DEFENSIBLE SPACES:
IDEOLOGIES OF PROFESSIONALISM AND TEACHERS' WORK IN THE ROMANIAN PRIVATE TUTORING SYSTEM

by

Simona M. Popa

B.A., Licentiate, University of Bucharest, 1995

M.A., University of Bucharest, 1997

MEd, University of Pittsburgh, 2001

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

School of Education in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2007

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

This dissertation was presented

by

Simona Popa

It was defended on

February 1st, 2007

and approved by

William Bickel, Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies; Senior Researcher, LRDC

Silvia Borzutzky, Professor, Heinz School of Public Policy and Management,

Carnegie Mellon University

Mark Ginsburg, Education Quality Specialist, Academy for Educational Development

John Weidman, Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

Dissertation Advisor: Clementina Acedo, Assistant Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

DEFENSIBLE SPACES: IDEOLOGIES OF PROFESSIONALISM AND TEACHERS' WORK IN THE ROMANIAN PRIVATE TUTORING SYSTEM

Simona M. Popa, PhD

This study seeks to analyze the nature and extent of as well as the reasons for the private tutoring activity practiced by fifty-one Romanian secondary education teachers.

The findings of my research draw to the conclusion that, although undeniably present, material self-interest does not prevail in their work as private tutors. Instead, their chief goal has been consistently to gain more professional and social status – a goal challenged by successive regimes of contrasting political hues. While identifying the ways in which their work in schools has been "proletarianized" and in which the economic and the political have pervaded their teaching activities, they understand their private tutoring work as a critical solution in a critical period of transition in the Romanian society. This practice has grown into a very well organized, hierarchical system, which aims to recuperate an ideal type of relation teacher-student and to offer them authority, autonomy, prestige and economic rewards – exactly the elements that are at the heart of their ideals of "professionalism". Besides being a subtle answer to the education policy changes, private tutoring is a momentous attempt at re-legitimating their profession and restoring their professional and social images.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My dissertation has grown out of the writing, the friendship, and the support of many professors and colleagues at University of Pittsburgh. Let me start by thanking wholeheartedly the members of my dissertation committee (Dr. Clementina Acedo, Dr. Bill Bickel, Dr. Silvia Borzutzky, Dr. Mark Ginsburg and Dr. John Weidman) for all their steady help and patience.

The idea of writing about teachers' professional lives germinated almost five years before it resulted in this thesis. Classes I took with Mark Ginsburg (my former advisor), our collaboration on various research projects, and our illuminating conversations enabled me to forge my ideas in a way that would not otherwise have been possible. My gratitude to him knows no bounds.

Clementina Acedo, the director of my thesis, has superbly enabled me to merge ideas into a valid research project and new ways of thinking. Without her, this dissertation could never have been completed. I am grateful to her for her encouragements, but also for the acuity of her comments on early drafts of my dissertation.

Very special thanks go to Mark Bray, whose seminal books on private tutoring coupled with his unflagging support and enthusiasm in convincing me that the topic was worth pursuing. This research project owes him immensely.

Wholehearted thanks to Dr. John Weidman, whose help extended beyond the inspiring quality of his writing and teaching: he was an amazing model of patience, attentiveness and encouragement at all times during the preparation of this study.

I am greatly indebted to the School of Education Alumni Association, the Center for Russian & East European Studies (REES) and the European Union Center of Excellence at the University of Pittsburgh, which funded much of my dissertation research.

I owe a great deal to my professors and colleagues in the Administrative and Policy Studies, at the University of Pittsburgh. Enlightening discussions with many of them, as well as classes that I have taken at Pitt came to me as a serious exhortation to think more in depth about what I was trying to do sociologically. Drs. Bill Bickel, Noreen Garman, Maureen McClure, Seth Spaulding, John Yeager, all encouraged me and made comments at various times, which dissuaded me from barren paths. My colleagues Tish Clipper, Leonora Kivuva, Orlando Pacheco, Judith Toure and Yuki Yamamoto, among others, have been a constant source of encouragement, helpful criticisms and interesting suggestions too.

My special thanks are due to Dr. Don Martin, who significantly helped shape my view of social change, but also of educational change in general and reforms of post-communist education in particular. I am also grateful to him for perfectly understanding and trying to alleviate my heavy load of uncertainty experienced while brooding over my research topic.

I also wish to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Dr. David Post, who opened my eyes to some hidden splendors of research writing, during our work together on the *Comparative Education Review*. A luminous professional example, he generously allowed me to draw from his sophisticated understanding of the comparative education field. I have also been truly

inspired by his unflagging commitment to excellence and his genuine compassion towards his students, which, I believe, helped me become a better researcher and teacher myself.

My work on this thesis would not have been possible without the warm friendship of Gabriela Silvestre and Rodica Constantine, and of Drs. Bob Arnove, Rachel Christina, Bob Faux, John Myers and Claudia Petrescu, who have always raised my spirits and genuinely offered their help.

Michal Myers shared with me the delights of discovering the beauty, laughter and wisdom of our own professional and personal lives. It was her enthusiasm, profundity and passion for life that gave me the strength to bring this work to fruition. I vividly and nostalgically remember Rolland Paulston, equally humorous and pungent, happily chuckling over my papers. He always urged me to lack caution and disregard the formal manner in which our professional lives are stated. Both of them departed from this world too soon, but their unique wit and their ennoblement of grief in the steadfast spirit continue to greatly inspire me.

Aurelia (my mother), Marin (my father) and Mihaela (my sister) have been the ones always to goad me out of my incertitudes and obstacles met while writing this thesis. Teachers themselves, they added their own opinions on the research topic and enthusiastically enabled my data collection. The power of their talents and the authority of their strong, original voices and their crisp writing are the essence of true professionals, who live their lives with gusto, impatient with any intellectual laziness. I owe them everything.

Alexandru, my baby boy, is the reason for which I had this thesis completed. In the hectic whirl of taking care of a newborn and working on my thesis, I thought that I would become irretrievably insomniac. Instead, he has given the blush of life to pale cheeks and made me enjoy the sweet immediacy of our new life together.

No word sounded so enchanting to me as the comments that Tiberiu, my husband, made on various chapters of my dissertation. The supple elegance of his writing has always been a paradigm of style to me. He perfectly understood that my thesis was an exercise in education research, with all its tensions and contrivances, and he warmly encouraged its writing.

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

A. ARGUMENT OF MY RESEARCH

On a balmy spring day, only a couple of months after the 1989 Romanian revolution had ended, a woman in her forties was impatiently cleaning her apartment. Judging by how meticulously she was sprucing it up, one would have thought that she was waiting for some very important guests. On a small table in the living room there were fresh-baked cookies and soda. Her home was typical for any other Romanian middle-class family in the grim years of the communism: simply decorated, but clean and welcoming – wooden shelves on the walls, stacked with books; linoleum on the floor of the entranceway, old appliances. The noisy traffic and the crowded sidewalks in front of the building she lived in were somewhat obscured by several large trees. The smell of boiled cabbage from a neighbor's apartment wafted through the curtain covering the windows of the tiny one-bedroom apartment that she had shared with her husband and two little daughters. A few older women were sitting on a bench, in the backyard, turning around and bending over so that they will not miss the visitors who were entering or coming out of the apartment building.

Finally, they came: two eighth grade students who had been sent by their parents to be tutored in Romanian language and literature. She was very nervous about the new "class" she was about to teach. Once she welcomed the students in, however, she sat down calmly in the

living room with them, and started commenting on various poetic motifs in Eminescu[1] and thoroughly explaining some complicated grammar issues pertaining to some of his shorter poems.

She decided not to take any money for that first lesson. She knew that she was in the midst of something important and that her life was about to change forever. Since that modest start, her "practice" as a private tutor has grown steadily. Nowadays, she tutors more than fifty students every year. Dynamic, quick-witted, ambitious, she made and cemented her reputation of a great teacher by giving private lessons, without even advertising her lessons.

She used to be a substitute teacher in a remote village in the Romanian Carpathian Mountains, but the revolution had brought her to the city, as a tenured teacher at one of the best high schools in the Hilly City.[2] Then, the tumult of the 1990s goaded her into giving private lessons – something that only a few years before, although a truly gifted teacher, she had only dared to dream about.

Her name is Iris and she is an important informant of my research. Yet, her story is not merely a footnote to the mainstream of Romanian educators. Like her, thousands of other Romanian teachers are involved in the technically illegal practice of private tutoring. This activity, which has grown so much that is now akin to an epidemic, was called by Romanians, with a flick of tongue, "the parallel system of education".

Who are these people who have so much in common? Their material life seems to be necessarily central to any attempt to describe them as a group. Some of them do not live on the

---

[1] A late Romantic, Eminescu is the best-known and most influential Romanian poet.

[2] After the anti-communist uprising or Romanian revolution, the towns and the cities became accessible to people who, in virtue of an uninspiredly rigid legislation and murky criteria used for the assignment of jobs, had been relegated to various villages and hamlets. They began to apply successfully for teaching positions at urban schools, on the basis of a new system of "points" that took into account their studies, work experience, as well as the number of children they had, their health issues etc.

brink of poverty anymore, although many still barely make ends meet. Many teachers who offer private lessons would consider their actions necessary for bare survival. Does their material self-interest prevail when teaching paid private classes at home? Do they fully embrace the commodities and the business-like thinking we associate with "capitalism"? Is there any moral prescription attached to this illegal activity, which has provoked accusations of corruption and negligence of their activity in the classroom in favor of their work at home?

My research is confined to the 1990s and the dawn of the new century and has grown from just such questions. Rooted in the spirit of the 1990s, when people and ideas started to struggle to free themselves from communism, my research is also an attempt to unravel some of the complexities of the period. In many ways, Romania entered a new world after the fall of Ceauşescu's regime: a frenetically exciting one, characterized by reconstructions, transitions and reforms of all kind, but also by frequent political, economic and social instability. Inevitably, these changes have dramatically altered the teachers' personal and professional lives. Their material circumstances are still hardly enviable. Besides, they have to confront and adjust to a set of political, social and cultural conditions radically different from those that existed only a few years before. They do so in a variety of ways, from resisting or, on the contrary, embracing changes, to leaving the education system for better paid positions.

For the *material teachers* (those who teach private lessons), there have been even more challenges, such as keeping the delicate balance between commitment to the teaching profession and their participation in the "business" of private tutoring. The very enterprise of tutoring has helped them experience far more than a better financial situation: there have been changes in terms of social experience (such as social status, friendships, social integration etc.), but also new ways of understanding their own work as educators. Obviously, transformations did not take the

same form or proceed at the same pace throughout the country. They have developed differently in the city from the countryside, and varied according to the teaching subjects.

In the following account, I will try to navigate the complexities of the teachers' lives as private tutors and to make sense of the contradictory evidence they have given. By doing so, my research hints at their challenges to maintain/ construct a professional and social identity after 1989.

B. STRUCTURE OF MY THESIS

Chapters I and II set the stage for my research, by outlining the purpose of my study, by putting forth the research topic and problems and the main research questions.

Chapter III tackles the theoretical framework used in my research. Much of the discussion is built around the concept of professionalism, definitions of professionalization / proletarianization of teachers and their relation with the state. This chapter goes on to define the private tutoring activity. It includes elements such as its scale and costs and also its impact on the mainstream schooling. A special attention is placed on the governments' responses to this phenomenon. The social and economic implications of the private tutoring are discussed in this section as well.

Chapter IV undertakes the articulation of the methodology that informs my research. It looks at the research participants, instruments and procedure, and data analysis methods. It also discusses the validity and feasibility of my study and issues related to ethical sensitivity in regards to the participants.

Chapter V reviews the key events and debates in the literature about the transition period taking place in Romania. It chronicles the complex changes in economic and political practices in the 1990s and early 2000s. Of particular interest to me is how socio-economic and political changes occur when mandated by national policy and thrust upon teachers, sometimes against their will.

Chapters VI, VII and VIII sum up the findings of my research, first noting the forge between system and individuals and the stark distinction between public and private in ordinary people's lives. The profound effects that socialism had wrought on the teachers' lives and work is a pretext for finding out how their various forms of self-understanding have altered in the wake of "capitalism". Fine-grained details of the *material teachers*' everyday life help identify major issues and contradictions of their involvement in the practice of private tutoring.

Chapter XI formulates the overall conclusions of my research and points out its implications for policy making.

II. SETTING THE STAGE FOR MY RESEARCH

A. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

In many parts of the world, education has fallen on hard times: various efforts to reform education systems have been accompanied by the backdrop of reduced funding for public schooling, the increasingly poor student population and the low teachers' salaries, which have failed to keep pace with inflation. The public funding per student tends to decrease, even in countries where total educational expenditures are increasing. In most countries, the constitutional guarantee of free education at all levels has become a false entitlement, especially for the poor. Staggering percents of the cost of education are borne by parents,[3] who are prepared to pay to ensure their children get the very best out of their education. The relation between state and society is changing and the boundaries between private and public are blurring (Mok, 1997; Cheng, 1995): "In short, unlike the traditional notion of education which was dominated by the public sector, the emergence of 'internal markets' and the prominence of

[3] For instance, in countries like Korea parental contribution now outweighs that of the state. In Serbia, parents already contribute in substantial ways to the cost of education – especially paying for private tutoring by their children's own teachers in what is referred to as the "grey" economy: "It was suggested…that if ways could be found to *harness* these ad hoc contributions and bring them into the school system, it would increase school budgets considerably, help raise teacher salaries, and combat the inequities and possible corruption that result from the *grey* tutorial market". (OECD, 2001, p. 19). In Peru, parents contribute (beyond what they may pay, via taxation, into the public revenue stream) an amount of 20 per cent of the public costs of primary education. (World Bank, 1999b). In China, 20-25 per cent of the cost of state-run primary education is being borne by households. In Laos it is almost 30 per cent, while in Vietnam, officially a socialist country where at least until recently a strong emphasis had been placed on government provision of education, the household contribution amounts to about 50 per cent.

'economic rationalism' in the educational sphere seems to be a feature of the globalisation agenda" (Mok & Wat, 1997, p. 9).

The phenomenon is illustrated by Bray (1996b) with a multitude of examples from countries where private financing in a publicly provided system is common (especially taking the form of cost recovery, which includes student fees, desk and chair fee, teaching materials, private tutoring, parking facilities, public security, office expenses, health checkup, etc.). His study reveals that poor households in nine East Asian countries (Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam) contribute a significant share of the total cost of public education. We can talk about an increasing privatization and marketization of public/free education and supplementary private tutoring is part of that.

A booming business nowadays, private tutoring is not a new phenomenon. Private tutoring has been part of the educational environment for a long time. Nevertheless, there is mounting evidence that this practice is on the rise in both developed and developing countries. The market for private education is huge. Private tutoring has become a "necessary" supplement to public education, which increasingly lacks quality and funding. In many countries it has come to be perceived as a scourge because it lays claim to legitimacy in secondary education. It is fuelled by the rush for places at the best secondary schools and universities, or to pass standardized, multiple-choice tests and qualifying exams. It is also seen as one of the best investments parents can make to prepare their children for the future.

My dissertation is partly an argument for the necessary adoption of a complex and nuanced perception of this phenomenon. The limited literature that exists concerning private

tutoring[4] attempts to assess the backwash effect – beneficial or/and detrimental – that private tutoring might have on mainstream schooling (and different groups of students/ families) and the possible responses by governments.

My thesis will tackle the topic of teachers' involvement in "supplementary private tutoring", explicitly broadening the overall conceptual understanding of that phenomenon, in an attempt to note its scale and nature and the factors underlying the demand for it.

B. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Important developments that are taking place in all Eastern European countries, sparked off, by and large, by the action of governments and international agencies, have been designed to address the new demands of a "learning economy" (World Bank, 2000) and the new principles of democracy, liberalism, and humanism. As an example, Romania has embarked on an ambitious, comprehensive education reform, which covers a range of educational aspects: curriculum, teacher education, administration and management, examinations etc.

One of the often overlooked reasons of the secondary education reform has been the attempt to abolish the system of private tutoring[5] – a deeply rooted Romanian tradition (thriving both under the Communist rule and before 1945). Under the conditions of *numerus clausus* for

[4] Since private tutoring functions outside the control and planning of the formal education system, the availability of information about its scale and implications is scarce.

[5] "With a view to restructuring the substance of education and of renewing scientific research, the following are to be undertaken: a) school programmes will be lightened according to a comparative analysis of contemporary international experience; b) learning during class hours will be resumed, and **the dependence of school performance on "parallel tutoring" will be reduced;** c) the number of examinations will be reduced, and the feasibility of examinations will be increased; d) mandatory class attendance will be reduced, and individual study will be granted more significance…" (Ministry of Education, 2000).

admission to the upper secondary level and for admission to university studies, tutoring was in high demand. Many parents used to hire private tutors to help prepare their children for taking the exams to enter upper secondary level schools and to enter university. Sometimes the tutors were the high school teachers (and the students' own teachers during the school day) that the student would have as his/her examiners, so that tutoring made access to the next education level almost a *fait accompli*. Taken at face value, the genuine institution of tutoring may seem useless since the complexity and the number of the high school and university entrance exams seem to have decreased considerably over the past few years.[6] Yet, private tutoring is an even more blooming business. Numerous students take private tutoring courses and these courses often cost as much as a full year's tuition in a private university (World Bank, 1996). In the 12th grade, 32 percent of the pupils in rural areas and 58 percent in urban areas resort to private tutoring in one, two, or three subjects (UNESCO, 2000).

More and more Romanian teachers decide to round up their income, by teaching private lessons. Although this phenomenon is broadly accepted by the Romanian society, the government still considers it "illegal" and fights it by punitive measures. Revenue obtained "on the side" from this informal type of employment by teachers and/ or university professors is not taxed and contributes to the "grey economy". Therefore, in their view, private tutoring is similar to any other informal economy – hostile to legal regulation and vulnerable to forms of bribery and deceit that became a model for conduct in the new market economy more generally. Many teachers have been revealed to be "corrupted" and their activity as private tutors has been greeted

[6] See Evenimentul Zilei (2006), Preda (2006), Obiectiv de Suceava (2006). This aspect of the education reform will be discussed more in depth in subsequent chapters.

by an "official" outcry of reprobation.[7] However, the measures taken by the government (consisting mostly in fines) have proved to be inefficient and, finally, unsuccessful: teachers continue to be involved in this activity, which has grown into what is commonly known as a "parallel system of education".

My interest in the teachers' work as private tutors started with an initial curiosity to find out why private tutoring is considered a "parallel system of education".[8] Has this phenomenon developed so much in Romania that it had reached the dimensions and the complexity of the formal education system? Information I have collected from newspapers and governmental documents[9] made it clear beyond dispute that a parallel structure of education had been created before 1989 and refined since then, and that this structure "employed" the same "workers" that the formal system did. This observation helped me make broader links and ask more questions about the role that teachers play in the "parallel system of education": is their work as private tutors something more than an informal survival strategy? Besides financial incentives, is their work driven by nonpecuniary rewards (such as "fame" and recognition tied to epistemological achievement, as it often happens with teachers employed by the formal education system)? What principles and work ethics guide their activity as private tutors? What role the ideologies of professionalism play in their accomplishing this type of work?

I argue that one cannot answer these questions without providing a detailed account of teachers' work as private tutors – in other words, a story (from their own perspective) of "why, how, where and when" their private teaching takes place.

---

[7] More often than not, the discussions on private tutoring in Romania fluctuate between two extremes: either private tutoring is blamed for the many problems related to the deplorable situation of public schools, or it is treated as a consequence of the education system that is characterized by poor quality of teaching and lack of funding.

[8] The expression is used quite often in official documents released by the Ministry of Education, as well as in the newspapers and TV/ radio shows. See, for instance, Petre (2006), OECD (2000).

[9] See Petre (2006), Evenimentul Zilei (2006, 2003a, 2003b).

C. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

My PhD thesis is an attempt to account for the professional identity and practice of the Romanian teachers since the beginning of the '90s. My intent is to reveal the dynamics of teachers' participation in the "parallel system of education", represented by the private tutoring, and to examine how various ideologies of professionalism guide their work in this system.

This is strongly related to my intention to explore more in depth the phenomenon of private tutoring, which represents a living culture on the increase, and not only in Romania. It is a global phenomenon. With variations, practices analogous to the Romanian parallel system of education proliferating in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America (Bray, 1999b) are a symptom of a broader problem. First, they may signal that something does not work properly with respect to the formal education system. Second, they may engage ways of being for teachers to rewrite "profession" in terms of "power". The literature on private tutoring is almost barren in addressing these issues.

My topic is, in fact, a foray into territories not (adequately) explored yet. A private domain, which was only subtly reached through a few statistical data, can be open to scrutiny by a qualitative study that attempts to observe teachers' attitudes and perspectives, as well as to organize facts and information.

In my thesis, I will try to deconstruct the divide between foreground practices (class teaching) and background practices (e.g., private tutoring), which has led to a profound neglect of the ordinary activities of teachers' daily lives in favor of the formal process of teaching. My starting point is if this largely unremarkable background activity has risen sufficiently in status to

capture the attention of social scientists and policy makers with eyes for foreground practices only.

D. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My research will attempt to answer the following questions:

I. How does the "parallel system of education" function and what are the reasons behind the teachers' (non) involvement in privately tutoring (their own) students?

II. What are the similarities and differences between the teachers' involvement in the tutoring system before and after 1989?

III. What are the similarities and differences between the teachers' involvement in the tutoring system, with respect to teaching subject (required or not for exams), academic development (tenured/non-tenured), gender and age?

IV. How have various policies of the secondary education reform started in the 1990s (such as the "curriculum reform" or attempts to "professionalize" the teaching profession), affected the teachers' work in the supplementary private tutoring system?

V. How do teachers explain their (non-)engagement in private tutoring in relation to aspects of professionalism (remuneration, status, authority)?

E. CONCLUSIONS

When looked at separately, the teachers' involvement in the private tutoring might appear innocuous, as they make ends meet and a few even earn a prettier penny by teaching private lessons.[10] However, their situation may be more complex than it appears at first sight. The mist that surrounds the practice of private tutoring might begin to clear when one realizes that, despite any political/ gender/ age divisions, teachers involved in private tutoring share a common problematic and a common language. I argue that at the center of Romanian teachers' work as private tutors stands the problematic of their professional identity. I flag here only two of the many questions that I would like to address in relation to teachers' professional identity as tutors: Do they embrace different ideologies of professionalism when teaching at home versus at school? Is their professional identity intertwined with business-like elements (such as owning one's labor)?

The topic of my dissertation is situated at the intersection of two important areas of research: "professionalism" and "private tutoring". My research draws on Bray's influential studies on private tutoring (Bray, 1999b, 2003, 2005), which provide a comprehensive overview of the size and development of various private tutoring systems, their major causes and motivations and their effects on the formal education systems. His investigation was path-breaking and illuminating, putting the topic on the scholarly map.

[10] Indeed, there are some stories about teachers who have grown rich, in some cases fabulously so, by offering private tutoring lessons. Also, sporadic allegations about a few teachers' exchange of favors, deception and fraud circulate in the media too. See, for instance, Gâtej (2006); Sîrbu (2004).

Empirical studies of private tutoring are scarce though, maybe also because informal structures of education are less visible and hence less detectable. My research, while focusing on this practice in the Romanian context, casts my glances wider into the situation of the main actors in the process – the teachers. Despite new studies on the topic of private tutoring (see, for instance, Open Society Institute, 2005), questions related to this problem have by no means been answered.

Inevitably, my approach has been greatly influenced by the research on what is called "teacher professional identity" and it builds on the seminal studies on teachers' work and lives by Apple (1986, 1996), Connell (1989, 1995), Ginsburg (1988, 1989, 1995, 1996), Ozga & Lawn (1984), Popkewitz (1991, 1993, 1998), Robertson (1994, 2000a, 2003), Smyth et al. (2000), etc. To comprehend the work of teachers in the private tutoring system requires a close reading of the process of change in the Romanian formal education system. The changes include the "proletarianization" of Romanian teachers and new behaviors within the workplace, which may prompt, with time, new behaviors in the private tutoring system as well. In the chapters to follow, I will touch upon politics of teachers' work and lives, to weave together the various strands of this argument. So far as concerns teachers' ideologies of professionalism, this study is only the beginning of a critical examination of how professional identity can be constructed in both the public and the private spaces of teaching.

My dissertation circumscribes the template of a world that has long been invisible. However, I was not just interested in collecting colorfully arcane facts about teachers' work as private tutors. My commitment, by trying to shed some light on their obscure activity as private tutors, was to find out what people actually do, irrespective of what politicians might want us to believe. Private tutoring becomes a way to expose the difference between official pretence and

actual reality.

The implications of private tutoring for the public education system seem to be immense, but more research is still needed on this topic. One must try to understand the two systems of education (the formal and the "parallel" one) in dialogue in a larger project. The better the picture we are able to obtain of these two, the better our understanding of teachers' lives and work will be. Even though most stakeholders today are well aware of the present tutoring system, this issue is still not adequately conceptualized or systematically researched and the public policy discourse suffers from this lacuna.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My inquiry is theoretically informed by two bodies of research. First, I draw on the complex notion of "teacher professionalism", important in understanding not only the intentions and outcomes of educational changes, but also the complexities and tensions of the relation between educators and the state, as well as teachers' responses to the education reform and the encroachment of politics on their lives and work. Second, I consider the research highlighting the phenomenon of private tutoring, a "background" practice, which has grown into a parallel system of education in many countries.

A. TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM

1. Conceptions of Professionalism

Professionalism is a "key contested term in the history of teaching" (Lawn, 1989, p.159), used at different times as a basis for teacher resistance and of ideological control of them. A social construction (Helsby & McCulloch, 1997), professionalism is a dynamic concept, which "has no fixed definition or some universal idea irrespective of time or place" (Popkewitz, 1993, p. 2). At the heart of these variations of definition are the interplay between social, economic, cultural and biographical factors and the ongoing changes, complexities and tensions of the relation between

teachers and the state. However, as Ginsburg (1987) argues, the contradictions existing in various definitions of professionalism are worth studying, since they open ways of thinking about other contradictions in the society.

I distinguish between two definitions of professionalism.

The first one is embedded in a professional paradigm, concerned with abstracted traits and professional criteria that define teachers as "professionals". Within a "trait theory" (Johnson, 1972) approach, the most important elements that discern a profession from other occupations are: a specialized knowledge; commitment to service for clients; and autonomy in relation to practice (Ginsburg, 1987; Larson, 1977). The satisfactions of high salary, status, performance, and the exercise of authority over other people are among the rewards of professionalism (Gutmann, 1987). Etzioni (1969) draws attention to an ideal-type teaching profession, characterized by autonomous practice; advanced training in theory-based, specialized skills; and peer regulation of qualifications, entry standards, selection and discipline – occupational characteristics enjoyed by doctors and lawyers, for instance. Yet, some argue that teachers should not imitate the professionalism of doctors, lawyers, and school administrators, but they must develop an "indigenous professional conduct in the classroom". (Herbst, 1989, p. 196).

Until the 1980s, the trait theory of professionalism had prevailed in studies on teachers, but it has gradually been contested since then, on the ground on not representing "objective descriptions but an ideological commercial, designed to promote the interests of their members" (Metzger, 1987, p. 12). Moreover, that inventory of abstracted criteria defining teachers' professionalism has been criticized for lacking a socio-historical framework and for not taking into consideration the actual work conditions of teachers and their relations to the state. Along with researchers such as Ozga & Lawn (1981) and Lawn & Grace (1987), I find that definition as

inadequately describing the complex context of teachers' work, especially when trying, as in the case of my thesis, to grasp the teachers' own views on "the culture and politics of [their] workplace". (Lawn & Grace, 1987).

Consequently, I realized that I would not be able to capture the complexity of the Romanian teachers' work (both as teachers and private tutors), without learning more about the bigger socio-economic, political and cultural context in which their perspectives on professional commitment, occupational satisfaction, professional and social status, etc., are situated. Therefore, I decided to put a greater emphasis in my study on a second interpretation of professionalism, envisaged as an ideology. Professionalism as an ideology plays an important role in obscuring the realities of the teaching occupation. As Larson (1977, p. XVIII) explains, "the persistence of professionalism as a social category of social practice suggests that the model constituted by the first movements of professionalism has become an ideology – not only an image which consciously inspires collective or individual efforts, but a mystification which unconsciously obscures real social structures and relations". In her view, the ideological content of professionalism is more important than the account of the actual teaching conditions. Defining professionalism as an ideology helps illuminate the intricacies of teachers' work within a broader context than their classrooms/ schools. It helps answer important questions about teachers' struggles within teaching, but also about the nature of their experiences within the occupation and their relations with the state.

Seeing it through ideological lenses made me even more aware of the fact that "professionalism is not an innocent, non-political, occupational concept" (Lawn & Grace, 1987). Among others, the notion has been used both by the state and teachers in various attempts to define, reform and control teachers' work (Lawn & Ozga, 1988; Darling-Hammond, 1993;

Shanker, 1989). For instance, professionalism, as an ideology, may be used by teachers (but also by any other occupational groups) to obtain and preserve "privileges" such as autonomy of their work; "a monopoly of the marker for their 'expert' services and thus obtain higher remuneration" (Ginsburg, 1996, p. 134); and social status (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1986; Johnson, 1977).

In my thesis, I am going beyond the rhetoric of professional responsibility and competence, in which definitions of professionalism have usually been couched, in order to better understand the politics of teachers' work and their responses to various social, economic, political and cultural changes. Lawn's (1989, p. 154) definition of professionalism admirably captures the essence of the theoretical framework used in my thesis: "Professionalism is an expression of the struggle over the control and purpose of schooling and involves the possibility of resistance and creation of alternatives [and] it can create a defensible space around teachers' work". In the following chapters, I am going to analyze more in depth various ways in which teachers create and preserve their *defensible spaces*, and how they are engaged in critically explaining their own work in relation to their professional ideals, but also to the social and economic context.

2. Conceptions of (De)Professionalization

Hargreaves (1994, p. 14) offers a clear definition of professionalization, which I found useful in beginning to conceptualize the processes of professionalization/ de-professionalization of teachers' work. In his words, professionalization "emphasizes changes in and extensions to the teacher's role that signify greater professionalism. In this position, teaching is seen as becoming more complex and more skilled with teachers being involved more in leadership roles,

partnership with colleagues, shared decision-making and providing consultancy to others in their own area of expertise".

Teachers' aspirations for increased autonomy, higher salaries, and standards of training have always molded their individual and collective actions. Yet, with very few exceptions (such as the British teachers' greater autonomy over the curriculum development, in the 1960s, or the high wages of the Canadian teachers in the 1970s), teachers' professionalization has usually been resisted by local and national governments (Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996, p. 1). However, we have recently witnessed a steady tendency from the part of the governments, administrators and business alike to support and even initiate the process of "professionalization" of teachers' work. This trend is closely tied to the transformations taking place in the society and economy, more generally. The concept is embodied in both "leftist" and (neo)liberal ideologies of education reform. In the first case, professionalization is supposed to empower and emancipate the teacher, who, along with the community and the students, collaborates to reconstruct the society. From the right, it is supposed to help teachers have more autonomy and, through the process of decentralization, be closer to the local communities (Popkewitz, 1993). Popkewitz notices that the Anglo-American traditions of professionalization, which have, as central features, the expert knowledge and occupational autonomy of teachers, are prevalent in the reform literature. "A historical construction of the relation of the state and civil society" in the (non-centralized) Anglo-American countries, the professional teacher has a "strong cultural and social authority that existed alongside the state legal-administrative apparatus". (Popkewitz, 2000, p. 12).

However, in many instances, efforts at professionalizing the teaching occupation have the opposite effect. In the American context, for instance, "we see states passing laws that pay lip service to teacher professionalism while, with the other hand, they even erect greater restraints

on curricula, textbooks, tests and teaching methods" (Darling-Hammond, 1993, p. 60). Teachers' work is eroded through the very same process that is supposed to empower them.

I define deprofessionalization (in a Weberian perspective) as the process through which occupational groups' social status, work autonomy and salaries are reduced, especially when compared with other groups of workers (Ginsburg, 1996; Collins, 1979).

Many researchers have identified the tendency of deprofessionalization or technicization of teachers' work, which has become increasingly "intensified" (Apple, 1983; Robertson and Woock, 1991; etc.). Features of the process of "intensification" of their work include, among others: overloading the teachers' schedules (Apple & Jungck, 1996); lack of control over their longer-term planning of their work (Hargreaves, 1992); and dependence of teachers on "external specialists" (Ballet et al., 2006). Merson (2000, p. 160) aptly summarizes the various aspects of the process of intensification of teachers' work: "Interpretations of intensification vary with author but common themes emerge: more of the teacher's time devoted to the task of teaching, the scope of administrative duties extending, and less time for collegial relations, relaxation and private life".[11]

However, very often teachers accept the intensification of their own work, since it is "misrecognized as a symbol of their increased professionalism" (Apple, 1986, p. 45). Broadened commitment and heightened professionalism are explained in terms of the intensification of the labor process or as misrecognition of that process: "the ideology of professionalism for teachers legitimates and reinforces...intensification" (Densmore, 1987, p. 149).

---

[11] Larson developed a general theory of the labor process, in which the concept of "intensification" plays a central role. Considered as "one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educated workers are eroded", the intensification of teachers' work "compels the reduction of time within the working day when no surplus is produced" (Larson, 1980, pp. 165-166).

The intensification and standardization of their teaching activities, along with diminished remuneration, training and benefits of workers, and the separation of conception from execution of work tasks define are elements of the proletarianization of the teachers' work (Ginsburg, 1996; Derber, 1982; Larson, 1980; Aronowitz, 1973). Braverman (1974) identifies the process through which the labor power is de-skilled and devalued as a fundamental feature of proletarianization. In his view, non-manual work (exactly as the manual work) has been standardized and routinized in the era of monopoly capitalism. The result of this process involves the devaluation of the labor power from skilled to average levels (Harris, 1994).

Various studies emphasize the ways the teaching occupation has been proletarianized through a harsh approach to educational reform. De-skiling is very often realized through a so-called "imposed surveillance" (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 172), whose elements include: standardized testing, evaluation by external "quality assurance" terms, outcomes-orientated curricula, site-based management, school development plans, etc. Key elements of the reform rhetoric, such as "collaboration" and "shared decision making" only give teachers the illusion of having their voices heard and enhancing their own professionalism. On the contrary, these concepts become a control mechanism aimed at manipulating teachers (Klette, 2000). As Ball (1994, p. 50) put it in the English context, "the teacher is increasingly an absent presence in the discourses of education policy, an object rather than a subject of discourse". Teachers are subjected to managerialism – control by outsiders (and what is worse, non-professionals!), and better surveillance of outcomes.

Nowadays teachers' conditions of work are worsening and the schools are opened up to public scrutiny and monitoring. Very often, teachers are portrayed as being "treated almost like recovering alcoholics: needing to adopt step-by-step methods of instruction, or to comply with imposed tests and curricula in order to be effective" (Hargreaves, 1994a, p. 15). The increasing

dependence of teachers on an externally produced and imposed apparatus of behavioral objectives, in-class assessments and accountability instruments, and classroom management technologies has led to a proliferation of administrative and assessment tasks, lengthening of the teacher's working day, and elimination of opportunities for more creative and imaginative work. All these elements are part of the process of proletarianization and deprofessionalization of teachers, who are subjected to de-powering and de-skilling, while becoming the implementers of reform policies designed and controlled by others (Ginsburg, 1996; Ginsburg & Cooper, 1991).

For instance, Gordon (1992, p. 40) notes the repositioning of teachers in New Zealand from "professional" to "proletarian": "Instead of collaborative management and staff development, they [teachers] are to be subject to the discipline of strict industrial relations and surprise inspections...The old professional settlement of teachers, in which they were involved in every aspect of the system from teaching to national policy-making, and were concerned to develop the system as a whole, is over...Further, they are to compete with each other and with other schools" (Gordon, 1992, p. 34).

Torres (1991, p. 137) describes the proletarianization of teachers in Mexico as being characterized by elements such as "the vertical and horizontal corporativist controls of their actions, the increasing controls of the productive and pedagogical relationships in their marketplace..., and their economic pauperization due to explicit policies of expanding education at the expense of teachers' real wages". The case of Mexico can be extended to other countries, where teachers increasingly lack autonomy, perform routinized and deskilled work and do not participate in the policy making or evaluation of educational policies. Ginsburg (1996; 1990) provides a few historical accounts of professionalization as well as deprofessionalization/ proletarianization that teachers have experienced. For instance, in the context of economic and

political crises (plus the fiscal crisis of the state, especially in the 1970s and the 1980s), in countries such as Australia and the US, but also in a number of developing countries, the state and the (economic) elites directed attempts to undermine teachers' professional autonomy and to intensify their work. As an example, the American reform movements in the 1980s and the 1990s, focusing on prescriptions concerning the methods of teaching represent a form of deskilling and proletarianization (Ginsburg, 1988), by reducing even more the autonomy, status and power of teachers. Martin (1991, p. 359) argues that the education reforms started in the 1980s represent a turning point in the history of American public education: "While accommodating the changing international economic order, the public school system, as the mainstay of the ideological state-apparatus, would assist in the restoration, legitimation, and maintenance of a class based hierarchical social system. This hardening of the stratification system involves changes in the lives of both students and teachers".

One can distinguish between a technical and an ideological dimension of the process of proletarianization (Derber, 1983). Through the ideological proletarianization, teachers lose control "over the goals and social purposes to which one's work is put" (Derber, 1983, p. 169). The ideological proletarianization may be prompted by education reforms, in which top-down decisions are imposed on teachers' work. For instance, Robertson (1996, p. 44) describes the case of the Australian teachers, whose "task" has been to comply with new government policies, which aim at connecting their work to the industry. Within this perspective, teachers should ("efficiently") prepare the "ideal worker for the new regime: multi-skilled, efficient, self-reliant, team-oriented, adaptable and flexible".

Technical proletarianization involves "a loss of control over the process of the work itself (the means),…[the] technical plan of production and/or the rhythm or pace of work" (Derber,

1983, p. 169). In Derber's view, the process of ideological proletarianization precedes historically the technical one. Ginsburg & Spatig noticed in 1988 that up to then, teachers had experienced only the ideological aspects of the proletarianization, and not the technical ones. (Ginsburg & Spatig, 1988, p. 61). Decades later, one might talk about a visible technical proletarianization of teachers' work. For instance, with the increasing use of computer technology in their classrooms, teachers can lose control of the content and rhythm of their teaching activities. Another example is offered by standardized tests and a national curriculum, which control the way teachers choose their teaching and evaluation methods.

It is through these two forms of proletarianization, technical and ideological, that the state increasingly controls teachers' work. Consequently, teachers' autonomy is ever more eroded. However, I argue, along with Robertson (1996), that, while useful in describing the decline in teachers' autonomy, Derber's perspective insufficiently explains how the proletarianization of their work make teachers engage in resisting practices. In addition, it does not fully clarify "the precise nature" of teachers' autonomy (Robertson, 1996). Dale (1982) offers further definitions of their autonomy and the ways in which the state has curtailed it. He talks about a "regulated autonomy", in which teachers, blinded by their own ideologies of professionalism, fail to understand the close relationship between economy and education, and the strong power of the state over their work.

In the Romanian case, as I am going to illustrate in my thesis, teachers are increasingly caught up between the official discourses of professionalizing their work and the noticeable decrease, among others, in their professional and social status, professional salaries and other social and economic advantages. Particular socio-political periods (such as the socialism of the 1980s; and the incipient capitalism of the 1990s) have accentuated the process of

professionalization/ de-professionalization of their work. For instance, as I will show more in detail in subsequent chapters, poorly designed and implemented education reforms have abounded since the fall of the communist regime in 1989. The gap between official accounts of the current education reforms and the reality of the enactments of their policies in schools is widening, especially since teachers have generally been excluded from participating in the changes to their work. In this context, teachers' de-professionalization is becoming a heartrending reality in Romania, deeply affecting their work and lives. Despite the distinctiveness of the instance I canvass in my thesis, the problems that Romanian teachers are facing are indicative of "the world of teaching in protracted economically rationalist times" (Smyth & Shacklock, 1998, p. 2), but also of the various ways in which teachers everywhere resist and creatively adapt those changes of their work.

3. Educators as Workers and Their Relation with the State

I see teaching as both a *professional vocation* and *work*, in close relation with economic, political, class and gender relations. I argue that one cannot fully understand teachers' work without taking into account the actual conditions of their workplace, including "the personal, the political and the structural relations of the labour process" (Lawn & Grace, 1987, p. ix).

Seeing teachers' work through the lenses of the "labor process theory" is most likely to shed light on the complexities that shape educational practice and teachers' relation with the state. Among the researchers who applied a labor process perspective to teachers' work (especially in the 1980s), I should mention Ozga and Lawn (1981), Harris (1982), Apple (1986), etc. In their views, as Connell (1995, p. 94) explains, the school is understood "as the producer of human capital needed by the economy, in the form of a trained and differentiated workforce.

Teachers are then readily seen as the specialized workforce producing the larger workforce". In a conceptualization of teaching as work, schools are seen as worksites where the work of teaching is organized and divided (Ozga, 1988). Teachers are workers by virtue of their economic position as employees, but they can resist the efforts of the state to prepare and employ compliant workers. The continuous dynamics of conflict and resistance in the class struggle helps "unravel some of the reasons why procedures for rationalizing the work of teachers evolved…the ultimate effect of these procedures, with the loss of control that accompanies them, can bear in important ways on how we think about the 'reform' of teaching and curriculum and the State's role in it" (Apple, 1986, p. 34).

Teachers are seen as "key political actors in struggles in society" (Ginsburg et al., 1991, p. 22; see also Ginsburg, 1989) and the dynamics of their labor process include struggles around gender and social class (Connell, 1985; Dale, 1989). I am going to discuss briefly these two important elements, in relation to teachers' work.

Recent feminist work on teachers' work go in the continuation of studies from the 1980s, by authors such as Hoffman (1981), Purvis (1981) and The Boston Women's Teachers' Group (1983), which analyze women teachers' experiences in patriarchal structures, but also innovatively examine the relation between gender and conceptions of professionalism. For instance, an increasing feminization of the teaching force is believed to have accompanied a general de-professionalization (Acker, 1995) or slowed down the process of professionalizing teaching (Murphy, 1990). The difficulty of attracting sufficient males into teaching is one of the causes of the feminization of the teaching profession. However, behind this process, one can notice a powerful image of patriarchy, which "should not be seen as being embodied in a group of conspiring males closeted away in smoke-filled rooms in state education departments" (Smyth

& al., 2000, p. 36). Instead, a gendered educational policy is reflected in "the existence of a highly masculinist culture within the power structures of the bureaucracy" (Lingard, 1995, p. 147). Gender bias is often hidden under the surface of gender neutrality in state policy and educational practice (Blackmore, 1993). Blackmore discusses about a "hegemonic masculinity", identified in the limited access of women to administrative positions, and differences in professional development opportunities, promotion, salary benefits. She even talks about a "re-masculinization" in the context of the feminization of the teaching profession, visible in the tendencies at the policy level towards dominating, hierarchical, managerialist discourses of administration and leadership in schools. This produces "a tendency for polarisation between re-masculinisation at the 'hard core' of the financial and policy centre of newly devolved systems, and the feminisation and de-professionalisation of teaching and middle management at the 'soft edges' close to the chalk face" (Blackmore, 1995, p. 49).

Identifying teachers as professionals have made researchers situate them into "a middle class social class location" (Ozga & Lawn, 1981), where they collaborate with the state and stay away from other unionized workers. Indeed, the notion of professionalism strategically serves the interests of the state for the management and control of teachers (Grace, 1987; Lawn, 1987). For instance, we can talk about a "legitimated professionalism" (Grace, 1985, p. 11), through which the state tries to promote professional autonomy as an antidote to teacher unionism. Thus, teachers, as an occupational group, become "domesticated", "de-politicized" and not a threat to the central state. Workplace autonomy is used ideologically not only by the State as a means to keep teachers away from the labor movement, but also by the teachers, in order to increase "their control over their work and as a means of defense against employers' attempts to worsen their working conditions and reduce standards in the service" (Ozga, 1988, p. 144; see also Grace,

1987; Ozga and Lawn, 1981). However, the traditional notion of professional autonomy seems to have helped to "create a situation in which teachers as an occupational group have become politically outmaneuvered and their status reduced to that of semi-professionals" (Nixon, 1995, p. 215). Nixon suggests an alternative version of professionalism based on a different notion of autonomy and articulated in terms of educational value and their relation to practice.

Relatively recent studies on the relation between social class and professionalism (see, for instance, Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Lawn & Grace, 1987) challenge existing historical research on teachers' unionism (Tropp, 1957; Gosden, 1972) and cover new ground in the analysis of teachers' class location. They see teachers as workers, who are in an evident process of proletarianization: key elements of their ideals of professionalism, such as notions of autonomy and service are endangered by the changes of their working conditions. The state's use of professionalism as an ideology is increasingly weakened by its own policies. Therefore, the contradictions between unionism and professionalism become ever more blurred: in Ozga & Lawn's opinion, teachers' alliances with organized labor may help restore their "craft ethic" (p. 146), an important element of their professionalism.

Teachers' labor process (whose work is constituted by the interaction between teachers and students, shaped by the specifications of the curriculum) is a political activity: "That is, curriculum aims and teaching practices will be the subject of contestation involving those groups who have an interest in the outcomes of the labour process of students and teachers. The stakes are high since capacities for social practice have an impact on capital accumulation and the distribution of wealth, and this makes education and its labour process a highly political activity" (Smyth et al., 2000, pp. 13-14).

In addition, the notion of "control" is seminal in the context of teachers selling their labor power to the state (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 23). Defined as "the ability of capitalists and/or managers to obtain desired work behaviour from workers" (Edwards, 1979, p. 17), the control of teachers' work is realized through there different processes: defining the curriculum; supervising and evaluating teachers; and engineering compliance and consent (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 38).

Curriculum is a form of technical control of teachers' work by the state (for instance, the pace of teaching, the content and the way it should be taught, etc.). Very often, curriculum innovations are meant to redefine a "legitimate" knowledge for schools (Apple, 1986). In this context, teachers become merely the executors of pre-packed plans designed by others, and their "craft" skills do not seem to be needed anymore: "Skills that teachers used to need, that were deemed essential to the craft of working with children – such as curriculum deliberation and planning, designing teaching and curricular strategies for specific groups and individuals based on intimate knowledge of these people – are no longer necessary" (Apple, 1981, p. 100). In his view, official efforts to re-skill the teachers through strategies such as management ideologies are in fact part of the same process of the de-skilling/ proletarianization of their work. Teachers resist and adapt much of the curriculum changes, and their strategies varies from deciding the pace of their own work to striking. As I am going to discuss in subsequent chapters, in the Romanian context, the curriculum reform started in the 1990s has accentuated a clear process of proletarianization of teachers' work, by routinizing their work, adding more external supervision and control, etc. One of its most important consequences has been the erosion of their own identity as "educators" (both on a professional and a social level), which have compelled them to identify intriguing ways of restoring their professional and social images.

Another way through which the state controls teachers' work is the bureaucratic one. This is realized through "job categories, work rules, promotion procedures, discipline, wage differentials, definitions of responsibilities and so on" (Smyth et al, 2000, p. 41).

A more subtle form of control is the ideological one. In order to understand better the relation between teachers and the state, one should draw on theoretical work pertaining to state-economy and state-occupations relations, at both the local and national levels, in the context of the world system (Ginsburg et al., 1988b). The state is relatively autonomous from the national and world economy. However, it is confronted with "two contradictory 'structural imperatives'…in a capitalist social formation" (Ginsburg et al., 1988b, p. 319): *accumulation* and *reproduction*. The first imperative focuses on maintaining "economic returns to capital in the context of declining rates of profit and a world-wide crisis". Faced with the problem of high productivity at a low cost, the state would make attempts to make education and other social service sectors "more efficient and more accountable to the economic demands of accumulation" (Ginsburg et al., 1988b, p. 319). They include budgetary cuts, changes in the curriculum, intensification and decreasing autonomy of teachers' work. On the other hand, the process of *reproduction* involves the organization and the legitimation of social relations appropriate to the means of production: "The problem encountered by the state is how to 'produce' a more explicitly stratified population possessing various degrees of specialized knowledge and to do so in a manner that provides an aura of legitimacy" (Ginsburg et al., 1988b, p. 319).

The relation between the state and occupations is a complex one, and seems to be driven by two contradictory forces: "professionalization" and "proletarianization" (Ginsburg et al., 1988b, p. 319; see also Ginsburg, 1988; 1987). The relations between the state and occupational groups depend on the extent to which the state "1. provides a guaranteed clientele; 2. defines

which clients will be served (i.e., who has needs); and 3. specifies how clients' needs will be met" (Ginsburg et al., 1988b, p. 320; citing Fielding & Portwood, 1980). This form of control, combined with the one exercised through the level of funding has led, for instance, to a deterioration of the occupational group's "advantages", especially in periods of fiscal crisis of the state. In the case of teachers, there are various responses this deterioration, ranging from simple acceptance to active resistance and challenge of the state control (e.g., through unionism, party politics, etc., but also under the banner of professionalism). Often, educators use the ideology of professionalism as a "tool" against the process of deprofessionalization or proletarianization. However, this "tool" is not always very effective, since it could also be used by "administrators, state elites, other occupational groups, and other citizens" to "criticize or challenge teachers' claims and aspirations" (Ginsburg, 1996, p. 135; see also Filson, 1988; Ginsburg & Spatig, 1988; Lawn & Ozga, 1981).

As long as the ideology of professionalism used by the teachers coincides with and serve "the dominant ideological processes of capital" (Johnson, 1980, p. 359), the process of educators' professionalization could be seen as successful. However, understanding professionalism in an unproblematic way transforms teachers into "servants of power" (Baritz, 1960; cited in Ginsburg, 1996) and leads them to narrowly define problems "within individuals or cultural groups rather than in the political, economic, and cultural systems at local, national, and global levels" (Ginsburg, 1996, p. 136).

