



Demand and Supply of Supplementary Private Tutoring in Upper Primary Schools of Ethiopia

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ABSTRACT

This study was aimed at assessing the demand and supply of private tutoring in the upper primary schools of Ethiopia. To achieve this objective a cross-sectional survey research design was employed. Data were collected from 866 upper primary school students, 370 teachers, and 26 school principals. Accordingly, four regions (two from the relatively developed and two from the emerging regions) and one city administration were selected as sample regions by using simple random sampling technique. Again from each region the capital town of each sample regions was selected as sample towns through purposive sampling technique. Then from each sample town three government schools and three private schools were selected by simple random sampling technique. Finally, from each selected sample schools 50% of the students and all the teachers of the sample schools and the principal of the school were taken as sample of the study by purposive sampling techniques. Data were collected through questionnaires, interview, and focus group discussion. The result shows that students received supplementary private tutoring in addition to learning in mainstream schools and started this program when they are grade 7-8. In Ethiopian context the private tutors are the mainstream teachers of the students and other teachers in the same school. The main driving force for students to participate in the supplementary tutorial is due to their parents and friends push. Students receive the tutorial in one-to-one base. The major reason students need supplementary private tutoring is education-related purpose that is to improve their academic score.

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Keywords:

Demand, supply, private supplementary tutoring, upper primary school, Ethiopia.

Introduction

Mainstream schools, understood broadly to include both public and private schools that teach an officially-recognized curriculum, are typically recognized as the principal channel through which societies educate their young. However, around the globe they are not the only vehicle; other vehicles include private supplementary tutoring. Private supplementary tutoring has long been significant in some countries, and since the turn of the century it has expanded to have global significance (Bray, 2009; Lee, Park, & Lee, 2009).

Private tutoring is widely called shadow education because in many locations it coexists with mainstream schooling and mimics the regular school system as the school system grows, so does the shadow; and as the curriculum in the school changes, so does the curriculum in the shadow (Bray, 1999). The research literature shows that private tutoring has become a global phenomenon in at least two senses. In the first and most straightforward sense, private tutoring is found in a remarkably diverse range of societies, regardless of cultural heritage, government type, or economic structure. Second, it is both a consequence and cause of globalizing forces in education. It reflects the importance of education in occupational attainment, the roles of examinations in sorting students, and a willingness on the part of most governments to allow certain types of for-profit providers of education to operate with minimal regulation (Bray, 2013).

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Studies show that remunerated supplementary tutoring in academic subjects has a long history; it is a huge industry in a number of countries in Asia (for instance, Japan and South Korea) and spreading fast in other regions of the world including North America, Europe and Africa (Bray, 1999; Foondun, 2002; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Dang, 2007; Paviot *et al.* 2008). Incidence of remunerated supplementary tutoring is emerging in the low income countries like Bangladesh and Cambodia and increasingly reported as a major enterprise in the Eastern Europe after the collapse of socialism and introduction of market economy (Nath, 2008; Silova & Kazimzade, 2006; Bray & Bunly, 2005; Popa & Acedo, 2006).

In other words, private tutoring has been a well-spread, large-scale industry in several countries in the world, especially in East Asia. Bray and Kwok (2003) and Bray (1999) give a review of the examples on private tutoring from a wide range of countries ranging from Egypt to Taiwan. The common feature of the educational systems of the countries where the practice of private tutoring is extensive is the existence of competitive entrance examinations to the universities. For example, in South Korea, Greece, Japan and Turkey high school graduates are required to take a nation-wide university entrance examination in order to be selected into a university. In the developing countries, deficiencies in the educational system such as inadequate number of universities, large class sizes and low public educational expenditures are often cited as the reasons for the high demand for private tutoring. As such private tutoring can be regarded as a market response to the mediocrity in the public school system (Kim & Lee, 2004). However, there is a growing demand for private tutoring in many developed countries where such deficiencies are at a minimum or do not exist (Bray & Kwok, 2003; Chui, 2016). In Canada, for example, the demand for private tutoring has grown immensely and became a major business activity over the last decade (Aurini & Davies, 2004). Relatively poor performance of the students from the developed countries in major international academic tests is given as the reason for the growing demand for private tutoring in these countries.

