Private Tutoring in Mongolia

Mongolian Education Alliance, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia
and
Open Society Institute's Education Support Programme,
Budapest, Hungary

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

When examining the issue of private tutoring, one automatically assumes that there are only benefits in providing and receiving such a service. From the vantage point of the providers/tutors, he/she is supplying a service to a population of students who demands it. From a student's/tutee's perspective, he/she is gaining a benefit that is necessary for him/her to succeed in school. Whether the benefit is to pass an examination or to gain a better understanding of a body of knowledge, the student is learning. What argument could better challenge that result? However, upon closer examination, circumstances in which the private tutoring industry exists unveil many more complicated issues, which ultimately have negative consequences on the education system and all of the participants involved. The consequences impact the quality of education, the financial stability of households, the moral and ethical values of tutors and cause undue academic pressure on students.

Prior to its transition to a market economy in the early 1990s, studies on the issue of private tutoring had not been conducted in Mongolia. Indeed, very little is known on whether the private tutoring market has had deep historical and traditional roots. It also seems that, if any, the legal regulatory framework set forth by the government of Mongolia is weak. From the plethora of advertisements posted in college and university buildings, it becomes abundantly clear that private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses are available and that, if any, punitive measures are ineffective.

The study revealed that in Mongolia over two-thirds of students have participated in private tutoring or a preparatory course. The capital, Ulaanbaatar has the largest figure at 73.3% with soums (villages) having 59.0%.

The number of students enrolled in high demand fields were 60.4 %, with 26.9 % in average demand fields, and 12.7 % in low demand fields. Concurrently, females consistently outnumber males in all demand fields.

Findings indicated that parents with higher educational levels provided more support to their children for private tutoring. For example, childrens' parents who had a bachelors' degree or higher ranged from 70.5% - 70.7% while other students' parents who simply had a secondary education was 62.6%-65.0 %.

According to students, the foremost reason is to better prepare for exams - topping at 43%. This primary reason elucidates how students perceive the importance of the exam and the future outcome it holds. Students realize that the exam result will determine not only what they study at the university but also future earning prospects.

The subjects in which students are being are mathematics leading with over half at 54.2% followed by chemistry at 12.7% and in third, Mongolian at 12.0% - the native language of students.

The study found that for private tutoring sessions, students were found in groups of 5 students or more at 53.5%. Next came 2-3 students per session at 17.2%, with groups of 4-5 coming in at 15.4% and finally individually at 13.9%.

Students began either private tutoring or preparatory courses at different times of the academic year. Therefore, the findings examine how often students were tutored prior to the exam. Of the 958 students who were privately tutored, 15.4 % of them cited having regular sessions throughout the academic school year while 8.1 % had it occasionally. 44.2% had it on a regular basis throughout the last semester/trimester whereas 32.3 % had it occasionally.

In the study, the hourly duration of a tutoring period was anywhere from forty-five minutes to one-hour and was considered to be equivalent.

Parents of students incurred financial costs to have their child privately tutored or enrolled in preparatory courses. In one academic year, for high demand fields, the total average amount spent per subject course was MNT 65,671 = US$55.00, for average demand fields MNT 47,893 = US$40.00, and low demand fields, MNT 50,528 = US$42.00. In total, the mean cost was MNT 59,411 = US$50.00.

4.1% of students felt that the private tutoring did not help at all, 67.5% found it helpful to a certain degree, 20.5% thought it helped greatly, and 7.9% did not know. In short, 88.0% of students who received private tutoring found it advantageous reaffirming the notion that the quality of teaching does not seem to be sufficient in preparing students to pursue higher education degrees.

Current international research on private tutoring shows that governments respond from four main policy approaches (Bray, 2003). The first response, a *laissez-faire* approach, is to simply ignore the problem. Extreme to the *laissez-faire* approach is the

prohibition of private tutoring on a systemic level. The third approach, recognition and regulation, is a more active one on the part of the government. It recognizes that the issue of private tutoring exists and regulates it in various ways. The fourth approach actively encourages the service of supplemental private tutoring.

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

I. INTRODUCTION

The issue of private tutoring and its wide scope impact on education has been understudied in many post-socialist countries. Although it is not a new phenomenon and in fact is universal to many countries, it has only recently come into the fore of critical issues in education among post-socialist countries. Part and parcel to this is the expanding growth of the private tutoring industry in these countries and its critical effects on education. Research, central to understanding the phenomenon, is now seeing a flourish of studies in post-socialist countries. Thus, Mongolia falls into this wave of research.

When examining the issue of private tutoring, one automatically assumes that there are only benefits in providing and receiving such a service. From the vantage point of the providers/tutors, he/she is supplying a service to a population of students who demands it. From a student's/tutee's perspective, he/she is gaining a benefit that is necessary for him/her to succeed in school. Whether the benefit is to pass an examination or to gain a better understanding of a body of knowledge, the student is learning. What argument could better challenge that result? However, upon closer examination, circumstances in which the private tutoring industry exists unveil many more complicated issues, which ultimately have negative consequences on the education system and all of the participants involved. The consequences impact the quality of education, the financial stability of households, the moral and ethical values of tutors and cause undue academic pressure on students.

Tutors, who are often secondary school subject teachers, intentionally and unintentionally reduce and misuse the curriculum in order to cause demand for private tutoring. This not only interferes with the larger goals of the curriculum but also lessens its quality. More specifically, teachers often knowingly omit areas of the curriculum so that it may be used as tutoring content. This type of action ensures that there is a demand for private tutoring thus guaranteeing teachers both tutees and additional income. Many teachers explain that there is too much subject content to teach and not enough time to do so; therefore, they have no choice but to teach the content in the form of private tutoring. This leads to moral and ethical dilemmas on the part of teachers: Are teachers being

straightforward and is there too much content in the curriculum for teachers to teach it? As civil servants, are teachers radically underpaid? Do they feel that in order to financially sustain themselves and their independents they must provide supplemental tutoring services? Conversely, are teachers, by design, slowing down the teaching regimen in order to maintain a segment of missing curriculum to be later used as private tutoring content and simply gaining additional income for their own pleasures?

The financial burden that private tutoring induces on family households is another key issue to explore. Whether a family is wealthy or poor, there is always an additional financial responsibility in eliciting private tutoring services. Certainly, for high-income households there is less of a burden but a burden nonetheless. For average income households, there is a financial strain on parents and the entire household. The economic constraint on low-income families may be so grave that the service is not affordable at all. Thus, these determinants widen the gap of social inequalities by allowing the wealthy to have other advantages that the poor do not.

Lastly, there is the undue stress on students to academically perform. Students recognize the importance of performing well in school. They also understand the crucial role school exit and college entrance exams play in their college choices and potential professions. This leads to an undue pressure on students to prepare for the exams via private tutoring and preparatory courses. Although the supplemental service provides another means by which students gain knowledge, it can have adverse affects on their social welfare.

