, human resources in school, and frequency of teacher/parent interaction. Tutoring was shown to be the strongest malleable determinant of reading performance, though not as strong as the non-malleable factors of English spoken in the home and the socio-economic level of the home. A subsequent follow-up study found even stronger impact (Paviot et al. 2008).

Positive outcomes have also been identified elsewhere. In Greece, Polydorides (1986) constructed a path analysis of factors influencing senior high school achievement. The research found some positive correlations between private tutoring and academic achievement, but they were not completely consistent. In Germany, Haag (2001) compared the achievements of a group of secondary school students who had received tutoring with the achievements of a control group. He found that the students receiving tutoring did indeed improve in performance and motivational-affective variables. Comparable findings have been reported in Kenya, where Buchmann (2002, p.155) indicated that tutoring was related to less grade repetition and stronger academic performance.

Other studies, by contrast, have shown that tutoring may not be correlated with achievement. The Egyptian Ministry of Education (cited by Fergany 1994, p.9) surveyed 18,000 pupils in the primary and preparatory stages of education and found that gender, private tutoring and in-school tutoring groups had no significant impact on achievement. A follow-up study by Fergany (1994, p.108) at the primary level focused on three different parts of the country and covered 4,729 households with 7,309 individuals and again found no statistically significant correlations between private tutoring and achievement. In Korea, Lee et al. (2004) investigated the effectiveness of pre-class tutoring, defined as instruction in institutions or cram schools that teach school curricula at least one month ahead of the school's schedule. They found "no evidence that pre-class tutoring ... increases grade points" (p.39), and suggested that the major determinant of school achievement was attitude rather than tutoring. In Singapore, Cheo and Quah (2005, p.276) found that among elite families diminishing returns set in rapidly because of overload on the children, and that "contrary to national perceptions ... having a private tutor may be counter-productive". Paviot et al. (2008) reported that surveys in Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and Zanzibar found no significant differences in the performance of children who received tutoring and those who did not. Finally in England, Ireson and Rushforth (2005) investigated a sample of secondary-schools and found that girls were less likely to improve their grades than boys. One reason suggested was that girls might have performed better than boys in the two years before seeking tutoring.

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

Much also depends on the motivations of the tutees and their parents. Sometimes the tutees only join the classes because their peers do so; and in many settings parents see tutoring as a sort of child-minding service to keep children gainfully occupied when formal schooling has short hours. With such diversity, it is to be expected that tutoring might have wide variations in its effectiveness and impact. 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.

Impact on the EFA Goals and Government Responses

As remarked above, supplementary private tutoring may obstruct progress towards the EFA goals set by the world community in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 (Box 1). Particularly deserving comment is the impact of tutoring on Goals 2, 3, 5 and 6:

- Concerning *Goal 2*, private tutoring must of course be financed by households. The expenditures by prosperous households do not necessarily impact on impoverished households, but they can do so. Particularly problematic are circumstances in which tutoring raises hurdles and prevents households which do not invest in supplementation from competing on a level playing field. As noted, in some societies teachers have got into the habit of withholding some information during their normal lessons in order to provide it for fee-paying pupils after official school hours. This form of hidden privatisation can seriously impact on the quality of mainstream schooling.

Also deserving emphasis is the way in which private tutoring may undermine the impact of measures such as the School Fee Abolition Initiative (SFAI). UNICEF has been the lead actor in this scheme, launching it in conjunction with the World Bank in 2005 and organising a workshop in Nairobi, Kenya, in April 2006. A further meeting was organised in Bamako, Mali, with the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) in June 2007, and attended by ministerial and other delegations from a large number of African countries. The irony is that on the one hand governments may devote much effort to abolishing fees in the public sector only to find that costs increase in the parallel sector of supplementary private tutoring, and that even low-income households find themselves forced to pay for supplementary tutoring because otherwise they cannot keep up with their peers.

- *Goal 3* is clearly related, with its emphasis on equitable access to learning and life-skills. Societies which are dominated by supplementary private tutoring are inevitably stratified. Tutoring is more easily available in urban communities, and in the more prosperous parts of those communities, and is therefore less readily available to rural and remote families.
- *Goal 5* has a specific gender dimension. The research studies vary in their findings on gender. For example, the research in Ghana by Montgomery et al. (2000) found that girls were more likely to receive tutoring than boys. This finding had not been expected by the researchers, and they found difficulties explaining it. By contrast, as noted above, Buchmann (2002) found in Kenya that boys were more likely to receive tutoring than girls. Further research is clearly needed; but meanwhile, tutoring evidently has implications for gender parity in education systems.
- *Goal 6* concerns the quality of education. Insofar as tutoring is itself of high quality and extends the effectiveness of learning, then at least in this dimension it can be considered desirable. However, few societies have adequate mechanisms for monitoring the quality of tutoring, and, as noted, in some situations out-of-school tutoring undermines the quality of mainstream schooling.