Families who want their children to move successfully from high school to university; then to occupational careers spend more time and money on the informal educational activities (Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Kim and Lee (2004) emphasize that private tutoring is closely related to the economic competence of the families. In this regard, Stevenson and Baker (1992) ask if private tutoring is "...an avenue for the transmission of social advantages from parents to their children in the contest for educational credentials?" (p.1643). Hence, this implies that it could obscure the educational equity and could diverge economic and social advantages in favor of wealthier households.

Out-of-school study on academic subjects beyond official school hour does not happen only due to the students' wish or their interest in education rather it is a demand of the schools that their students would study at home to better prepare themselves. The schools often demand this through offering home tasks and asking the students to study the texts that have already been taught in school or to cover additional contents from the textbooks. This is usually driven by an argument that if the students keep practicing the contents of their textbooks, they will be able to memories those easily and ultimately would do better in the examinations. Parents interest in doing their children better in the examinations and compete better for higher education or in the job market also enhances the development of private tutoring. Thus, providing home based supplementary private tutoring to enhance in-school success is quite commonly used by the students and their families (Bray & Kwok, 2003). Sometimes private tutoring can result from corruption in the education system in some developing countries, where teachers require their students to go to their extra classes to supplement their income because they are poorly paid and monitored (Biswal, 1999; Buchmann, 2002).

Another reason is that cultural factors can play an important role in the development of private tutoring. Evidence from international research suggests that cultural values influence the extent to which families invest in private supplementary tutoring. More specifically it has been pointed out that high levels of tutoring are evident in countries where effort is highly valued. This might explain why tutoring is especially prevalent in Asian cultures influenced by the Confucian tradition as compared with Western cultures where more emphasis is placed on ability (Sobhy, 2012; Bray & Kwo, 2013). Although there may be some truth in this view, it tends to gloss over any cultural differences in the meaning of effort and ability. If ability is seen as an entity then effort will have only limited value, whereas if ability is seen as malleable effort has great value, as it will increase one's ability. Values of hard work and sacrifice may also be implicated in cultural attitudes towards tutoring.

Statement of the problem

Shadow education or private tutoring is a phenomenon which is common all over the world including Ethiopia. Even though there is no documented empirical evidence that is directly focused on private tutoring practice in Ethiopia a study by the World Bank (2012: 79) on corruption in Ethiopian Education sector indirectly made clear that "...poorly paid teachers supplement their income by 'private tutoring' [which] is wide spread with 40% of school officials reporting it as a practice". This study indicates that private tutoring exists in Ethiopian schools yet the empirical status of it is not known clearly.

Developing country policymakers (including in Ethiopia) recognize that education is a key determinant of individual productivity and economy wide growth (Bajaj & Belinda, 2009; Bray & Kwo, 2014). But their sector diagnoses and policy attention have focused on mainstream education and they rarely mention the emerging important education sector, the private tutoring industry.

Besides, during recent decades, private tutoring has grown to become a vast enterprise. It employs many thousands of people, consumes massive amounts of money, and demands huge amounts of time from both tutors and students (Dawson, 2010; Ireson, 2004; Kirss, 2011). However, few planners and policy makers have adequate data on private supplementary tutoring and in general; the underlying demand and supply of supplementary private tutoring is poorly understood.

In addition to the above point experience shows that in parallel to the formal education system in wide range of settings there is supplementary private tutoring. However, private tutoring systems have received much less attention, even though they also have major social and economic implications. Moreover, to the best knowledge of the researchers there is little or no research conducted that shows the demand and supply of supplementary private tutoring in Ethiopia context. Therefore, this study is a first attempt in this country to document systematically and thoroughly the underlying demand and supply of private tutoring.

The general objective of this study is to assess the demand and supply of shadow education or supplementary private tutoring in Ethiopia. More specifically, the objectives of this study are to:

1. Examine the main factors underlying the demand of private tutoring
2. Identify the main consumers of supplementary private tutoring
3. Investigate the main producers of supplementary private tutoring
4. Examine how supplementary private tutoring is given in Ethiopia

Realizing the above objectives would have a paramount importance for the policy makers in education to be aware and take necessary measures for the enhancement of this significant system of education but not addressed in the policy. It also offers insights to all concerned bodies in education into driving forces of that encourage students and parents to participate in supplementary private tutoring in Ethiopia so that they can take the necessary measure to solve the problem. In addition, it also would help for curriculum designers and educational planners to consider the implication of private tutoring in developing their plan.