Research Goals and Objectives

The foremost goal of the private tutoring study was to draw attention to the issue among parents, teachers, tutors, students, the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science (MOECS) and policymakers within other government ministries. As an understudied and overlooked area within the education sector, interest must be brought to it in order to address key concerns. The issue compromises the very core of what a quality education should be. It not only affects the education sector but also seeps into other social areas such as poverty, corruption, and moral and ethical values. Thus, the goal was to underline the pervasiveness of the problem and recommend action in both the public and private sectors. More specifically, the study's results are to be used as a tool for

dissemination to parents who bear the additional burden of financing private tutoring. As the report will show, the access to this service by wealthier parents widens the disparity among those who can afford it and those who cannot and further deepens the existing chasm of social capital and educational inequities.

In tandem with these larger goals was the direct intention of providing educational researchers the foundation from which other studies can be conducted. A critical issue for both educational researchers and policymakers, further studies will allow a more exhaustive understanding of private tutoring's nuances.

The objectives of the study were to 1) examine the reasons behind private tutoring, 2) determine which population of first-year college students participate in private tutoring, 3) discover the settings in which private tutoring takes place, 4) identify which areas of academic study drive students and parents to participate in private tutoring, 5) ascertain who is providing the service of private tutoring, and 6) calculate the financial cost of private tutoring to parents and households.

Research Methodology

The research study's analysis was quantitative. It used a stratified sampling method and drew from a population of first-year university and college students. The following variables were defined: 1) location - based on economic regions to encompass the whole country (see Table 1), 2) type of institution - public or private, 3) category of institution - accredited or non-accredited (for type & category see Table 2), 4) demand for particular academic programs - high, average, and low (see Table 3), and 5) size of institution per student enrollment (see Table 4).

Table 1: 2004-2005 Total Enrollment Number of First-Year University/College Students by Region and Professional Field/Academic Program

Professional Field/ Academic Program	Total Number of Students

		West region /Kohl, Bo, Uv, Za, Go/	Khangai region /Or, Kho, Bu, Ad, Ov, Bkh/	Central region /Se, Da, To, Du, Do, Gs, Om/	East region /Dd, Khe, Su/	Ulaanbaatar	Total	Percentage from Total
14	Education	533	465	121	148	2376	3643	10.7%
21	Art	0	0	0	0	962	962	2.8%
22	Humanities	79	106	44	45	3782	4056	11.9%
31	Social and Behavioral Science	96	161	15	0	3293	3565	10.4%
32	Journalism and Communication	0	0	0	0	561	561	1.6%
34	Business and Management	230	531	463	75	6614	7913	23.1%
38	Law	49	0	0	0	1742	1791	5.2%
42	Life Sciences	0	0	0	0	260	260	0.8%
44	Physical Sciences	0	0	71	0	628	699	2.0%
46	Mathematics and Statistics	0	0	0	0	508	508	1.5%
48	Computer Science	19	22	0	16	1027	1084	3.2%
52	Engineering	0	127	134	0	2096	2357	6.9%
54	Industry	11	163	88	0	1308	1570	4.6%
58	Architecture and Construction	0	0	6	0	761	767	2.2%
62	Agriculture, Forestry and Fish Farming	0	0	99	0	678	777	2.3%
64	Veterinary Medicine	0	0	0	0	165	165	0.5%
72	Medical Science	103	0	205	0	1479	1787	5.2%
76	Social Security	0	0	0	32	219	251	0.7%
81	Service	0	0	0	0	580	580	1.7%
84	Transportation	0	0	0	0	24	24	0.1%
85	Environmental Science	18	32	27	0	538	615	1.8%
86	Security	0	0	0	0	252	252	0.7%
	Total	1138	1607	1273	316	29853	34187	100%

Table 2: Total Enrollment Number of First-Year Students by **Type and Category of Institutions**

	Western Region	Khangai Region	Central Region	Eastern Region	Ulaanbaatar	Total # of Students	% from Total
Type and Category of Institution	1138	1607	1273	316	29853	34187	100.0
Accredited Public Institution	986	947	830	225	15297	18285	53.5
Accredited Private Institutions		35			7182	7217	21.1
Non-accredited Public Institutions	68	294		91	1111	1564	4.6
Non-accredited Private Institutions	84	331	443		6263	7121	20.8

Table 3: Total Enrollment Number of First-Year Students by Region and Professional Field/Academic Program by Demand (High, Average, Low)

Professional Field/ Academic Program		Western Region	Khangai Region	Central Region	Eastern Region	Ulaanbaatar	**Total**
34	Business and Management	218	306	463	0	6601	7588
38	Law	49	0	0	0	1501	1550
72	Medical Science	103	0	205	0	1479	1787
48	Computer Science	0	0	0	0	999	999
14	Education	507	465	121	148	2376	3617
52	Engineering	0	113	134	0	2041	2288
42	Life Sciences	0	0	0	0	260	260
44	Physical Sciences	0	0	71	0	628	699
62	Agriculture	0	0	99	0	678	777
	Total	877	884	1093	148	16563	19565

In determining the population's sample, it was essential to consider the variables in a particular sequence. First, location and economic regions were established to make certain that all areas of the country were included. This was followed by type of institution - public or private, and then category - accredited and non-accredited which ensured that proportionate numbers of each were involved. Professional fields/academic programs were then chosen according to demand of high, average, and low. This was done concurrently with the previously mentioned variables. Thus, by using Table 1, it pointed to business and management, law, medical science, and computer science as high demand fields, secondary school teaching and engineering as average demand while natural sciences and agriculture were indicated as low demand. Therefore, these were the academic programs selected for the sample. Based on the enrolled number of students in each professional field, corresponding numbers were determined to proportionately represent each group of students per academic program. This also necessitated increasing the sampling size to 1500 to adequately represent the population. Table 4 shows the final sample involved by region and professional field.

Table 4: Total Number of Participating Students in Private Tutoring Study by Professional Field and Region

Professional Field/ Academic Program		Western Region	Central Region	Eastern Region	Ulaanbaatar	**Total**
34	Business and Management	10	40		500	550
38	Law	10			90	100
72	Medical science		30		120	150
48	Computer				100	100
14	Education	40	10	40	160	250
52	Engineering		30		170	200
42	Life sciences				40	40
44	Physical science				50	50
62	Agriculture		10		50	60
	Total	60	120	40	1280	1500

Individual team members traveled to the different regions to conduct the survey. When the survey was complete, the data was entered into Microsoft Excel by performing data faults followed by a random sampling method to ensure accuracy. Filtering was then used for a final check before transferring it to the statistical software, SPSS.

Research Limitations

As mentioned earlier, the private tutoring study was the first of its kind in Mongolia as there had been no previous research conducted on the topic. Accordingly, literature from which to draw upon for both research design and the current condition was nonexistent and necessitated the researchers to initiate all related research components.

The research did not include qualitative analysis and did not allow for triangulation of findings from which more robust explanations may have been identified. The study highlighted one population of students, first-year college students. This neither speaks to other student populations that utilize the service nor does it explore the justifications for affecting its use. Finally, it does not include a quantitative or qualitative analysis of an essential variable in the private tutoring formula, the tutors. To elicit truthful and accurate information from this group is much more problematic largely due to the perceived corruption attached to it and the judgments made on those who provide it.

