

**Education Policy Center**

Vilnius University  
Faculty of Philosophy

# **PRIVATE TUTORING IN LITHUANIA**

Survey report

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## **Introduction**

The „shadow education“ is not a new phenomenon: it was practiced all the time both in the developing and well-developed countries, but it rarely deserved the attention of researchers. Private tutoring has become part of the educational environment, although very limited information is available both nationally and internationally. In Lithuania more systematic attention has been given to the phenomenon only in school year 2001/2002 when Vilnius University Education Policy Centre has released data of the survey of the first year university students on private tutoring. For the first time researchers attracted attention of wide public and administrators of education to educational, social, ethical aspects of this phenomenon of shadow education. Later similar data was repeatedly collected in the school years 2002/2003 and 2004/2005.

There was little information about similar studies on this issue in Central and Eastern European (CEE) and others post-socialist countries, even though private tutoring was present in educational systems of these countries and is recognized as educational and socio-economical problem. Private tutoring is a shadowy phenomenon exacerbating social inequalities and interfering into educational process at schools. The problem of PT cannot be analyzed alone; it is linked with more general problems of shadow economy in education, corruption and educational ethics and quality of education in schools. Therefore, having a huge impact on educational systems, PT should be analyzed and taken into account in educational system reforms.

## **Perception of private tutoring**

As it was already told, private tutoring isn't a novelty neither in Lithuania nor in other countries. It has existed for years both in the developing and well-developed countries. At present, it can even be said that this phenomenon has become an inseparable part of general education. Still, its actual extent is difficult to determine.

The phenomenon of private tutoring has various interpretations among the public in Lithuania. In its narrow sense, private tutoring is perceived as an educational activity where teachers for private financial gain teach students after classes the same subjects and according to the programs of formal educational institutions. The aspect of private gain for what should be accomplished by formal education institutions has negative connotation with the public. On the other hand, positively received is private tutoring as extra help for young people to do their homework at home or providing additional lessons on the subjects where a school student is lagging behind or to a school student with low abilities who is not capable of understanding and acquiring the material properly during formally allocated time at school.

But why the phenomenon of private tutoring is perceived as part of “shadow education”? It can be explained in the following way: the “shadow education” can not exist without the basic, formal education and therefore it is an outcome of the formal education. When the first factor – the formal education – changes, the second one – the “shadow education” – has to change as well. The “shadow education” remains in the shadow of the basic, formal education – unnoticed and sometimes even forgotten, but it still does not lose its importance.

In the Soviet times private tutoring existed, but no one dared to speak openly about private tutoring services as it was illegal action (officially, all services have had to be provided by public institutions, there was no private service allowed) and against soviet times ethics. The restoration of an independent state also saw the revival of private tutoring. But was it only the restoration of independence that influenced the spread of this phenomenon?

A private tutor is nowadays perceived in Lithuania not only as a person helping school students to study, but also as a person who is preparing them for the examinations. Private provision of educational services was legitimized under the term ‘help to student’ in the Law on Education in year 2003.

### **Interrelation of economic and ethical factors**

Private tutoring emerged, developed and changed responding to the changing context. The changing status of the Lithuanian state opened up new possibilities including the possibility to legally engage in individual service provision. Thus, Lithuania now being a state of market economy, private services are encouraged as opposed to Soviet times ban of private business initiatives. A private tutor has a possibility to acquire business certificate and engage in individual activities, namely, give private lessons, and pay taxes. Still, the reality is different – people are not eager to acquire business certificates and pay taxes, as this activity can be easily concealed. First of all, the teachers (who are the principal providers of private tutoring services) are trying to conceal the fact that they provide private tutoring services, especially when providing additional private lessons to their school students, because they are trying to avoid publicity as they are engaged in conflict of interest and unethical behavior– in a way they would acknowledge that they are unable to make school students learn and understand during the lessons at school, but can do it perfectly well for additional price during private lessons. This would mean that their legal primary work is less important for them. Another aspect is that they would have to pay significant taxes and the wage of a teacher is quite small.

The former Minister of Education and Science Algirdas Monkevičius, the Member of the Seimas (the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania), who was trying to take measures to decrease scope of private tutoring after the release of first survey results, in his interview for Lithuanian weekly

*Veidas*<sup>1</sup> told that he is only partly apt to condemn the teachers who provide paid services. "Private tutoring services existed for ages and certainly will exist. This is assistance to those who are weaker in studies. It is normal that a school student who lacks abilities but is eager to achieve better results needs to work individually. I see nothing wrong in that a retired teacher is providing such services for him. It is both a pleasure and financial benefit for this pensioner. But the problem is that the majority of private tutors are rendering these services illegally. Moreover, the main problem is that there are schools where a teacher working in this school does not manage to thoroughly explain the subject during the class and is offering his service for additional price to those who want to learn more. I even received a number of complaints from parents that teachers openly say that during the classes they are teaching only as much as their salary presupposes and if school student want to learn as much as it is required, they have to pay. This already an immoral and unethical situation" maintained former Minister of Education.

### **Social factors**

Private tutoring can influence the future life success and have social implications for young people, which mean that the "shadow education" is not that passive and unnoticeable as its name would imply, but, on the contrary, it is an influential and important public phenomenon. According to critics of private tutoring in Lithuania, it brings and perpetuates social disparities between the people, because it is affordable most likely not to everyone as it is rather costly activity. Private tutoring is expensive or even unaffordable for children from low income families thus preventing them from being able fairly compete with peers from richer families. This is the way PT contributes to preventing children from not so well- off families to climb social ladder and to reproduction of social stratification of society. Monitoring of public opinion in Lithuania is periodically is showing that public in general trusts education (second in a list of institutions). Even more than Parliament or legal institutions, but on the other hand the scope of private tutoring is evidencing big gaps in education provision to all. If the performance of formal education system were of higher quality, or formal education institutions would provide needed extra help for students, private tutoring services would no longer be used on such a big scale. Therefore, the families would be able to use this significant amount of money for satisfying other important needs and purposes or could legally contribute to better education of their children.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kucinskaite J., Vernickaite A. Eight out of ten last grade students use private tutors. V.: Veidas, October 6, 2005, issue No.40 (in Lithuanian).*

### **Educational context of private tutoring**

The demand of private tutoring services on the one hand can be explained by the overloaded curricula, demanding national standards, and impossibility to cover everything in the class, and on the another hand by structural and organizational aspects of education system.

The structural reforms in education, especially the reform of the system of secondary school leaving examinations (*Matura*) and restoration of gymnasias type of schools, also have their 'side effects', one of these is high demand for private tutoring. Although it is stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania that education at State and municipal secondary and vocational schools and post-secondary schools shall be free of charge, the parents are informally donating significant amount of money for improving educational environment for their children. The majority of parents believe that the present school costs them more. This is the opinion of 90 percent of all the school students' parents.<sup>2</sup> In addition to that parents pay significant amounts for additional tutoring for their children.