Ginsburg (1996) suggests that democratic politics, rather than professionalism, might be a suitable model for educators to conceptualize and organize their work and lives. Ginsburg's conception of democracy is similar to Aronowitz's "radical democracy": it "insists on direct popular participation in crucial decisions affecting economic life, political and social institutions,

as well as everyday life". Also, it claims that "the power to make these decisions rests upon those affected by them" (Aronowitz, 1994, p. 27). In Ginsburg's view, teachers should join forces with other citizens (in the context of *power-with* relations) in an effort to have better schools and communities.

4. Conclusions

a. The Politics of Teacher Professionalism

This literature review has had two purposes. On one hand, it has highlighted the complex character of the notion of teacher professionalism. Various debates have brought into question the basic assumption of the teachers seen purely as professionals. We err if we keep discussions of the teachers' work abstract, giving too little attention to the concrete social, economic and political context and implicitly to issues of social structure, cultural reproduction and transformation.

Second, it has helped situate my study in a wider research landscape, built by the works of Apple (1986, 1996), Connell (1989, 1995), Ginsburg (1988, 1989, 1995, 1996), Ozga & Lawn (1984), Popkewitz (1991, 1993, 1998), Robertson (1994, 2000, 2003), Smyth et al. (2000), etc. My research fits into their criticism of the idea that teachers' work is autonomous from the state. I argue, along with those researchers, that their work and lives are positioned within a set of relations whose governing patterns comprise the state. These are power relations, evident in educational institutions, teacher education programs, classrooms, but also at the local, national and international level of the policy-making process. Teachers' actions change or perpetuate the existing power relations and (material and symbolic) resource distribution (Ginsburg and Lindsay, 1995): teachers "work and live within relations of power, that is, within both unequal,

dominant-subordinate relations and mutually enabling connections" (Ginsburg, 1995). Their work and lives are dialectically related to the distribution of structural and ideological power "used to control the means of producing, reproducing, consuming, and accumulating material and symbolic resources" (Ginsburg et al., 1992). Therefore, teachers are and should be considered "political actors", whose actions and/or inactions have implications for the distribution of power. Power relations are embedded in curriculum, pedagogy, student evaluation, research, institutional membership, unions/association membership, and in the role of teachers as citizen (Ginsburg et al., 1992). In all these, the ideologies of professionalism, professionalization and deprofessionalization/ proletarianization play a critical role. For instance, by drawing on and reproducing the ideology of "professionalism" as a "meritocratic conception of educational attainment", teachers help "legitimate a division of labor needed by at least capitalist relations of production" (Ginsburg et al., 1992, p. 436). Also, the power relations between teachers and administrators is partly a reflection of the struggle over the educational labor process (Ginsburg et al., 1992): the processes of proletarianization (through which teachers' work becomes deskilled and depowered) and professionalization (through which their work becomes reskilled and repowered) have implications for class relations (Ginsburg, 1988; Sarup, 1984). For instance, Ginsburg's ethnographic study of pre-service teacher socialization identifies the influence of teachers' predispositions during their training and the contradictions between the specific individual experiences and class, race, and gender relations within society and education.

Professionalization and deprofessionalization/ proletarianization are historical processes. The patterns of political and administrative control over teachers change over time in the context of struggle between teachers and the state. In many parts of the world, the fiscal crisis of the state

and the weakening of the legitimacy of state intervention have opened up its economy to the play of "free market" forces. It has been argued that nowadays the importance of the nation-state is vanishing and the notion of state is too abstract to remain powerful (Crook et al., 1992; Hoffman, 1995). Nevertheless, the state does not wither away, but it strategically withdraws "from the murky plain of overwhelming detail, the better to take refuge in the clear and commanding heights of effective strategic 'profiling'" (Neave, 1988, p. 12). The state transforms itself into an "evaluative" power.[12] Analyzing the role of the state in the past and nowadays, helps us "understand the assumptions, intentions and outcomes of various strategies of educational change" (Dale, 1982, pp. 129-130),[13] as well as the encroachment of politics on teachers' lives and work.

My study is not going to "criticize the canon" (Fine, 1991) of this type of research, but to build on and to refine its critical inquiry regarding the interplay between politics and professional identity. Thus, I will develop more in depth the idea that professionalism may be used both by the state to control teachers' activity, and by the teachers to protect themselves against the proletarianization of their work. There are quite a few important historical and ethnographic studies that seek to illuminate how teachers draw on the ideology of professionalism to understand and to mobilize/ immobilize the individual and collective actions in relation to their work and lives (see, for instance, Ginsburg et al., 1988a; Grace, 1987; Day, 2000; Sachs, 2000; Troman, 1996). While teachers use the ideology of professionalism for their own ends, the

---

[12] "The Evaluative State is then a rationalisation and wholesale redistribution of functions between the centre and periphery such as the centre maintains strategic control through fewer, but more precise, policy levers, contained in overall 'mission statements', the setting of system goals and the operationalising of criteria relating to 'output quality'. Accordingly, these elements form the general framework within which strategic control is managed and to which mid-level co-ordination is entrusted with the task of working out the appropriate means for their attainment" (Neave, 1988, p. 11).

[13] "[F]ocusing on the source and nature of control over education and schools entails focusing on the immediate provider of education, the State" (Dale, 1982, p. 129).

results of their struggle with the state are not preset, but they depend on specific socio-political and historical contexts in which their work is situated (Connel, 1985, Robertson, 1996). In my study, I am trying to understand the professional strategies, created and developed by a group of Romanian teachers in a particular context, in order to accommodate to changes imposed on them. This involves ambiguities that are not easily resolved, including their relation with the state and definitions of their own professional identities. An analysis of teachers' work and working conditions is imperative, as the social, economic and cultural context is intricately tied to their seeking ways of defining their work.

b. Intellectual/ Professional: Notes about the Romanian Teachers' Identity

The starting point of my analysis lies deep in teachers' own identification with the teaching profession. Romanian teachers call themselves *intellectuals*,[14] while the term *professional* has just entered the Romanian educational scene (mostly through the rhetoric of the reform discourses). Popkewitz (1984, p. 188) sees teaching as a "*helping* occupation", in which *the intellectual* takes a reformist role and becomes a *professional*. In his view, this gives the teaching profession (as in the case of other "expanding occupations", such as social workers and psychologists) "status and legitimacy". These two aspects of their identity, which are socially and culturally bound, stand juxtaposed in my research. I argue that none of them (taken alone) fully captures the complexity and the ambiguity of their identity. Instead, teachers' work and

[14] Gramsci (1971) captured the role of the intellectual as mediator of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. In this way, as Popkewitz (1984, p. 185) aptly put it, "the intellectual becomes the expert in legitimation, influencing moral conduct and direction of will by controlling the communications through which a society establishes purpose and describes and evaluates its institutional conditions".

lives are situated in the general dynamics of these two definitions, as dictated by the agenda of the state and of other national/ international agencies.

A few words about teachers as intellectuals would set the background for a better understanding of their professional and social identity. In order to examine this definition, I find necessary to outline a succinct introduction to the Romanian intelligentsia.

Traditionally seen as the "conscience and the guardians of the national culture", the Eastern European intelligentsia is not, as in the Russian case, a caste of "superfluous men" (Bozoki, 1999). Although they were the intellectual and cultural elites of their countries, Eastern European intelligentsia has never been disconnected from politics and wider society. For instance, after 1918, many Romanian intellectuals became fascinated by radical politics, such as the right-wing nationalism of the Iron Guard or the Arrow Cross (Mungiu, 1999), while some others were attracted by communist ideas. In such an effervescent social and political environment, it was almost impossible for anybody to remain in the "ivory tower". Therefore, teachers, representing an important segment of the Romanian intelligentsia, have been wired into circuits of political power and social change as well.

Immediately after the Second World War, the Eastern European communist regimes embarked on the creation of a new technical and cultural intelligentsia loyal to the new order. Therefore, they broadened the definition of the "intellectuals", to include college-educated people, such as "employers, managers, line supervisors, professionals, and midlevel office employees" (Sokolowski, 2001, p. 70). This strange at the first sight mélange of occupational groups had in common a "status inconsistency" (Bernick, 1999), "which saw it benefit from the cultural and educational opportunities available under socialism without gaining political influence, economic power or material reward" (Hanley, 1999, p. 2).

The non-socialist intellectuals "lost" their battle with the Stalinist regime in the 1950s: they were isolated from the civic society (tortured, imprisoned, sent to the communist gulags or even murdered). Yet, as Hanley (1999) notices, a new generation of intellectuals, although communist-oriented, made up for that ground lost in the 1950s. They were the reformers, in a "latent conflict of authority" with the technocratic specialists and administrators who were supporting the communist regime. However, they were hardly "on the road to class power", as Konrad and Szelenyi (1979) had argued in the 1970s. Believers in the communist cause and its ideals or only political opportunists, few intellectuals still embraced the official discourses and structures.[15] The majority declared themselves "apolitical" and tried to create their own social and intellectual refuges in professionalism and intellectual elitism. Finally, some (very few though in Romania) challenged the official discourse and involved themselves in dissident movements.

In Poland, the intellectual dissent (which was constantly strong from the 1950s) transformed into strong political activism, culminating with their crucial role in the *Solidarnosc* movement of the 1980s. The situation was very different in Romania. Most of the Romanian intellectuals have not questioned (at least not openly) the legitimacy of the communist system. As Carey (2004, p. 585) notices, Romania had a relatively "inactive, and highly uncivil, civil society", which "has been largely static in political participation, with cultural continuities maintaining elite deference and shrill nationalism". In this context, "intellectuals were privileged tools of the state". (Carey, 2004, p. 586). After the 1989 Revolution, Romanians have vainly

[15] In Poland, for instance, many intellectuals became the "purveyors of progress and social change. Many prominent physicians and literati embarked on ambitious efforts to eradicate poverty, diseases, and social ills caused by economic backwardness and predatory capitalism". (Sokolowski, 2001, p. 11). Sokolowski talks about Pole intellectuals' "growing aspirations to influence public policy and public decision-making process. Such attitudes were nominally encouraged by the set of values embedded in educational curricula as well as in the progressive intellectual tradition, but the institutions of central planning limited the opportunity to put these aspirations to practice. (Sokolowski, 2001, pp. 49-50).

waited for new histories of dissent or for literature on intellectual samizdat. Instead, there were more and more data on their ersatz political dissent, as most of them had, in fact, collaborated with the former regime. During the 1990s, the Romanian intelligentsia, still openly displaying its elitism, enjoyed some political attention, but soon after, it became fragmented into many small political groups and could not find a way to communicate with the "depoliticized" Romanian population.

Teachers too have often been seen as obedient subjects of the communist regime, since they seemed to lack civil ambitions and did not challenge the top-down fashion in which the entire socialist apparatus was functioning (among others, their pay, benefits, and job duties were set by the central planning authorities). For instance, by the end of the 1960s, 47 percent of all schoolteachers were members of the Communist Party. (King, 1980). However, while some joined the party for having the opportunity to promote,[16] most of them only complied tacitly with that situation. Instead, they chose *dissimulation* (to borrow a term invoked by Jowitt,[17] in order to describe disjuncture between public behavior and private beliefs), an attitude socially and economically beneficial for many teachers who had decided to build their professional careers, without challenging the system. In the 1980s, when austerity measures, prompted by a complete repayment of the foreign debt, were introduced (including the rationing of basic foodstuffs), the gulf between the Party and the population widened even more. Therefore, their capacity of dissimulation increased accordingly. Their prestige and authority boosted too, being prompted by socialist education policies such as the increased number and the high complexity of examinations, combined with the conditions of *numerus clausus* for admission to the upper

[16] The party membership was not coerced. However, it was important for their professional advancement in positions such as school principal or inspector.
[17] See his well-known book on *New World Disorder: the Leninist Extinction*, published in 1992.

secondary level and for admission to university studies; the encyclopedic aspect of teaching and learning; etc.

One would argue that the state empowered them, in order to control them more efficiently. However, many of them decided to stay away from politics[18] and to retreat in their profession. They identified themselves with a paradoxical system of education: one that was highly embedded in its rhetoric of equality,[19] but which was in fact highly competitive and even elitist in its structure and content. Professionalism became their refuge, while they were still achieving the state goals, such as "social reproduction and distribution of surplus values". (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 59).

The problem of the Romanian teachers' identity involves ambiguities that are not easily resolved. On one hand, the state created, sustained and legitimated teachers' professional and social identity, in order to favor its interests. On the other hand, teachers felt empowered and even freed from particular ideologies and power structures. However, their identity was located in and was a product of the communist regime. The shift in political regimes (from the communism to the *disorganized capitalism* of the 1990s), has brought with it a plethora of changes in the social and professional identity of the Romanian teachers. These changes, prompted by many education reforms and by the dynamics of the socio-political, cultural and economic context, include, as I will illustrate in my thesis, feelings of alienation, loss of self-identity and control over their work. Thus, teachers' efforts to keep their identity and status involve attempts to find alternative ways to define themselves.

---

[18] In fact, as Drakulić (1997, p. 104) rightly notices, "under Communism politics was something distant and dangerous, something to fear and hate, certainly not something to get involved in". Deep inside, however, teachers preserved their strong link to politics, as it used to be before 1945. Political jokes represented their most favorite form of entertainment. Talking politics, though it rarely brought a concrete political action, "substantially raised the salience of public issues, politics and institutions in the everyday life of citizens". (Sokolowski, 2001, p. 207).

[19] Interestingly enough, while many teachers were doing private tutoring at their homes, they also organized, following the Party's directives, "private" tutoring in schools, free of charge.

B. PRIVATE TUTORING: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review builds on Bray's important work on private tutoring (Bray, 1999b, 2003, 2005), which is the first attempt to systematize the limited information about the phenomenon. To his account, I have added a wide range of literature (including, among others, research papers, official documents and media news), in order to discuss the extent, reasons for and consequences of private tutoring.

Since private tutoring is an underground phenomenon in many countries and until recently, researchers have not been markedly interested in this topic, information is scarce and sometimes unreliable. Therefore, a cautionary note is necessary: I have been trying to stay away from treating claims by critics and supporters (alike) as if they are systematically grounded in data. However, in some instances, I decided to mention their views, since they represent the only information available on the phenomenon in a specific context.

1. Defining Private Tutoring

In his definition of supplementary private tutoring, Bray (1999b, pp. 20-22) takes into consideration two important aspects: *supplementation* and *privateness*. This definition deals with subjects that are covered in school, especially languages, mathematics and other examinable subjects. Then, it is concerned with tutoring provided by private entrepreneurs and individuals for income generation, and not with "unpaid work, e.g. from family members who voluntarily help other family members with their homework or other tasks," nor "with personnel who provide supplementary help at public expense, e.g. to assist new immigrants to adjust to host societies, or to provide head-start or other programmes for slow learners". (Bray, 1999b, p. 20).

Private tutoring exists at all school levels. However, it is stronger at the secondary level (especially senior secondary level), when students prepare themselves for entrance examination to colleges and universities.

In England and other English-speaking countries, private tutoring is called *private tuition*. There are not only individuals, but also specialized institutions (in the UK they are called *crammers*) that offer private tutoring, which usually are cheaper than private tutors and enjoy popularity as well. Those teaching agencies maintain registers of private tutors and, when timed well (for instance, around Easter time, to catch the exam crammers), the earnings from private tutoring are rather high. For instance, The Top Tutors agency, based in London, has enjoyed a great success since it was set up in 1985. The average hourly prices for tutoring are between 16 and 20 pounds. An extra 2.50 charge applies if the tutor goes to the pupil's house (Top Tutors, London and South East, cited by the BBC News, 2002a).

In Korea, private tutoring could be done through learning institutes, called *hagwons*. In Taiwan, they are called *buxiban*. In Japan, we find *juku* and *yobiko*. In Turkey, the private tutoring centers are called "dersane". Interestingly enough, those centers operate under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and are part of the Ozel Dershaneler Birligi Dernegi (OZDEBIR), the Private Educational Courses Association, with headquarters in Istanbul. As Tansel & Bircan (2004) observe, citing sources from OZDEBIR and the Turkish Ministry of Education, the number of "dersane" has expanded from 174, in 1984, to more than 2100, in 2002, almost equalizing the number of high schools in Turkey.

a. Scale of the Private Tutoring Phenomenon

Private tutoring is found in almost all educational systems, no matter how rich or poor the countries are. However, it is more accentuated in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America than in Australia, North America and Western Europe. Bray (1999b, p. 29) argues that "supplementary private tutoring is especially likely to be widespread in cultures which stress effort". In contrast with many Asian cultures, which emphasize effort as an important factor of success, North American[20] and European ones are more likely to emphasize ability.

Private tutoring seems to be especially pervasive in Cambodia (ADB 1996; Bray 1999a), Egypt (Fergany, 1994; Megahed, 2002), Hong Kong (Lee, 1996), Japan (Russell, 1997), Korea (Bray, 1999b), Malaysia (Marimuthu et al., 1991), Morocco (Caillods et al., 1998), Myanmar (Gibson, 1992), Romania (UNESCO, 2000; Popa & Acedo, 2006), Singapore (George 1992, cited by Bray, 1999b), Sri Lanka (de Silva, 1994), etc. Baker et al. (2001, p. 7) presented data from national samples in a number of countries on the percentages of pupils in Grades 7 and 8 who reported receiving tutoring. The proportions exceeded 50 per cent in Czech Republic, Russia, Romania, Slovenia, South Africa, Philippines and Slovak Republic; and in Latvia and Colombia the proportions exceeded 90 per cent. In addition, Bray (1999b) compiled a table describing the scale of the phenomenon in 17 countries, mostly from Asia and Africa, and noticed the growth of this practice in many other countries. For instance,

- A 1992 survey of urban parts of Bangladesh found that 65 percent of pupils in government primary schools received private tutoring (World Bank, 1996, p. 53).

[20] However, not according to Turner (1971), who contrasts "contest" (US) versus "sponsored" (UK) mobility ideologies.

- A Sri Lankan survey found that 60 percent of Ordinary Level students and 84 percent of Advanced Level students received private tutoring (de Silva 1994, p. 4).
- In 1996, a survey in Hong Kong found that 45 percent of primary, 26 percent of lower secondary, 34 percent of middle secondary, and 41 percent of upper secondary students received private tutoring (Lee, 1996).
- In Mauritius, a survey in 1991 found 56 percent of students receiving private tutoring in secondary Form 2, 98 percent in Forms 3 and 4, and 100 percent in Forms 5 and 6 (Foondun, 1998).
- In Egypt, a 1994 survey found 65 percent of urban primary students and 53 percent of rural ones receiving private tutoring (Hua, 1996).
- A UNESCO study mentions that in Romania, in the 12th grade, 32 percent of the pupils in rural areas and 58 percent in urban areas receive private tutoring in one, two, or three subjects (UNESCO, 2000).
- In Kenya, a 1997 survey found 68.6 percent of primary and secondary education students receiving private tutoring (Nzomo et al., 2001).
- In Croatia, more than 75 percent of the secondary education students are tutored for one subject or another and the average cost for tutoring is $ 5 per hour (Tsakonas, 2002c, p. 29).

b. Features of Private Tutoring

Private tutoring is more likely to be found in urban areas than in rural ones, and varies with socio-economic background, and even race.[21] For instance, demand for private tutoring is high in England, particularly in the cities and it is mostly organized by specialized agencies. Private

[21] Chew & Long (1995, p. 23, cited by Bray, 1999b) observe a higher percentage of Indian students in Malaysia who receive private tutoring than do Malays and Chinese students.

tutoring is more common for kids from a higher socio-economic background (see, for instance, Stevenson & Baker, 1992). In Albania, people tend to be wealthier in urban settings than in countryside, and therefore they can more easily pay for private tutoring. This makes "teachers reluctant to take teaching posts in rural areas, or, if they commute from urban to rural areas to teach, they leave their schools sometimes even before the end of the school day in order to return to the city to tutor". (Tsakonas, 2002a, p. 25). One can easily find a few other reasons for the fact that private tutoring is more accentuated in urban areas: "For one, there is normally a higher level of competiveness among urban students which is related to the very competitive nature of urban life. Secondly, parents in urban society usually possess higher educational attainment than their rural counterparts and, by logical extension, have higher achievement expectation regarding their children's education...Also, urban parents are better off in socio-economic terms to afford tuition for their children, given that the fees incurred are fairly substantial". (Chew and Leong, 1995, p. 21; cited by Bray, 1999b).

As it is the case in Romania (Acedo & Popa, 2003), Mauritius (Foondun, 1992, p. 21) and Sri Lanka (Wijetunge, 1994, p. 15), for instance, very often students have more than one tutor for a single subject. I will discuss this aspect in more detail in the next chapters of my dissertation.

Usually, the subjects given most attention in private tutoring are the ones required for entrance examinations to colleges and university or "the ones more needed for educational and therefore socio-economic advancement. Commonly this means languages, mathematics and science" (Bray, 1999b, p. 34). In Romania, for instance, the subjects with the largest numbers in supplementary tutoring are Romanian, Mathematics and English (Popa, 2002). In Sri Lanka, de Silva (1994, p. 28) shows that demand for science tutoring is the highest, followed by

mathematics and then by languages. Hussein (1987, p. 94) finds that in Kuwait, 77 percent of 934 respondents to a survey of grades 5-12 received tutoring in mathematics, 55 per cent in physics, 45 per cent in chemistry, and 12 per cent in biology.

In countries like India, where tutoring humanities and languages was unheard of a few years ago, teachers of these subjects "probably felt that they are lagging behind their science teaching colleagues monetarily and decided to sacrifice a few leisure hours for the sake of students and of course for their pockets…If a student today is not taking private tutoring or is being tutored in one subject only, the reason more often than not is his inability to afford steep tutoring fees rather than the classroom teachings being adequate. The recipe for success translated into percentage of marks nowadays is getting tutored in as many subjects as one possibly can, following a strict schedule even at the cost of missing one's classroom teachings". (Manipur Online, 2002)

A simple perusal of the advertisements of private tutors on the web or in newspapers highlights the fact that English is one of the subjects given most attention in private tutoring. The market of private tutoring in English is huge. In Albania, for instance, there is already a well-developed foreign-language private tutoring "market" (both institutional and individual), although mathematics tutoring for university entrance exams is also high in demand.[22] Teachers of mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics, and foreign language have the greatest opportunity to tutor privately, mainly students in their last two or three years of high school who are preparing for university. In some cases, this practice has led to abuse. As noted by Dudwick & Shahriari (2000) and Tsakonas (2002a), some students and parents accuse teachers of exploiting their position by pressuring students in their own classes to enroll for private lesson: "Public-

[22] Private tutoring helps supplement teachers' income. On average, teachers charge between $3-5 an hour and provide two one-hour lessons a week. (Tsakonas, 2002a)

school teachers are able to use their positions in the state school system to create a "market" for their services, either by creating a reputation of excellence, or by overly threatening to fail students. Tutoring provides an affordable alternative to expensive private education, but has the potential to accentuate inequities, as does private schooling" (Tsakonas, 2002a, p. 40). Also, it provides a more politically strategic way to improve achievement and teachers' income without raising "taxes" to parents, other citizens, and corporations.

Private tutoring is a flourishing industry in Bulgaria as well, since parents feel a great responsibility for the education of their children and spend money on private tutoring beyond the education provided at schools – especially for languages (English, French and German) and computer training. In Sofia for example, there are about 50 private English tutorial schools (Tsakonas, 2002b, p. 34).[23]

c. Main Causes of Private Tutoring

- **The State of Mainstream Education: Issues Concerning Quality and Scarcity of Resources**

An often-invoked reason for the expansion of the private tutoring system is that "publicly provided educational services may not meet the private educational demands so that some households have to complement the public education with private expenditure in the form of private tutoring" (Kim & Lee, 2001, p. 2). Moreover, in many countries private tutoring has become a supplement to formal education, which compensates for the lower quality of the education system.

[23] The increasing out-of-school tutoring places tremendous financial burdens on parents. Private, home-based tutorials cost $6-7 per lesson. On average, a general secondary-school student will have 160 lessons per year totaling about $1,000. (Tsakonas, 2002b, p. 34)

The rapid expansion of public education could be a cause for its lower quality and a reason for the increasing reliance on private tutoring. Rapid expansion of education systems, which seek universal coverage as soon as possible, meant in countries like Uganda, Malawi, Tanzania, etc., that "the conditions of instruction were usually challenged, with overcrowded classes, less-prepared and supervised teachers, classrooms meeting more modest construction standards, and the absence or scarcity of pedagogical materials" (World Bank, 2002a, p. 7). In Korea, "[d]uring the late fifties immediately after the treacherous Korean war, the government aggressively sought to accomplish universal primary education as soon as possible. When it was achieved in the sixties and consequently the demand for secondary education increased dramatically, the government almost socialized secondary schools by implementing the school equalization policy. Although the major goal of this policy was to reduce private tutoring, the level of tutoring increased instead" (Kim & Lee, 2001, p. 2).