Method

Design of the study

To assess the demand and supply of shadow education or private tutoring in the upper primary schools of Ethiopia a cross-sectional survey type of research design was employed. This research design is used because it helps to examine the demand and supply of extra supplementary tutoring in the elementary schools of Ethiopia. Moreover, cross-sectional survey type of design is appropriate since the study is a national survey by taking representative samples.

Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques

The population of this study is all the upper primary (grades 5-8) schools of Ethiopia. However, due to time and resource this research was conducted in some selected school found in the major town of the country. Accordingly, from the total regional states and city administrations of the country four regions (two

from the relatively developed and two from the emerging regions) and one city administration were selected as sample regions by simple random sampling technique. Again from each region the capital town of each sample regions was selected as sample towns through purposive sampling method. Then from each sample town three government and three private schools were selected by simple random sampling technique. Finally, from each selected sample schools 50 percent of the students and all the teachers of the sample schools and the principal of the school were taken as sample of the study by purposive sampling techniques. Moreover, one student from each section in the sample school was selected purposefully for focus group discussion. A total of 156 students were selected for focus group discussion. Generally, a total of 13 government schools and 13 private schools (866 students, 370 teachers and 26 principals) were taken as a sample schools due to shortage of resource (finance) and shortage of time. The following table shows the sample region/towns and number of sample students, teachers and principals.

Table 1: Study sample region and study participants

o.	Regions/ City administration	Number of sample students	Number of sample teachers	Number of sample principals
	Amhara Region	198	71	6
	Oromiya Region	192	97	6
	Benishangul-Gumuz Region	136	56	4
	Gambela Peoples' Region	82	58	4
	Addis Ababa City Administration	258	88	6
	Total	866	370	26

Instruments of data collection

To collect data from sample students, teachers, and school principals the following instrument were employed:

Questionnaire

In order to examine the underlying demand and supply factors of extra supplementary tutoring or private tutoring in Ethiopian upper primary schools, structured survey questionnaires were developed and administered to selected sample upper primary school students, and teachers. Different questionnaires were prepared for students and teachers. Generally, the questionnaires were designed in a way that would help the researchers extract detailed data about the current practice of private tutoring in Ethiopian upper primary schools. All the questionnaires were prepared in Amharic (local language) to easy communication and get relevant data from the sample respondents.

Interview

Semi-structured interview guide questions were prepared based on the review of literature for school principals on the practice of private tutoring. Interview was conducted with the school principal on the demand and supply of extra supplementary tutoring or private tutoring in upper primary students.

Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion guiding questions were prepared in advance and then students from different sections in the same school (when there are more than one sections) was selected for focus group discussion. One focus group discussion was conducted in one school.

Pilot testing of the instrument

To maintain the validity and reliability of the instrument a pilot test was conducted by selecting one private and one government schools in Jimma town. After preparing the instruments it was given for two experts in education in Jimma University to check the validity of the items and comments were incorporated. Then the instruments were prepared and administered to sample school teachers and students and then the results were processed through SPSS. The reliability coefficient of the instrument was calculated to be (.79) which is regarded as strong correlation coefficient by Jackson (2009). Then the final

instruments were administered to all sample students and teachers by the researchers and enough time was given for them to fill and return it.

Methods of Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed based on the nature of the data that is, the quantitative data collected were analyzed by using descriptive statistics such as by the use of frequency and percentage. On the other hand, qualitative data collected through the use of interview and focus group discussion were transcribed, coded based on themes and described qualitatively through the use of word narrations to support the quantitative data.

Ethical Considerations

The purpose of the study was explained to the participants and they have asked their consent to answer questions in the questionnaire or interview guide. The participants were also informed that the information they have provided will not be given to a third party. Accordingly, the information that the participants provided was used only for the study purpose. In addition, the researcher ensured confidentiality by making the participants anonymous.