#### *Overloaded curriculum*

Formal education imposes a really heavy burden on school students nowadays, as many subjects are taught at school. In the years of independence of state due to curriculum reform few more subjects were added, thus cutting time on task for traditional school subjects. On the other hand the amount of curriculum content has not decreased. In Soviet times whole class teaching was prevailing. Nowadays teachers are required also to use active teaching methods, group work, project work, educational excursions that are effective, but time consuming. Thus, overload of curriculum is evident. This, of course, broadens the horizon of school students and improves the general education level, but it also overloads them with a lot of information which hinders proper acquisition of important subjects for their future life. Namely for this reason the phenomenon of *profiling* was introduced in grades 11 and 12 of Lithuanian upper secondary schools. The essence of *profiling* is that upper secondary school students can select the subjects that they will be studying (limited to 12 subjects, out of those minimum 2, maximum 5 subjects should be studied at advanced level) taking into consideration the requirements of the higher study program that she/he intends to choose. From the first sight, such profiling seems to be a positive phenomenon enabling to lighten the workload of a school student, but it still has some disadvantages. Most often 'soft' profiling starts already in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade when the school students are relatively young and are not determined over their future plans and therefore they can not always choose the right profile as their opinion might change during the last years at school and

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<sup>2</sup> *The Attitude of School Students' Parents towards Current Educational Problems*, Survey report. 2001. P. 76.

the choice regarding the subjects has already been made and therefore he or she may not be allowed to study the subjects required for his or her new decision over the future career. This can be one of the reasons why it becomes necessary to hire a private tutor and study independently the subjects that he/she previously rejected as a result of profiling.

*Secondary school graduation and higher education admission reform*

The second reason for the rise of private tutoring is the reform of secondary school leaving examinations. In Lithuania, as a part of educational reform, the system of secondary school graduation examinations-*Matura* and HE entrance regulations were changed and could have been influential to the increase of private tutoring. The State level *Matura* examinations were introduced. Under the Law of the Republic of Lithuania on Education, a secondary education level is attained upon completion of the secondary curriculum and passing of *Matura* examinations. Universities no longer organize their entrance examinations, student's results on *Matura* examinations are used for this purpose. Under the regulation of MOES, two years before entrance competition Universities have to announce list of *Matura* subjects that will be taken into account at the entrance competition to different study programs. The system of the State level *Matura* examinations increased transparency of admission and the chances of entering the universities; moreover, the school-leavers now are able to submit

Private tutoring services have always existed, but they were given publicity only after the introduction of the State level examinations: "State level examinations provided the conditions for transparent evaluation of a school student. The examinations cover the material from the curricula from the 11th and 12th grades and therefore they require a student to systematically study for at least two years. Only a few school students are capable of that. Seeking to fill in the knowledge gaps that appeared as a result of non-systematical studies, they approach to private tutors".

Saulius Jurkevičius,  
Headmaster of Vilnius lyceum.  
Veidas, 2005.

their application documents not only to different study programs of one HEI, but also to different universities. In addition, the competition to prestigious study programs is becoming more intense and the importance and appreciation of good exam results has increased very significantly. Another side of these high stake examinations is related with norm-based scaling of students results on examinations. The top 1percent of students on exam will get top grade 100 (students are distributed on the scale 1-100 based on the percentiles of their results). Such scaling works well for admission (discrimination of exams is really high), and forces students to do their best. But nobody can feel safe – more student knows higher result on *Matura* he/she gets. As a consequence – the PT is increasing, because the most effective way to know more in short time goes through PT services.

*Restoration of Gymnasia type of secondary upper school*

A gymnasium as a type of upper secondary school, in Lithuania was restored after regaining independence. Restoration was based on nostalgia of before the Second World War times when gymnasia type existed. A gymnasium as upper secondary school type officially was regarded to be a new/better type of school for motivated children and innovative teams of teachers and school administrators. Secondary school in order to become gymnasia had to fulfill certain requirements. Salaries were higher in gymnasia, what was the motive to attract better teachers. But during the last decade this type of school appeared to be quite elitist that drained best and motivated students and teachers from other types of secondary schools. There is high demand to enter gymnasia. Matura examination results continuously evidence much higher in average results of gymnasia students than those from other secondary schools. Parents survey (2001) and recent survey on private tutoring revealed that better educated and richer parents more often tend to send their children to gymnasia than families from different socio-economic context. On the other hand, this type of secondary school does not exist in all municipalities, so gymnasia even stimulates internal migration in the country.

*Formal qualifications of the teachers*

When analyzing the statistical reports on education, submitted by *Statistics Lithuania* and the Ministry of Education and Science, on how qualified were teachers teaching different school subjects, it is obvious that share of all subject teachers are not sufficiently qualified to perform this job. In school year 2004/2004 about 87 percent of all teachers (including primary school teachers) in Lithuania had higher education degrees, but almost 6 thousand teachers (out of total 47 930) had no formal pedagogical and psychological competencies<sup>3</sup>.

The secretary of the Ministry of Education and Science A. Puodžiukas in his interview (*Veidas*, 2005) assured that the situation will change in a few years time because since 1 September 2007 teachers without pedagogical and psychological qualifications will not be allowed to work in educational institutions as stipulated by the year 2003 edition of the Law on Education. Those who would want to continue working in this sphere, but who do not have the required record in their diploma, will have to attend special courses and undergo pedagogical practice.

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<sup>3</sup> Office of Statistics of the Republic of Lithuania (2005) *Education, 2004*. V.: Statistics Lithuania. P.108.

### Legal basis for private tutoring in Lithuania

In 2003, the first attempts were made to legally regulate private tutoring in the Republic of Lithuania. In the new edition of the Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania<sup>4</sup> (effective as of 2003), the concept of a “freelance teacher” was introduced. Such teacher was described in this law as a person who is licensed to engage in educational activity on an individual basis. A freelance teacher can provide non-formal education or implementing program modules that supplement pre-school curricula and/or formal education programs and answer to learners’ self-expression needs. A freelance teacher has the right to work according to his individual programs, to choose methods and forms of pedagogical activity and to provide informational, consulting and in-service assistance. The obligations for a freelance teacher are also set in this Law: to observe the norms of Teacher’s ethics, ensure his learners’ safety, to have a workplace for teaching that meets health (hygiene) requirements and implement the teaching process agreed upon with the learner. A freelance teacher is not allowed to teach learners whom he teaches at school in curricula of the same subject.

Still, there is no special legal act properly regulating the activities of a freelance teacher. A freelance teacher has to declare the money earned for giving private lessons following the general procedure set by the State Tax Inspectorate. His activity would become legal if he, as, for example, a shoemaker or a tile layer, registered a private business or obtained an appropriate business certificate. The advantage of the latter is that it is required to fill in and submit fewer documents than in case of registering a private business. Moreover, the specialists working in the Tax Inspectorate claim that business certificates for engaging in a freelance teacher activity cost differently in different cities of the country. For example, a private tutoring services providing teacher working in Vilnius has to pay LTL 500 (~145 euro) for a business certificate valid for a year whereas in smaller city Mazeikiai the cost of certificate is LTL 100 (~30 euro).