Even in countries where free education is enshrined in the constitution, the education policy and practice are not consistent with their concepts. There is an increase out-of-pocket expenditure on education, which makes up for the modest quality of public education, with overcrowded public education facilities, high student-to-teacher ratios, poor funding, and the continuous degradation in the volume and content of classroom teaching. "The result is either that poor households reduce consumption of other goods and services, or that their children are priced out of adequate educational provision. Charges faced by the households include legal fees, especially at the tertiary and pre-school level, textbooks, 'complementary inputs' such as school clothes and shoes..., and informal charges levied by teachers, schools and universities. The last of these is the most disturbing". (Klugman, et al., 2001, p. 6). They include bribing teachers for

good examination marks, private tutoring of children by their own teachers, and state schools and universities giving places to children whose parents make a substantial donation.

Teachers' salaries have been seriously eroded over the last decades and teaching private lessons is seen as an opportunity to increase their income: "Demand and supply factors have therefore been reinforcing each other so as to create a real market of individual student coaching". (Carron & Carr-Hill, 1991, p. 23).

Many studies report problems with teachers soliciting bribes and "forcing" students to attend tutoring classes, in exchange for passing grades and diplomas (World Bank, 2001b, p. 83). In Armenia, as in other post-communist countries, teachers have been tempted to sell educational access or good grades, as the average salary of a teacher amounts to $30 per month. Indeed, low and late salaries are an important factor driving teachers to demand and/or accept bribes: "low public sector wages in education also have an immediate direct effect on poverty, as well as an indirect one through the demands some teachers then make of poor households to supplement their income. Quality in any case suffers when honest teachers devote less time to teaching and preparation while they struggle to make ends meet through second jobs, subsistence agriculture, etc". (Klugman et al., 2001, p. 6).

A similar example comes from Albania, where "teachers take second or third jobs, such as selling chewing gum, that divert them from teaching. Teachers, especially of mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics, and foreign languages at the upper secondary level, engage increasingly in private tutoring at 300-500 lek/hour, sometimes of students in their own classes. In the latter cases, parents have reported threats that if they do not hire the teacher for private lessons, their child will not get a good grade". (Tsakonas, 2002a , p. 25)

In countries like Egypt, the relation between low wages for teachers, bribes and private tutoring is even more accentuated. Teachers' salaries are very low, with basic payment rates of about LE 80 to LE 400 per month, depending on seniority: "The upper end of this range (e.g., LE 4800 per year) is hardly equal to 1.11 times the poverty line of 1996/97 (LE 4318 per household) and less than half of what is required to support a average family". (UNDP, 1999, p. 84) Therefore, there is no surprise that teachers hold second jobs, particularly in private tutoring, and this does not "contribute to a healthy educations system" (World Bank, 2002a, p. 24).

One can identify some similarities and differences between public and private schools, regarding private tutoring. In Tanzania, although students in public and private schools have access to similar pedagogical resources, the frequency of extra-tutoring offered by the school begins as early as Form 1 in private schools, while extra-tutoring occurs mostly in Form 4 in public schools.[24] In Iran, we find a similar example, where private schools work harder than public schools to teach for the "big test," and parents spend large sums on private tutoring (Salehi-Isfahani, 1999).

There are a few reasons for that: "a) students in public schools may need less extra-tutoring as their initial examination scores tend to be better than those of their private school counterparts; b) teachers in the public sector may be more efficient than those in the private sector; and c) teachers in the private sector may be more motivated, since extra tutoring provides them with extra income". (Lassibille et al., 1998, p. 19).

On the contrary, in Eastern European and Asian countries, private tutoring is found mostly in public schools. In countries like England, there are government quotas that require universities to accept more students from state schools and fewer from private schools. However,

[24] In Tanzania, Form 4 marks the end of the lower secondary cycle at which point students take the "O" level examination; of those who pass some proceed to upper secondary school, which comprises Forms 5 and 6.

"in one class alone in a state [system], Church of England [denomination] primary school in Richmond, three-quarters of the pupils have parents paying for extra tuition". (The Observer, 2002). The blurring between the state and private sectors became more visible in England, when Tony Blair came under fire following reports that his children, student at a top public school, have been tutored. He was accused of hypocrisy and lack of confidence in state education. Questions if it is hypocritical to send your children to a public school while paying for supplementary private tutoring and if resorting to private tutoring mean that parents do not have enough confidence in state education still remain unanswered.

Tutoring can take place either at teacher's or at the student's home (usually more expensive). In Kenya, many parents converted rooms of their houses into study rooms, "which were fully equipped and set as classes, with teachers who are privately paid, depending on the number of hours and lessons each student attends. In fact, the highest percent of these teachers are those who downed their tools three weeks ago, when the government turned its back on the implementation of the 1997 teachers' salary increment agreement". (The East African Standard, 2002). The same situation exists in Egypt, where teachers rent flats in order to accommodate group of students that they tutor (Reporter, 2001).

- **The Diploma Disease**

Bray (1999b) identifies "the diploma disease" and "the late development effect" as possible explanations for the fact that, in some countries, private tutoring activities flourish and in others they are absent. All other factors being equal, nowadays it seems to be more important to have high-level credentials than to be born into a wealthy family or to have high-level measured intelligence (however, appearances can be deceiving, especially since credentials tend to be

highly correlated with family wealth and "intelligence"). The relatively strong linkage between formal education and the employment market has led to what Dore (1976) refers to as "the diploma disease": a strong emphasis on formal credentials in recruiting employees and setting their salary or wage levels. In most developing countries, salary differentials faithfully reflect differences in level of education. In more developed countries, where the gap between the highly educated and the rest is usually smaller, there is nevertheless an intensive competition for places, particularly in prestige institutions. More formal education reduces the likelihood of becoming unemployed.

The educational system (also certain educators and parents) put the utmost importance on going to top universities. Very often, private tutoring simply crams children full of memorized facts to pass a standardized college entrance exam. The exams, as well as the private tutoring, put much emphasis on the quantity of information rather than instilling a logical and analytical approach to analyzing this information. Rigid mechanisms of admission to succeeding levels of education, authoritarian teaching methods, inflexible evaluation and examination techniques are very important factors explaining heavy dependence on dictation and memorization and, implicitly, on private tutoring (to extent that formal schooling does not provide "enough" preparation).

- **Cultural Heritage**

Human action is doubly constrained: by the social structures that were created by other people in the historical past and by conceptions of the self that are a learned cultural heritage. As Marx (1963, p. 15) put it, "men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly

encountered, given and transmitted from the past". People become uncertain when new discourses and practices challenge old cultural norms and ideological certainties. There is a double temporality of persisting structures slow to change and cyclical conjunctures within these structures (as I have tried to exemplify in the context of Romanian education. See, for instance, Popa, 2002).

In Asian and Eastern European countries (although the phenomenon is perhaps documented in other parts of the world as well), there is a collective rush to have children educated as early as possible in life. In countries like Korea and Japan, there is excessive spending on private tutoring, as parents want to help their children get ahead, even if that means financial sacrifices. Society rejects anyone who falls out of line or behind; therefore, the competition is fierce.

Private tutoring could be also seen as a response of the elites to the massification of education (Popa, 2002). The way in which the academic milieu and ordinary people are answering to the policy of "democratizing" the curriculum is particularly intriguing. The "commodification" and "massification" of culture, education included, are believed to enormously diminish the quality of cultural products and thus result in non-culture. Therefore, a resistance to this trend is emerging, visible not only in the academic milieu that tends to reinforce traditionalism and conservatism, but also in the perpetuation of a popular elitist and meritocratic belief about the role of education. This is only one of the reasons behind private tutoring, which today acts like a parallel system of education. My explanation is in line with Carron and Carr-Hill's (1991, p. 23) idea that private tutoring "has grown with the massification of formal education, as elite- and middle-class parents, who perceive their previous privileged position to be disappearing, have sought ways of retaining the competitive edge for their children" (also

compensating for "slowing" down and lowering standards because of mass schooling). Some students have their education at selective schools, topped up with teaching at home and "given the interest in providing their children with the best education possible, the incentives of parents are aligned with those of the teachers in their reliance on private tutoring. No policing measures are likely to change this collusion. When it comes to students, their motivation seems to be focused on memorizing to obtain high grades so as to qualify for prestigious branches of education". (Galal, 2002, p. 8)

In Korea, parents compete for choosing the best tutors and other educational materials for their children. (Lee, 2001, p. 6) It is reported that many families choose to move into district with better schools or even to emigrate abroad for the sake of their children's education. That situation is described as being "deplorable" by SaKong Il, Chairman and CEO of the Institute for Global Economics in Korea. (SaKong, 2001). Korea Times (2000) reports that competition is heating up among Korean American parents who want their children to be admitted to top American universities. According to the editors, some parents are spending more than $2000 a month for private tutoring, "taking SAT prep to a senseless level". Only in the Bay Are, there are more than 100 Korean-owned college prep companies.

d. Impact on the Mainstream Schooling

First, private tutoring could be considered a good thing for many underpaid teachers. Nevertheless, when a teacher can earn ten times his/her governmental salary from private tutoring, there is no surprise that some teachers focus their efforts more on private lessons than on classroom duties. In Eastern Europe, where university professors are also badly paid (for instance, in Romania, a faculty at the start of his or her career earns approximately $150 per

month), most of them engage in private tutoring as well and their performance in class may be affected by that. The same thing happens in Africa, where faculty members are engaged in secondary income earning activities, such as private tutoring and taxi driving, in order to supplement their academic salaries. (World Bank, 1995b).

The incidence of teachers deliberately omitting coverage of some parts of the curriculum during the normal school day, or penalizing /failing students in class tests and other activities in order to create a market for supplementary tutoring is alleged to be common in many developing and transition countries. A somewhat extreme case seems to be represented by Egypt, where there are cases when "[f]inancial failing and cruelty by teachers should have been combined, as students who could not afford private lessons were treated harshly by their teachers, ridiculed by other students, and subsequently failed". (Rifaey et al, 2002, p. 3). An article published by the journal *Economist* notices that many teachers in Egypt treat "school day as little more than an enrollment period for their private tutoring. It is made clear to parents that their child has no chance of passing the crucial exam that could lead to further education unless he or she gets private lessons. Most parents obediently sign up, but often they are able to pay for one or two, so they have to make a choice". (Economist, 1999). More evidence about that practice is advanced by Rifaey et al. (2002, p. 9): "The pressure on families today to educate their children has become unreasonable. One woman interviewed said that her son was mocked by the teacher because he did not receive private lessons at home, so she took him out of the school system after a year. The boy has now been working for four years and, along with her other 5 children, does not read or write".

More important, teachers who privately tutor are unlikely to demand and apply education reform, as they are the beneficiaries of a faulty system. They might resist and even combat proposed reforms (Acedo & Popa, 2003).

As is to be expected then, many higher education institutions are opposed to admission based solely on the results of the entrance examinations, partly because they fear their autonomy in selection will be curtailed, but also because there is now a flourishing (and lucrative) private tutoring system preparing secondary school students for university entrance examinations.

In Moldova, there is a strong lobby from university rectors and faculty against the introduction of national, external maturity exam, because the university entrance tutoring industry is one of the main sources of additional income for universities and individual tutors. (OECD, 2002, p. 42).

On a brighter side, private tutoring could be considered beneficial, as it is tailored to individuals, who can understand better what they learn at school. Also, private lessons may build/repair their confidence and their sense of competition. In addition, brilliant students who benefit from studying more in depth issues taught at school are able to participate in national and international competitions. This is the case of Romania, a country that takes pride in the excellent education that their students achieve, proved by the huge number of prizes obtained in tough international competitions (Olympiads). Some voices pointed out that the "olympic" students had been "coached" during private tutoring classes and not through the formal schooling system. Also, the results obtained in the TIMMS competition have been disappointing, making researchers, policy makers and the public opinion alike wonder about the true quality of the Romanian education system.

Teachers find it difficult to cater for students with different level of abilities and motivations in the same classroom that may have 30-70 students: “The teachers have extremely low morale. They do not expect much, either. They know that better students are already learning outside what they have to learn at school. The poor ones that are left are in any case problematic and difficult to teach. All of this makes teachers shirk their duties; besides better teachers save their energy for private tutoring. Most high school students then acquire knowledge from private tutors, in preparatory schools, and through self-education. A rough estimate of how much a student learns in and out of school would be 30 percent and 70 percent, respectively”. (Lee, 2001, p. 4).

A World Bank report (1995a) finds that ranking schools on the basis of students’ examination performance may not provide fair assessment of the work of schools, as many students are, in fact, taught privately. Interestingly enough, the same concern with the failure of tests to measure accurately the performance of schools is present in England: “We’re not really sure what tables [leagues tables are based on national exams and tests] are measuring if a third of the country are sending their children off for tutoring”, a primary head is reported to say. (BBC News, 2002b).

It could also be argued that private tutoring is inherently more efficient than the public system. Private tutoring is more concerned with the results (e.g., admission to university, scores on tests, retention in school). Then, as it is the case in many countries, teachers go on strike for more or less political reasons, harming students by reducing their classroom time. This is not the case with the tutors, who are available promptly and more often to their students/clients.

Studies about the relation between private tutoring and academic achievement (Fergany, 1994; Savada & Kobayashi, 1986) offer mixed conclusions. For instance, research in Egypt

found no significant correlation between private tutoring and achievement (Fergany, 1994, p. 108). In other Arabic countries, "private tutoring, and to a lesser extent, in-school tutoring groups, are shown to increase odds for completion of primary education but to have no significant impact on cognitive achievement. There is clearly no justification, in terms of quality, for these practices that have developed into an extensive parallel system of instruction with no appreciable pay-off in the quality of educational output". (Almishkat, 1998, p. 5).

On the other hand, surveys conducted by two non-governmental organizations in India found that "of grade 3 and 4 students who did not obtain private tutoring, only 7 percent could write their names in West Bengal". (Chen, 2002, p. 4). In Korea, it is noticed that only "a few exceptional students do finish a middle school on their own without getting outside academic help" (Lee, 2001, p. 4), and a report in Turkey indicates that students who took private tutoring were more successful in the university entrance exam than students who did not take such tutoring. "Inefficient as well as inequitable" (Kim & Lee, 2001, p.18), private tutoring is flourishing under the conditions of competition to enter prestigious universities. Indeed, reliance on private tutoring does not produce equitable distribution of education service. Students taking supplementary private lessons are more likely to succeed in college entrance exams and future labor market and wealthy students have an unfair advantage in the competition. Bray (1999b, p. 50) concludes that although more research is needed on that topic, the relation between private tutoring and achievement seems to depends "the content and mode of delivery of the tutoring; the motivation of the tutors and the tutee; the intensity, duration and timing of tutoring; and the types of pupils who receive tutoring".

The phenomenon of private tutoring is beset with paradoxes: In Egypt, according to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 40% of the population spends one-sixth of their

income on private lessons, but one-quarter still drops out before fifth grade. (Economist, 1999). Sometimes the much higher level of material taught in private tutoring classes make better student find the regular school instruction unchallenging or even boring: “Tutoring has caused a great lack of interest on the part of students. They have reached the point of thinking that as long as they can pay someone who will show them how to pass their examinations, they do not need to attend school classes except when they are required to do so by school regulations”. (Hussein, 1987, p. 92). In addition, it seems that there is a contradiction between students’ increasing lack of interests in classroom teaching or absenteeism from school and their need to be privately tutored. Fatma Khafagy, the Gender and Development Officer for UNICEF in Egypt (cited by Reporter, 2001) also argues that "this dishonest system contributes to both the high percentage of school dropout rates and school attendance figures”. Apparently, there is a link between private tutoring and unethical behaviors of teachers and students. In Egypt, the rampant cheating ranged throughout the country and the examinations were marred by serious irregularities and fraud, in 2001: “Minister Baha Eddin had previously dismissed what happened in Alexandria as an isolated incident, but when he discovered the link between cheating and private tutoring, he summoned education directors from up and down the country to a meeting on the internet. He reminded teachers of the repercussions that lay in store for all those who did not stick to professional ethics”. (Middle East Times, 2002). As the same newspaper reports, a few students have even been banned for two years from taking exams and from leaving the country to ensure that they do not continue their education abroad, as they were caught cheating at exams.

2. Social and Economic Implications of Private Tutoring

Private tutoring is identified by the World Bank (1995a) as a practice, which along with scoring procedures, fee requirements, malpractices, quota system, etc., creates inequalities for some students. It is considered "a major drain on the resources potentially available to attain universal primary education…" (Carron & Carr-Hill, 1991, p. 23). While noticing that the educational and social consequences of this phenomenon are still to be analyzed, it seems obvious that "students with high academic capability, high family income, and whose parents are highly educated, spend more on private tutoring because their educational demands are not properly met by the school system under the auspice of the development state". (Kim & Lee, 2001, p. 18).

However, since students who do not have the tutoring find themselves less able to pass highly competitive exams of public universities, private tutoring may be used by middle-income and poor families as an opportunity to gain social mobility, through the examination system. The probability of applicants from higher socioeconomic status to pass an exam is reinforced by the private tutoring.

Many tutors are aware of equity issues and they often provide tutoring for free for needy students (see, for instance, Popa (2002) and an ampler discussion in this thesis). Nonetheless, private tutoring maintains and even increases social stratification. In Turkey, for instance, students from lower socioeconomic background are three times more likely not to pass the competitive exams than those from higher socioeconomic status (Ozgediz, 1980). When the Korean Constitutional Court handed down a ruling that the government ban on *kwawoe* was unconstitutional, there were protests from people who realized that the rich will be able to spend on the best out-of-school tutoring classes, and eventually send their children to the best universities, while the poorer will be constrained to rely only on the public system (which may

not value their cultural capital to begin with). Also, in Egypt, "low income groups score less not because they do not appreciate free education, but simply because free education has become a myth. It is not free as many of them have to compensate for low teaching efficiency by spending more on private lessons. It is not perceived to provide higher earning opportunities". (UNDP, 1999, p. 113). In addition, a survey of the Population Council, cited by the same UNDP Human Development Report found out that only 6 percent of interviewed adolescents thought that public education in Egypt were associated with higher financial status or a well-paid job.

In some countries, tutors charge outrageous amounts for tuition and make high profits. Especially if they have a good "track record" of getting students in the right schools through private tutoring, some tutors charge exorbitant rates. However, the social experiences of teachers in general have become very different: not everyone is involved in tutoring. Also, not every teacher is tutoring (selecting a tutor is based to a large extent on her/his prestige, experience, advertisement skills, and her/his more or less enjoyable presence and affable personality). Teachers, like students, become "stratified" in this process (Megahed, 2002). Moreover, Halász talks about an increasing social segregation of teachers in schools where a growing differentiation of the school system is experienced (Halász, 1997).

There are only a few economic studies on the subject, mainly due to data limitations. One of them connects the demand for education with household budget spending and analyzes the spending patterns of the households on child's education. In addition, their authors highlighted the absence of credit markets for the finance of education expenditures of the young despite the fact that private tutoring expenditures constitute a non-negligible share in the household budget expenditures. (Tansel & Bircan, 2002).

For the households with higher demand for education, the gap between the demand and public supply is greater so that they are more likely to seek for private tutoring". (Kim & Lee, 2001, p. 2). A similar approach is taken by Boldrin (1992; cited by Dessy et al., 1998, p. 2), who demonstrates that "where compulsory education fails to satisfy individuals' specific needs, non-convexities in the formal education technology can crowd out private investment in education, as individuals are unable to supplement formal education...This suggests that the presence of non-convexities in the formal education technology provides a basis for the emergence of private tutoring". (Dessy et al., 1998, p. 2). Nevertheless, they argue, "non-convexities while necessary, are not sufficient for this institution to exist. Whether or not an individual will demand private tutoring services depends on whether its benefits exceed its costs".

Montgomerry et al. (2000) view private tutoring as a new form of investment in students' human capital, which can complement regular schooling. Their study describes the supply and demand conditions affecting formal schooling and the terms in which private tutoring is provided in Ghana. Parents in Ghana are more likely to financially support private tutoring for girls than for boys. The authors advance a few explanations for this, although it still remains unclear why that is so: "It may well be that the opportunity costs of additional class time are higher for adolescent boys than for girls, a difference that might discourage such supplementary investments for boys. But given the focused orientation of extra classes on subjects that will be tested in the BECE [Basic Education Certificate Examination] at the end of junior secondary schooling – the critical gateway leading from basic to senior secondary schooling and beyond – we are surprised at the evident preference for providing girls with such extra training". (Montgomerry et al., 2000, p. 16).

3. Governments' Responses and Possible Solutions

Bray (1999b) concludes his seminal book on private tutoring with a very brief chapter that identifies six options that governments can consider in dealing with the phenomenon of private tutoring:

- A laissez-faire approach, where governments ignore this "shadow" market for education and leave it to regulate itself.
- Monitoring, but not intervention, where governments only gather data on the size, shape and impact of the sector.
- Regulating and control, which usually involves regulations such as class sizes, cover fees, nationality of tutors, etc.
- Encouragement, through which governments see this process as a way to reduce unemployment, raise teachers' salaries, satisfy the needs of students, or improve equity.
- A mixed approach that allow some types of private tutoring, while prohibiting others.
- Prohibition, which bans any private tutoring of commercial nature.

I am going to highlight these possible responses with some examples from South Korea, Egypt and India. At the same time, I will bring to light different ways in which policy makers and educators have conceptualized and tried to address the "problem" of private tutoring.

For 20 years, the Korean government has been waging a war on private tutoring. Korea's military leader, Chun Doo Hwan, who took power in 1980, banned private tutoring, in an attempt to equalize educational opportunities for the poor and to relieve parents of the burden of paying

for education. At the same time, he increased the enrolment quota for colleges substantially in 1980. In the 1970s, high school enrollments increased threefold. The number of enrollments in universities and colleges almost doubled in five years. The demand for higher education and private tutoring for the preparation for college entrance examination increased accordingly. His Draconian approach (for instance, parents and teachers were investigated, fined and even jailed, if suspected as being involved in private tutoring) did not work, despite the fact that it was motivated by the noble reasons of equalizing educational opportunities for the poor and relieving parents of the burden of paying for education, while improving the quality of mainstream schooling. Many parents paid under the table for the illicit private tutors, who managed to evade the investigators. The grip on the practice of private tutoring was relaxed in 1989, when college students were allowed to privately tutor school students. More recently, the Korean government lifted the 20 year old ban of *kwawoe* (private tutoring). The invoked reason for that was that the law banning *kwawoe* was in violation of the people's basic right to educate their children. According to the Ministry of Education, the nation's households spent a total of 6 trillion *won* on private lessons last year. It is expected that the cost of private tutoring will increase, as the number of students receiving private lessons is on the rise. The spokesman for the Constitutional Court told the press that, despite this ruling, "the government can continue to restrict the 'antisocial' and expensive *kwawoe* by revising the law and enforcing a new statute governing off-campus lessons". (Korea Times, 2000): "School authorities suggest a new system be introduced to require individual tutors and *hagwon* to register themselves as suppliers of out-of-school tutoring in a scheme to open the *kwawoe* market and increase consumer's options, causing tuition fees to fall gradually to reasonable levels. Of particular note is President Kim Dae-jung's instruction...to the Education Ministry and the National Tax Service that through follow-up

measures be taken as early as possible to stem possible confusion over *kwawoe* in the wake of the court ruling. The Chief Executive also said that tax probes would be used to determine the sources of finance of those who can afford to pay such exorbitant *kwawoe* fees". (Korea Times, 2000).

Some important goals of the education reform started by Kim Young-Sam administration (1993-1997) and continued by Kim Dae-Jung government (1998-2002) have been the elimination of private tutoring and reduction of competition for entrance exams. The government planned to recruit 10,000 new teachers by 2004; raise teachers' salaries by 200,000 *won* per month by 2004; grant subsidies for schools to buy computers and give English lessons; and raise the ratio of one computer per every five children. The Ministry attempted to ease the examination tests, in 2000, but it had to make it much harder in the next year, as many criticisms arise. Paradoxically enough, the reform started or accentuated the decline of quality of secondary schools and a rapid expansion of secondary education, which, in turn, created more demand for private tutoring.

While the Korean Constitutional Court overturned the government law prohibiting private tutoring, the government of West Bengal (India) banned teachers and lecturers from engaging in private tutoring (Manipur Online, 2002). Enforcing a code of professional ethics for teachers, which requires teachers to refrain from undertaking any other employment, including offering of tutoring classes sounds like an ineffective solution, since governments are unable to enforce it.

The Egyptian government has been trying to resolve the issue of private tutoring by teachers, by reforming in-service training, raising their salaries and offering them other material benefits: "In addition to the imperative of carefully selecting teachers with good pedagogic

formation, teachers' capabilities must be continuously enhanced through training over their whole career and they must be motivated by salaries that will secure a decent living standard. Without these conditions it is futile to proclaim a serious willingness, on the part of the MOE, to put an end to private tutoring outside the education system". (UNDP, 1999, p. 84) However, raising teachers' salaries would require about three times the present bill (LE 7.2 billion in 1998/1999). The required financial resources would be a burden for the wider social and economic system.

A somewhat extreme solution is proposed by Galal (2002, p. 16): "With respect to equity, creative mechanisms are required to overcome the false entitlement of free education and to limit the subsidy only to those in need. One possible solution is to begin experimentation with charging economic costs to all students, while giving government vouchers to those who cannot afford the cost of obtaining education (as in Chile)"...