Box 1: The Six Education for All (EFA) Goals

The six EFA goals were set in 2000, and have a target date of 2015. The goals are:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality;

3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes;
4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

The question then arising concerns appropriate government responses. Some governments feel powerless to do anything about the existence of tutoring. This observation is especially applicable to the countries in which teachers are forced to seek extra incomes by the inadequate levels of their official salaries. In Eastern Europe, for example, during the 1990s the collapse of communism and the advent of the market economy left teachers' salaries at a level which could not even support those teachers' families above the poverty line (Silova et al. 2006). Similar pressures were evident in China and Vietnam, which officially maintained socialist systems but which moved to market economies. Many teachers turned to tutoring as an obvious way to make ends meet. The governments frowned on the practice, but did not themselves have sufficient resources to remunerate the teachers adequately and therefore to remove the fundamental cause.

Elsewhere, authorities have endeavoured to take proactive measures, including prohibition. Countries in this category include Mauritius, where a 1988 study commissioned by the government (Joynathsing et al. 1988, pp.64-66) pointed out that tutoring was part of a self-reinforcing system: it was widely believed that classroom teaching was insufficient for doing well in examinations, with the result that pupils sought private tutoring. But then many teachers assumed that their pupils received tutoring and in turn made less effort to teach the lessons fully and well. In 1994 a government announcement discouraged tutoring in all grades and prohibited it for children in the initial three primary grades (Mauritius 1994, pp.6-7). However, ambitious parents continued to employ independent tutors outside the schools, and subsequent evaluation showed that the problem remained unabated (Foondun 2002).

A parallel effort to prohibit tutoring was made in Uganda in 1994. Eilor (2007, p.31) summarised the circular, which sought to tackle the phenomenon that teachers "tend to set examinations or tests based on what they teach during coaching/holiday sessions rather than on what they are paid to teach during normal classes at school". However, the circular was not widely disseminated and even less widely heeded. In 2007 the government clamped down on six teachers in one secondary school who had organised a "holiday class" for students in science, using the provisions of the circular to indict them. It became a major issue in the press, and attracted a mixed response from the public. Some respondents doubted the appropriateness of the government policy to prohibit tutoring since it was in large measure a response to demand from the parents. Other respondents highlighted the fact that the government was not able to enforce a ban even if it wished actively to do so.

The Ugandan policy circular had a parallel in Kenya in 1999, when a government directive on fees (cited by Wanyama & Njeru 2004, p.1) stated that:

the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development has set guidelines on the fees to be charged which must be adhered to. The charging of tuition fees for extra coaching is illegal ... [T]he teacher will therefore be expected to discern pupils' abilities and set appropriate remedial teaching as opposed to private coaching.

However, the circular itself admitted that previous directives along the same lines had been ignored. Wanyama and Njeru (2004, p.1) remarked that the circular appeared to address the symptoms of the problem rather than the cause, and saw little reason to think that future adherence would be any stronger than in the past. Subsequent reports (e.g. Ngare 2007) indeed indicated that private tutoring remained widespread.

In Asia, another striking example in the same vein is South Korea, where the government banned all tutoring in 1980 (Seth 2002; Kim 2005). However, the ban was not effective and was gradually relaxed. The issue returned vigorously to the political agenda in the late 1990s, and President Kim Dae-Jung announced in his 1998 inauguration address that his government would “free young people from extracurricular activities and relieve parents from the heavy monetary burden of private tutoring” (quoted in Yi 2002, p.2). The government declared that it would ban tutoring for secondary students in stages: in 1999 for lower secondary students and freshmen in high schools, and in 2001 for every secondary student. In the event, however, this renewed attempt at prohibition got no further than its predecessors. In 2000 the courts declared the prohibition unconstitutional as an infringement of human rights.

In both Mauritius and South Korea, one way through which the government tried to tackle the demand for tutoring was to reduce inequalities between different schools and therefore to reduce what Foondun (1992) with regard to Mauritius called “the mad race for a place in a ‘five star’ secondary school”. Measures in Mauritius included admission to schools according district of residence rather than ranking in examinations; and measures in South Korea included allocating pupils by lottery. However, even these measures backfired. With reference to South Korea, Kim and Lee (2001, p.15) argued that the secondary school equalisation policy actually increased pressure for tutoring:

Strong regulations ... have almost eliminated the competition among secondary schools, but definitely not among students.... [Many] students felt that the schooling provided in their high school was not adequate enough for them to prepare for university entrance examinations because schools or teachers do not effectively teach the students, since the academic background for the students in a typical high school class are very diverse. Also in the absence of competitive pressure, schools have not been very responsive to such needs of the students and their parents. Consequently, the equalization policy, which intended to reduce private tutoring, has made private tutoring more popular.