The research sampling size was based on the international comparison methodology and though the sampling size of 1000 was sound Mongolia's large number of higher education institutions and low enrollment rates among them required a substantial increase. However, the research study's time constraints prevented increasing

the sampling population to an ideal number. As an adequate representation, fixed numbers were set at 22 institutions and 1500 students. Allowing for sampling errors, the total number of students equaled 1476. In proportion to both student enrollment figures and the number of institutions, the researchers felt this was an accurate representation.

Particular indicators should be used with caution. Respondents indicated one tutoring session as one hour, which may not actually be the case across the board. The amount spent for a tutoring session was left unanswered as many of the respondents indicated that they were unaware of the information because their parents had paid for it. Finally, many respondents were uncertain of whether or not classmates received private tutoring and in which subjects.

II. CONTEXT

Prior to its transition to a market economy in the early 1990s, studies on the issue of private tutoring had not been conducted in Mongolia. Indeed, very little is known on whether the private tutoring market has had deep historical and traditional roots. It also seems that, if any, the legal regulatory framework set forth by the government of Mongolia is weak. From the plethora of advertisements posted in college and university buildings, it becomes abundantly clear that private tutoring lessons and preparatory courses are available and that, if any, punitive measures are ineffective.

Organizational Structure of the Education System

Mongolia's current education system is divided into the following categories: 1) preschool (3-7 years of age), 2) 4-year primary school (8-12 years of age), 3) 4-year lower secondary school (12-16 years of age), and 4) 2-year upper secondary school (17-18 years of age) and 1-2 ½ years of technical and vocational school (17-19 ½ years of age). Higher education consists of: 1) diploma (3 years), 2) bachelor (4-5 years), 3) masters (1-2 years), and 4) Ph.D. (3-4 years).

Poverty, Literacy, and Gross Enrollment Ratios

According to UNDP 2003 statistics, 36% of Mongolians were below the national poverty line. Despite this Mongolia has ostensibly maintained a relatively high literacy rate though it has never been as high as it was post 1990. As of 2003, it had a literacy rate of 98% among its 15 years of age and older population (World Bank, 2004). Its gross enrollment rate for the primary level, in 2002, was 100.8% yet significantly fell to 83.7% for secondary level.

Repetition Ratios

From available statistics, the patterns for students who repeat grades (repeaters) have shown a varied trend. In 1995-1996, repeater figures were 1, 970 with a decline to 1,566 by 2000-2001 and then making an upward trend to reach 1,722 in 2002-2003.

Graduate Ratios

The number of graduates among Mongolian secondary students has risen in the last several years. In 1995-1996, data revealed that general secondary completion figures rose from 48,590 students to 131,570.

Secondary School Exit and College Entrance Exams

In the spring of their final year, secondary school students in grade 10 must take a school exit exam. For those students wishing to enter college or university, they must also undertake the college entrance exam for the college or university in which they wish to study.

Higher Education

In 1990, the beginning of the transition period, Mongolia's graduation rate from higher education institutions was low at approximately 15% (Government of Mongolia and UNDP, 1997). In the mid to late 1990s, under the Asian Development Bank's Policy

Reform Program, the legal and regulatory framework that prohibited the establishment of private schools and the privatizing of selected state higher education institutions was removed and led to an exponential growth of higher education institutions (Asian Development Bank, 2003). As of 2002, there were 47 public institutions, 129 private ones, and 7 foreign-run enterprises. This led to an increase in higher education enrollment rates. The gross enrollment rate at the tertiary level in 1995 was 15.2% increasing to 33.1% in 2000 and jumping to a high of 37% in 2002 (World Bank, 2002). These numbers show that students had a number of choices in choosing an institution in which to study but they also had to qualify to enter.

Gender Ratios

Mongolia has unique circumstances in that females out-perform males. For general secondary education enrollments, females are higher than males. Of this same level of education, the drop out rate, as a percentage of enrollments, for males is twice that of females. Yet, closing the gap, male repeaters, by a relatively small percentage, represent higher numbers than females. As far as graduates, though still less than females, males have shown an improvement and have demonstrated an upward trend in proportion over the same period (1995-1996 and 2002-2003). Lastly, the number of males who do not enroll in school at all is significantly higher than that of females. Some of these indicators reveal that the gap between genders is narrowing.

Public Expenditure on Education

Although public expenditure on education is higher than in most transition countries, total spending has fallen and remains below the 1990 level of 12%. In 1995-1996, it declined to 6.3% percent of GDP, gradually increasing to 6.6 % of GDP by 2000 and to 9% by 2002 (World Bank, 2002).

Salaries

Teachers' salaries are a part of the public education budget. The budget is categorized into either variable costs or fixed costs. Teachers' salaries and bonuses fall into the variable costs and constitute approximately 73.4% of education expenditures. On average, the base salary for a teacher is MNT 47,000 per month, which is approximately US$39.00.[1] However, the salary is augmented with bonuses.

Table 5: 2004 Education Sector Salary Scale (monthly)

Minimum Pay Scale Classifications	TU-1	TU-2	TU-3	TU-4	TU-5	TU-6	TU-7	TU-8	TU-9	TU-10	TU-11	TU-12	TU-13	TU-14
1	40000	40400	41400	42600	43400	47000	50500	54100	57600	62100	66500	72800	79900	87000
2	40400	41400	42600	43200	46300	50100	53600	57200	60700	65300	73200	79000	85200	94000
3	41400	42600	44000	45700	49200	53200	56800	60300	63800	68400	79900	85100	90500	100900
4	44000	45500	46700	48200	52100	56300	59600	63400	67000	71500				
5	46900	48400	49200	50500	55000	59400	62300	66500	70100	74500				

Bonuses include the following:

1) professional grade allowances: 15% (minimum) for advisers, 10% for leader teachers, 5% for teaching methodology teachers
2) professional skills allowances: payable up to 30% of total monthly salary
3) academic degree allowances: doctorates - 20% of monthly salary, professors - 10% of monthly salary, associate doctorates - 15% of monthly salary, associate professors - 5% of monthly salary
4) general secondary schools and kindergarten allowances:
    a. class teachers (i.e. those with administrative as opposed to teaching): 1,000-3,500 togrogs per month
    b. teachers who prepare improved teaching aids for their students: 800 - 2,500 togrogs per month
    c. teachers who check and correct papers: 1,000-3,000 togrogs per month
    d. teachers who run extra-curricular courses - 1 equivalent hourly wage for each hour spent
    e. teachers who lead/manage a methodology session - 1,700 togrogs per
        i. month

[1] Exchange rate at time of study: MNT1200=US$1.00

f. teachers who give presentations/case studies to colleagues- 1,000 togrogs per month
g. Overtime - 1 equivalent hourly wage multiplied by the over-time hour(s)

5) differential allowance: to encourage teachers to work in remote areas where there are recruitment problems: 8% of basic salary in aimags and 10% in soums

III. FINDINGS

Who is using Private Tutoring?

The study revealed that in Mongolia over two-thirds of students have participated in private tutoring or a preparatory course. The capital, Ulaanbaatar has the largest figure at 73.3% with soums (villages) having 59.0% (see Table 6). In between those figures fall those for Darkhan and Erdenet and other provinces, the two former being the second and third largest cities in Mongolia, respectively, after Ulaanbaatar. Thus, the figures demonstrate that although students in soums do not meet urban student numbers, they are still accessing the service in substantial record.