Reducing the pressure on students to scramble for higher scores in general public examinations might alleviate the problem of private tutoring and reduce the cost of education (UNDP, 2002, p. 61).

Biswal (1999) attempts to explain the practice of private tutoring by developing a strategic multistage game consisting of students, teachers, and the government. A way of accomplishing the goal of "education for all" is the freedom that governments could grant to teachers to offer income-generating private tutoring to the students. Students would be assured of their share of education at the lowest cost to the government and an intra-redistribution of resources from richer to poorer students would take place within public schools.

Dessy et al. (1998) suggest a model, in which the selection of teachers by the government induces a rat race that acts as a catalyst of private tutoring. They draw four lessons from their

two-sector, general equilibrium, overlapping generations mode. First, young agents have heterogeneous endowments of human capital, which can be augmented by mandatory public education and elective private tutoring. Old agents work in the production sector and/or supply education services. Increasing public sector wage in order to reduce private tutoring can be also ineffective. The second is that although reducing public sector wage will eventually curb private tutoring, it does so at the expense of labor productivity. Third, increasing teachers' wages to raise labor force productivity is useless beyond a certain point: the fixed number of teachers and the hours spent in public school are the true bottlenecks that need to be addressed. Finally, the emergence of private tutoring reflects inflexibility in education technology. This suggests that the best way to eliminate private tutoring (if it is perceived as socially undesirable) is to introduce flexibility in the traditional education system. For example, where public funding of education is socially desirable, a voucher system may be one such convexifying mechanism. (Dessy et al., 1998, p. 9).

Das & Khwaja (2002, p. 3) demonstrate that private tutoring has two opposing effects: "First, as the popular press argues, private tuition does indeed decrease the incentive to provide education in the public sector. On the other hand, if there are any externalities between private and public provision (perhaps through increased investment in learning), decreasing the amount of private tuition that the teacher provides may worsen educational outcomes". A conclusion that Das & Khwaja reach is that, even if a government had the option to completely ban private educational provision, and force teachers to spend all their time in public schools, this may not be optimal if the government has less information regarding teacher effort than the private sector. (Das & Khwaja, 2002, p. 18).

Since the policy of banning private tutoring is sensitive to the environment of the private tutoring market, any such policy should be made carefully, after getting enough information about that environment. I will explain more thoroughly this point in the last chapter of my thesis.

4. Conclusions

Although not a new phenomenon in the educational landscape, private tutoring is currently growing at a fast pace, in both developed and developing countries. A competitive market is being developed, which, in many researchers, policy makers and practitioners' opinion, needs to be regulated and "monitored". Words such as "confronting", "banning", "dealing with" or "combating" the private tutoring phenomenon abound in government documents and academic research papers. An explanation for their proliferation lies in the common perception of the private tutoring as being an educational issue. Indeed, as I have illustrated above, private tutoring affects many elements of the education system, such as classroom teaching, academic achievement, financing of education, etc. On a larger level, it also has an impact on social equity and equal opportunities. On the other hand, in many countries, private tutoring helps the education systems survive and even thrive. In this case, the fine line between the positive and negative aspects of the private tutoring activities becomes even more blurred.

My study does not reproduce the conventional wisdom about that phenomenon. While I agree that private tutoring is an important education issue, I would not haste to shun it, without first understanding it from the perspective of those involved in that process. Despite any variations across countries and regions or forms of provision, private tutoring remains a teaching/ learning activity, which involves two actors: a student and a teacher. My interest then is to look closely at those who teach private lessons. When they also work as teachers in the public/ private

system of education, their involvement in the private tutoring practice raises questions not only about the state of the education system in general, but also about their own professional and social identity.

My discomfort in the current educational debates on private tutoring has also enabled me to re-think the idea of corruption in education. As part of the folk wisdom of private tutoring, the phenomenon is usually seen as an activity that disrupts the efficient running of the formal education system. Many researchers seem to agree with this view. In their opinion, those teachers who do private tutoring are accused of "professional misconduct", which is part of a more general definition of corruption (Heyneman, 2004). Heyneman's views overlap with the ways in which teachers who work as private tutors are seen by a grid of recent discourses in the educational research. More often than not, they shut off the voice of the teachers, assuming their apparent "guilt". Although the theoretical focus of this study is not concerned with the issue of corruption per se, my study implicitly responds to those "allegations" against the teachers. To those who ask why talking more about an obvious fact, I respond that before categorizing teachers and identifying any policy options, we must first understand both their reasons for teaching private lessons, and the socio-economic, political, cultural and educational context in which their work and lives are situated.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. ETHICAL SENSITIVITY

As qualitative researchers share the lives of the people they study, they cannot, as Fetterman (1998, p. 129) writes, work as if they were in a vacuum. They are soaked in their informants' lives and sometimes in their innermost secrets. During my field work, I was confronted with a moral dilemma, which came from my own "guilty knowledge" (Fetterman, 1989) of the private tutoring practice: I have known of this "illegal" activity for years. As a student, I used to take private lessons in mathematics, physics and French. As a tenured teacher of Romanian language and literature, I tutored privately a few students.

More than two hundred pages of field notes make up my field research data. They contain notes jotted inconspicuously in the field (often on a piece of paper or only a napkin), direct observation notes (with the date, time, and place for each entry), detailed notes written away from the field, interviews, photographs, etc. I am aware that my field notes may be of interest to legal officials. Therefore, they are treated with care, in order to protect confidentiality.

An ethical code is more than necessary, in order to respect the respondents' privacy, especially when dealing with a "shadow", illegal system. I decided to use pseudonyms for the teachers participating in my study and I kept information confidential from others in the field.

Also, given the presumed sensitivity of the topic, I decided not to reveal the real name of the high school where these teachers are employed. In my study, the institution is called the Orchard High School (situated in the Romanian Hilly City – a fictive name as well).

B. RESEARCH STRATEGY

For a topic that has just started to be rigorously researched, the variety of perspectives on the private tutoring is astonishing, ranging from economic to social and cultural analysis of the phenomenon. Yet one may notice that a good deal of these studies is based on statistical data provided by the governments or, in some cases, on plain anecdotal evidence. Qualitative studies are rare, perhaps also because it is very difficult to get accurate information about this phenomenon: in many countries private tutoring is technically illegal and most of the individuals engaged in this do not wish to be identified.

Very often, the persons who do private tutoring work as teachers in the public education system. They are one of the major driving forces behind the private tutoring activities, since teaching private lessons is an opportunity to increase their incomes, seriously eroded over the last decades (see, for instance, Bray, 2003; Carron & Carr-Hill, 1991; etc.). Salient features of the teachers' involvement in the private tutoring have already been noted by Bray (2003, 1999b), who also provides an international comparison and description of the size and development of the private tutoring activities. Among the "adverse effects of private tutoring", he talks about the "manipulation of clients" by tutors, especially in situations where mainstream teachers provide paid supplementary tutoring for their own pupils after school hours (Bray, 2003). Other researchers have on occasion argued a harsher position, considering the teachers involved in this

phenomenon "corrupt" and responsible for the downfall of the education system (see, for instance, Biswal, 1999). Despite the fact that public discussions of teachers' illicit work have grown increasingly over time, details on their activity are spare. We are often in the dark about what goes on within the walls of the tutors' houses. I argue that much can be learned about this phenomenon from grasping its contradictions and paradoxes in one "real" example. This would also help understand better the coexistence of complex articulations of bureaucracy, policy and politics in teachers' work as private tutors.

Therefore, I decided to use a *case study* as a method to illuminate key features of this practice, by providing "a unique example of real people in real situations", and "enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles". (Adelman et al., 1980, pp. 72-73). Gray (2004, p. 124) suggests using the case study method whenever "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the researcher has no control". My thesis is above all an attempt to investigate "why" and "how" Romanian teachers participate in the private tutoring system. Their work as private tutors represents a shadow, "illegal" practice, not easily detectable or measurable. Therefore, studying a specific case in one overall study could offer a greater insight into a topic which has not been yet systematically researched in the Romanian context and for which qualitative data are extremely scarce.

My case is represented by the teachers from one "theoretical" high school (which includes lower as well as upper secondary level classes)[25] in an urban setting. Initially I

[25] The Romanian upper secondary education comprises "general or specialised schools (in the academic or technological stream) and vocational or apprenticeship schools (vocational stream)". (OECD, 2000). Students who have passed the "capacity examination" at the end of the eighth grade are admitted into a "theoretical" (academic) or technical high school (both with a duration of four years) or into a vocational school: "The structure is similar to that found, for example, in France with general or technological lycées offering the academic and technical programmes

considered an ampler study that would take into account the situation of teachers from vocational and rural schools. Previous research work (Acedo & Popa, 2003; Popa & Acedo, 2006) confirmed the generally known fact that very few (if any) teachers from vocational/ rural schools are offering private tutoring. In addition, I realized that, in order to achieve some focus, a limited research problem must be established, geared to specific features of the case. Therefore, teachers working in vocational/ rural institutions are not the focus of this research.

Fieldwork took place over a twenty-week period in 2004 (January 2 – November 2), and included participant-observation and a series of in-depth and semi-structured interviews with teachers from the Orchard High School. The Orchard High School is located in the Hilly City, whose population numbers approximately 125,000 inhabitants.

I chose this school for a few important reasons:

- The Orchard High School is a public, urban, academic stream secondary education institution.
- The institution includes lower as well as upper secondary level classes. Therefore, for instance, the involvement of a high school teacher in private tutoring could be studied and compared with a middle school's one. The same teacher teaches both lower and upper secondary level classes. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine his/ her involvement in the private tutoring system (e.g., "recruiting" students for private tutoring; relations with students and parents; etc.) for both education levels.
- The quality of instruction and of students oscillate greatly, from mediocre to excellent, usually depending on the students' "specialization" (the four specializations of this

---

and vocational education provided in vocational schools or in the apprenticeship institutions". (OECD, 2000, p. 93). Theoretical high schools, which offer majors in mathematics, humanities, foreign languages, etc., count for approximately 40% of the total upper secondary enrolments, followed closely by the technical institutions (30.2% in 1997). (ibidem).

theoretical school are: philology/ foreign languages; mathematics-physics; natural sciences; informatics).

- I conducted a preliminary study in 2003 at the same location and found out that many teachers from this school were working in the "parallel" system of education. Also, an article in the local newspaper made public the case of two teachers from this school who were "corrupt", "forcing" students to attend private tutoring classes and accepting bribe from parents.
- Finally, I already knew (from my previous field work) that I was not a disturbing element in the setting, which I would study, altering it by my very approach as many times happens with a newcomer to a community. Even though I announced from the first day that I was there to collect data, since I seemed very integrated in the field setting, they tended to forget that, indeed, I was there to do field work. People interviewed/ observed by me were not alarmed or self-conscious because of my presence.

C. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

During a scheduled teachers' meeting, all sixty-two teachers at the Orchard High School were invited to participate in my study. The high school's principal introduced me to the teachers (although many of them had already known me from previous visits) and I talked succinctly about the topic of my research. I thought I would be dependent on the whims of the "gatekeeper" (in this case, the high school's principal) and I was prepared to "doubt everything anyone in power tells" me (Becker, 1998, p. 91). To my surprise, the principal was very friendly and

encouraging, and he even congratulated me for having the "courage" to talk about the "real" issues in teachers' work and lives and to see the "situation" from their perspective.

Subsequently, I personally invited every teacher in the high school to take part in my study. Teachers' participation was purely voluntary and no inducement was given to them.

Teachers' characteristics by age, gender and professional status are the following:

Table 1. Age and gender of the Orchard High School teachers

Age/ Gender	24-35	36-49	50-57	58-66	Total Number of Teachers
Female	5	13	12	4	34
Male	3	11	9	5	28
Total Number of Teachers	8	24	21	9	62

Table 2. Professional status of the Orchard High School teachers

Tenure-track	Tenured	Not tenured (substitute teachers)	Retired, but still teaching	Total Number of Teachers
2	53	3	4	62

I started out my research with the intention to interview all sixty-two teachers at the Orchard High School. As it happened, eleven teachers declined their participation in the project. Six of them are teaching subjects (such as arts, religion, and physical education) that are not in demand for private tutoring. The other five teachers informed me rather bluntly that they did not do any private tutoring, although their teaching subjects (Romanian language, Mathematics and Biology) are in demand.

I thought I would not have too much work to do in the way of gaining trust – which is essential to an interviewer's success. Therefore, the (otherwise gracious) refusal of these eleven teachers to answer my questions came as a surprise to me. However, I would not include them in

the category of "freeze outs" – "members who express an uncooperative attitude or an overt unwillingness to participate" (Neuman, 2006, p. 391). They constantly displayed an ambiguous attitude towards my research, by first politely refusing to participate in the study and later on showing a growing interest in my research. Occasionally, they even talked with me about their work and professional/ personal lives. Their input is still valuable and noted on a couple of occasions in my thesis.

Seven female and four male teachers declined their participation in my research. Only one of them is a substitute teacher. The rest of them are already tenured teachers, with ages between 36 and 57. Non-tenured teachers comprise both teachers who substitute tenured ones and teachers who are on the tenure-track (admitted, after a rigorous exam, for a position in secondary education, but who need to pass an additional exam, after the first two years of teaching, in order to become tenured teachers). The tenure-track and substitute teachers are usually in their 20s. Tenured teachers' ages range from 25 to 62.

The characteristics of the fifty-one teachers who participated in my study are the following:

Table 3. Age and gender of the Orchard High School teachers participating in my research

Age/ Gender	24-35	36-49	50-57	58-66	Total Number of Teachers
Female	3	9	11	4	27
Male	2	10	7	5	24
Total Number of Teachers	4	19	18	9	51

Table 4. Professional status of the Orchard High School teachers participating in my research

Tenure-track	Tenured	Not tenured (substitute teachers)	Retired, but still teaching	Total Number of Teachers
2	43	2	4	51

From the fifty-one teachers whom I interviewed, nine teach Romanian language and literature; eight – Mathematics; four – Biology; three – Geography; three – History; three – Physics; three – Chemistry; eight – Foreign Languages; one – Computer Sciences; three – Economics; one – Philosophy; one – Latin; two – Arts; and two – Physical Education.

Table 5. Subjects taught by the Orchard High School teachers participating in my research

Romanian	Mathematics	Biology	Geography	History	Physics	Chemistry	Foreign Languages	Computer Science	Economics	Philosophy	Latin	Arts	Physical Education	Total Number of Teachers
9	8	4	3	3	3	3	8	1	3	1	1	2	2	51

D. INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE

A case study approach entails the collection of multiple sources of data (Gray, 2004, p. 124). The instruments of my data collection involved four basic types: interviews, observations, use of secondary data and use of audio-visual materials.

1. Conducting Interviews

A preliminary research started in 2003 with unstructured data collection. After two months of field research, I found myself burdened with lot of field notes that seemed to be difficult to put together. To make sense of the bewildering array of issues that seemed to exist, I moved to the next stage in data collection. I started to conduct interviews and to identify the major domains in

the study, as well as factors that needed further elaboration across a larger number of respondents.

Four types of interviews were used:

- Qualitative interviews (depth interviews), which used open-ended questions
- Informal conversational interviews (no interview protocol)
- Interview guide approach (specific topics and open-ended questions were asked in an arbitrary order)
- Standardized open-ended interviews – a set of open-ended questions asked in a specific order and exactly as worded

The interviews took place at school or in my respondents' homes, which gave me a chance to learn more about them. I provided information about myself, when they asked, usually over coffee or tea before or after the formal interviews. During the interviews, I was a sympathetic rather than an "objective" listener; I asked my interviewees for narratives of their experience. I tried to construct the interviews as *conversational narratives*, rather than as question and answer sessions. My interviews began with prompts such as: "Tell me about your work today". People were generous with their time. On a couple of occasions, I did not take any notes, but I let them talk at length about their lives and work, and only later wrote up summaries of what they said.

My discussions with the teachers included questions such as:

1. What does it mean for you to be a "professional"? Do you consider yourself a "professional" teacher?
2. How have the current changes in education affected your professional, social and personal life?

3. Do you privately tutor students? If not, why are you not involved in this process? If yes, again, what are your reasons to engage in such activities? Did you declare to the authorities that you make a profit from private tutoring?
4. How many students do you tutor? Are they your own students from your classes at the high school? Why do you consider that they need tutoring, in case you are their teacher both in class and in private sessions? Do you tutor students from other schools? In your opinion, are your tutored students more likely to pass admission exams?
5. What does it mean to be a good tutor? Is it different from being a good teacher in class?
6. Is the education system "corrupt"? What do you think about teachers who sell grades, oblige students to attend their private classes, etc.?
7. If you tutored students before 1989, can you notice any differences before then and now, regarding teachers' involvement in the private tutoring system?

For the script and the interview questions used in my research, see the Appendix of this study.

2. Participant Observation

I decided to use participant observation, since this method is especially appropriate for scholarly problems when "little is known about the phenomenon...; there are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders...; the phenomenon is somehow obscured from the view of outsiders...; the phenomenon is hidden from public view"... (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 12).

The goal of my observations was to understand the phenomenon of private tutoring from the perspectives of the teachers involved, acquiring "members' knowledge and consequently understand from the participants' point of view what motivated the participants to do what the researcher has observed them doing and what these acts meant at the time". (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979, p. 8)

Participant-observation involved data gathering by means of observation and participation in the weekly sessions (2 hours each) of private tutoring that the informants offered to their students. I attended 50 hours of private tutoring (25 private tutoring sessions) for subjects such as Biology, Chemistry, Computer Sciences, Economics, Foreign Languages, Geography, Latin, History, Mathematics, Philosophy, Physics and Romanian. I observed a number of twenty-seven teachers. The reasons for not attending the private tutoring sessions offered by all the fifty-one interviewed teachers were not related to their unwillingness to welcome me into their "classes". The main reason has to do with the fact that not all my interviewees were teaching private lessons at the time of my fieldwork. Some of them, as I will illustrate in subsequent chapters, do not do private tutoring on a regular basis. Also, subjects such as Arts and Physical Education are not big demand for private tutoring. Therefore, I have not been able to attend any private tutoring sessions in those two disciplines.

Table 6. Number of hours and subjects of the observed private tutoring sessions

Teaching Subject	Romanian	Mathematics	Biology	Geography	History	Physics	Chemistry	Foreign Languages	Latin	Economics	Philosophy	Computer Science	Total Number of Hours
Number of Hours Attended	8	8	4	4	4	4	4	6	2	2	2	2	50

Observing private tutoring classes proved to be extremely significant for my research, as it provided insights on a background activity of teachers and offered a variety of cues about the relations between teachers, students and parents. In addition, by taking part in those sessions, I became more familiar with those who tutor and their "pupils".

I gathered evidence from multiple sources in order to address the questions at hand from different points of view. While being concerned with noticing people and their relationships, I also focused on the environment (physical objects, general ambiance) and I tried to capture the feel of it. Behavior, actions, psychological stances were additional pieces of evidence in order to understand the richness and the complexity of the phenomenon.

3. Using Secondary Data

Another method of data collection was the use of secondary data. They included: official documents regarding the secondary education reform; newspapers and journals where the phenomenon of private tutoring is discussed; also, a few private documents (letters and e-mails from the participants. For instance, one of the participants e-mailed me a two-page autobiography, which proved to be most useful in analyzing my data). I also kept a journal during the research study and a few fragments of it appear in my study.

4. Using Audio and Visual Material

There was some reluctance from the teachers I interviewed, regarding my intention to use a tape recorder. Despite my reassuring them that our conversations would be confidential and

anonymous, only twelve of them allowed me to tape our discussions. Consequently, I had to rely most of the time on the notes taken during and after our interviews.

Paradoxically enough, although wary of any forms of surveillance, a couple of teachers let me take pictures during our meetings. Photography represents an opportunity for qualitative research participants "to directly share their *reality*" (Creswell, 2003, p. 187). This type of data, which proved to be extremely useful for my research, includes pictures of the rooms in which the private tutoring sessions take place; schedule of private tutoring lessons; lists of students who "owe" money to them, for some unpaid sessions; etc. However, I decided not to present them in an appendix to my study, since they could indeed reveal much about the identity of those teachers.

E. VALIDITY AND FEASIBILITY OF THE STUDY

At the design stage, I tried to ensure validity of my research by: choosing an appropriate time scale (twenty weeks of data collection in 2004, besides another eight weeks of field research in 2003); ensuring that there are adequate resources for my research to be undertaken; selecting appropriate methodology for answering the research questions (case study); selecting appropriate instrumentation for gathering the type of data required (interviews, participant observation; use of official documents); using an appropriate sample (the 51 teachers from the Orchard High School are representative for secondary education teachers in "theoretical" schools, in urban settings; also, the sample is not too small or too large).

As Yin (1994; cited in Gray, 2004, p. 135) notices, *construct validity* of case studies is often quite problematic, mainly "because of the difficulty of defining the constructs being

identified". I have tried to assure the *construct validity* of my study by: defining the concepts of "private tutoring" and "professionalism" at the outset; using various sources of data; establishing "a chain of evidence during the data collection process" and evaluating "the draft case study report through feedback from key informants". (Gray, 2004, p. 135).

In the field, I always looked for *internal consistency* of my data, trying to see if my interviewees' actions were consistent over time and in different social contexts.

My research depended on what the interviewed teachers told me. I always asked myself about their reasons not to be sincere in our conversations and about anything that might limit their spontaneity. For instance, a very young teacher said that she did not do any private tutoring of her own students, only to find out that a couple of children in her class were taking private lessons with her. When delicately confronted with the situation, she explained to me her reasons (related to her fear of not be "denounced" to the Romanian authorities) for which she hid the truth.

Very early in my research field, I noticed that the statements and actions of quite a few teachers were affected by context. Therefore, I always sampled locations (for instance, teachers' behavior was different in the faculty lounge than at a local café or at their home).

External consistency was achieved by verifying my own observation with other sources of data (official documents; newspaper articles; general public opinion). What I observed about teachers did have the *member validation* (I took field results back to my interviewees, who judged their adequacy), but also they could be verified by others outside the field.

Ecological validity can be defined as "the degree to which the social world described by a researcher matches the world of members. It asks: Is the natural setting described relatively undisturbed by the researcher's presence or procedures?" (Neuman, 2006, p. 405). Since

teachers' involvement in the practice of private tutoring would have taken place without the researcher's (my) presence, I concluded that my study had ecological validity.

F. CONCLUSIONS

During my research I learned quite a few methodological lessons. A most important one is related to the definition of my case study. Teachers are usually aggregated within their "settings", which are the schools. The focus of attention in this case was not on teachers' work in classrooms, but at their own homes, after class. Usually, a case involves "a focus of attention and a more or less vaguely defined temporal, social, and/or physical boundary involved…" (Huberman & Miles, 1998, p. 204). Boundaries of my case were first defined by social unit size (a group of teachers), then by physical settings.

These aspects are strongly related to my sampling choices. Not only did I need to consider two previous data collections (which helped me think purposively about sampling and in the end decide to study only teachers working in the academic stream schools), but I also had to sample and analyze "an intricately nested range of activities, processes, events, locations, and times" (Huberman & Miles, 1998, p. 204). The goal of this process was not so much "representativeness" and "conventional generalizability, but rather an understanding of the conditions under which a particular finding appears and operates: how, where, when, and why it carries on as it does". (Huberman & Miles, 1998, p. 204).

My methodological journey, while defined by some hesitations and contradictions, became a valuable lesson for organizing, solidifying and interpreting my data, but also a good opportunity for reflecting about various methodological strategies of qualitative research.

V. SOCIO-ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

A. SOCIO-ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Sixteen years have now passed since the demolition of the Berlin Wall, which meant the beginning of a complex process of far-reaching political, social and cultural changes in the post-communist Central and Eastern Europe.[26] The various approaches to the changes taken up by countries in the region are bound to be partly shaped by endemic conditions and inherent traditions and mentalities, as well as by an irreducible aversion towards their recent past – overshadowed by excessive centralism – and by their aspiration to join the great family of advanced/developed countries.