This remark echoed a phenomenon that had already been seen in Japan. Harnisch (1994, p.30) described Japanese tutorial schools, known as *juku*, as “a necessary organization”, adding that they “close a sensitive gap in the Japanese education system between the teaching at public schools and the demands of the entrance exams”. Japanese society accepts the uniformity and egalitarianism of the public school system in part because the *juku* act as a safety valve: parents of high achievers send their children to *juku* to study advanced materials, and parents of low achievers send their children to *juku* to catch up with remedial work.

In other countries, the dynamics are rather different. One reason for the increase in tutoring in the UK is the increased stratification of the state school system, with publication of league tables and corresponding resourcing and praise or disapproval. Commenting on this phenomenon, Russell (2002, p.10) observed that:

In London and other big cities, private tutoring is booming. It has become one of the most important, yet unacknowledged, factors in a child’s school performance. It disadvantages working-class children and undermines any pretensions to a comprehensive system. Not only that, but it distorts the league tables of test and examination performance, which are supposed to reflect the quality of teaching in schools, and thus makes a nonsense of the government’s entire strategy for raising standards.

The UK government has mostly chosen to ignore the matter, though was embarrassed in 2002 when Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair was attacked for investing in private tutoring for his own children (British Broadcasting Corporation 2002).

Elsewhere, however, authorities have sought to harness tutoring. Singapore, for example, has a Council for the Development of the Singapore Muslim Community. The main rationale for the creation of this body in 1981 was to help the Malay community to catch up with the Chinese and Indian communities in educational performance. This, it was argued, would promote Malay participation in the economy, and avoid the racial disharmony caused by social imbalances (Tan 1995; Gopinathan 2001). The government gave the Council financial support, and permitted the organisation to use public schools for after-school tutoring. The government also trained tutors who worked voluntarily or for low fees. In this case, the authorities were endeavouring to use tutoring to reduce social stratification – though it must be admitted that the main impact

of tutoring in other parts of Singapore society was reinforcement of stratification (Kwan-Terry 1991; George 1992).

Conclusions

Private tutoring has a long history in both Western and Eastern societies. In recent decades, it has greatly increased in scale and has become a major phenomenon in practically all regions of the world. Tutoring is driven by a competitive climate and strong belief in the value of education for social and economic advancement. China, Vietnam and Cambodia are countries which have entered the market economy after a period of socialism, and in which private tutoring has become a commonplace phenomenon where it barely existed before. These societies share some cultural characteristics with Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but tutoring is also driven by the need for mainstream teachers to earn extra incomes in order to provide for themselves and their families. For similar reasons, tutoring has grown in Eastern Europe. Significantly, tutoring has also greatly expanded in such Western European countries as Germany and the UK, as well as in Canada and the USA.

There is parallel evidence that tutoring is growing in Africa, and it can be expected to grow further. Few policy makers in Africa have the matter strongly on their agendas, feeling that other issues are more important and urgent. One reason for this is that reliable data on tutoring are scarce. In this respect, tutoring is to a large extent, following the title of the book by Silova et al. (2006), in a hidden marketplace.

However, it is arguable that policy makers would be wise to pay more attention to private supplementary tutoring in Africa precisely *because* at present the scale is relatively modest. Policy interventions to shape the sector may have greater long-term impact for relatively modest effort compared with later efforts to control the sector once it has grown stronger and habits have become more deeply ingrained.

In addition to social stratification, the paper has highlighted other dimensions which may be problematic. Tutoring can create dissonance with lessons in mainstream classes, and it can contribute to fatigue of both pupils and teachers. More positively, however, tutoring can contribute to the livelihoods not only of the tutees but also of the tutors. In some societies, tutoring has become a huge sector of the economy. In South Korea, for example, expenditure on tutoring in 2003 was estimated at US\$12.4 billion, which was equivalent to 55.9 per cent of the national government budget for education (Lee 2005, p.100) and generated considerable employment. In other societies, tutoring provided extra incomes for the mainstream teachers. The policy set out by an official document in Zanzibar (1998, p.65) would find resonance in many other settings:

The Government has officially allowed government schools to charge a small fee for extra tuition provided by teachers after the official working hours in situations where parents are willing to do so. Though controversial, the measure offers a rare opportunity for parents to voluntarily contribute to teachers' remuneration ... thereby increasing the motivation of teachers and decreasing their propensity to look for another job.

The statement added that the improved stability of the teaching force had a positive impact on access.

Thus it is clear that supplementary private tutoring has major implications for social and economic development, and the sector deserves considerably more attention from both policy makers and researchers than it has received to date. Supplementary private tutoring has the power to support the EFA goals, but can also undermine them. Much can be learned from comparative analysis in the identification of the underlying causes and implications of tutoring; and in turn, such understanding will greatly contribute to identification of appropriate policy responses.

Note: Much of this paper is an update and expansion of an article written by Bray (2006). The paper also draws extensively on a Policy Forum organised by the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in 2007. IIEP is continuing work on this theme, and in due course will publish a book which will elaborate on the Policy Forum discussions.

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