Result

Who are the producers?

Regarding who provide tutoring the existing literature indicates that the range of types of personnel who provide tutoring is broad. Tutors may be trained or untrained, and full-time or part-time. The span of ages is wider than that for school teachers, who are typically aged from their early 20s to their early 60s. Some tutors are university students, who tutor primary or secondary students, and even secondary students who tutor primary or other secondary students. Other tutors are retired teachers in their 60s, 70s or beyond. To investigate who provide the supplementary tutoring in Ethiopian context, students were asked and the result is presented below.

Table 2: Who give supplementary private tutoring?

Responses	Student	
	N	%
A. Your teacher	258	30.42
B. University student	210	24.76
C. Other teacher in the same school	212	25
D. University instructors	168	19.81
Total	848	100

Of all surveyed students taking supplementary private tutoring, over 30.42 percent reported that their private tutors were their teachers. It is followed by other teacher in the same school (25%), university students (24.76%) and University instructors (19.81%).

Similarly, students were requested who encouraged them to participate in supplementary private tutoring program and their response is summarized in the following table.

Table 3: Who encouraged you to attend your supplementary private tutoring program?

Responses	Student	
	N	%
A. Your father and mother	556	66.34
B. Your relatives	40	4.77
C. Your Friends	72	8.59
D. Your teacher	170	20.28
Total	838	100

In the above Table 3, students were asked to indicate who encouraged them to attend their supplementary private tutoring program and the result revealed that a slightly more than half of the respondents (52.98%) confirmed that their father and mother were encouraging them to attend followed by

their friends (20.28%) and their teachers (13.36%) respectively. Similarly, the interview result with the principals indicate that it is the parents who need their child to get supplementary private tutoring to help them to perform better in their academics.

How it is given?

The pedagogical approach of supplementary private tutoring is one of the dimensions of shadow education. Regarding the methodology and the size of the students who are involved in the activity participants of the study were requested and their response is presented in Figure 1 below.

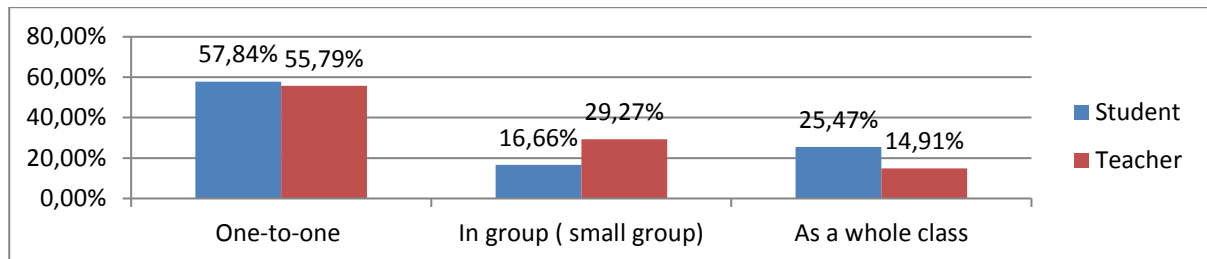


Figure 1: How supplementary private tutoring is given?

Data from the survey of students revealed that 57.84 percent of all surveyed students attended one-on-one private tutoring lessons. It is followed by 25.47 percent and 16.66 percent as a whole class and in small group respectively. Similarly, teachers were also asked the same question and their response show that they give supplementary private tutoring one to one (55.79%), in small group (29.27%), and as a whole class (14.91%).

Likewise, the focus group discussion result with the students shows that supplementary private tutoring is given mostly in one-to-one base. For instance, one of the discussant students described that “In my part supplementary private tutoring is conducted with my tutor in my home after the school time.”

Who are the consumers?

The issue of who take supplementary private tutoring is one of the topics of discussion among educators in the field. Some believe that students who seek the services of private tutors are typically good learners, with the majority getting the highest marks in school. This contradicts the usual assumption that private tutoring is a form of remedial assistance for weak students, which had been widespread during this period. To investigate who the consumers of supplementary private are tutoring in Ethiopian context students were asked and the response is presented in the Table 4.