Table 6: Students' Participation in Private Tutoring or a Preparatory Course by Location

			Have you participated in private tutoring or a prepatory course?		
			Yes	No	Total
Where did you graduate from secondary school?	Ulaanbaatar	Count	411	150	561
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
	Darkhan	Count	43	24	67
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	64.2%	35.8%	100.0%
	Erdenet	Count	45	24	69
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	65.2%	34.8%	100.0%
	Other Provinces	Count	399	133	532
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Village	Count	144	100	244
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	59.0%	41.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	1042	431	1473
		% within Where did you graduate from secondary school?	70.7%	29.3%	100.0%

Demand of Professional Fields/Academic Programs

Of the sampling population, the findings showed that the numbers increased as the demand fields became more difficult to enter. The number of students enrolled in high demand fields were 60.4 %, with 26.9 % in average demand fields, and 12.7 % in low demand fields. Concurrently, females consistently outnumber males in all demand fields (see Table 7). This further strengthens an array of education indicators that females outperform males.

Table 7: Demand of Fields in Education by Gender

			Gender		
			male	female	Total
Demand of Fields in Education	high	Count	329	547	876
		% within Gender	58.6%	61.5%	60.4%
	average	Count	176	214	390
		% within Gender	31.4%	24.0%	26.9%
	low	Count	56	129	185
		% within Gender	10.0%	14.5%	12.7%
Total		Count	561	890	1451
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8: Students by Former Secondary School (Location) and Demand

Secondary School by Location	Demand of Fields of Education			Total
	high	medium	low	
Ulaanbaatar	48.9	23.2	18.4	38.1
Darkhan	4.4	5.1	4.2	4.5
Erdenet	4.4	3.3	8.9	4.7
Other Provinces	30.9	47.3	37.4	36.1
Villages	11.5	21.1	31.1	16.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With Ulaanbaatar's large segment of the country's population, Table 8 shows that there are a significantly higher number of students who enter all demand fields but particularly high demand ones. There will be discussion on the advantages Ulaanbaatar students have over other student populations in later sections of the report.

Turning to specific professional fields/academic programs by demand (see Table 9), findings indicate that a large margin of students took tutoring courses to advance their chances of entering the field of business and administration. These numbers were followed by education and engineering respectively while agriculture ranked last. Computer Science and Health placed in the middle for the number of tutoring courses

taken. Students who took preparatory courses followed somewhat similar patterns; however, numbers were slightly adjusted putting health above education.

From secondary school graduates who received private tutoring in their final year of school, 67.1 % were from Ulaanbaatar, 59.7 % from Darkhan, 62.3 % from Erdenet, 72.0 % from other provinces, and 56.6 % from soums, see Table 10. From these figures, we can say that the other provinces as a whole group received more private tutoring in comparison to other locations. However, Ulaanbaatar easily led in numbers when evaluating by single areas.

Table 9: Fields of Education in the ISCED by Demand and Number of Private Tutoring Subjects for University Entrance Exam

			In how many subjects were you tutored during the last year of schooling to prepare for the university entrance exam?				
			None	1	2	3 or more	Total
Fields of Education in the ISCED	Education	Count	98	78	56	9	241
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	40.7%	32.4%	23.2%	3.7%	100.0%
	Business and Administration	Count	135	244	101	20	500
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	27.0%	48.8%	20.2%	4.0%	100.0%
	Law	Count	31	26	29	12	98
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	31.6%	26.5%	29.6%	12.2%	100.0%
	Life and Physical sciences	Count	31	27	24	3	85
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	36.5%	31.8%	28.2%	3.5%	100.0%
	Computing	Count	59	59	27	3	148
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	39.9%	39.9%	18.2%	2.0%	100.0%
	Engineering	Count	76	65	48	8	197
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	38.6%	33.0%	24.4%	4.1%	100.0%
	Agriculture	Count	25	18	14	4	61
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	41.0%	29.5%	23.0%	6.6%	100.0%
	Health	Count	40	58	37	11	146
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	27.4%	39.7%	25.3%	7.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	495	575	336	70	1476
		% within Fields of Education in the ISCED	33.5%	39.0%	22.8%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 10: Number of Private Tutoring Subjects by Location of Secondary Schools

			In how many subjects were you tutored in the last year of schooling to prepare for the university entrance exam?				
			None	1	2	3 or more	Total
	Ulaanbaatar	Count	185	246	105	25	561
		% within	33.0%	43.9%	18.7%	4.5%	100.0%
	Darkhan	Count	27	25	13	2	67
		% within	40.3%	37.3%	19.4%	3.0%	100.0%
	Erdenet	Count	26	24	16	3	69
		% within	37.7%	34.8%	23.2%	4.3%	100.0%
	Other Provinces	Count	149	207	144	32	532
		% within	28.0%	38.9%	27.1%	6.0%	100.0%
	Village	Count	106	73	57	8	244
		% within	43.4%	29.9%	23.4%	3.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	493	575	335	70	1473
		% within	33.5%	39.0%	22.7%	4.8%	100.0%

Socioeconomic Level

Findings indicated that parents with higher educational levels provided more support to their children for private tutoring. For example, childrens' parents who had a bachelors' degree or higher ranged from 70.5% - 70.7% while other students' parents who simply had a secondary education was 62.6%-65.0 %. Therefore, one may surmise that more educated parents recognize the various potential from which children profit when privately tutored or enrolled in preparatory courses. Parents and students sometimes regard the rationale for private tutoring very differently and its prospective benefits. For some, the reason may be "pure" i.e. from simply appreciating the academic knowledge and skills the student gains. Conversely, for others, it may have a much more narrow function such as the future outcome of university entrance exams - a more in depth look at the reasons will be explored in a later section.

Tied up in whether or not parents support private tutoring is their financial capacity to do so. Cases in point are those parents who are in upper positions of employment - 77.8% - 83.0 % of children whose parents were in management, professionals in the private sector, and company owners or shareholders had higher rates

of private tutoring. However, for students whose parents were skilled workers, herdsmen, and unemployed were markedly less with percentages ranging between 54.4% and 64.4%. This indicates that for the poor it is more difficult to financially support children in the form of private tutoring. Moreover, according to students who did not participate in private tutoring or preparatory courses and of those who deemed themselves as being of average welfare, 60% indicated that preparatory courses were too expensive (see Table 11).

Table 11: Students who Did Not attend preparatory courses by Family Welfare

Reason for not participating in preparatory course(s)	Family Welfare Estimate					Total
	Very good	Good	Medium	Bad	Very Bad	
I could do well without attending preparatory course(s).	2	32	185	53	5	277
	.7%	11.6%	66.8%	19.1%	1.8%	100.0%
Preparatory course(s) was/were too expensive.	1	3	114	67	5	190
	.5%	1.6%	60.0%	35.3%	2.6%	100.0%
I had no information about high-quality preparatory course(s) otherwise I would have participated.	1	9	54	11	1	76
	1.3%	11.8%	71.1%	14.5%	1.3%	100.0%
I used private tutoring.	3	31	147	23	3	207
	1.4%	15.0%	71.0%	11.1%	1.4%	100.0%
Friends helped me free of charge.	1	12	102	30		145
	.7%	8.3%	70.3%	20.7%		100.0%
When I realized I needed preparatory courses, it was too late to enroll.	1	6	38	5	2	52
	1.9%	11.5%	73.1%	9.6%	3.8%	100.0%
Other	1	4	42	11	1	59
	1.7%	6.8%	71.2%	18.6%	1.7%	100.0%

Reasons for Private Tutoring

The following table speaks to the previously mentioned point that the reasons for taking private tutoring vary widely. However, according to students, the foremost reason is to better prepare for exams - topping at 43%. This primary reason elucidates how students perceive the importance of the exam and the future outcome it holds. Students realize that the exam result will determine not only what they study at the university but also future earning prospects.