The Romanian post-communist changes (following the 1989 revolution that had brought down Ceauşescu's regime) have included simultaneous attempts to achieve both a market economy and a pluralist democracy (Lewis, 2000, p. 21). The Romanian society continues to recast its economy, politics, culture and education, all symbols of the emerging democracy,

[26] There is no agreement on what constitutes contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. I adopt here Lewis' (2000, p. 3) definition of the region, which includes most of post-communist Europe and major portions of the former Soviet Union: "it consists of that part of Europe that cannot be described as western - a term with connotations not just geographical but also political (involving an established democratic order and in most cases membership of the European Union and NATO) and economic (capitalist countries with established market economies). Although countries such as Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and the Czech Republic have already become part of the European Union (EU) and "assert a distinct cultural, political and economic identity closer to that of western Europe than the regions ruled directly from Moscow until the very end of 1991" (idem, p. 4), and countries such as Romania and Bulgaria just adhered to the EU (on January 1st, 2007), my definition of the region encompasses all nineteen post-communist countries of Europe (with the exception of Russia).

which, at least in an "overwhelming but simplistic popular perception," is synonymous with a "return to Europe" (Kaldor & Vejvoda, 1998, p. 2).[27] However, what else is this Europe, envisioned by the Eastern Europeans (and implicitly by Romanians), than "a rather ambiguous term of sociocultural identification and political strategy" (Wagner, 2004, p. 61)? The countries of the former Eastern Europe seem to be once again Western Europe's original periphery (Berend, 1996) and not an "organizational alternative to the Western model of development" (Wagner, 2004, p. 57).[28]

Many Romanians understand to "return to Europe" by means of EU membership.[29] Before Romania's acceptance into the EU, more than 75 % of the Romanian population seemed to have a positive attitude towards the EU, the highest among all other candidate countries in Eastern Europe (European Commission, 2001, 2002). However, as Bjola (2005, p. 242) suggests, the public support for the EU integration should be read with caution: "Given the overall lack of information on EU affairs, as well as the superficial image constructed by the mass media, the

---

[27] The pre-World War II period, when Romania was considered a "European" country indeed, is regarded with much pride and nostalgia by many Romanians. Romania's extraordinary rich cultural life was comparable to that of any Western European society. As musician George Enescu rightly put it: "If only our administration and politics were on the same level as the arts, we would be one of the happiest countries on earth". (cited in Manea, 2004, p. xii). It was also a period of great economic development. For instance, in the 1920s, Bucharest became the largest city in South-Eastern Europe, "acting as a hub for the whole region. When completed in 1895, a bridge across the Danube designed to link the Dobrogea to the rest of the country was the longest in Europe and the second in the world, a symbol of Romania's modest but palpable technological advance". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 25-6). In the same period, Romania was fourth in the world as an exporter of wheat and third as an exporter of maize (Hitchins, 1994, pp. 171-172). In 1884, Timişoara became the first European city to have electrical street lights, etc., etc.

[28] Deep-seated inferiority complexes of a small country seem to still haunt Romanian collective imaginary. Oft-stated convictions such as "Europe regards us as Gypsies", "everything is bad in our country", "we will never be civilized as the West Europeans are", etc., are stimulated by Romanians' self-portrayal as victims of history (combined with the belief that they are "the chosen people"), and by their pride in being "different" from the other Eastern Europeans. One of the most interesting signs of "singularity" of Romania was its "public deviation from Soviet orthodoxy" (Crowther, 1998, p. 297): In 1968, Ceauşescu gained an instant international and domestic prestige by condemning the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. Whether or not "an inventive, and generally successful, exercise in authority-building by an elite bereft of any political legitimacy", the distancing from Moscow and the rapprochement with Yugoslavia and the West, "[c]ombined with limited domestic liberalization from above, […] constituted the ideological mainstay of an increasingly self-confident new wave of party bureaucrats". (Tismăneanu, 2004, p. 35). However, in 1971, after a visit to the communist China, Ceauşescu embarked on a path of "radical re-Stalinization". (Tismăneanu, 2004, p. 39).

positive public perception of the EU is largely based on unwarranted expectations and consequently, highly volatile".

An assertion made fifteen years after the fall of the communism, saying that the Central and East European countries "are still at an early stage of the process of Europeanization" (Schimmelfennig, 2005, p. 224), implies power relations and new hierarchies in the apparent cooperation between its member states. In this context, Europeanization is defined as "a process in which states adopt EU rules…The 'rules' in question cover a broad range of issues and structures and are both formal and informal. To name just a few, they comprise rules for regulation and distribution in specific policy areas, rules of political, administrative, and judicial process, and rules for the setup and competences of state and sub-state organizations". (Schimmelfennig, 2005, p. 224).

One might ask why the EU is so attractive to the Central and East European countries. An answer might be ventured: "It is wealth as well as political liberty, which both have been achieved within the Europe of the Fifteen, even if there is no clear answer for the question of a European identity". (Maurer, 2005, p. 27). Nevertheless, Romania, as the other post-communist Eastern European countries, has integrated itself "into an international (global) and regional (European) order which is undergoing a profound transformation" (Wagner, 2004, p. 49).[30] For instance, Eastern European countries have struggled to meet the EU democracy criteria, in the context of the EU being affected by "occasional deteriorations" such as "the election in Austria of populist xenophobic leader Jorg Haider; the assassination of populist leader Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, a country which ranks highly in quality among EU democracies; the growth in popularity of right-wing parties nearly everywhere; and contestations of the central state by

regions with a distinct cultural identity, such as Spain's Basque country and France's Corsica, which spilled from a handful of terrorists into mainstream political life". (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2005, p.214).

Negotiations with the EU began in 1999 and, in January 2007, Romania was accepted as a new EU member (along with Bulgaria). Accession implied full acceptance of the *acquis communautaire* of the Union, which should be applied and enforced upon accession: "The *acquis* is made up of the entirety of EU legislation (some 80.000 pages). It is the shared foundation of rights and obligations binding all Member States of the European Union…" (Maurer, 2005, p. 11). There are heated debates about the EU's influence on the domestic politics of the East European countries. They include seeing the EU as a "colonial power that exploits its superior bargaining power to the disadvantage of socioeconomic and democratic developments in the CEECs" (Schimmelfennig, 2005, p. 3), or arguing that the EU has a positive influence on the political and market economic reforms in Eastern Europe (Pravda, 2001). In any case, the impact of the EU policy of conditionality on domestic politics in Eastern Europe (a political strategy?) and of the lending conditionality of international financial institutions is still to be carefully analyzed.

In order to gain the EU membership, Romania was asked, among others, to rebuild its economy, revise its political system, alter its administrative procedures, and establish the rule of law.

Beginning in 1989, Romania underwent many political and economic transformations. It moved from an authoritarian state formation, headed by Nicolae Ceauşescu (1965-1989), towards a "democratic" polity (with "free" and "open" elections). Simultaneously, Romania shifted from a "socialist", command economy towards a "capitalist", "free-market" economic

system. Romania's transformation occurred in the context of economic, fiscal and debt crises as well as in concert with similar political and economic changes taking place in other Central/ Eastern European societies and the former republics of the Soviet Union (Ginsburg et al., 2003; see also Andor & Summers, 1998; Jeffries, 2002).

The fall of Ceauşescu's regime (in December 1989) led to "the seizure of power by some from the second echelon of that regime who were able to legitimize their act by gaining electoral validation". (Gill, 2002, p. 67). Thus, the Romanian political scene has taken shape "in the absence of a decisive break with the bureaucratic-centralistic and strongly statist traditions inherited from Leninism". (Tismăneanu, 1997, p. 407).

They organized themselves into the National Salvation Front (NSF), led by Ion Iliescu, and transformed later into the Party of Social Democracy (PSD – Partidul Democrației Sociale). Soon, it became clear that beyond his "paternalistic message and unabashed nationalism" which appealed to millions of people (especially in small towns and the countryside), Iliescu had a very limited agenda for change: he "was committed to having an electoral democracy where voters had the chance to choose a head of state and parties to form the government, but where an oligarchy composed mainly of people who had already been politically active before 1989 could exercise sweeping power without needing to be accountable to any democratic organs". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 108).

PSD ruled until the November 1996 elections, when they lost both the parliamentary and presidential elections to a four-party coalition (the Romanian Democratic Convention – CDR), led by President Emil Constantinescu. "[T]he right to property, anti-communism, moral probity, honesty and steadfastness" made up a "moral agenda" (Gallagher, 2005, p. 142) which appealed to many voters. However, the new government was not able to carry out reforms and to agree on

a program of action, mainly because of continuous dissensions, tensions and mutual suspicion inside the coalition. In addition, the new president (a Geology professor at the University of Bucharest) was unable, "when problems needed to be solved, to impose his personality decisively". During his governance, "polls showed a mounting nostalgia for single-party and authoritarian forms of rule". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 6). Therefore, it did not come as a surprise the fact that in 2000, Iliescu returned to the Presidency, and the PSD won the elections one more time.

In 2004, millions of voters, impatient for change, elected Traian Băsescu as Romania's President. A former sailor, then the transport minister and later, the Mayor of the capital city, Traian Băsescu appeals to the masses with his "informal approach to politics". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 170). Again, a coalition of powers (The Democrat Party and the National Liberal Party) formed the government, but the prospects for deep-seated reforms still look meager, due to constant tensions and bickering inside the coalition and also between the President and the government members.

Romania was politically polarized for much of the 1990s[31] and continues to be plagued by dissentions in the 2000s. Corruption flourished at all levels of the society, despite everyone's hope that the incipient democracy would not allow any forms of dishonesty. An interesting explanation for the relation between democracy and corruption is offered by Philp (2002, p. 57). In his opinion, "democratization can weaken the authority and legitimacy of political institutions, it can open the system to more extensive forms of corruption, and it can turn mechanisms for the

[31] Perhaps the most dramatic aspects of the 1990s are represented by the Jiu Valley miners' invasions of Bucharest. The miners rampaged at will several times in the 1990s – first as shock troops for an embattled regime in 1990, then in 1991, to stage a violent coup d'etat against the prime minister, and finally in 1999, seeking to prevent elimination of most of their jobs.

formal and political accountability of the political system into highly politicized weapons whose effect is destabilizing".

Despite some strong anti-corruption actions initiated by the government, informal networks of "pile, cunoştinţe şi relaţii" (connections, acquaintances and relatives) seemed to successfully replace the official recourse to public administration. A new oligarchy was created, dishonest figures occupied many important political and administrative positions, misusing and diverting public resources for private use.[32]

No major changes in the administrative legislation until 1997 made Dimitrova (2005, p. 84) include Romania, along with Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, into the category of "rhetorical reformers". The EU conditionality made these countries adopt civil service legislation or complete reforms in a relatively short period of time after 1997 (1998-2002).

Critics such as Gallagher (2005, p. 6) talk ruthlessly about a failure of the reforms during the 1990s, "due less to obstruction by the state and more to the incapacity of a fragmented and mutually distrustful society to end its own victimisation at the hands of an amoral state". However, Romania managed to remain on a steady path of democratization and reforms have taken place (many under the external pressure from the EU, the IMF and the World Bank). In addition, peaceful transfers of power in free and fair elections, freedom of expression, minority rights, etc., are only a few of the positive aspects of the "transition" period.

Regarding the economic sector, Romania's exit from communism has been a difficult one. One cannot talk about Romania's economy during the "transition" period, without going back to the 1980s, years when Ceauşescu succeeded in repaying the country's external debt.

[32] One of the few exceptions was Victor Ciorbea, a prime-minister during Constantinescu's presidency, who "became a universal laughing stock, […], for leaving the government offices at the end of his time in office in the same old Dacia car in which he had arrived fifteen months earlier". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 278).

During the late 1970s and 1980s, Romania experienced severe economic, fiscal, and debt crises, and by the end of the decade its economy was on the verge of collapse. In this context, Ceauşescu government secured loans first from the World Bank and later from the IMF, and "negotiated" a policy of "self-reliance", which involved the rapid repayment of Romania's foreign debt, totaling US $11 billion or 20-30% of its Gross Domestic Product, to these organizations as well as private bank lenders (Ginsburg et al., 2003; World Bank, 2002b; IMF, 2003). During the 1980s, this policy (and one that emphasized large infrastructure projects and heavy industry) led to a "significant reduction in resources allocated for social services (education, health)" (UNDP, 1997, p. 90). Also, "[a]lthough foreign economic constraints were not present in the form of inherited debt, the debt repayment efforts of the communist regime meant that Romania had to start from scratch with economic reforms, in contrast with other socialist countries where such reforms were implemented even before 1989" (Rădulescu, 2004, p. 234).

Instead of a radical approach, Romania has implemented reforms gradually. Hesitant steps towards macroeconomic stabilization have resulted in limited liberalization, corruption, and staggering gaps between the rich and the poor.

The "shock therapy" approach to economic transition was avoided by all governments in power after 1989. The National Salvation Front, created in the months following the Revolution of December 1989, and "largely controlled by dissident Communists, military officers, and former members of the *nomenklatura*" (Bacon, 2004, p. 375), adopted a populist approach to economic reform.

Reforms did not accelerate under the Democratic Convention (CD), despite their ambitious goals. In addition, during their governance, GDP declined 7.3 percent and

unemployment rose to 10.3 percent (Bacon, 2004, p. 380). On top of everything, the World Bank and the IMF decided to stop disbursements to Romania, because of repeated failures of the Romanian government to observe the terms of the agreement" (Bjola, 2005, p. 237) and to carry out its promises on stabilization, budgetary discipline, and privatization. The loss of IFI support was particularly critical since external loan service was projected to amount $3 billion in 1999, far exceeding reserves and anticipated revenues". (Bacon, 2004, p. 380).

Annual inflation rates fluctuated between 256 % in 1993 and 33 % in 1995, Romania being "the only country among the candidates for EU-integration which was never able to reduce its annual inflation rate to the level of a single digit". (Ciupagea, 2002, p. 215). However, inflation has declined in recent years (although it is still high, at about 30 percent), along with the total public deficit, which might suggest that "there is some hope for recovery" (Rădulescu, 2004, p. 249). Even if Romania has not yet recovered its 1989 production, real salary, and GDP (in 2000, the GDP of Romania was still only 77.4 % of its 1989 level) (Ciupagea, 2002, p. 113), "impressive economic changes" were made over the last ten years: "Fully 61.5 percent of the GDP is currently derived from the private sector, with only the industrial sector lagging behind (31.7 percent). More than half of all investment is derived from the private sector, and the service sector continues to grow as a proportion of GDP (43.5 percent)". (Bacon, 2004, p. 386).

Informal economy, which used to be an essential presence in all socialist societies, being linked to an "economy of shortage" (Gabór, 1990),[33] is growing steadily in post-communist Eastern Europe. The share of Romanian households which are coping financially within the

[33] As the supply networks of the state became less reliable, informal economy represented a "secondary source of income on the basis of a secure formal job for practically all employees which guaranteed a decent livelihood… [and] reached into the state economy, in which 'integrated' (Sik, 1994) informal forms and practices had nested; these could hardly be prevented, as employees and firm managers profited from them. The boundaries between legality and illegality were in many areas blurred – not least for the reason that wide sections of the population were involved...The informal incomes served mostly to improve the standards of living, but sometimes they were used for an accumulating legal, non-legal or criminal business". (Neef, 2002, pp. 6-7).

official economy decreased between 1991 and 1998 (a steep decline from 44 per cent of all Romanian households, which get by with regular incomes, in 1991, down to 16 per cent of Romanian households in 1998) (Haerpfer, 2002, p. 64). Wallace and Haerpfer (2002, p. 29) speculate that the growth of the informal market economy might be related to "the retreat of the state economy along with the inadequacy of the formal market economy":

> *[T]he retreat of the state has taken place faster than legislation to control market activity could be passed and implemented. Such legislation is also subverted by the agents within the state who are interested in 'grabbing' state resources in their own interests or tunneling out state institutions from the inside (Sik, 1994). This means that some of the transfer to the market has taken place informally. The absurdity and non-viability of some legislation in the transition period (such as taxes on profits of up to 100 %, the necessity of applying for dozens of authorizations in order to legitimate business activity and so on) further encourages such transfer along with the tradition of rule-bending and corruption in communist states.* (Wallace & Haerpfer, 2002, p. 29)

Negative consequences of informal economies in Romania and the other Eastern European countries include: a fiscal crisis of the state, the undermining of economic indicators, the weakening of social policies, the distortion of market forces and the undermining of public morality (Wallace & Haerpfer, 2002). On the other side, informal economies seem to have a positive social impact, as they stabilize the financial situation of many workers, retired people and other impoverished groups.

Socially, there are many significant changes that have occurred since the 1989 revolution. Compared to 1989, the birth rate has decreased, as a consequence of the legalization of abortions and of the end of Ceauşescu's pro-natalist policy. This led to a diminishing number of the young population, the segment 0-17 years representing in 2001 22.2% of the entire population, compared to 23.6% in 1998 (Save the Children, 2006). However, the birth rate is relatively high, compared to the other European countries: starting with 1995, it was constantly 10.5 new born living children for 1.000 inhabitants (Save the Children, 2006). Also, Romania has one of the

highest abortion rates in Europe (Medical Post, 2005) and one of the highest emigration rates in the world, for a country at peace: "A perennial Romanian joke refers to people's tendencies to move out of the country*: Last one to leave, please turn off the lights*. Studies of the Romanian Academy show there is truth to that: The population is expected to drop 5.5 million more people to reach a low of 16 million around the year 2050, with more than half of the population of retirement age". (Lupşa, 2006).

Another interesting characteristic of the Romanian society nowadays is the high retirement rate. For instance, the percentage of the population actively working decreased from 45.9% in 1992 to 40.7% in 2002 (Census, 2002).

The collapse of the planned economy and the lack of new economic institutions at the beginning of economic transition put many households under enormous pressure. Unemployment, which was virtually unknown in Romania under the communist regime, rose to 5.0% in 2006, although is still very low compared to other large European countries such as Poland, France, or Germany. Meantime, social safety networks (such as health care and pensions) eroded. In addition, numerous investment fund scams/ pyramid saving dodges and bank bankruptcies left many people without any savings.

Seventy percent of the population earns $2 a day, while one-third of all Romanians earn $1 a day or less; officially they are classified as living in poverty (Herzfeld & Rubin, 1999). Social and economic inequality is rampant. By 2000, 92% of Romania's 6 million pensioners were living below subsistence level. At the same time, "thirty-three people have accumulated enormous wealth (between 736 and 797 million US dollars) in the poorest region of the country, Moldavia, where 30% of the population is poor and 25% extremely poor". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 332, citing *Evenimentul Zilei*, 14 Nov. 2003). Yet, Romania, as all other Eastern European

countries, still has a high level of egalitarism: "While the Gini Index, the standard measure of inequality, rose from 21 in 1989 to 31.1 in 1998 (the Gini index has values between 0=perfect equality and 100=perfect inequality), it is still lower than in the US (40.8 in 1997) or other Western countries". (Robilă, 2004, p.143; Tesliuc et al., 2001). However, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasingly getting wider. Many became incredibly rich by plundering the state or even looting EU funds. Thus, "…the period is likely to be remembered for its successive scandals, involving the embezzlement of huge sums, than for any advances in building democracy". (Gallagher, 2005, p. 332).

In these conditions, it is not surprising at all that "a public opinion poll in December 1998 found that a majority of Romanians blamed their government for the country's economic decline, and believed they had been better off materially under Ceauşescu". (Bacon, 2004, p. 381; info from Quest Economic Data, 1999). Before 1989 many Romanians were weighted down by shortages and long queues to buy bread, milk, and meat, so "the idea of social justice, even if it means no more than poverty for everyone, is still strongly present here, if not politically, then morally…[t]here is a conflict between the new economy and the old communist values. People are not used to anyone having money, and they react to wealth with aggression or contempt". (Drakulic, 1997, p. 51).

B. EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

So far, I have tried to briefly describe the period of profound political, cultural, economic and social changes, which started after the collapse of communism in Romania and the other Eastern European countries. These transformations initiated major structural changes in education as

well. At a time when much emphasis is placed paradoxically on both the preservation of local traditions and on a pan-European uniformization of institutions, Eastern European countries offer an eloquent example of how the evolution of education is steered at the same time by different historical backgrounds and by regional politics.

Under communism in the former Soviet bloc countries, people had free access to what they perceived to be – and, to a great extent, was indeed – high quality education throughout the region. For instance, as a World Bank report states: "At the start of the transition in 1989, adult literacy was generally universal. Participation and completion rates for children and youth of both genders were high at all levels of education. Given such a legacy, the education sectors of the transition economies seem to have few problems compared to education systems in other regions of the world" (World Bank, 2000a). However, the World Bank specialists argue, "the rules of the game that resulted in good educational outcomes under Communism are changing. There are fault lines beneath the surface of education systems…that, unless repaired, will ultimately undermine these systems". The new education systems need to adapt to the new principles of democracy, liberalism, humanism, and to the demands of a "learning economy" (World Bank, 2000b): School should play a significant role in preparing young people for participation in an open society. Important developments that are taking place in all Central and Eastern European countries, sparked off, by and large, by the action of governments and international agencies, attempt to address these new demands. In what follows, I will give a snapshot of the reform of secondary education in Romania started in the '90s, discussing, at the same time, factors which seem to underpin or hinder the viability of these education developments.

Education became a priority for every government freely elected after 1990and a "subject of public scrutiny and debate". (Bîrzea & Fartuşnic, 2003, p. 75). The ambitious, comprehensive education reform that Romania has undertaken covers a range of educational aspects: curriculum, teacher education, administration and management, examinations, etc.[34] Some internationally founded projects have supported these aspects of the reform. For instance, the World Bank Education Reform Project 1 began in 1994.[35] In 1995, Romania joined the EU Phare-Vocational Education Training (VET) program, an important means for the EU's financial and technical cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The main objective was to support the Romanian Government in its policy reforms of the VET system, to improve relevance to the developing market economy and to assist economic restructuring.

A few turning points in the reform process can be mentioned, beginning with the White Book of the Education Reform (1992), which is the first comprehensive document to analyze and establish the new directions of the reform process.

Immediately after the 1989 Revolution, political and ideological references were excluded from course content and textbooks, new legislation permitted the establishment of private and religious schools, and some timid attempts of decentralizing the system started. The principal tasks of the reform process, presented by Andrei Marga[36] in two articles, "Reform of

---

[34] For a more detailed discussion of the Romanian education reforms in the 1990s, see Acedo & Popa (2003); Bîrzea & Fartuşnic (2003); Popa & Acedo (2001).

[35] The Education Reform Project (1994-2001) aimed at supporting the Government's strategy to reform the basic and secondary education. The specific objectives were to: update and improve the quality of basic and secondary education by improving curriculum, teacher training, assessment, examinations, and textbook quality; and develop and introduce measures that will increase efficiency in management of public resources for education. The project comprises two main components: a) raising the quality of basic and secondary education; and b) improving education financing and management. The project involved financing textbooks, supplementary materials, equipment, computer hardware and software, technical assistance, external and local training, preparation of studies, and non-salary operating costs. For available project documents, contract information, and staff appraisal reports, visit the World Bank web site (www.worldbank.org).

[36] Andrei Marga was Minister of Education between 1997 and 2000.

Education Now" (1997) and "A Look into the Future of Romanian Education" (1998), were the following: curriculum reform; the reform of education in favor of problem solving and the reform of the role of research in universities; interaction between education and its economic and social environment; improvement of infrastructure and connection to the electronic information highway; the reform of school and university management; and participation in international co-operation.

Bellow I will briefly give a few background details of some important aspects of the secondary education reform process in the 1990s (the reform of the evaluation system, teacher education, financing pre-university education and curriculum reform), while noticing that some of these reforms were never fully implemented in reality – mostly because of political will and lack of resources.

The Reform of the Evaluation System

An important accomplishment of the education reform has been the establishment of the National Assessment and Examinations Service (NAES) in May 1998, which is charged with preparing national examinations and assessments. The NAES has developed exams for Capacitate (at the end of grade 8) and Bacalaureat (at the end of grade 12) and distributes them to inspectorates on the day of the exam. An OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) report talks about the emergence of a new "culture" of the evaluation in Romania (OECD, 2000), evident in the processes of establishing criteria for evaluation and defining the standard indicators for student performance.

Nevertheless, there are many difficulties and controversies related to the establishment of the NAES, starting with its "institutional ambiguity": NAES is subordinate to both the MOE and

to the Institute of Educational Sciences (IES). The OECD report argues that, in the long run, NAES should become an independent institution capable of assuming the responsibility for the critical evaluation of the performance of the education system (OECD, 2000).

A further controversy is related to the inability of the NAES to formulate clear criteria for evaluation and to implement means for evaluation and training students so that teachers may be able to avail of the appropriate results of these processes from the very beginning of the teaching process.[37] Also, despite its significant steps in the direction of increasing the transparency and quality of the system, these examinations have gained some criticism, since not all the subjects tested attained the same level of complexity (OECD, 2000). Criticism has also been centered on the expenses that such an institution would imply: about 20 permanent employed specialized staff, plus 20 to 25 auxiliary staff. In addition, it is suggested that "cost-effective alternatives to a national examination system might be considered, where only a limited set of subjects have exams developed nationwide, while the rest have school-developed exams". (World Bank, 2000b).

Teacher Education

The curriculum reform in Romania indicates a need to reform teacher training. Romanian teachers are themselves highly educated (for instance, secondary education teachers need to have a university degree and pass a competitive recruitment exam), but now they have to be more than transmitters of information. They need to apply in their classes a more student-centered pedagogy, while taking into account the students' learning and identity development processes. Starting with the 1999-2000 academic year, the reform of the initial training for a teaching career

[37] Interview with Ştefan Popenici, former consultant, Romanian Ministry of Education (April 10, 2001).

involves teacher training in tertiary education institutions exclusively. The psycho-pedagogical and methodological training of the future teachers is now supposed to be carried out in the Department for Teacher Training of the university.

The training is developed according to the following curriculum: "a) Compulsory curriculum (common core) consisting of the following subjects: Psychology of Education, Pedagogy, Subject Teaching Methodology, and Teaching Practice; and b) Optional curriculum, including at least two subjects chosen by the student out of the following package: School and Vocational guidance, School Management, Education Sociology, Educational Policies, Intercultural Education, etc. The faculties and university colleges apply the system of transferable academic credits to the curriculum managed by the Department for Teacher Training as well, which enables students to acquire a second teaching specialization along with their initial specialization. The teaching practice is organized over a period of two semesters in a pilot school and in schools appointed by the school inspectorates in cooperation with the teacher-training departments in universities". (Korka, 2000).