Table 4: When did students started to take private tutoring?

Item	Student	
	N	%
Have you ever attended any form of supplementary private tutoring?		
A. Yes	579	66.85
B. No	287	33.15
Total	866	100
At what grade level you started to receive tutorial class?		
A. At kindergarten	62	10.71
B. Grade 1-4	115	19.86
C. Grade 5-6	155	26.77
D. Grade 7-8	247	42.65
Total	579	100

As it is presented in the above table, most of the sampled students 66.85% of them replied that they had participated in the private supplementary tutoring. Whereas, the rest 33.15% confirmed that they had no such experience.

In the same table students who replied they have participated in supplementary private tutoring were asked to indicate at what grade level they have started the SPT and the result shows that 42.65% confirmed that they have started when they are grade 7-8, while 26.77% and 19.86% indicated that they have started at grade 5-6 and at grade 1-4 respectively. Correspondingly, the school principals were interviewed about this

issue and one of the principal discuss that “students particularly at lower grade level participate in supplementary private tutoring because parents believe that this age is a foundational age for later education.”

Why they need it?

The high demand for private tutoring is driven by multiple stakeholders, including the students (and their desire for quality education) and tutors themselves (and their drive for more adequate financial compensation). To assess the reason why students need supplementary private tutoring, students and teachers were asked to tick reasons for having a tutoring and to add any other reasons. The summary of their result is presented in the Figure 2.

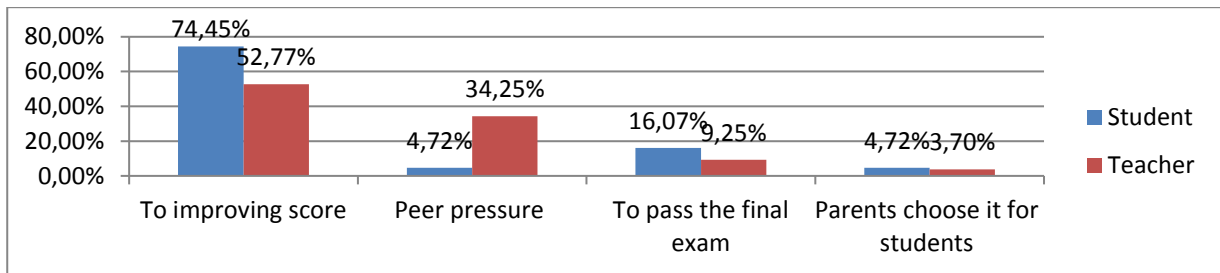


Figure 2: The main reason for the use of supplementary private tutoring

Students were asked to tick the main reason they took supplementary private tutoring and most (74.45%) of the respondents confirmed that they participate in the program to improve their score. The second most common reason for having a tutor was to help it seemed necessary in order to do as well as I would like to pass final exams (16.07%). Likewise, the sample teachers were also asked the underlined reason why students intended to participate in private supplementary private tutoring; surprisingly their response is similar that of the students most of the teachers (52.77%) and 34.25 percent of them confirmed that the main reason is to improve score and due to peer pressure respectively. Generally, both in the case of students and teachers the majority of the respondents offered education-related explanations as the main reasons for their use of private tutoring. Likewise, focus group discussion with the students also confirmed the same result. For instance, one of the discussant students stated that “the main reason why I attend supplementary private tutoring is to perform better in my school subjects.”

Finally, participant students were asked their perception on the effect of supplementary private tutoring on the improvement of their score and their response is presented below.

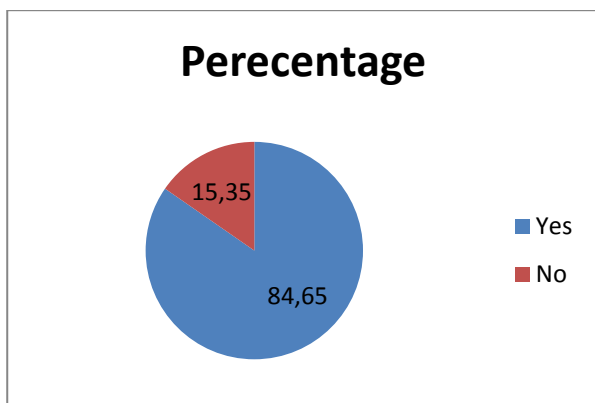


Figure 3: The contribution of supplementary private tutoring for students’ performance in school