The three subsequent reasons: 1) to remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier, 2) to better learn topics taught at school and 3) to fill a gap in knowledge.

Students at 55.5% felt it was possible to pass secondary exit exams without tutoring yet on the other hand, only 31.2% felt it was possible to do so for the university entrance exam. This addresses the concern that the quality and intensity of teaching is deficient not only in topic content but also the level in which it is penetrated. Thus, students feel that to meet the demands of exit and entrance exams they must step outside of the formal school setting and receive external assistance from other individuals and institutions - public and private.

Table 12: Reasons for Receiving Private Tutoring

Reason	Number of Students	% within Total
To better learn topics taught at school	288	19.5%
To remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier	430	29.1%
To fill a gap in knowledge	270	18.3%
To better prepare for the exam only	635	43.0%
Parents' request	102	6.9%
Classmates were involved	24	1.6%

Who is providing Private Tutoring?

The demand for private tutoring and preparatory courses are being met both by individuals in the private and public sector. For private tutoring and preparatory courses, students' class teachers, other teachers within the student's school, teachers from other schools, lecturers and professors from higher education institutions, university students, and professionals in the field of study are supplying the service.

The figure, 38.9% (see Table 13), shows that secondary school students are being tutored by his/her subject teacher. In Ulaanbaatar, however, the number of students, at 20.2%, who are being tutored by his /her class teacher, soars to 40.6 % for those students who use lecturers and professors of specific subjects as their primary providers of service. In comparison to Darkhan and Erdenet, the two most populated cities in the country after Ulaanbaatar, the numbers diverge considerably. Darkhan shows only 20.0% while Erdenet reportedly had no students using these types of tutors. In essence, an absence of higher education institutions in rural areas leaves local students no choice but to use secondary school teachers. However, the fact that Erdenet university professors are second to Darkhan (see Table 18) in being the highest paid tutors among all locations, may contribute to why there is a lack of use; students simply cannot afford the high

tutoring rate set forth by university professors and lecturers. Further indication is found in the nonexistent numbers of these types of tutors in mathematics, chemistry, and Mongolian, the top three tutored subjects.

The fact that the numbers in Ulaanbaatar are much higher among secondary school students who use university professors reflects the overwhelming benefit they have over their counterparts in other regions of the country. In employing lecturers and professors of universities and colleges students are more likely to be privy to topic content that may appear on the entrance exam or learn strategic test-taking skills that give them an unfair advantage. This demonstrates a widening gap among Ulaanbaatar and other urban students but more notably contributes to the even wider gap between urban, in this case Ulaanbaatar students, and rural students. Among providers, university students were the least solicited of tutors at 2.1%

Interestingly, when comparing how many students enrolled in preparatory courses taught by university and college professors to professionals in the field of study, the difference is striking. Professionals in the field of study were 10.0% while college lecturers were 32.2%. This is telling of the belief that professors and lectures at higher education institutions can provide information that is more directly tied to what will be asked of students on university entrance exams.

Table 13: Location of Secondary School and Type of Tutor

Location of Secondary School		Type of Tutor							Total
		Student's Class Teacher	Another Teacher from School	Teacher From Another School	Higher Ed. Inst. Professor/ Lecturer	University Student	Professional in the Field of Study	Other	
Ulaanbaatar	Count	75	34	59	151	12	30	11	372
	% within	20.2%	9.1%	15.9%	40.6%	3.2%	8.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Darkhan	Count	17	3	10	8	1	1		40
	% within	42.5%	7.5%	25.0%	20.0%	2.5%	2.5%		100.0%
Erdenet	Count	23	11	8			1		43
	% within	53.5%	25.6%	18.6%			2.3%		100.0%
Other Provinces	Count	179	68	93	25	4	7	5	381
	% within	47.0%	17.8%	24.4%	6.6%	1.0%	1.8%	1.3%	100.0%
Village	Count	85	15	27	5	3	2	1	138
	% within	61.6%	10.9%	19.6%	3.6%	2.2%	1.4%	.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	379	131	197	189	20	41	17	974
	% within	38.9%	13.4%	20.2%	19.4%	2.1%	4.2%	1.7%	100.0%

What subjects are being tutored?

In table 14, the subjects in which students are being tutored is listed. Perhaps as no surprise, mathematics leads with over half, 54.2%, of the student population being tutored in it. This is followed by chemistry at 12.7% and in third, Mongolian at 12.0% - the native language of students. In subjects such as history and biology there is less than 1% of the population being coached.

Table 14: Students Who Received Tutoring by Subject

	Number of Students	% within Total
Mother Tongue (Mongolian)	177	12.0%
Foreign Language	70	4.7%
Mathematics	800	54.2%
Social Science	144	9.8%
History	11	0.7%
Biology	11	0.7%
Chemistry	187	12.7%
Physics	50	3.4%
Other	22	1.5%

On closer examination, it is discovered that 434 students were tutored in math for the primary reason of preparing for an exam. Coming in at 298 and 210 respectively, students thought that receiving supplemental help in math would help them 1) remember and systematize courses/topics learned earlier and 2) better learn topics taught in school. This demonstrates that the content and methodology of teaching math needs to be more closely examined, as these numbers are significantly higher than others.

In Ulaanbaatar, 40.8 % of secondary school graduates who received mathematics tutoring enlisted university instructors whereas in Darkhan, Erdenet, in other aimags, and soums 40.0% - 60.2 % obtained it from subject teacher. This was also the case for chemistry, the second most widely tutored subject, with percentages at 38.6 % in the capital and 40.0% -100.0 % in all other locations. For the third subject, Mongolian language, the student's class teacher tutored 62.5% of students. This suggests that when preparing for the Mongolian language exam students do not think that university and college instructors offer any clearer advantage in the material they provide for the university entrance exams.

Size

The study found that for private tutoring sessions, students were found in groups of 5 students or more at 53.5%. Next came 2-3 students per session at 17.2%, with groups of 4-5 coming in at 15.4% and finally individually at 13.9%. The only exception was that of students in Erdenet who showed that more sessions were organized for 2-3 individuals at 41.9%.