Korka argues that for the first time, after decades of completely separate activities, the initial training of the new generations of teachers is the common responsibility of the suppliers, the universities, and of the beneficiaries, the county school inspectorates. However, it is far from clear to what extent this approach has been able to reach its objectives. Once again, what is on paper does not match the reality. World Bank evaluations reveal that teacher training is one of the least advanced aspects of the educational reform. Furthermore, programs designed under the World Bank project, in order to reform teacher training have not been tailored to the real needs of the Romanian educational system (Interview with Ştefan Popenici, April 10, 2001). Also, some argue that training future teachers in tertiary education institutions seems to be just a

meaningless “simulation of activity” in which automatic promotion is the common practice. Taking advantage of the autonomy of the university, the psychology departments prove scarcely interested in reforming their curricula in keeping with secondary education’s new curricula and the changes that have occurred in Romanian society. (Personal communication with Ştefan Popenici, December 20, 2000).

The continued reform of teacher training started in April 1998 and aimed at training in-service teachers to understand, adopt, and apply the concepts and ideas of the education reform and to adapt the teaching technology and evaluation to the new requirements. A National Center for Teacher Training (CNFPDIP) was set up on June 29, 2000, being subordinated to the MOE. The Ministry of Education helped supply The Teacher Centers in every county with computers and printers, and the Directors of the Centers have received training. They cooperate with the school inspectorates, universities, non-governmental organizations, and national/foreign experts to organize “cascade training programs” that disseminate educational reform within the entire county: Sixty national trainers and 1,300 local trainers have been trained in the core areas of assessment and examinations, active learning, differentiating instruction, economic education, and conflict resolution and pluralism (World Bank, 2000a). Nevertheless, this model of training delivery seems to be a centralized one, by expecting local trainers to replicate such training nationwide. In addition, this strategy has been criticized for not providing teachers with the ongoing support required to engage in the type of change expected and not meeting the demands of the new curriculum framework. (Word Bank, 2000a). Teacher Centers and Inspectorates are still far away from stimulating educational innovation and becoming the spearheads of development.

Financing Pre-University Education

The State Budget made available funds for financing public education at the pre-university level. The MOE allocates the money approved by the Budgetary Act in accordance with criteria such as the number of staff and the teaching staff's average salary, the number of textbooks and teaching aids based on number of students, and the number of students entitled to receive scholarships. The MOE distributes the money to the County School Inspectorates (local education authorities), which transfer it to the Budgetary Centers. A Budgetary Center is organized as a unit covering up to 15 school units in terms of financial and accounting procedures. A new law passed (which came into effect beginning of July 2001), regarding the shortcut of the transfer of the money from government to the beneficiary. A new mechanism of salary payment has already provoked the reaction of the teachers, who are worried that they would not receive their salary in due time. There are also discussions about transferring greater responsibility in education to local government. The central government still allocates the resources, without much opportunity for efficiency or innovation. A law was passed according to which pre-tertiary education would be financed on a per student basis. Since 1995, the Local Public Bodies' Budgets have financed the maintenance of the school infrastructure, and recently, the local governments have been given property rights of the school buildings. This measure is expected to increase their interest in effectively undertaking school maintenance.

An important source of funding for secondary education comes from external aid. According to a study made by the Romanian Institute for Studies in Education (ISE), for the past few years Romanian education has been loaded with more than the equivalent of $500 million. The greatest share of this amount was contributed by the World Bank (Education Reform Project – $50 million; School Rehabilitation Project – $70 million; Reform of Higher Education and

Research Project – $50 million) and by the EU Phare, which amounted to 25 million ECU. Beginning with 1994, the main external source for jointly financing the pre-university level is represented by the World Bank Project. In 1994, Romania sat up the framework for joining the Phare-VET under an EU program (ISE, 1998). More to the point, Romania is one of the top three World Bank lenders in Europe and Central Asia.

The OECD report argues that the assistance (consisting mainly of "projects") granted to Romania from the beginning of the 1990s should be replaced by new types of assistance, better adapted to the priorities of the Romanian education system.

The Textbook Policy

Teachers and students now have the possibility of choosing among alternative textbooks. Under the reform program co-financed by the World Bank and the Romanian government, a real effort was made to end the state textbook publishing house monopoly and to stimulate the emergence of a private publishing sector. Publishers engage in competitions to provide up to three titles per subject per grade. A Textbook Approval Board supervises these competitions and use specific criteria to assess the proposals. Consequently, Romania has developed a functional private textbook publishing industry. Local inspectorates organize exhibitions where the books are presented; teachers can choose among the three possible textbooks and order the book from the publisher through the *judet* Inspectorate. Alternative textbooks also have been introduced for high schools.[38]

[38] The introduction of alternative textbooks started in 1995. Changes in curricula can be highlighted by the fast development of the textbook market. Textbook publishing has become a big business since the end of the state monopoly. This is common for the entire Eastern Europe. For instance, by 1995, general schools in Hungary could choose from 6 to 12 textbooks available for each subject. In 1994, the total number of school textbooks in Hungary attained 1230 – "although these data need a more in depth verification" (Open Society Institute, 1999). The increase

The Curriculum Reform

Moving toward a greater local input is a common point of the educational reform in all Eastern European countries.[39] In Romania, a challenging stage of the curriculum reform began in 1998. Starting in the 1998-1999 school year, a new curriculum containing seven curricular domains was introduced in lower secondary education. The new curriculum was divided into: core curriculum (taking up 75%) and the "curriculum at the school's option" (or the "optional curriculum," which can be decided by the school itself, and is taking up 25%). The seven curricular domains are language and communication, mathematics and natural sciences, human being and society, art, sports, technology, and career counseling and guidance. During the 1999-2000 school year, the new curriculum was implemented in all grades of compulsory education and in the first year of study in upper-secondary education (grade IX).[40]

The new national curriculum enriches the list of subjects, develops local curricula in Romania, offers optional subjects in any grade, and involves the community in school activities. The main goal in developing new syllabi and alternative textbooks has been the creation of a "new curriculum culture" (Marga, 2000), defined by the following dimensions: decentralizing, enhancing flexibility and reducing the formal requirements of the curriculum and syllabi; adapting the curriculum to individual learning and training needs, in accordance with the changes

---

in textbook options for foreign language teaching is even more remarkable. In Hungary, English teachers could choose from 214 textbooks in 1994-1995.

[39] The process is sometimes causing rather acrimonious debates centered on the changing contents of curricula (Nagy, 2000). For instance, political debates characterized the early 1990s (especially about history curricula, and a proposed new National Core Curriculum) in Hungary and in Romania. In Hungary, the debates now focus on the implementation of the New National Core Curriculum, adopted in 1995. "Within the framework of the National Core Curriculum, schools are free to decide which subjects, and how many lessons they will offer in both compulsory and optional subjects; the forms and procedures of pupil evaluation; and the special provisions for ethnic and national minorities". (Nagy, 2000).

[40] The Law on Education, adopted in 1995, stipulated that compulsory education would begin at age 7, including grades 1-8. The 2002 Romanian education law has lowered the age for enrolling in school to age 6, and has increased compulsory education to age 16 (grades 1-10).

taking place in society; orienting learning towards skills development, using interactive methods, and stimulating creative and critical thinking, as well as the pupils "independent activity, inquisitive spirit, and the individual problem-solving ability"; and using information in new contexts related to concrete situations in the areas of private and social life. (Marga, 2000).

Syllabi were designed as framework plans; they indicate the minimum and maximum number of hours for every type of school and grade. The new framework curriculum, Romanian officials argue, would contribute to the existence of a "reasonable syllabus", by means of which "a better productivity of learning can be obtained: learning better and more efficiently, in a shorter amount of time and with less stress". (Korka, 2000).

Schools can work on the basis of the weekly minimal schedule as syllabi are conceived in relation with the minimum number of classes per subject (the common curriculum). The common curriculum (including the compulsory subjects) allows the syllabus to be reduced to essentials. On the other hand, schools have the option to work on the basis of the maximal syllabus, offering the students a wider range of options for individual study as compared to the minimal syllabus.

In his report on the Romanian reform of the education system, Marga (2000) states that our education "bears the traces of eighteenth century positivism, of nineteenth century romanticism, of Eastern European socialism, and of the unorganized efforts of changing it after 1989". He assumes that one of the characteristics which keep it from being competitive is that "it adheres to an obsolete conception of development as expansion – increased volume of information, more classes, more examinations, etc. – even though the encyclopedic ideal has been superseded. It is a system that is overly inured to the pressures of competition – grades, job offers and examinations, even though the feasibility of partnership is now essential". In the same

report, Minister of Education Marga admits that the steps envisaged "were in agreement with the EU concept of educational reform for Eastern and Central Europe". There must be a "curricular compatibility" among European countries. Therefore, schools have to "reduce the burden of the curriculum": their programs will be "lightened according to a comparative analysis of contemporary international experience" and the "school curricula will reflect European standards". Subjects like history, geography, and biology have been the most affected by such cuts in the number of taught hours: "History, biology, and in general, everything related to serious and intense work, seem to be devalued by our officials. Teachers in these subjects are constrained to teach in two or more schools; many of them try to find additional sources of revenue in the private sector". (Interview with M. N., Romanian teacher, in Acedo & Popa, 2003).

Interestingly enough, one can easily notice that this "harmonization" of the educational system, based on the principle of an assumed "partnership" with other countries, is taking place at a time of an increasing global competition. A "European standard" may be considered the Recommendation 1283/1996, issued by the EU Council, which urged the candidate countries to give up "the kind of ethnic mobilization sought by former nationalist histories, and give a voice to minorities, local communities, regional interests, or gender issues. This was a new European history based on critical thinking and multiple interpretations". (Pârâianu, 2004). Therefore, a tensioned debate over the history textbook reform took place in Romania in 1999. Those who were disappointed because "fundamental problems" (Constantiniu, 2002) and historical personalities were not covered by the new curriculum fought with those who considered unimportant the omissions in the course of events, since, they thought, the new textbooks were dealing with "critical thinking": "The main line of criticism was that the government was servile

towards EU institutions, and took their recommendations too literally. The common argument was that Romania should enter the EU with dignity, with their own identity, and proud of their tradition, in other words, with their own national history. However, there was another line of argument, according to which it was not only the internationalist, homogenizing, bureaucratic circles of the EU that were dissolving Romanian identity, but some Hungarian circles as well". (Pârâianu, 2002). In this context, the prominent historian Florin Constantiniu (2002) describes the Romanian education reform as being a "didactic Chernobyl" because "the narrative was replaced by the problematic", and students "cannot understand problems if they don't know the course of events that generated them".

The freedom given to schools to decide on a portion of the curriculum (representing 20%-25%) implies that the schools have to design their own project depending on the human and material resources of the school, on the pupils' interests and motivation and of the specific ties, which exist between school and the local community. On the basis of these principles it is possible to differentiate the individual courses of study by taking into account the students' interests and motivation. In reality, an OECD report argues, features such as reliance on the central curricular model, reluctance to assume individual responsibility (as well as a focus on the encyclopedic aspect of teaching without linking it to the acquisition of skills, aptitudes, and practice) and a preference for traditional authoritarian teacher-student relations are to be found in all Eastern European educational systems and hinder the implementation of the curriculum reform (OECD, 1996). Although lingering misconceptions about Eastern European education seem to shape the OECD report, it becomes evident that the curriculum reform has not produced significant curricular innovations in any Eastern European country. In the Czech Republic, for instance, Kalous considers that the methods of teaching have not significantly changed and

estimates that only 10% of the schools have been able to produce notable curricular innovations (Jaroslav Kalous, in Polyzoi & Černá, 2001). As for the Romanian reform, it is still difficult and too early to assess the extent to which curricular autonomy at the school level has influenced the quality of teaching in secondary education schools.

Most importantly, there is evidence that the current system is promoting inequality with regard to the access to education in unprecedented ways. Although, theoretically, education is free for everybody, not everyone can afford it. Parents often encourage teachers to be lenient and give students high grades that would secure them admission to universities; in exchange for this service, parents would liberally shower the teachers with gifts and money (World Bank, 2000b).

The many educational changes undertaken by the Romanian government have often taken place at a brisk pace and at a time of economic and social instability. Therefore, issues related to equity, equality of opportunity, quality and efficiency, accommodation of demographic changes, the growing social and economic inequalities among students, scarcity of funding, and the lack of financial and professional support for teachers pose constant challenges to the education system. The Romanian population has been confronted with new critical problems: for instance, many families have now to cope with a devastating and mounting deterioration in their material conditions and rising unemployment and poverty have put enormous burdens on families who often have limited resources to devote to their children's education.

The growing number of students dropping out has multiple causes, including poverty and distrust in the power of education to help them advance socially and financially. Only in the 1997-1998 school year, the student dropout rate was 0.8% from the total number of registered students at the lower secondary education level, and 4.2% at the upper-secondary one. This represents a noticeable increase comparative to the 1995-1996 year.

In close relationship to the dropout phenomenon there is an alarming amount of absenteeism from schools. One of its unobtrusive causes is the luring face of a new society, which promises wealth, glory and "freedom" to many students. However, the most significant and alarming cause is poverty. There is mounting evidence concerning students who do not have the minimum necessary conditions to attend school – clothes, shoes, food, etc. Since under present conditions good education is, in most cases, minimally rewarded with money or positions, it is logical to expect that there will be little incentive to attain it. To some extent, this attitude exists and is partly reflected in the large number of out-of-school youth. In addition, Romanian education is beset now with troubles such as juvenile delinquency, early pregnancy, prostitution, and drug abuse, which were rare exceptions only a dozen years ago.

Causes of social exclusion are various and they are in close relationship to economical conditions rather than to any educational reform. Could the new education framework repair inequalities that society is endorsing? The answer is not simple at all. So far, there is a danger that schooling itself helps growing social differentiation instead of playing a corrective role in social processes. Even though most stakeholders in Romanian education today are well aware of the present difficulties, these problems are still not conceptualized and not much discussed in public.

The government has tried to introduce measures in order to increase school attendance for children from poor families and from rural areas. These included: providing free notebooks and schoolbooks in primary and secondary education for children from families with limited income; providing free milk and bagels to pre-school and primary education students;[41]

[41] The program, called "Cornul şi laptele" [The bagel and the milk], was initiated by the Social Democrat government in 2000. Surprisingly enough, especially in light of the pattern of many other "stop-go" reforms in Romania, the new liberal government which came to power in 2004 decided to continue it.

organizing school transport in rural areas; and providing scholarships for higher education students from rural areas. In addition, projects were implemented in order to increase access to education for children coming from Roma (Gypsy) communities. Nevertheless, the Romanian educational system is still sheltering vulnerable groups such as Roma, the poor and the rural children.

Budgetary constraints have had a negative impact not only on access to, but also on quality of, education, since Romania, as other Eastern European countries, has witnessed a decline in the mobilization of resources for education. For example, the Romanian Education Law of 1995 stipulated that 4% of GDP should be spent on education, yet to date the Government has not managed to achieve this. Lack of funding "erodes" the system in numerous ways – such as shortage of teaching materials and modern equipment, degradation of facilities, but also motivation of teachers.

The situation of the Romanian teachers today may be characterized by relatively acceptable schedules and teaching loads (by international standards), but also by the very low and continually plunging level of their salaries. Romanian teachers are perhaps worse paid than any other teachers in the OECD countries. Moreover, the teachers' pay condition has steadily decreased since the early 1990s, parallel with the fall in student numbers. The teachers' pay is considered low not only by international comparison, but also within the Romanian salary system. For instance, in 2002, teachers' salaries ranged from a low $66.50 per month (for a newly graduated pedagogical institute teacher) to a high of $122.30 (for a university graduate with more than 40 years experience). Their pay has, for several years now, been falling in real terms, as salary increases have been well below the inflation rate. (Tsakonas, 2002d).

Their low salaries, deteriorating social status and declining authority are constant challenges for those responsible for planning and implementing reforms of the education system. As long as their profession is financially and, implicitly, socially devalued, many of them continue to lose their interest and enthusiasm for classroom teaching. Not only do the vast majority of university graduates choose fields other than teaching, where they receive higher salaries from the start, but the education system is now confronted with the migration of previously employed teachers to better-paying jobs. To fill the gap, the Education Ministry has allowed teachers to continue to work past the retirement age[42] and has employed a large number of under-qualified, substitute teachers. In 1998/99, they represented 22% of the total number of public school teachers in Romania, many of them being employed in rural schools: "Most of the unqualified personnel (56.9 percent) is working in rural areas and only 43.1 percent in urban areas. Out of the total population employed in the rural areas, the percentage of unqualified didactic personnel is large at 24.6 percent, compared with only 11.6 percent in urban areas". (Tsakonas, 2002d).

Moreover, in 2004, almost 9,000 graduates and experienced teachers throughout Romania failed tests that would have ensured them permanent jobs in the school system. The results of this exam were, embarrassingly enough, made public on TV.

In addition, the reform has also brought frequent and contradictory changes, and has intensified the pace of teachers' daily work. Throughout my study, I will discuss more in detail the process of intensification of their work. For now, let me only emphasize the idea that Romanian teachers' work and lives are strongly related to the changes, tensions and struggles that exist in the larger society.

---

[42] Because their pensions would be too low, many teachers close to their retirement eagerly accept to teach for a few more years.

C. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has provided an overview of the socio-political, economic and educational changes, which have taken place during the "transition" from communism to "democracy".

Despite the real progress made in many areas of social and economic reforms, the "transition" has also brought many challenges and economic insecurities, which are affecting the education system as well. Worryingly, the education system is assaulted by "reforms" every four years (as a new government comes to power). Very often, there is no continuity or clear vision of how the education system should look like. As it is the case in the political and socio-economic life, education is beset by stop-go reforms as well.

This might be an explanation for the fact that many educational changes taking place since the 1990s have also brought a certain lack of trust by students, their parents and teachers in their rhetoric of the official reform. Today, the government is still perceived to be in opposition to the people (as it was before 1989) and the people continue to play their game of "beating the system". An internal resistance is undermining the official discourse on reform. A certain belief in the ephemeral character of governments and their sometimes revocable decisions makes people remain cautious and prepared for "the worst".

In analyzing the educational reform, we come across two processes that intersect and interact with each other: the reform itself and the way in which it is being adapted to concrete and individual contexts/ situations by parents and educators. Thus, ordinary people, representing deep structures of the local cultural heritage, play an important role in this process. They attach their own meanings to the educational reform and modify it. During the 1948–1989 period, the Communist party's claims to total power over Romanian society were somehow discouraged by a continuous, if somewhat muffled, anarchy and resistance. The way in which educators and

other people are responding to the policy of "democratizating" the curriculum is particularly intriguing. The "commodification" and "massification" of culture, education included, are believed to enormously diminish the quality of cultural products. Therefore, a resistance to this trend is emerging, visible not only in the academic milieu that tends to reinforce traditionalism and conservatism, but also in the perpetuation of a popular elitist and meritocratic belief about the role of education.

It is perhaps too early to see if these reforms have left the educational system worse off, despite their intention to strengthen it. Time may even show that the post-1989 governments left some positive legacies in different areas of the education reform. However, efforts at a true reform remain sluggish after sixteen years of post-communism and effective renewal of the system is not in sight. Even more worrisome, the ideas of many officials who are left to sketch a vision are strongly politicized. Politics and education go hand in hand in Eastern Europe, as Bassler (2005, p. 6) notices: "A national reform in education cannot happen without sustained political will, no matter how much national or donor investment is poured into it. Change at all levels of the education system can be fuelled or blocked by politics".

Concerned with "image" more than with "content", most officials from the Ministry of Education conceive and promote reforms written in a wooden-language, hardly filled with clear meanings, and very often without any reference to the reality of the Romanian system of education. They do that while barely noticing, for instance, that illiteracy became a problem indeed, rising to 6%, ahead of the other Eastern European countries (Evenimentul Zilei, 1998).

Meantime, dozens of exceptionally well-prepared students continue to win the most prestigious international competitions in mathematics, computer science, chemistry, biology, foreign languages, etc. Whether or not they represent the system or if they are only exceptions

("trained" by private tutors, outside the formal system of education) is a debatable matter. See, for instance, a lively discussion about the "Olympics" (students winning international competitions) and about the utility of the education reform, in Crişan (2005, pp. 31-2):

> *One chilly morning in February 1991, I was at the ministry with a group from the institute to meet with the director in charge of the syllabus. A respectable man, fifty-five to sixty years old, primly dressed in white shirt and tie, a textbook author for many years, he looked dumbfounded. Where did you people come from? What is that you want? We had heard that he was quite obsessed with the thought that some people wanted to emulate 'Western models' that simply did not fit a Romania whose top athletes were Olympic champions and whose top students won contests abroad. 'What do you mean cut down on content?' the director asked. 'Would you like us to end up like the Americans who don't have a clue who Shakespeare or Tolstoy are, or where Romania is on the map? The Romanian education system is very good as it is. Why should we change? What do you mean 'critical thinking'? Why do students need that? They should first learn and then be critical.*

For now, reforms are hampered by a system starved of resources, along with the lack of transparency and the pompous language of those in charge of initiating changes. As it happens in the Romanian politics and economy, simulated change seems to prevail in education too. Teachers are caught in this process, by "riding the waves" of "change", and having to make sense of and apply in their classrooms a series of "new" education policies. Subsequent chapters will try to capture the various ways in which Romanian teachers deal with these changes.

VI. LEGACIES AND (DIS)CONTINUITIES OF THE PAST

The tradition of all the dead generations weights like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their services and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language…

Karl Marx [1852] (1963). *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

A. TEACHERS' WORK AS PRIVATE TUTORS BEFORE CEAUŞESCU'S REGIME

A common explanation for the peculiarities of the Romanian tutoring system usually revolves around the legacy of the past. Very often, private tutoring is perceived as an abnormality created by the deficiencies of communist education, a leftover from the socialist past that will gradually disappear (Ministry of Education, 2000). Fifteen years after the fall of the communism, private tutoring has not vanished yet; on the contrary, it is thriving more than ever. The history of the private tutoring in Romania bears closer examination, as it is likely to provide a guide to the intricacies and the vitality of this phenomenon.

Private tutoring is not a new phenomenon in Romania, dating back to the pre-communist era. Even before the World War I, many university students and teachers were earning their keep

by tutoring children of the wealthy. The phenomenon was well-spread in the entire Europe.[43] "The most uncertain thing in the world" (Eastman, 1926) – especially because the sessions could be canceled on a very short notice, private tutoring came to the rescue of many teachers and higher education students who were living in scarcity.[44] Many of them had accepted their poverty as a part of the choice that they were making: they were part of the "intelligentsia", a social category that has long played an important role in the history and politics of Eastern Europe. At the end of the 19th century, intelligentsia enjoyed an immense prestige and importance in Eastern Europe. Their significant position in the society was tied to "the relative weaknesses of domestic middle classes, the need for the new nations of Central Europe to forge new national identities (sometimes quite literally), and their frequent resort to a 'non-political politics' of culture and ideas in the face of foreign domination". (Hanley, 1999, p. 3). The identity of the Romanian intelligentsia was crystallized in a similar socio-cultural and political environment, becoming "one of the most sophisticated in Eastern Europe, and definitely one of the most intimately influenced by French literary and academic standards". (Tismăneanu, 2004, p. 42). As I have illustrated in Chapter III, after the World War II, the term acquired special connotations in Eastern Europe, tied to the state's efforts to both empower and control them. The intellectual became "a civil servant who claimed a key role in the process of social reproduction

[43] For a detailed history of private tutoring in America and Western Europe, see Gordon & Gordon (1990).

[44] Here are only a couple of famous examples: during World War I, the Russian poet and novelist Boris Pasternak worked as a private tutor in the Ural Mountains. Trotsky also advertised himself as a private tutor: "And Trotsky's income as a 'private tutor' sometimes amounted to eleven rubles a month, although it was the most uncertain thing in the world. At one time he managed to rope in the son of a local dry-goods merchant and filled him so full of unnecessary knowledge that at the end of two months his father, taking fright at the boy's development, refused to pay the bill. There could hardly have been a more unlikely location for a private tutor of Nikolaev's wealthy sons than Comrade Svigofsky's garden. And there could hardly have been a more inauspicious regalia than the blue workman's blouse, the wildgrowing hair and the cane of a special form which had been 'standardized' by the habitues of that nest of liberality and sedition". (Eastman, 1926). The occupation of private tutor appears in a few novels; for instance, in Edward Upward's *Journey to the Border*, in which the central character, a nameless private tutor, drifts between many lifestyles and ideologies, and became gradually disillusioned by all of them. On the brink of madness, he decides that a commitment to social revolutions and to the working class is his only salvation.

and distribution of surplus value. The Eastern intellectual's position has become that of exploiting the relative monopoly of complex knowledge as a means for achieving state goals". (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 188).