The State Tax Inspectorate indicates that 834 pedagogues who have obtained a business certificate of a freelance teacher, or, in other words – a private tutor, were registered in 2004 and in 2005 (the data for 9 months) – 782.

According to the State Tax Inspectorate, the majority of freelance teachers do not obtain business certificates and it almost impossible for the Tax Inspectorate to prove that a person is engaged in illegal activities and that he is receiving non-declared income. Actually, the

“We do not have information that a teacher was punished for illegally provided private lessons to school students. These services are usually provided by pedagogues in their homes and we can not break into a private apartment. If we received any complaints, of course, we would respond”.

Official of the Tax Inspectorate

State Tax Inspectorate has never punished a pedagogue for an illegal activity.

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<sup>4</sup>See: <http://www3.lrs.lt/cgi-bin/preps2?Condition1=238731&Condition2=>

Therefore, it seems that legitimating of private tutoring did not legalize it, as the majority of private tutors continue teaching school students after classes for money and do not declare this income. And also no legal acts that would enable to control the activities of a freelance teacher in case of his failure to comply with the norms of Teacher's ethics or provision of low quality education services have yet been passed.

### **Findings of the Private Tutoring Survey**

In Lithuania, the first public discussions over the e “shadow education” began in 2001 when the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University carried out a survey on private tutoring commissioned by the Open Society Fund Lithuania. In the course of this survey, over 700 first year students of only one Vilnius University were assessed and also some private tutors whose advertisements were found in the newspapers were interviewed by phone.

Seeking to evaluate the dynamics of this phenomenon, the monitoring was repeatedly carried out in Lithuania in the school years 2001/2002, 2002/2003, 2004/2005 by the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University. The second time the study was spread through the country: around 2000 of students from universities in Vilnius, Kaunas and Siauliai were questioned.

### **The sample of 2004/2005 study**

In academic year 2004-2005, 810 first year students from different faculties of five Lithuanian universities (Vilnius University, Vilnius Pedagogical University, Kaunas University of Technology, Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, and Šiauliai University) were surveyed. Female students constituted 68,9percent of the sample. Majority of respondents graduated from secondary school in the year 2004 (73,8 percent), in the year 2003 - 19,7 percent. Graduates from gymnasia constituted 41,8 percent of the sample, from general secondary schools – 57,7 percent, from vocational schools – only 0,5 percent. The distribution of respondents from high, medium and low demand study programs was 319, 272, 219 respondents accordingly.

The surveyed students originate from various parts of Lithuania, has graduated from schools in different geographic locations of the country, from different socio-economic backgrounds (see Table1).

*Table1. General characteristic of the year 2005 study's sample*

		Share of students (%)
<i>Total number of students in the sample - 810</i>		
Region of the country	Vilnius	31,6
	Other big city	22,4
	Admin centre	33,4
	Other	12,6
Type of the school graduated from	Gymnasium	41,8
	Sec. school	57,7
Student's Gender	Female	68,9
	Male	31,1
Student's family educational background	University	60,3
	Some post secondary	30,4
	Only sec. school or lower	9,3
Family's welfare	(Very) good	26,6
	Medium	64,7
	(Very) bad	8,7
Demand of the study programme	High	39,4
	Medium	33,6
	Low	27,0

Still the sampling is quite narrow for generalizing for the whole cohort of secondary school graduates of Lithuania, but definitely indicates general trends of private tutoring used by universities entrants. Though the private tutoring in the final grades of secondary school was the target of survey, but respondents chosen were first year university students, because the first year students are already willing to speak about this phenomenon, which is already in their past, but not forgotten stage of their life. It is more complicated to investigate private

“Whenever I hear the word “private tutoring”, I immediately associate it with the necessity, because, as far as I know, the majority of 12<sup>th</sup> grade students are taking additional classes in subjects that they are going to take the exams in. I believe that if I had children, I would do the same. I mean that there is fierce competition between the entrants. Not everyone willing to enter the university actually manages to. Those who can afford it are searching for better teachers. Maybe it is slightly different and easier abroad, but here it is very difficult to enter the university. I think this situation leads to the situation where the majority of school-leavers do not finish school without hiring private tutors.”

Ingrida, a student

tutoring in other grades, as both the school students and teachers tend not to speak about it openly. There is one more point to be taken into consideration – maybe those who are already studying were more talented and they did not require any assistance from private tutors. Therefore, to mitigate this limitation of chosen sampling scheme, a question about their classmate's experiences with private tutoring (whether they were hiring a private tutor) was included into the questionnaire. Although this survey did not allow to rigorously assessing private tutoring phenomenon, it still provide an opportunity to take a closer look at this problem.

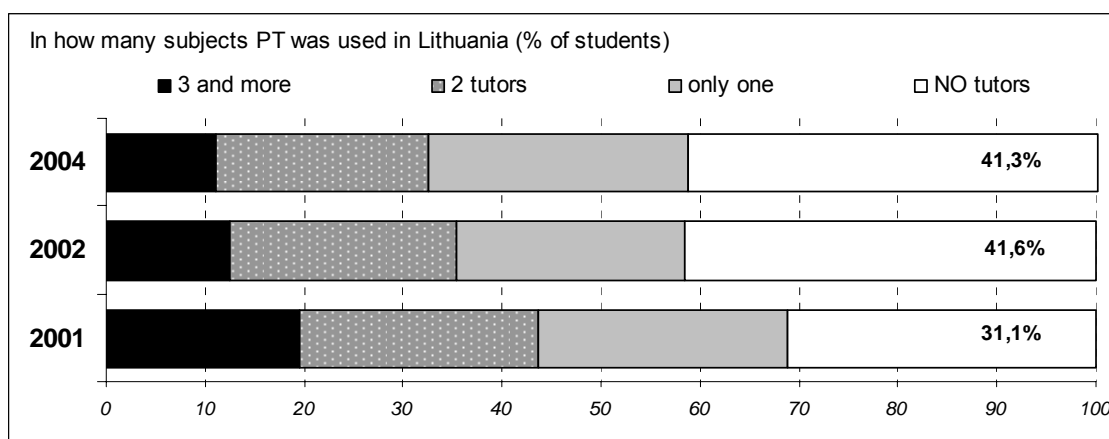
**The scope of private tutoring**

According to the survey on private tutoring carried out in academic 2004-2005 year, out of all surveyed first year university students 61,9 percent answered positively to the main question of the questionnaire – have they used private tutoring or attended preparatory courses in their final secondary school year. The individual private tutoring (offered by teacher of university lecturer) was much more popular than institutionally arranged additional educational help in some courses: 51,9 percent of respondents hired only private tutors without attending any courses, and only 3,2 percent of students has attended preparatory courses only (6,2 percent of students were really overloaded trying both - working with private tutor individually and in preparatory courses). Resuming: the scope of private tutoring in the final secondary school year in Lithuania - almost two thirds of surveyed first year university students were using additional educational services in their final secondary school year to increase their educational achievements that they have had formally to acquire in public secondary schools. It has become evident that the “shadow education” is part of educational reality in Lithuania and it deserves a more thorough research and attention of education decision makers.