As it is presented in the Figure 3 above a great majority of participant students (84.65%) believe that their participation in extra supplementary private tutoring helped them to attain good marks in school. Whereas, the rest of them (15.35%) replied that it did not help them to get better result in their schooling. Similarly, the interview result with the school principals also confirmed the same. One of the school principal for instance, described that “I feel that since students are supported by their tutors out of school they understand the subject matter better and improve their score in exam.”

Discussion

Based on the findings of this study, the researchers would like to discuss on the following major issue such as who are the producers and consumers of the supplementary private tutoring in Ethiopian context.

Regarding who provide tutoring the existing literature indicates that the range of types of personnel who provide tutoring is broad. It ranges from students to teachers, fresh teachers to retired teachers. The results of this study made clear that in Ethiopian context the private tutors are the mainstream teachers of the students and other teachers in the same school. This result is consistent with what scholars such as Zeng (1999) commented that in some countries, supplementary tutoring is provided by the same teachers that are responsible for the students in the mainstream classes. In other countries this practice is prohibited on the grounds that it can breed a form of corruption, with mainstream teachers deliberately failing students in order to increase the demand for private classes.

Concerning the mainstream teachers' participation in provision of supplementary private tutoring researchers such as Shafiq (2002) commented that reason why school teachers are participated in supplementary private tutoring. The author explained that the economic circumstances of mainstream teachers may be an important factor. In addition, Trent (2016) also confirmed that the normal school teachers are the one that give private tutoring. In some countries, teachers are paid so poorly that they and their families would be unable to subsist if they had to depend on official salaries. Teachers, therefore, have to secure additional incomes, with tutoring becoming a major form of income. This is a major factor behind the rise of tutoring in different countries such as in Bangladesh and Kenya, for example. Some teachers abuse their positions by teaching only half the syllabus during official hours and then declaring that if the students want to receive teaching in the second half, then they must come to the after-school tutoring classes. Furthermore, Foondun (2002) also added that some teachers are able to exert pressure not only because the students face external competition, but also because the teachers control which pupils are or are not promoted to higher grades at the end of each academic year. Parents know that if they do not pay for the tutoring, they may end up paying more in other ways because their children would probably have to repeat each academic year.

The results of this study confirmed that the students participated in the supplementary private tutoring because their fathers and mothers, their friends, and their teachers encouraged them to attend. This shows that the desire to participate in the supplementary private tutoring is not emanated from the student themselves rather it comes from external bodies such as their parent, peers and their teachers.

Another issue that needs to be raised is how supplementary private tutoring is given to the students. In other words, the pedagogical approach of supplementary private tutoring is one of the dimensions of shadow education. Accordingly, the results of this study show that most of the students are given the supplementary private tutoring in one-to-one base. This result is congruent with the results of Kwo and Bray (2011) and Gale (2016) that states much tutoring is provided on a one-to-one basis, since this approach would be able to give students more individual attention than was possible in the school system. One-to-one tutoring is obviously different from lecture-style tutoring and may even be different from small group tutoring. One-to-one tutoring might seem to be the most desirable since content and style of instruction can be tailored to the single students.

The issue of who take supplementary private tutoring is one of the topics of discussion among educators in the field. Some believe that students who seek the services of private tutors are typically good learners, with the majority getting the highest marks in school. This contradicts the usual assumption that private tutoring is a form of remedial assistance for weak students, which had been widespread during this period. Accordingly, the result of this study indicated that students at all grade level take supplementary private tutoring. This finding is consistent with the findings of Silova (2009) who conducted his study in Russia that shows the students who take supplementary private tutoring include students at all level. Likewise, Diekes (2013) also found similar result. Students seeking the services of private tutors are typically good learners, with the majority getting the highest marks in school (i.e., four and five based on a five-point grading scale). This contradicts the usual assumption that private tutoring is a form of remedial assistance for weak students, which had been widespread during the Soviet period. The students also include both sexes almost in equal proportion that is there is no gender variation.