Turning to individual subjects in examining whether type of subject influenced the size of tutoring sessions or preparatory courses, the numbers show that for private tutoring in Mongolian 8.2 % were individually tutored, 16.3 % in a group of 2-3 pupils, 10.2% with 4-5 pupils, and 65.3 % with 5 or more. Chemistry sessions were largely conducted in groups of 5 or more, followed by equivalent numbers in groups of 2-3 and 4-5 and only 16.3% individually instructed. In mathematics, figures are 14.6% for individual and groups of 4-5, 16.2% for groups of 2-3 and 54.7% for groups of 5 or more (see Table 14)

Table 14: Size of Private Tutoring Sessions

Subject	Tutor				Total
	Individually	2-3 students	4-5 students	5 or more students	
Total	135	164	150	517	966
Total %	14.0%	17.0%	15.5%	53.5%	100.0%
Mongolian (Mother Tongue)	4	8	5	32	49
Mongolian %	8.2%	16.3%	10.2%	65.3%	100.0%
Foreign language	4	2	8	3	17
Foreign language %	23.5%	11.8%	47.1%	17.6%	100.0%
Mathematics	100	111	100	375	686
Mathematics %	14.6%	16.2%	14.6%	54.7%	100.0%
Social Science	4	15	9	32	60
Social Science %	6.7%	25.0%	15.0%	53.3%	100.0%
Chemistry	21	24	24	60	129
Chemistry %	16.3%	18.6%	18.6%	46.5%	100.0%

Yearly Duration of Private Tutoring

Students began either private tutoring or preparatory courses at different times of the academic year. Therefore, the findings examine how often students were tutored prior to the exam. Of the 958 students who were privately tutored, 15.4 % of them cited having regular sessions throughout the academic school year while 8.1 % had it

occasionally. 44.2% had it on a regular basis throughout the last semester/trimester whereas 32.3 % had it occasionally. From theses results, it appears that over three-fourths of the students enrolled in some form of private tutoring in their last semester/trimester indicating that half a year of external assistance was adequate in doing well on the exam (see Table 15).

Table 15: Duration of Private Tutoring

Subject	Time Intervals				Total
	Regular basis throughout the school year	Occasionally throughout the school year	Occasionally in the last semester/ trimester	On a regular basis in the last semester/ trimester	
Total	148	78	309	423	958
Total %	15.4%	8.1%	32.3%	44.2%	100.0%
Mongolian (Mother Tongue)	4	2	17	26	49
Mongolian %	8.2%	4.1%	34.7%	53.1%	100.0%
Foreign language	1	3	6	5	15
Foreign language %	6.7%	20.0%	40.0%	33.3%	100.0%
Mathematics	112	58	220	291	681
Mathematics %	16.4%	8.5%	32.3%	42.7%	100.0%
Social Science	12	6	17	25	60
Social Science %	20.0%	10.0%	28.3%	41.7%	100.0%
Chemistry	18	7	40	63	128
Chemistry %	14.1%	5.5%	31.3%	49.2%	100.0%

For preparatory courses, students began as early as one year in advance of the exam. However, according to statistics, 39.8% began 3-6 months prior to the exam yet others at 28.9% enrolled 2 months in advance. This, too, shows that over half of the students felt half a year was adequate in preparing them for the exam.

Hourly Duration of Private Tutoring/Preparatory Courses

In the study, the hourly duration of a tutoring period was anywhere from forty-five minutes to one-hour and was considered to be equivalent. 3.0 % of students had it for 1 hour, 20.0 % for 2 hours, 35.8 % for 3-4 hours, and 41.2 % for 4 or more hours. For 78.5% of students who were tutored in math, they were occupied at a minimum of 3 hours or more. This demonstrates the intense nature of math and how it is looked upon by students (see Table 16). It perhaps explains either how difficult the university exam mathematics material is or how inadequate the quality of teaching is.

Table 16: Academic Hours of Tutoring/Week

Subject	Academic Hours/Week				Total
	1 hour/week	2 hours/week	3-4 hours/ week	4 hours/week	
Total	29	193	345	398	965
Total %	3.0%	20.0%	35.8%	41.2%	100.0%
Mongolian (Mother Tongue)	4	14	17	14	49
Mother Tongue %	8.2%	28.6%	34.7%	28.6%	100.0%
Foreign language	1	4	7	5	17
Foreign language %	5.9%	23.5%	41.2%	29.4%	100.0%
Mathematics	17	130	244	294	685
Mathematics %	2.5%	19.0%	35.6%	42.9%	100.0%
Social Science		18	21	21	60
Social Science %		30.0%	35.0%	35.0%	100.0%
Chemistry	5	24	47	53	129
Chemistry %	3.9%	18.6%	36.4%	41.1%	100.0%

Costs

Parents of students incurred financial costs to have their child privately tutored or enrolled in preparatory courses. In one academic year, for high demand fields, the total average amount spent per subject course was MNT 65,671 = US$55.00, for average demand fields MNT 47,893 = US$40.00, and low demand fields, MNT 50,528 = US$42.00. In total, the mean cost was MNT 59,411 = US$50.00.

By location, Ulaanbaatar showed that the average cost of MNT 62,765 = US$52.00 was exceedingly higher than in Darkhan at a mere MNT 35,888 = US$30.00. This is 26.8 (US$22.00) and 18.3 thousand tugrogs (US$15.00) more than the amount spent for tuition in Darkhan and other aimag higher education institutions. This wide gulf between the two demonstrates that having external assistance in the capital carries a much higher financial burden for parents.

When examining the tutors of preparatory courses by location, the average cost is seen as MNT 32,932 = US$27.00. The highest average among tutors were those who were considered “other” at MNT 44,179 = US$37.00 while professionals in the field of study followed at MNT 39,548 = US$33.00 and university lecturers and professors incurred a norm of MNT 38,671 = US$32.00 (see Table 18).

Table 18: Cost of Preparatory Course by Location and Type of Tutor

Tutors	Where did you graduate from secondary school?					Average Cost (in MNT)
	Ulaan-Baatar	Darkhan	Erdenet	Other Provinces	Villages	
Professional from the field of study	39957	15000	20000	46000	29600	39548
Secondary School Teacher	35851	26857	20845	23932	33180	27416
University Professor/Lecturer	39475	53667	50000	32800	31667	38671
University Student	35556	50000	8000	20000	20000	32154
Other	69538			33889	10000	44179
I do not know	23000	20000		32500	35000	27917
Average cost	38855	30333	22562	27051	34349	32932

Pupils spent 72.3 thousand tugrogs (US$60.00) in their final year for private tutoring in business management but 35.0 thousand tugrogs (US$29.00) in agricultural subjects. This demonstrates that the demand plays a crucial role in how tutoring rates are set. The amount of money spent for private tutoring differs greatly in cities and in the countryside. For example, in business management students spent 88.0 thousand tugrogs (US$73.00) in Ulaanbaatar but in soums, for the same subject, pupils spent only 39.2 thousand tugrogs (US$33.00).

The study found that there is no direct relation between who pays university and college tuition fees and private tutoring costs. For instance, students whose parents are civil servants and are entitled to receive non-repayable grants for university tuition pay for private tutoring just the same as those who pay their own tuition fees. Yet, students who paid their own tuition spent more on private tutoring than students whose studies were borne by the state.

Public v. Private and Accredited v. Non-Accredited

The students entering public universities spent on average 63.2 thousand tugrogs (US$53.00) on private tutoring which is 12.6 thousand tugrogs (US$10.00) more in comparison to private university and college students.