**Dynamics of the scope of private tutoring over last years**

The data of three quantitative surveys of private tutoring carried out in Lithuania in year 2001, 2002, and 2004, show the comparative stability of phenomenon in last years (see *Figure 1*). In year 2002 and 2004 in average around 60 percent, which constitute six out of ten students were using services of private tutors or attended preparatory courses.

*Figure 1. In how many subjects services of private tutor were used in Lithuania (% of surveyed students) in years 2001, 2002, and 2004.*



*[Note, that in year 2001 only one university students were surveyed therefore direct comparison is not valid with data from samples of 2002 and 2004).The Figure 2 includes only data for those who hired private tutors, but excludes those using preparatory courses.]*

In 2004 the survey data shows that 11,1 percent of surveyed students used services of private tutors in three and more subjects, 21,4 percent- in two subjects and 26,3 percent in one subject. Dynamics of data of three consecutive surveys in Lithuania show slight decrease in numbers of those who take private lessons in three and more subjects. This might be explained by introducing external state Matura exams and the system of centralized admission to all universities in the country. Now universities announce their admission requirement two year in advance, Matura exams are run according syllabi known for students and teachers. Therefore there are enough information on admission and exams, and students' preparation to exams/admission becomes more targeted.

#### **Factors contributing to the scope of the private tutoring in 2004**

Survey results in 2004 indicated that in average six out of ten secondary school final year students have used additional private tutoring in terms of private lessons provided by tutor individually or attended preparatory courses. What factors effect such high demand of private tutoring?

Different factors contribute to the scope of use of PT, namely:

- geographical location of secondary school
- type of secondary school
- gender of student
- educational background of parents
- socio- economic status of family
- popularity of study program and study program entrance competition

The impact of these factors is presented in the Table 2 and explained in details later. Based on this analysis, we could draw the typical 'profile' of the student who is using the private tutoring: that is a girl graduating from gymnasium in big city (or Vilnius), at least one of her parents had graduated from university, and family welfare is good. She has plans to study some high demand study programme...

Table 2. The factors affecting the scope of private tutoring in Lithuania, 2004.

		Both forms of PT	Only PT teacher	Only PT courses	No PT	Total used PT
<i>LITHUANIA (whole sample)</i>		6,2	51,9	3,8	38,1	61,9
Region of the country	Vilnius	10,3	52,1	3,6	33,9	66.1
	Other big city	8,8	61,9	1,9	27,4	72.6
	Admin centre	2,7	53,7	3,9	39,8	60.6
	Other	4,2	36,4	6,7	52,7	47.3
Type of the school graduated from	Gymnasium	5,0	60,7	4,1	30,2	69.8
	Sec. school	7,1	45,7	3,6	43,6	56.4
Student's Gender	Female	6,2	56,6	2,9	34,3	65.7
	Male	6,5	40,9	5,3	47,4	52.6
Student's family educational background	University	6,8	57,2	2,9	33,1	66.9
	Some post secondary	5,3	46,7	4,1	43,9	56.1
	Only sec. school or lower	5,3	38,7	8,0	48,0	52
Family's welfare	(Very) good	10,3	61,5	4,2	23,9	76.1
	Medium	4,8	50,7	3,3	41,2	58.8
	(Very) bad	4,3	34,3	5,7	55,7	44.3
Demand of the study program	High	7,2	61,8	1,6	29,5	70.5
	Medium	6,3	40,4	6,6	46,7	53.3
	Low	4,6	51,6	3,7	40,2	59.8

Notes. Student's family educational background measured by the highest educational level of his/her parents

*The scope of private tutoring by geographic location of secondary school*

Where are private tutoring services more common – in the cities or rural areas? Seeking to answer this question, we will divide Lithuania and analyze the answers of students who finished secondary schools in these regions (see Figure 3). According to the location where school students (currently – the first year university students) had graduated from the secondary schools, the following regions can be singled out:

- Vilnius (the capital of Lithuania);
- Big cities (with population over 100,000, i.e. Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, and Panevėžys);
- Centers of administrative regions (like, Jonava, Utena, and etc.);
- Elsewhere (small towns and villages).

They survey data indicates that there are differences of the scope of private tutoring depending on the geographical location of the graduated secondary school students have graduated from. The biggest amount of private tutoring was used by students in big cities and in Vilnius. Significantly less of private tutoring was used by final year students from schools in small towns and rural areas. The structure of share of services hired from private tutors and preparatory courses also differs by geographical location of the school student has graduated from. Students

from small town and rural schools have had less individual work with private tutor, but they have reported more attendance of preparatory courses.

The former Minister Algirdas Monkevicius in his interview stressed that he is also convinced that private tutoring phenomenon is more wide-spread in the big cities and that is not that popular in the centers of administrative regions and rural schools or is not affordable for the rural children (*Veidas*, 2005).

As reported by respondents of 2004 survey, one third of surveyed first year university students from capital city Vilnius have entered university study programs without using extra help from private tutors or preparatory courses, 66,1 percent of students from capital city have used private tutoring in their final secondary school year. Capital city secondary school graduates who used only services of private tutor constitute 52,1 percent of surveyed, others used preparatory cores or both. Preparatory courses only were attended by 3,6 percent, both forms of additional training to better their achievements in final school year was used by 10,3 percent of final year capital city students who now are at the universities.

The biggest amount of private tutoring was used in big cities – 72,6 percent of students from big cities were taught by private tutors or attended preparatory courses. Only a quarter of students from big cities among surveyed first year university students were not using services of private tutors. Least amount of students who has attended only a preparatory course was among the students from big cities – 1,9 percent. But 8,8 percent used private tutors and in addition attended at the same time prep courses.

Those students who graduated from schools in small towns and rural locations, has used less services of private tutors and preparatory courses– 47,3 percent. But this amount is still indicating that almost half of the students from rural locations and smallest towns, which have successfully entered universities, have had additional training in their final secondary school year. These students from rural schools have used significantly less services from individual private tutor then children from e. g. big cities (from rural schools – 36,4 percent, from big cities – 52,1 percent accordingly), but more of them attended only preparatory courses (6,7 percent from rural schools, as opposed to 1,9 percent from big cities). The explanation to this structural difference might be that less private individual services are available to students in rural areas, as there is much smaller supply of private tutors. Factors of supply and cost of services might be playing most important contribution to the structural distribution of use of PT or preparatory courses depending on location. Preparatory courses might be more often used in rural areas

because they are relatively cheaper and easier to locate. As a rule, in case of preparatory courses rural student had to travel to bigger cities to attend courses, usually on weekends<sup>5</sup>.