Another point revealed in this study is related to the issue of why students need this supplementary tutoring. The existing literature in the area show that the high demand for private tutoring is driven by multiple stakeholders, including the students (and their desire for quality education) and tutors themselves (and their drive for more adequate financial compensation). As it is presented in the result part of this paper to assess the reason why students need supplementary private tutoring students were asked to tick reasons for having a tutoring and to add any other reasons. The majority of the respondents offered education-related explanations (to improve their score, to help it seemed necessary in order to do as well as I would like to pass final exams) as the main reasons for their use of private tutoring.

Research findings by many scholars in the area also substantiate the above idea. For instance, Kim and Park (2010) and Huang (2013) mentioned in their study that the major reasons students involved in the supplementary private tutoring program include to help them pass an exam or entry test for secondary school increase, do well in exams and tests filling a gap in knowledge, memorizing and systematizing topics learned earlier, and better understanding topics taught at school.

Conclusions

Based on the finding of the study the following conclusions are formulated:

One of the features of supplementary private tutoring in Ethiopia is that school teachers are the ones who give this tutoring for their own students. In this case, it seems that teachers might be suspected in creating demand for tutoring among pupils in their mainstream classes. The teachers in general have an understanding that the salary they receive from their profession does not meet the needs of their living. Thus, they need additional income. It is also popular among the teachers that if the people of other profession say the doctors are allowed to do private practice why the teachers would not be allowed to provide private tutoring.

Private tuition classes are wide spread and growing phenomenon in Ethiopia especially among the students who take national examinations (they started to receive this program when they are grade 7-8). This is a growing concern for education policy makers as Ethiopia provides free education up to university level. The private tuition classes may increase the social inequalities and damage the purpose of free education policy.

Pedagogically supplementary private tutoring is given in one-to-one base, this approach is advantageous for the students in a sense that it helps to give due attention for individual students than teaching in a small or large groups.

It is the parents who send their children to supplementary private tutoring programs. They send them due to several reasons. Firstly, national examinations have become more competitive in recent time. In order to pass competitive examinations, students seem to attend private tuition classes. Secondly, the quality of education in public schools may be low because many schools have lack of educational facilities. Due to weak formal education, private tutoring is rapidly becoming an alternative to public schools. Generally, education is highly valued in Ethiopian society. Private tutoring is perceived by many as a means to enhance educational opportunities that facilitate social mobility.

Recommendation

Based on the main findings and conclusions of the study the following recommendations are formulated:

The Ethiopian government should recognize the limitations of its schools, stating that while their current catch-up arrangements are effective for many, they know that they are not working for all pupils. Some need a level of support which is beyond their control to deliver in the context of whole class or small groups. Without an individualized approach it will be very hard for this group to make the progress needed to achieve their full potential.

In the long-term, Ethiopian policy-makers should strive for basic regulation of private tutoring. This means that the Ministry could regulate the nature, form, and quality of private tutoring offered to students. Given a growing demand for private tutoring, some form of government control is necessary to alleviate the negative impact of private tutoring on mainstream schools and students. In particular, it is imperative to

consider such regulatory actions as (1) prohibiting teachers from tutoring their own students for financial gain and from offering private tutoring lessons during school hours, (2) starting the practice of organizing free private tutoring lessons for disadvantaged students, and (3) enforcing taxation on private tutoring, which could significantly increase the state education budget and aid necessary education reform initiatives.

One of the strategies that need to be taken to reduce the demand for private tutoring is through improving the quality of mainstream education. Real change can be achieved in a sustainable manner only if the quality and relevance of mainstream education is improved through such systemic efforts as developing new curriculum and standards, ensuring adequate teacher remuneration, and improving the overall learning environment in schools.

Moreover, another effort that should be taken to reduce the demand for private tutoring is through decreasing competitiveness among students. The demand for private tutoring can be reduced by decreasing the culture of competitiveness among students. When the demand for private tutoring arises from social competition and a desire by parents to get their children ahead, it can be reduced by avoiding an exclusive reliance on centralized test scores for university admissions and taking into consideration other student learning and civic experiences.

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