Students entering accredited universities and colleges spent on average 61.9 thousand tugrogs (US$51.00) for private tutoring unlike students who are admitted into non-accredited universities and colleges spending on average 43.0 thousand tugrogs

(US$36.00). Hence, it is common to spend more money on private tutoring for accredited schools.

Students' Attitudes and Opinions of Private Tutoring

4.1% of students felt that the private tutoring did not help at all, 67.5% found it helpful to a certain degree, 20.5% thought it helped greatly, and 7.9% did not know. In short, 88.0% of students who received private tutoring found it advantageous reaffirming the notion that the quality of teaching does not seem to be sufficient in preparing students to pursue higher education degrees.

There is often the idea that only wealthy students can afford private tutoring or preparatory courses. However in Mongolia, this is not the case. Students did not seem to feel that it is isolated to a certain elite. According to students, 23.7% of respondents strongly disagreed, 47.1% disagreed, 25.4% agreed and 3.9% strongly agreed. This self-help perspective helps diminish any idea that only certain students can benefit from the service and generates a self-motivating tactic among families and students that helps fill the gap that presumably school is creating.

The findings also indicated that it is more successful to organize tutoring frequently throughout the year or last semester and have it for more hours a week with fewer children

Attitudes towards Tutors

Among students, 66.1% felt that university professors and lecturers were better private tutors than secondary school teachers. This was particularly evident among Ulaanbaatar students with an 8.6% difference between it and Darkhan, the second highest population who shared this opinion. Students thought it was very common to ask his/her subject teacher for private tutoring at 76.2%. At 35.5%, students felt that private tutoring was supplied by teachers for other reasons than to earn additional income. This shows that 65.5% of students recognize that teachers see it as means to gain extra income. Conversely, 58.1% of students believe that teachers have a true sense of altruism and truly wish to help those who have academic problems. Yet students still believe that

teachers' central reason for tutoring is for financial gain. 49.2% agree and 15.2% strongly agree that teachers treat students who receive private tutoring better than those who do not. This can be interpreted in two ways, one of which is that teachers realize that if tutored students are not treated well they will go elsewhere for their tutoring and secondly, tutored students are entitled to better treatment because they have a more comprehensive understanding of the subject thus are more intelligent and deserve better treatment. Yet, more than three-fourth's of the students feel that teachers do not treat students worse for not employing private tutoring than those who do.

Interestingly, students were more divisively split on whether students' own teachers should provide tutoring. 54.5% of respondents did not see any wrongdoing in teachers providing their own students tutoring while 45.6% felt that they should be prohibited. Another fascinating finding was that students do believe in the quality of the country's secondary schooling as 71.4% felt that private tutoring was not the only way to get a high quality education. Indeed, 65% felt that private tutoring was not necessary in order to successfully pass the school exit and university entrance exams.

Attitudes towards Costs, Curriculum, and School Teaching

Students believed that private tutoring was expensive, 62.1% agreeing and 17.8% strongly agreeing. This helps uncover that although students enroll in either private tutoring or preparatory courses many still believe it is costly and that it presumably financially constrains his/her family household.

Only 43.8% of students believe that private tutoring exists because the school curricula is overloaded while half of students demand it because they think that the curriculum does not cover everything that is required on the school exit and university entrance exam. According to figures, 62.6% and 23.7% agree and strongly agree that students demand private tutoring because they simply want to learn more. 86.1% of students feel that the educational system should be comprehensive to the point where no one would need private tutoring.

63.6% feel that students elicit private tutoring because teachers do not explain subject matter thoroughly enough while 68.8% feel that it is the low quality of teaching

that necessitates private tutoring. In fact, the two are very much directly tied to one another causing the figures to be so closely correlated.

Other Attitudes towards Private Tutoring

The 84.1% figure demonstrates that students believe only low achieving students access private tutoring. Less than half of students at 43.7% indicate that they use private tutoring in order to increase school marks yet 92% indicate that they employ the service in order to increase their chances to enter university.

66.9 % of students believe that students who use private tutoring increase their chances of entering university compared to students of equal abilities who do not use private tutoring. Only 35.9% feel that students use the service because their parents make them do so. Students believe that those whose parents are wealthy can hire better tutors. At 46.5%, students felt that preparatory courses had greater results than private tutoring while 57.8% preferred to attend individual private tutoring rather than preparatory courses.

Comparison of Private Tutoring and Preparatory Courses

Out of students involved in the study 66.9% of them used private tutoring and 44.5% attended preparatory courses. 40.3% of all secondary school graduates used both private tutoring and preparatory courses. The numbers indicate that students tend to use private tutoring rather than preparatory courses.

IV. POLICY APPROACHES

Laissez-faire

Current international research on private tutoring shows that governments respond from four main policy approaches (Bray, 2003). The first response, a *laissez-faire* approach, is to simply ignore the problem. Of these, it is the most common approach but certainly not recommended. According to Bray (1999), proponents justify the decision by explaining that the private tutoring market should be left to regulate itself in order to

secure the optimum balance of quality and prices. These same proponents give an even more compelling case stating that the industry is too complex with financial and political repercussions beyond the government's realm of control. In addition, there are extensive social effects that make the issue even more complicated. All of these repercussions stem from the effects of the *shadow* education system. While the *shadow* system is masked by mainstream education it replicates its trends by means of supplemental services. The *shadow* system exists because mainstream education falls short of its didactic function. In an effort to fulfill its function, the *shadow* system offsets its mainstream counterpart by satisfying the learning gap that has been created yet concurrently intensifies the socioeconomic one. This creates the demand for supplemental services and opportunity for tutors to supply the service. This exchange creates a market in which quality and rates of private tutoring are set.

If the government were to regulate and/or restrict the supplemental service, there is strong likelihood that the market would take shape in a much more covert manner. In many cases, it already happens in this way for fear of being admonished publicly or judged individually which both can have far reaching implications. Thus, the government may see it as easier to ignore the issue for fear of regulations being ineffective anyway.

The Mongolian government seems to be taking the *laissez-faire* approach. The apparent advertisements in college and university buildings demonstrate that the service takes place yet government intervention ceases to exist. If the Mongolian government ignores the issue, how does this reflect its commitment to providing access and equity to all children ascribed by both national and international doctrines such as Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG)? In an industry that impacts the quality of teaching and the overall basis of a sound education, the MOECS must step up in narrowing this gulf between the wealthy and the poor. It must take an active approach in dealing with the issue because as the quality of teaching in institutions diminishes it reflects the view of the MOECS and its commitment or lack thereof to what a sound and equitable education really are.

Prohibition

Extreme to the *laissez-faire* approach is the prohibition of private tutoring on a systemic level. Often futile because of the inability to enforce regulations, this policy speaks to the social inequality that divides those who can and cannot afford private tutoring. It recognizes that private tutoring exacerbates the gap between the wealthy and poor. The socioeconomic difference leads to a divide amid those who are academically stronger and those who are not thus creating a cycle of economic prosperity and educational success or lack thereof.

Prohibiting the service attempts to reduce the social and economic inequalities that exist and prevent a further widening of the two. This approach has shown not to be very effective as the market continues to exist under concealed conditions and ineffective monitoring and regulation methods.