*The scope of private tutoring by the type of the school*

They survey data indicates that there are differences of the scope of private tutoring depending on the type of the school the first year university student has graduated from. Schools students graduated from in general falls into two main categories – gymnasiums and ‘ordinary’ secondary schools. In general both types are public schools; share of private upper secondary schools is marginal in Lithuania.

The biggest amount of private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses was used by students from gymnasia – 69,8 percent of surveyed first year university students that graduated from gymnasia have used services of private tutor or attended courses, whereas 56,4 percent those from other schools did it. The difference is significant. The structure of share of services hired from private tutors and preparatory courses also differs by the type of school graduated. Students from ordinary secondary schools have had less individual work with private tutor – 45,7 percent of surveyed secondary school students as opposed to 60,7 percent gymnasia graduates, others took either forms or only courses.

Mr. Saulius Jurkevičius, Headmaster of Vilnius (one of the most prestigious gymnasia of the country), is not trying to conceal that many of the 12th grade students are using private tutoring services. But the underlying reason according him, why strong in studies school students need private tutoring services is different then just gap in knowledge. “The majority of those who are studying here are perfectionists and seek to get the maximum out of everything. If you receive less than close to 100 score points for your State level examination, it is not appreciated, this even means that you have wasted your time” (Veidas, 2005).

*The scope of private tutoring by gender*

As it seen from Figure 3 final year secondary school female students were more often using services of private tutors then male students. Among those who have attended only preparatory courses there are slightly more male students than female students (2,9 percent of male students as opposed to 5,3 percent of female).

*The influence of the financial situation in the family of a school student in deciding to use private tutoring services*

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<sup>5</sup> The survey does not provide data on additional expenses, like travel, accommodation if student was traveling for PT to different then his home location.

The financial situation in the family (established according to the opinion of the respondents, how they themselves evaluated the financial situation in their families) falls into three categories:

- (i) very good and good (considerably higher income than that of the majority, or higher than the national average);
- (ii) average (the same as of the majority);
- (iii) bad and very bad (lower income than the national average, or significantly worse than that of the majority).

Private tutoring survey data from 2004 reveals that as many as 55,2 percent of children from families with very good and good financial situation reported that they were studying at the gymnasiums, whereas children from average and low income families attending the gymnasiums account only for respectively 36,8 percent and 38,6 percent, i.e. even by 20 percent less than those from high income families.

Taking into the account that gymnasia students used more PT services, the conclusion is that a gymnasium is an elite school, or, to be more exact, the school mostly for children of rich parents. It can even be assumed that nowadays prestige manifest in sending your children to the gymnasiums, and also in the number of private tutors that you are hiring for your children.

Moreover, students who estimate the financial status of their families as better or significantly better than the average are using more private tutoring services – 76,1 percent of them, as opposed to 44,3 percent of those who reported bad financial situation (Table 3).

*Table 3. Use of private tutoring by family welfare*

		Both forms of PT	Only PT teacher	Only PT courses	No PT	Total used
<i>LITHUANIA (whole sample)</i>		6,2	51,9	3,8	38,1	61,9
Family's welfare	(Very) good	10,3	61,5	4,2	23,9	76,1
	Medium	4,8	50,7	3,3	41,2	58,8
	(Very) bad	4,3	34,3	5,7	55,7	44,3

As it was indicated in previous sections, students from gymnasiums overall have used more private tutoring than from ordinary secondary schools.

Survey data shows direct correlation between number of tutors and socio-economic status of family (Figure 4). The better the welfare of the family, the more subjects tutors were hired for students. About one quarter of all three welfare groups hired private tutor in one subject. Bigger disparities were revealed among those who had private tutoring in two, three and more subjects – 48,1 percent of those from very good welfare families, 28,8 percent medium and only 14,7 percent from poor welfare families. Students from very good financial welfare families were evidently much more privileged and used three times more tutoring in two and more subject.

Among high income families only 26,4 percent were not hiring a private tutor, whereas among the respondents from low income families as many as 60,3 percent of the respondents were not using private tutoring services. It is obvious that rich families could afford hiring three and more private tutors for their children – 18,8 percent (almost one out of five), whereas among poor families this figure was only 4,4 percent.

Summarizing, children from high income families has higher probability to study at the gymnasium, hire private tutors and consequently- better chances to enter universities. This fact evidences the fact that private tutoring has social implications.

*The influence of the educational background of the family in deciding to use private tutoring services*

The higher the education parents obtained, the more likely are their children using PT. From the early childhood a child is growing up in a certain specific environment, he sees the relations within the family members, the attitude of parents towards life and public norms, certain rules and requirements are imposed on him and he will later apply them when trying to make his own decisions in life. Therefore, it can be assumed that the children take their parents as a model, a kind of a benchmark, to be followed in life.

To prove this hypothesis, we will take a look at the education acquired by the parents from different social groups.

In families with very good and good financial situation the higher education was acquired by 36,5 percent of mothers of students only 4,7 percent mothers from this social stratum have completed only a secondary education. In medium social standing families by 18,8 percent of mothers. The higher education acquired by mothers of very low and low social standing families is at the level of 19,9 percent.

Less education correlates with lower socio-financial status. This is evidences by the data of survey that in the middle social strata, the number of mothers who have acquired higher education is twice lower; here predominate mothers with a non-higher professional post secondary education – more than two thirds have acquired namely such education. Twice as much mothers do not have neither higher nor non-higher professional education in this social group.

In the lowest social layer, the percentage of mothers with higher education does not even reach 10 percent. Here the prevailing educational level is a non-higher professional education and nearly 20 percent have only finished secondary schools.

The tendency is self-evident – good education correlates with high social standing. Therefore, it can be said that it is not only the money that determine that the children from prosperous families

to value education, attend gymnasiums but also the attitude of the parents towards the importance of good education. The survey data has proved again that good education of parents is one of distinctive precursors of the social layer. Not surprisingly these families appreciate education as main factor that can guarantee future life success for their children and are spending more on private tutoring.

Gymnasium is attended by 49 percent children of mothers with higher education, by 35,3 percent children of mothers with non-higher post secondary education and by 33,9 percent children of mothers with secondary education only.

It is noticeable that a mother's education as well is related to the type of school her child goes and to more frequent use of private tutoring services. Therefore we may conclude:

- Families belonging to high social strata can be characterized not only by high income but also by good education. It is possible to arrive at a conclusion that good education is an important guarantee and precondition for prosperous life.
- The education acquired by parents influences the type of school that their children attend. This is determined by the model of life formed since the early childhood.
- On the one hand, private tutors are an attempt to provide as much as possible to their children so that when he or she starts independent life, he would be able to make use of it. On the other hand, it is also a matter of prestige helping to reveal the social standing of the family.

The following typical framework of the use of private tutoring in Lithuania can be drawn from survey data analysis: the higher the education parents obtained, the more likely their financial status is higher, the bigger the probability that they live in big cities or capital, the more likely are their children attending gymnasium, and are using more PT services than students from less privileged socio-economic background families in order to prepare better for *Matura* exams.

### **The influence of the admission to universities on the scope of private tutoring**

As it was already mentioned, the respondents to the questionnaire were the first year students and the university study programs that they managed to enter can be classified into three main groups according to the level of the entrance competition. Thus, we have the following groups: (i) University study programs with low entrance competition (small number of applicants); (ii) University study programs with medium entrance competition; (iii) University study programs with high entrance competition.

Private tutoring was most popular among those studying in the most popular (high competition) study programs of Lithuanian universities, more than two thirds – 70,5 percent of students used services of private tutors or attended preparatory courses. Private tutoring services were least

popular among students studying at the study programs of medium popularity (less than a half-used services of private tutors only – 40,4 percent, preparatory courses were attended by 6,6 percent, both forms of additional services were used by 6,3 percent). Interestingly, students of medium competitiveness programs have more often used preparatory courses out of all who attended courses.

Those who are currently studying at the universities with low entrance competition were hiring more private tutors than those who are studying at the universities with medium entrance competition, but maybe this is because they simply did not manage to enter better universities although they wanted to or this could be the case of low self esteem or late motivation to study.

It is natural, that the majority of private tutors or courses were used by those school students who wanted to enter the universities with the highest entrance competition. In this case the school students had a clear goal and motivation to pass the State level *Matura* examinations with higher possible score and enter the best universities and popular study programs and to attain this goal used additional private training.

The aims of school students regarding their future studies and the level of competitiveness of these study programs are important factors determining the popularity of private tutoring services – those who seek to attain more tend to use all the available assistance.

### Private tutoring used by classmates

The limitation of the survey sample was that only the first year university students were filling in the questionnaire, i.e. those who successfully entered the universities. In order to expand the scope of the analysis and obtain more objective picture of the extent of private tutoring services, we should have also questioned those who failed to enter the universities. But it is quite difficult to find and question them. Seeking to at least partly compensate for the loss of such information, we included questions about former classmates of the questioned first year students: Remember your classmates. How many of them (in percent, write from 0%, if none to 100%, if all) were additionally preparing for the *Matura* examinations and were hiring a private tutor or attended some kind of courses?

*Table 4. Students' answers to the question about their classmates (how many classmates of the respondents were hiring a private tutor or attended courses?).*

		Share of students' classmates who had used PT (%)
<i>LITHUANIA (whole sample)</i>		47,5
Region of the country	Vilnius	57,5
	Other big city	54,9
	Admin centre	44,7
	Other	32,3

Type of the school graduated from	Gymnasium	57,5
	Sec. school	40,1

It can be seen from the Table 4 that the data received from the respondents about their former classmates and private tutoring services only proves once again that private tutoring services are widespread in the capital and other big cities, less used in administration centers and least popular in the remaining locations. In average respondents reported that 47,5 percent of their classmates used services of private tutors or attended preparatory courses.

Opinions of students on the scale of private tutoring used by classmates also confirms that the scope of private tutoring is around the half of final year students in average - around two thirds in capital city and around one third in small cities or rural schools.

Former students of gymnasiums also confirmed that more often classmates of gymnasium students were using private tutoring than classmates of students from secondary schools.

### The subjects that school students most often take private lessons on

First of all, let us take look at the most popular private lessons. Among surveyed, those students who took private tutoring, the most popular private lessons were in mathematics (44,5 percent), foreign language (42,3 percent), history (37,2 percent) and Lithuanian language (32,2 percent) , see Table 5. By far less popular were private lessons on biology, chemistry and physics. What could have determined namely this kind of distribution?

Table 5. The subjects that school students most often take private lessons on

		Lithuanian Language	Foreign language	Mathematics	History	Biology	Chemistry	Physics
<i>Lithuania (whole sample)</i>		32,2	42,3	44,5	37,2	2,1	1,2	2,9
Region of the country	Vilnius	37,2	48,2	53,9	42,7	3,3	3,3	3,3
	Other big city	43,5	58,8	57,0	53,1	1,6	1,6	7,6
	Admin centre	31,7	40,2	43,3	34,5	0,9	0,0	1,8
	Other	18,8	20,2	23,4	19,5	3,1	1,0	1,0
Type of the school graduated from	Gymnasium	36,9	51,1	53,0	49,3	2,6	0,0	3,5
	Sec. school	29,8	36,7	39,0	28,9	1,8	1,8	2,7
Student's Gender	Female	33,6	50,1	48,8	42,7	2,5	2,0	1,0
	Male	31,0	24,9	36,2	26,2	0,8	0,0	5,9
Demand of the study programme	High	41,9	54,7	56,1	53,8	2,0	0,0	5,8
	Medium	23,7	29,7	33,6	19,8	0,7	2,1	2,1
	Low	31,8	41,6	43,0	34,3	4,3	1,1	1,1

Taking into consideration the fact that in this survey we are analyzing namely the 12<sup>th</sup> grade school students (who are currently first year university students), it can be assumed that they

used private tutoring services seeking to get ready for the State level *Matura* examinations as good as possible and, consequently, to enter the universities. As much as 70 percent of respondents who used private tutoring pointed out that the reason they took private lessons was to better prepare for exam only.

Therefore, it is possible to see the tendency that private lessons are mainly required to successfully pass the State level *Matura* examinations and that the most popular subjects of private lessons are the subjects which are required by certain study programs to be passed on the State level. The most popular study programs among the school students are the following: management and business administration, economics, political sciences and international relations, law, social work and sociology. All these study programs require the State level *Matura* examinations in Lithuanian language and foreign language and the majority of them – the State level examinations in history and mathematics.

Let us take a look at the State level *Matura* examinations that are required when applying for an admission to different study programs at the universities under consideration. To this end, let us analyze the university admission provisions and requirements, selecting for this purpose five universities (Vilnius University, Vilnius Pedagogical University, Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas University of Technology and Šiauliai University) whose first year students were answering to the questionnaire on private tutoring. The results of state level *Matura* exams are taken into consideration and accounted for admission to universities: Lithuanian language was asked almost by every university (in 95 percent of study programs in the country), foreign language – in 58 percent of study programs, mathematics in 56 percent of study programs, history in 37 percent of study programs, physics in 21 percent of study programs. It can be concluded that results (scores) from secondary school graduation exams in Lithuanian language, foreign language, mathematics and history are universally required subjects for the admission to university. This is why private tutoring lessons in these subjects are most popular and their scope is biggest.

As it can be seen from the survey data, as many as 95 percent of study programs require score of Lithuanian language *Matura* examination. That's political decision, this examination is the only examination that all Lithuanian school students have to pass compulsory, but Universities in many study programmes do not high weights calculating the overall student's admission rank. These factors have hard influence on the popularity of private lessons on Lithuanian language: this subject is only forth among the most popular subjects for private lessons.

Female students had more private tutoring in all fore most popular subjects, in foreign languages even twice as much as male students.