In Mongolia, this type of approach does not exist and if attempted would likely be ineffective. Mongolian parents value education and make a strong effort to provide supplemental tutoring for their children whether they are wealthy or poor. Between 54.4% and 64.4% of parents who are skilled workers, herdsmen, and unemployed managed to provide their child with private tutoring. Figures indicated these parents as poor earning very low wages. This demonstrates that even for low-income parents cost is not a prohibitive factor so it seems that if the poor are willing to exhaust all of their financial resources to supply supplemental tutoring for their child prohibition would not deter them from finding a means to help their child.

The one exception to prohibition allows the provision of voluntary remedial services to those who have special needs. This allows students who need supplemental services to receive it without any financial and social burden to parents while providing appropriate academic assistance.

Recognition and Regulation

This approach, a more active one on the part of the government, recognizes that the issue of private tutoring exists and regulates it in various ways. Regulation of private

tutoring includes the prohibition of teachers tutoring their own students but allowing them to tutor students from other schools, restricting services to external organizations unaffiliated with secondary schools and colleges and universities, and government registration practices of organizations that attain certain numbers of students. As Bray (1999) notes, the latter regulation works in tandem with other regulatory codes such as those for public safety– regulating suitable numbers of individuals in a building facility. Regulations may also enforce an established curriculum that meets national standards, appropriate fees, and acceptable class sizes.

This type of monitoring is sometimes seen as an unobtrusive approach and perhaps not a rigorous form of control. However, in this case, the government does not seek to become heavy handed in strict control of the matter but is interested in ensuring that the opportunity is available for those who choose it within certain parameters of what is financially, socially and politically acceptable to society at large.

In Mongolia, this is an approach to consider for government adoption. Most students who receive tutoring, with the exception of those in Ulaanbaatar, do so from their own class teachers. Secondary school teachers see themselves as underpaid and recognize private tutoring as a natural opportunity to earn additional income. Coupled with this fact and the lofty expense of other types of tutors such as university professors and lecturers in other areas of the country, students have no choice but to pay their secondary school teachers for tutoring. This, too, is because, outside of Ulaanbaatar, there are fewer numbers of institutions from which a student can select a university professor.

For students and parents, they understand the gravity of what is at stake – their child's future profession and potential income. They become vulnerable to the demands of tutors and succumb to whatever is asked of them. This then creates an exchange of manipulation between the two and becomes particularly dangerous for students whose subject teachers are there tutors. In prohibiting teachers as tutors of their own students, this would aid in any manipulation between the two while allowances for teachers to tutor other students would still permit them to earn additional wages.

The nature of this dilemma, allowing teachers to tutor their own students, demonstrates how the moral and ethical values of teachers are questioned and how this

type of corruption is viciously recycled. Yet, if such an approach is adopted, a substantial level of corruption could be reduced. This approach seems to be the most viable for Mongolia considering all circumstances.

Encouragement

The fourth approach actively encourages the service of supplemental private tutoring. Bray (1999) explains that supporters of this approach see the active encouragement of private tutoring as directly addressing the individual needs of students. Based on the premise that individuals learn and achieve at different paces, the supplemental service aids in counterbalancing those varied levels of achievement particularly in competitive environments. Once individual pupils gain the knowledge he or she needs, in return, they contribute what they have learned to society.

Some governments who assign low wages to teachers see private tutoring as a means to increasing teacher salaries and actively encourage it. It is seen as not only providing teachers with higher earnings but also minimizing the government's involvement by eliminating public tax increases and other types of monetary compensation. In this case, it works in favor for both teachers and governments.

The Mongolian government seems to be taking a blind eye to what is being occurring. In fact, it seems as if by its inaction it is actively encouraging it. For Mongolia, this does not seem to be an approach to continue. If not monitored, the issue could become much more dangerous by promoting a wider gap between urban and rural, particularly the Ulaanbaatar urban to Erdenet and Darkhan urban, and indeed the rural of the rest of the country. There, too, is an exacerbation of socioeconomic levels within urban and rural areas.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When crafting an educational policy, careful consideration needs to be given to Mongolia's unique circumstances - one that speaks to the critical issues faced by secondary school students. Mongolia has only a population of 2.5 million and

approximately 2.0 persons per square kilometer. Primarily nomadic herders, 43% of Mongolians live in rural areas such as soums (villages) and baghs (smaller settlements) (World Bank, 2001). The country, too, expands over vast land and suffers from harsh climates. All of these factors compounded make it very difficult in establishing higher education institutions in remote areas and explains why the majority is set up in aimag (province) centers. Comparatively, there are still a low number of institutions in aimag centers compared to the mass numbers of them in Ulaanbaatar, Erdenet, and Dharkhan. Indeed, this reflects the obstacles in setting up universities and colleges beyond the central region of the country.

The paucity of universities and colleges in other areas of the country results in a shortage of available professors and lecturers willing to teach in these remote locations. This perpetuates the complexity of having secondary school students hire his/her class teacher for private supplemental tutoring and, in fact, leaves them with little choice.

From an educational policy perspective, the government must address the issue particularly regarding teachers' salaries. As explained earlier, teachers feel that they are underpaid. They earn a base salary of about US $39.00; however, they can participate in many activities that increase their wages substantially such as grading papers and leading methodology courses. Not all teachers choose to do this. Rather than taking part in these activities some choose to privately tutor students because wages are higher. This being the case, the government could reset policy by eliminating bonuses and include bonus tasks and wages as standard functions and outcomes of teachers' responsibilities. Doing so in this way helps reduce the need for teachers to find other means of increasing salaries while still expanding on their responsibilities. Many of these tasks should really be a part of teachers' responsibilities anyway. Certainly, once these tasks are incorporated into teachers' responsibilities, it is only fair that they be compensated.

The research study found that Ulaanbaatar secondary students have an advantage over their counterparts in other regions of the country. This is due to the fact that many use university professors for tutoring services whether it is one-on-one tutoring or college preparatory courses. As such, if the government is going to allow supplemental tutoring, policy must be set so that a national tutoring curriculum is established benefiting all

students whether they are in the capital of Ulaanbaatar or in a more remote region. This allows fair advantage to everyone rather than one particular demographic.

This type of policy creates much debate as it undermines the very core of what the main education system's role is. In setting a policy such as a national tutoring curriculum, it recognizes the fact that mainstream education is not meeting its function as a learning institution. If that is the case, why invest public funds in the mainstream system and not privatize it entirely? A national tutoring curriculum policy could generate problems in how the public, particularly parents, view mainstream education; therefore, this type of approach would need careful crafting. However, with the large disparity between what is available to urban students, particularly Ulaanbaatar's, and everyone else, it should be an alternative that is considered.

Other policy alternatives must be considered from other perspectives such as classroom practices. Directly tied to the above mentioned policy option of a national tutoring curriculum, it is critical that the national mainstream curriculum be closely examined. It is vital that the national mainstream curriculum be examined to first determine its own weakness in areas such as subject content, current methods and strategies of teaching and theory application. In doing so, a better analysis can be made as to how these things are affecting students' learning and their need for private tutoring. This type of approach takes a longer period of time to investigate and is not a quick fix but one that addresses the issue on a systemic level. It will have long-term effects with greater results.

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

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