Students who entered high entrance competition study programs used more private tutoring than those in other programs. Interestingly, again, those who entered medium competition used PT less than those in low competition study programs.

### **Group size and intensity of private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses**

#### *Group size of private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses*

The majority of the university students in the sample reported taking private tutoring lessons individually (56,3 percent) or in small groups consisting of two or three students (25,1 percent). Approximately 10 percent of the university students received tutoring in groups of four to five, and 9,3 percent in groups larger than five people.

Among the university students who took preparatory courses, 11,8 percent reported that they had been in classes of five or fewer students, 56,6 percent in classes of six to 15 students, and 22,4 percent in classes of 16 to 30 students, 9,2 percent in large groups of more than 30 students. So the most typical group size in preparatory courses in Lithuania was 6-15 students.

#### *The intensity of private tutoring*

Private tutoring was used by last year secondary students quite intensively. Among the surveyed university students majority (54 percent) reported that they received tutoring on a regular basis throughout the whole final school year, and 5,6 percent reported that they received tutoring on a regular basis in the last semester, 23,7 percent worked with private tutor only occasionally in the last semester. About 47,8 percent of the students worked with tutors for two hours per week, 23,9 percent of the students worked with tutors for one hour per week, 22,1 percent of the students worked with private tutors for three to four hours per week, and 6,1 percent for more than four hours a week. The majority of pupils in preparatory courses (55,8 percent) were enrolled in courses one year before the examination or earlier, 31,2 percent three to six months prior to the examination.

### **Service providers**

In Lithuania secondary school teachers are the most popular among private tutors who give individual lessons to students and almost as popular providers of preparatory courses as university lecturers are. University professors seem to be among the most popular private tutors in countries where separate university examinations were organized, e.g. in case of Georgia. In Lithuania the picture is quite opposite as survey data show. The answer to the popularity of secondary school teachers is that the goal of taking private tutoring as reported by majority

students is scores in Matura examinations that is afterwards basis for university entrance. Basis for Matura examinations – school curriculum in all subjects is much better known for school teachers. According to survey, only 12,3 percent of the respondents took private lessons with professors of higher education institutions, 7,2 percent with professionals in the field, 16,6 percent with their own class teachers, 22,1 percent with teachers of the same school and even 40,7 percent with other teachers from the other school. Among the university students who were enrolled in preparatory courses in their final school year, 42 percent were taught by university professors, and 40,7 percent secondary school teachers.

### **Cost of private tutoring and preparatory courses**

The private tutoring itself is a difficult topic for open discussions both with teachers and students, and the most delicate area in this discussion is the payment for the services. From one side – the cost in market-driven situation depends on agreement between offer and user. But private tutoring can hardly be analyzed as a simple service: the impact of many other issues (educational, social, ethical) makes this phenomenon very complicated. Of course, there is one very straightforward way to catch information on the costs of private lessons or courses – to find corresponding advertisement in mass media and to call later providers of services on behalf of student or, what might be even better, of student's parents. It really works, as was proved during the first study in 2002. At that time answers gave the range of one hour tutoring costs of LTL 10-50 (~3-15euro). The exact price of services depended on the subject (the most "expensive" subject was foreign languages), qualification of the tutor, region (tutoring in rural region was cheaper than in capital city). These costs of LTL 10-50 had not been changed too much during last years.

Another possibility to get this financial information is asking a student. In the year 2004/2005 survey students were asked the question: "Could you approximately estimate how much did it cost for you and your parents to use the help of the tutor during your last year at school in this subject" This question was answered by about 80 percent of students who had used PT (private lessons) and by about 60 percent of students attended PT courses. The costs per *whole amount* are quite different: starting from a few tens of Litas and ending with LTL 4.000 (private lessons) and LTL 3.000 (courses) (1160 euro and 870 euro). These amounts might be compared with the average monthly salary of secondary school teacher: according to official statistics provided by the Ministry of Education and Science in the 3rd quarter of 2005 it was s LTL 1339 (~388 euro) per month. The overall picture of the diversity of the private tutoring costs and the factors effecting these costs is presented in the Table 6. The similar analysis for PT courses is not available due the small number of students taking PT courses in the country.

Table 6. The average costs of the PT (private lessons, whole tutoring course) subjects that school students most often take private lessons on

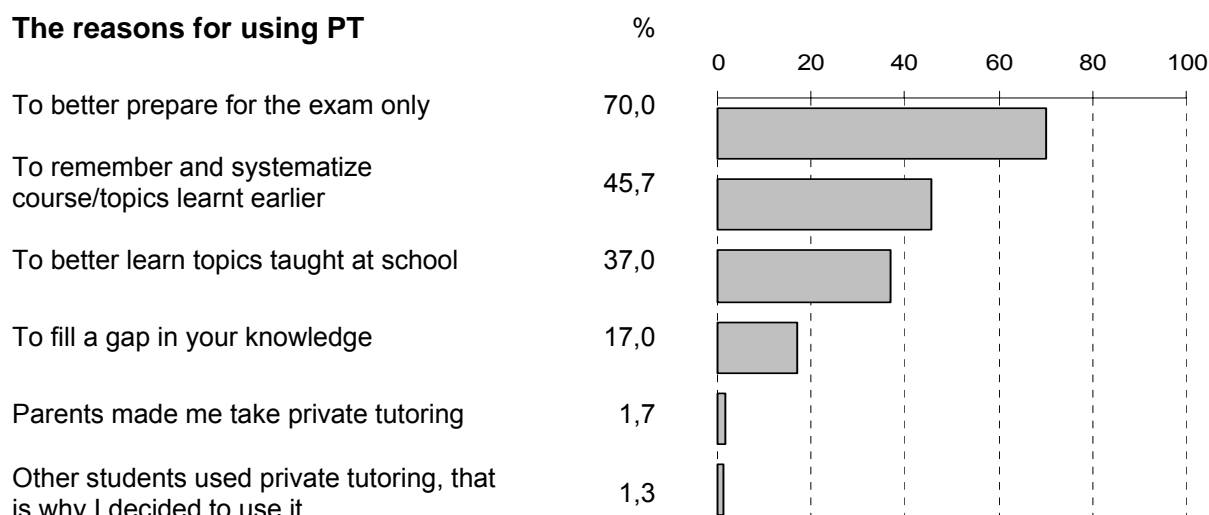
		Mean costs in euro
<i>Lithuania (whole sample)</i>		151,1
Region of the country	Vilnius	211,8
	Other big city	181,4
	Admin centre	105,8
	Other	94,2
Type of the school graduated from	Gymnasium	166,6
	Sec. school	134,7
Student's family educational background	University	163,0
	Some post secondary	132,4
	Only sec. school or lower	108,6
Family's welfare	(Very) good	173,0
	Medium	143,7
	(Very) bad	114,4
Demand of the study programme	High	163,5
	Medium	163,9
	Low	117,5

The survey data evidence (see Table 6) that families in capital city and other big cities and those with better educated parents and of better welfare are spending more on private tutoring. Not surprisingly, families of children attending gymnasias are spending more on private tutoring than those of children who attend other type secondary schools. As has been shown in previous sections, gymnasium students are from those better off families with better educated parents.. Survey data on spending on private tutoring repeatedly confirms the fact that private tutoring as a “shadow tool” that contributes directly into the reproduction of social stratification of the society.

### **Reasons of taking private tutoring lessons and attending preparatory courses**

Students pointed out that the main reason to use PT is to increase their chances to enter university (88 percent). Motivation for using the services of private tutoring is very straightforward – forthcoming exams (see Figure 2). Of course, this factor might be a bit overweighed – the survey targeted students who had just graduated from the secondary school, so examinations had played really very important role in students' life. From another side, the high stake of exams and norm-based scaling of results is good explanation of such students' answers.

Figure 2. The reasons of using PT (share of students in % surveyed students 2004).



Reviewing the results of the survey, we can arrive at a conclusion that more than half (70 percent) of the students focus private tutoring services for the preparation to the State level examinations. Another popular answer *To remember and systematize course/topics learnt earlier* (chosen by 45 percent of students) to some extent seconds the objective of better preparation to exams. This hypothesis is supported by the opinion of parents. In the survey report on *The Attitude of School Students' Parents towards Current Educational Problems* (2001) carried out by the Education Policy Center of Vilnius University it is stated that: “more than half of the parents think that a school student can not properly prepare for the examinations without the help of a private tutor”.

Not sufficient quality of education provision at schools was also the reason for students to use private tutoring. Surveyed students stress that “Students use private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly“(71.7 percent) and “„Low quality of teaching in schools is the main reason for the decision to take private tutoring“(60.7 percent). This may be explained by overloaded curriculum and /or irrelevant qualifications of teachers.

### Conclusions and recommendations

These are main *conclusions* from the year 2004 Lithuanian Private Tutoring survey:

- Private tutoring services are widely used by Lithuanian final year secondary school students as up to two thirds of them have used the services offered by private tutors or attended preparatory courses when trying to enter the universities; more than one third of school students worked with several private tutors, i.e. took PT lessons in more than one subject.

- Although a gymnasium is a school for higher motivated and gifted school students, these students were hiring private tutors even more frequently than students from general secondary schools.
- The financial situation of half of the families whose children are studying at the gymnasiums is good or even very good; students from gymnasiums are more often hiring services of private tutors.
- The parents from higher socio-educational strata invest more into the future of their children: their children are attending better schools and more often use PT services.
- The use of private tutoring services reflects not only the striving of parents to help their children but also can be treated as a matter of prestige.
- The most popular private tutors are teachers as namely they spend most time with school students, and know their needs and examination requirements perfectly well. University lecturers are also considered to be reliable private tutors, but their prices for services are significantly higher and therefore they are not so popular.
- The prices for private tutoring services are very different. Depending upon the type and the subject of private lessons as well as the person who is giving these lessons, the prices for the whole course range from LTL 10 to LTL 7000 (3-2000 euro) per one subject. Sometimes the amount spent for hiring private tutors three times exceeds that of the public school student's 'basket' (per capita state budget allocation for education).

*The reasons for private tutoring:*

- The main reason – the striving of school students to pass their examinations as good as possible and to have more chances of entering the universities.
- The belief widespread among school students that a secondary school alone can not properly prepare them for the State level *Matura* examinations.
- Teachers themselves encourage weak in studies school students to hire private tutors.
- Overloaded curriculum and inability of teachers to understandably present and teach the subject.

*Criteria determining the choice of a particular private tutor might be:*

- Tutor's qualification;
- His knowledge of school curricula and exam's requirements;
- Services' costs;
- Convenience (how and in what groups will private classes be taken);
- The goal for which a private tutor is hired (maybe the grade of the *Matura* examination; will depend on his services and maybe he will only help to systemize the course).

*Problems invoked by private tutoring:*

*Social:*

- No equal opportunities to continue studies for all students;
- Education becomes the reason for classification on the grounds of property and a matter of prestige;
- The gap between the socio-educational strata increases;
- Education of children becomes more expensive for parents;
- Parents no longer trust public school teachers.

*Educational and Ethical:*

- Conflict of interest for teacher serving same children at school and privately;
- Too heavy study load for pupils;
- Exam driven education: students are learning only for examinations;
- The values of the school and its capacities are undermined.

*Political:*

- Insufficient quality of the state educational system.

It is quite difficult to measure the scope of private tutoring from educational, social and economical points of view point. But there is even more difficult to find adequate reaction to the attempts to open this problem to the public and to plan measures for the improvement of current situation. Education policy makers usually choose one of the following attitudes towards private tutoring:

- not to notice it at all;
- to notice, but not to respond to it as it happens outside the school;
- to notice, analyze and (partly) control and regulate the process to reduce its extent.

It could be **recommended** to employ several educational, social or socio-economical strategies specified below to decrease the scope of private tutoring:

1. *Reduce social implications of private tutoring.* Monitor periodically the scope and reasons of private tutoring. Attempt to reduce the impact of differences in income of families to the results of education of children by arranging more efficient individualized assistance to the students that need additional help at school. Provide for program of mentorship at the upper secondary school level at least<sup>6</sup>. Positive discrimination regarding ‘student basket’ and financing additional services of schools in rural areas and for socially underprivileged students is recommended.

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<sup>6</sup> Mentorship would be usefull to be started from primary school, as gaps in achievements occur already in primary school

2. *To make the educational system less elite.* Equal standards should be applied to all schools, differentiation of school students according to their abilities should be avoided, and studying at the gymnasiums and universities should be available to a wider circle of students. Then the parents will not have such a strong incentive to hire a private tutor.
3. *To encourage and train teachers to work more efficiently with lower achievement students.* If the teacher is working more with weak in studies school students during the classes and helped after school classes is provided, then parents will not be so eager to hire private tutors to work with such children after classes.
4. *To lighten the study load.* Additional learning becomes necessary when the curriculum is heavily overloaded. Seeking to ensure that the school students acquired complicated programs on time, the teachers are forced to rush and they can not pay the required attention to weak in studies school students.
5. *To search for more attractive and efficient ways to facilitate learning in the class.* Some private tutors claim that they teach the children in a more interesting and efficient way than the teachers at traditional classes at school do. If it is really so, the teachers working in the formal education system have to learn from private tutors. This is one of the cases when the “shadow education” can produce the effect of a “returning wave”.
6. *To raise public awareness.* It is possible to reduce the extent of private tutoring by speaking to the public about the negative consequences of private tutoring. On the other hand, if it is not possible to completely eradicate the phenomenon of private tutoring, attempts can be made to find such education financing models that would enable to provide additional lessons for children in need, especially for those from low income families.
7. *Provide financial incentives to encourage centers of additional educational services*  
Provide voucher system for extracurricular or supplementary educational services.

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