Before the Second World War, private tutoring was the privilege of the wealthy. Eking out a living teaching private lessons is something that Marin, a retired school teacher, still remembers vividly:

> *I was often actually hungry for a meal. I was studying French literature at the university, but whenever my money ran out – and that was happening quite often – I had to teach those rich brats…*

My discussion with Marin brought to my memory a short story by Ion Luca Caragiale[45], titled *Dascal prost* [Dim-witted teacher], which is temporally situated in the 1930s. In that story, Pricupescu, a History teacher, is invited by a wealthy family to privately tutor their not very bright son and to help him pass his class with a high grade. They offer him money and a "vacation" in the mountains along with their family, in order for the boy to be tutored in history. The poor teacher does not accept their offer, despite the pressures exercised on him by his friends, his girlfriend, and the student's family. What is interesting in that story is how the tone of those pressures changes: from a nicely worded invitation, in order to set up the terms of "that business", to aggressive threats and even an invective against all the teachers. I am translating below a short paragraph of that story, which offers an illustrative glimpse at the Romanian teachers' situation in the 1930s:

---

[45] I.L. Caragiale (1852-1912) is one of Romania's most important literary figures. A playwright, short story writer, translator, and journalist, he is best known for plays such as *O noapte furtunoasa* (1879*; A Stormy Night*), *Conul Leonida fata cu reactiunea* (1880; *Mr. Leonida and the Reactionaries*), *O scrisoare pierduta* (1884; *The Lost Letter*), and *D'ale Carnavalului* (1885; *Carnival Scenes*), comedies in which he satirizes the vanity and arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

Pricupescu, the exams begin at your school tomorrow. It's in your interest that I'm warning you again: don't treat the son of that acquaintance of mine severely. It would be stupid on your part to be overzealous, since you know all too well that the boy will take the exam, despite your opposition. Why would you upset such influential persons, you, a humble teacher, bent on showing off? Wouldn't you be better off endearing yourself to them? I had dinner at their place last night. There were quite a few big shots. Throughout the evening they spoke disparagingly about teachers, who, besides being no good, are also rough and boorish, especially towards children of good families. As I was leaving, the lady of the house said that, if you dare persecute the little one, you'll be in deep trouble. I vouched for you. Mark my words, in your interest.

This paragraph is worth particular attention, as it touches on important topics, such as the power relations between parents and teachers and, more generally, on the Romanian teachers' status in an urban setting, between the two World Wars. However, teachers' situation in the late 1950s appears differently painted by a few senior teachers at the Orchard High School. For instance, Iris, who is sixty years old, and teaches Romanian Language and Literature, remembers vividly about her own teachers, some fascinating intellectual figures, for whom students and their parents had an enormous respect. On the other hand, as she states, teachers have never reached a very important social status in the Romanian society, with the notable exception of the countryside regions, where the educators used to be seen as the "souls" of the entire Romanian people. The respect for them was, in her words, "immeasurable". Iris was a high school student during Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej's regime.[46] Her father, an electrician who had been traveling throughout the country, had the inspired idea to move all his family from the village where they had bee living to the city:

[46] Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901–65), long-time head of the Romanian Communist Party, prime minister (1952–55), and president of Romania's State Council (1961–65). He joined the then-outlawed Romanian Communist Party in 1930 and was sentenced to 12 years of hard labor for his role in the Grivita railway men's strike of 1933. As a president, he is recognized for the negotiation, in 1958, of the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Romania, "thus heralding an accommodation with a traditionally anti-Russian, pre-socialist Romanian nationalism. This accommodation was continued and extended by Gheorghiu-Dej's successor, Nicolae Ceauşescu, after 1965". (Pittaway, 2004, p. 137).

> *He told us that the communists had taken everything from us, when they collectivized many Romanian villages: 'You need to get out of the countryside and to do something with your life. Otherwise, you will remain poor and uneducated'*. (Iris, teacher, Romanian Language and Literature)

At her mother's insistence, her father hired a private tutor, to help Iris pass the very tough admission exam to the high school. A remote relative of the family, he was a very well known teacher at the same prestigious high school where she had wanted to study. I asked her if at the time it was common for students to have private tutors and her answer did not surprise me:

> *No, it was not common at all. Only very wealthy students had private tutors. My father did something extraordinary for me. We were not rich at all. On the contrary, we were a family of seven, with one single income, my dad's. In the countryside, we lacked indoor toilets and bathtubs, had neither washing machine nor refrigerator, knew nothing about telephone…But all of us loved to study.*

Growing up in a small village, Iris had many complexes, comparing herself with her colleagues in the city. School in the countryside lacked the rigor and the knowledge of the urban teachers:

> *The private lessons I took, although terrifying, helped me understand that I had so much to recuperate, in order to be like my colleagues*.

I found the same idea in an interview (*Formula As*, 2005), with Mihai Bârlea, the prefect of the Maramureş county, whose roots are in the countryside too:

> *When I came to the city, I had a terrible handicap. The quality of the schooling in the countryside is not the same as the one in the city. In addition, we were confronted with many prejudices from the teachers themselves, who were objecting to our being wretched peasants. Sometimes, this attitude had a paralyzing effect on us. Many of us had to make big efforts in order to convince the others that we were some gifted human beings – and in the beginning, it was not easy at all. Tying my necktie was one of the hardest things.*

My discussions with the few teachers who still have recollections about private tutoring before 1945 reveal a few important facts: first, private tutoring existed well before the World War II. Since teachers' salaries were low, they had to supplement their income by offering private

lessons to the rich. The goal of these lessons was either remedial (for students who did not do well at school) or elitist (for those who wanted to perfect their knowledge of subjects such music and foreign languages – French and Latin were especially fashionable).

After World War II, private tutoring remained for a while the privilege of the wealthy. However, exceptions had started to appear, as the immediate post-war decades were witnessing an incipient new identity of the society, imposed by the state: one that was "egalitarian, productivist and work-based" (Pittaway, 2004, p. 9). Higher education became available to underprivileged classes.[47] However, the scale of the changes and challenge that the Romanian society was about to experience was perhaps beyond any imagination.

B. MEMORY AT WORK: PRIVATE TUTORING DURING CEAUŞESCU'S REGIME

Under the conditions of *numerus clausus* for admission to the upper secondary level and for admission to university studies, tutoring was in high demand during Ceauşescu's regime. Many parents used to hire private tutors to help prepare their children for taking the exams that would allow them to enter upper secondary level schools and to enter university. Sometimes the tutors were the high school teachers (and the students' own teachers during the school day) that the student would have as his/her examiners, so that tutoring made access to the next education level almost a *fait accompli*.

[47] Yet, "the cost of a private tutor was prohibitive for many workers and peasant families, and rural-urban differences in education exacerbated their difficulties. A point system that discriminated in the favor of workers and peasants was apparently not enough to compensate for poorer preparation. Such students had less chance of getting into universities and even when admitted were more likely to drop out. Most of the 20 percent of students dropping out after the first year were of peasant or working-class backgrounds". (Bachman, 1989).

Mihai is a fifty-four years old teacher of Mathematics. A heavy man, with a booming voice, he immediately imposes respect to his students. He had tutored students before 1989. He tells me about the fierce entrance examinations to the university, which had made many of his students have private tutoring at least eight years before taking the tests. The entrance exams were subject-oriented. Therefore, many of his students were diligently preparing all eight years of secondary education for the subjects in which they would be tested:

> *I tutored students from the fifth to the twelfth grade, with the clear objective for them to successfully pass the university entrance exam. I had very good students and some 80 percent passed the exam on their first try.*

There are no official data about the number of the students who benefited from private tutoring before 1989. Some information provided by Bachman (1989) may be exaggerated: "Stringent entrance exams eliminated a large number of applicants. Some 90 percent of freshmen entering one university department had private tutoring for eight years before taking the tests. Because the exams were tailored to the course of study, as early as the fifth grade students began planning their specializations, so that they could devote the last four years of elementary school and four years of high school to the subjects in which they would be tested. Both high school teachers and university professors confirmed that it was next to impossible to enter the university without private tutoring. (Bachman, 1989). Daniela, a Physics teacher, contradicts this view:

> *Schooling was done in earnest before the Revolution. Most of my students did not need private tutoring if they were attentive and diligent in class. Only mediocre students and those who really wanted get the highest scores at the university entrance exams were getting tutored*. (Daniela, Physics teacher)

Her account of schooling before 1989 adds to the on-going contradictions and tensions in teachers' discussions about the Romanian education system during socialism. One of the most contested topics, when talking about Eastern Europe, is the faithfulness of memory (for a more

extensive discussion on the historical memory as a source of conflict, see Jedlicki, 1999). Almost immediately after the 1989 Revolution, which brought down the communist regime in Romania, different perceptions of Romania's very recent past had started to surface. Rifts between different memories became visible not only in ordinary people's discussions (and tensions) in the street, but also in the political and academic discourses. Essentially, despite the apparent irrationality of the many tensions caused by people's various recollections of the past, it was also a rational response of social actors to their specific socio-cultural and political environment. I am not talking here about the historical, national memory (as it appears more or less noticeably in textbooks, national narratives and different cultural products – national literatures, anthems, paintings, etc., or in "celebrations", such as exhibitions, festivals and theatre), nor about narratives of collective trauma and radical social change, but about remembering or forgetting the past on a small scale, so to speak. My interest is directed towards explaining how teachers were negotiating their everyday life and their work as private tutors under socialism and what relation exists between their post-socialist experiences and their perception of the past.

My discussions with teachers at the Orchard High School revealed the fact that, sixteen years after the fall of the communist regime, the Romanian society was still confronted with its history. Their very different perspectives on the past are a symptom of a bigger issue, which could be rightly summarized by Deborah Tall's words: "What is at stake is not only the past, but the present…In memories, too, begin responsibilities". (Tall, 2006).

For some teachers, the socialist past was "good": they were able to live decently, having a secure job and enjoying a relative autonomy in class. The pressure for conformity exercised by the Communist Party does not seem to have affected them and their work as teachers or private tutors:

> *Nothing has changed, believe me. Whoever did his job seriously and in a professional manner, before the Revolution, is still respected and appreciated by his students and his peers. My house was full of students before 1989. Mathematics was a very important subject and the students and their parents were very well aware of that. People say about me that I am a tough teacher and they are right. I was not different in my private classes and that is why most of my students had a good start in life.* (Ioan, Mathematics teacher, 61 years old)

An extreme case is represented by Gabriel, a Physics teacher. Physics was also in high demand for private tutoring, being required for baccalaureate, admission to the university and "treapta a doua" [literally, "the second step"] – a national exam taken at the end of the tenth grade:

> *I am a normal person who wants to live quietly. After I am done with my teaching, I go home, close the door and never talk about school. No, I did not teach private lessons before 1989, but I know about some colleagues of mine who did. I was too tired from teaching and dealing with all those annoying little things at school. I needed time for myself and my family.* (Gabriel, 60 years old, Physics teacher)

A harsh comment from his colleague, Maria, points to a possible reason for Gabriel's lack of interest in private tutoring: the fact that actually students and their parents do not solicit him to teach private lessons:

> *Who, Gabriel? Students dance on his table during his classes! Poor him, maybe he is a good teacher, but he doesn't have a strong personality and students don't like this. No wonder he doesn't have students coming to his home, for private tutoring. He is too weak, I think.* (Maria, Physics teacher, 56 years old)

For others, working as teachers before 1989 meant dealing with the continuous government control and the distrust in their colleagues and authorities. For instance, Cerasela, who teaches English at the Orchard High school, is still emotionally entangled in the country's recent past:

> *I heard that they were trying to blackmail teachers to become informers in our school. I would have never informed on my colleagues, but for many it was something very difficult to refuse. I am sure there was a network of informers among the teachers and the principals of the Orchard High School. People kept talking about those informers and I could feel their presence at times. Yet, we still don't know who those teachers were.* (Cerasela, English teacher, 47 years).

The Orchard High school, as other Romanian schools, employed the so-called "propagandists" (usually Social sciences or Philosophy teachers), who, it was generally believed, were also informants of the Securitate:

> *We had our special sessions of 'political information', where these people 'responsible with the propaganda' were talking, but not convincing anybody, not even themselves, about the way we could support the political campaigns initiated by the party leadership. They were not popular in our school. Many of them retired immediately after the revolution. There was another category represented by very young teachers of philosophy. They were in charge of the youth organizations, but, exactly like me, they were making fun of the entire situation. No, I don't think they were informants, although I am not very sure about that. They were very smart and, clearly, their place was not in a high school, but at the university. Now they are university professors in Bucharest.* (Cerasela, English teacher)

The presumed presence of those informants in teachers' everyday work and life "fed the paranoia of the regimes about opposition by collecting information on almost any kind of non-conformist behaviour". (Pittaway, 2004, p. 141). For people like Cerasela, coming in contact with the informers (who, presumably were compiling reports on their colleagues' activities) on a daily basis built a mixture of distrust, subtle complicity and accommodation among teachers:

> *All of us were listening to foreign broadcasts. All of us were telling political jokes during the break, when gathered together for a smoke. But I always felt that I was a target of the Securitate, because I teach English. Maybe they thought I was planning to escape from the country or who knows what they were thinking about me…* (Cerasela, English teacher, 47 years old)

Despite all her fears, she has privately tutored students:

> *I had a very select group of students, not more than ten. They were not my students at school. Their parents were teachers, doctors or engineers. I haven't had any student from the countryside. English was not fashionable, like today, so only parents who wanted their children to have a broad culture had sent their offspring to be tutored in English. Of course, I also prepared students for the university entrance examinations. Very tough exams – some of my students, although well prepared, did not pass them and had to wait one more year before taking the exam again*.

When I ask her if any of her colleagues knew that she was teaching private lessons, she promptly replies that most probably everybody knew about that. However, she has always tried to be discreet when talking with other teachers, unless they wanted her to tutor one of their students. She also remembers about her own concerns regarding the "informants among the students":

> *I was not afraid of the fact that they might have been informants, but worried that, being just kids, they could have involuntarily reported about our discussions. They were not innocent discussions – we were talking about contemporary American literature and inevitably the discussion had touched other topics. My students and I admired everything that was foreign; we were in love with the 1960s in the US...It was like an underground youth club.*

Finally, others agonize in endless quagmires about the past, feeling that their lives were wasted and their horizons stunted during the communist period, but also in the troubled years that came after the Revolution. Gheorghe, a music teacher, feels that he is one of the casualties of the 1980s. He was born in 1970 and became a teacher five years after the fall of the communist regime. A promising conservatory student (medalist of some prestigious national musical competitions), he ended up as a music teacher at the Orchard School, where, he says, there is very little interest in the subject he teaches. Unable to break with his relatively successful past, obsessed with his own personal failure, Gheorghe feels that he squanders his talent, both as a teacher and a private tutor:

> *I don't see any way out. In a way, everything that is happening to me now, my dwindling into mediocrity is my own fault. Seriously, I am getting my comeuppance…I should have left the [education] system in time. Now it is too late. I do feel like a Don Quijote, still searching for something in my life…*

His headlong rush to…conformity is not singular. As many other young teachers, who had worked very hard to get a degree in their specialization, he feels that he fulfilled the wishes embodied in all his main childhood dreams – though in a way that denies him a happy ending.

He remembers the time when he was a student, in the 1980s, when classical music was "his life", and laments the deplorable general education of the new generations, who are not interested in culture anymore. He also remembers strenuously about the private lessons he took with well-known teachers and professors, while preparing himself for the university admission exam:

> *The admission exam was ferocious: there were more than one hundred candidates competing for five spots available. Many of them had taken private lessons with the examiners. You can imagine what kind of pressure was on those professors' shoulders. My opinion is that, although perhaps they were constrained by various circumstances to pass one or two students, the other three were admitted into the Conservatory on their own merit.*

Finally, there are teachers such as Tatiana, who, to use a phrase by Carolyn Forché,[48] are "haunted by memories which [they] did not have". Interestingly enough, food shortages or dictators are not part of her imaginary; the socialist past was not woeful, but prosperous and happy. Tatiana just graduated from the university. She talks with brisk verve about the socialist years:

> *In my family, we often speak of these matters; it is vital we get on with our dreams, but we shouldn't forget the past. Back then, the teachers were respected and schooling was excellent, much better than in the West. Private tutoring was common, but not as widespread as it is nowadays. This is because school was pursued seriously during the communism.*

After my interview with Tatiana was over, I felt even more acutely that, in order to better understand the private tutoring system, I needed a closer scrutiny into the cultural patterns of the old regime and at the ways in which, paradoxically enough, they had ushered in a new era in the Romanian history. I will touch on this topic in the subsequent chapters of my thesis.

---

[48] Contemporary American poet, human rights activist, and professor, widely recognized for combining poetic sensibilities with her commitment to social and political change.

C. TEACHERS' WORK AS PRIVATE TUTORS AFTER 1989

The communist era set the tone for the immediate post-1989 years. Taken at face value, the genuine institution of tutoring may seem useless since the complexity and the number of the high school and university entrance exams has decreased considerably over the past few years. In addition, as Sorin Antohi (2004) notices, there has been a change in "the higher education supply and demand mechanism":

> *[C]ompetition for admission to medical schools dropped dramatically, probably as a result of the continuing pauperization of the medical professionals. Law schools (which in Romania are undergraduate) and business schools are the most sought after. This market-bound shift in the higher education supply and demand mechanism, just like the multiplication of universities, are reactions to two structural challenges: (a) Romanian higher education was artificially organized prior to 1989, in order to feed the (rather imaginary) demands of a command economy. Accordingly, while engineering specializations were dominant, social sciences, the humanities, legal and economic professions were statistically and symbolically marginal; (b) in a party-state that relied heavily on a parallel system of cadre schools to train its apparatus, most high school graduates were not supposed to attend universities.* (Antohi, 2004, p.346)

However, private tutoring came back to full blossom after 1989. Private tutoring bustles in its busy present, with numerous students who take private tutoring courses that often cost as much as a full year's tuition in a private university (World Bank, 1996). For instance, Radu (a Mathematics teacher at the Orchard High School) says that he tutors approximately thirty students every week. Some of them need supplemental preparation for the admission exams, but many come to his home only to do better in class. Yet, it is very difficult to get accurate information about the scale of the private tutoring phenomenon in Romania. Technically, private tutoring is still an illegal practice (only in so far as the teachers refuse to pay the due taxes) and many individuals engaged in this practice do not wish to be identified. Therefore, the estimation of the size and development of the private tutoring activities, as of any other "underground

economy", "can be considered as a scientific passion for knowing the unknown". (Bajada & Schneider, 2005, p. 1).

D. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have attempted to give a broad historical view of the Romanian teachers' involvement in the private tutoring. Different strands of my account are interwoven with the socioeconomic history of Romania during various periods that have seen the country pass from a "capitalist" to a "socialist" and then back to an "almost capitalist" one, with many social and territorial imbalances, and that have several times seen its structures and political cultures disrupted. Private tutoring has survived great social changes and also ruptures, such as social crisis, war and military occupation, the building and consolidation of the socialism, its decay and finally collapse, but also the after-socialism "transition", which is "nothing less than a total overhaul at the level of society itself". (Wagner, 2004, p. 59).

Before 1965, private tutoring was an infrequent activity, carried out by teachers and university students, in order to round up their incomes. The government did not have any clear-cut policy towards that practice. During the 1980s, the phenomenon was secretly flourishing. Had it become publicly known, such an "impudence" would have attracted heavy criticism from the authorities. However, it would have been very easy for the Romanian officials to find out about the teachers who were tutoring (and most probably, they had a lot of information about that), but the overall attitude of the government towards private tutoring was characterized by indifference rather than hostility:

> *Theoretically, it was not allowed to do private tutoring for money. However, more or less discreetly, many of us were teaching private lessons at home.* (Ecaterina, Chemistry teacher)

The reasons for the government's sweeping under the carpet of this phenomenon is in close relation with the context of severe economic, fiscal, and debt crises in Romania of the 1980s. In this situation, the Ceauşescu government "negotiated" a policy of "self-reliance," which involved the rapid repayment of Romania's foreign debt, to the World Bank and the IMF, as well as private bank lenders (IMF, 2003; World Bank, 2002). This policy led to a "significant reduction in resources allocated for social services (education, health)" (UNDP, 1997, p. 90) and to the privatization of some of the costs of these social services: "To counter the rapid deterioration in [government] provision of these services, the population agreed to participate directly in covering some of the costs – maintaining the schools, private lessons for children, paying for medicine, supplementary [fees] for medical services. As a result, education and health were no longer completely free". (UNDP, 1997, p. 91).

In this context, private tutoring became a common practice, silently accepted by the government, since it helped the system survive. This "anomaly" demonstrates once again that private tutoring cannot be conceived in terms of a linear, ready-made process, but it is a complex phenomenon, deeply affected by the socio-economic and cultural environment. In the 1990s, while the Romanian government was busy with a total overhaul of the education system,[49] the private tutoring activities continued to surreptiously survive and flourish. Although there were

[49] During the 1990s, the government continued to reduce public expenditures, "[a]lthough … the amounts allocated to basic social services (education and health) grew, while direct financial transfers to the population (pensions and especially those for families with children) fell" (UNDP, 1997, p. 90). The public funding for higher education increased slightly (at least as a proportion of public expenditures), but the government also decided to allow the establishment of private institutions of higher education, "in line with the new government's ideology that private organizations could be more efficient and could be developed without much government intervention" (Ginsburg et al., 2003, p. 8).

some public concerns about the steady growth of that phenomenon, it is only in 2005 that the government expressed a clear position about it. In the winter 2005, the trade unions protested in the street against the government's decision not to grant a promised pay rise to the approximately 400,000 employees in the education system. In response to their protests and strikes, the Prime Minister Călin Popescu Tăriceanu declared that there were other issues in education besides wages that needed to be discussed, such as private tutoring, reform and work quotas (which, in his opinion, were extremely relaxed). He accused the teaching staff of tax evasion as a result of not declaring earnings from private tutoring, and promised severe repercussions against those teachers who did not respect the law.

What I found extremely interesting in my interviews with the teachers at the Orchard High School is the fact that, whenever asked to talk about private tutoring in various historical contexts, they inevitably brought into discussion their work as teachers at school. Therefore, it gradually became clear to me that private tutoring could not escape the influence of the formal education system. In addition, my interviews with them revealed the fact that, although the practice of private tutoring had always been capable to challenge the official discourse on education, quite often it had not. In fact, what some could see as an alternative discourse to the official one is frequently only an appendix to the content of the Romanian education, which is by tradition highly competitive and academic: "This elitist system focuses on gifted students with an interest and aptitude for theoretical subjects whereas less gifted students or students more interested in vocational training have been less prioritized". (UNICEF, 2006). In addition, Romania has always had a pool of bright students, for whom the content provided (or supposed to be provided) by the formal education system was not enough and which might even be

challenged by the knowledge gained in the private tutoring sessions. This strange situation is described very well by the historian Sorin Antohi:

> *A peculiar feature of Communism was the widespread need for the bright to teach themselves, or to seek mentoring and supervision outside the institutions of formal learning. Of course, the self-taught have existed everywhere in the world, from Flaubert's characters, Bouvard and Pécuchet, who embarked on an encyclopedic self-teaching spree upon retirement, to those who successfully turn their hobbies into professions. It is however, alarming that, nearly fourteen years after the revolution, teaching oneself can sometimes be the only choice for university students.* (Antohi, 2004, p.339)

After 1989, the private tutoring practice has been confronted with a paradoxical situation, as it is slowly moving from "supplementing" to almost "replacing" the content that is supposed to be taught in class. Maria grumbles about the fact that:

> *More and more students come to my home not knowing anything about anything. It is amazing how many of them lack the minimum knowledge required for their age group…They are not stupid, but what they learn in their classes is still a mystery to me.*

In all these different contexts, the existence of private tutoring has remained a crucial factor in teachers', but also in their students' work and lives. Moreover, the Orchard High School teachers who had received private tutoring when they were students still have fond memories about their tutors, who had played a decisive role in their professional and personal lives.

My discussions with the teachers at the Orchard High school highlighted the fact that many parents sent their children to private tutoring lessons as part of an educational project. As Robilă (2004, p. 149) rightly put it, in Romania "the main duty of children is to study, and parents do whatever they can to support them". Even poor families adhere to a philosophy that strongly favored savings and sacrifice, in order to help their children advance. Iris' narrative is a case in point. The story of Iris' family is unique, as are all family histories. Yet, I found resemblances with the generational experience of many families that I know, above all my own

parents'. The history of transformations and manifold interactions between familial cultures and social changes is similar. Also, similar is the role of the family (more specifically of women)[50] as the mediators of social transformations of everyday life. Despite the discontinuities of experience between, for instance, generations or individual biographies, education has always been a priority for teachers, students and parents altogether.

My incursions into the history of the private tutoring, as recounted by the teachers at the Orchard High School, reveal many resemblances between the private tutoring activities before and after 1989. One of their most sticking features is the parents' attempts to "manipulate" teachers' decisions. That was happening in the 1930s (when Romania was a "capitalist" country), but also in the 1980s (in the final years of the socialism) and in the 1990s (in the "transition" process towards "capitalism"). For instance, Adela (a 36 years old French teacher) talks about the current pressures that the parents put on her activity as a private tutor:

> *As it happens, I am on many exam committees, such as Capacitate and Bacalaureat. Many parents ask me to prepare their children, hoping that I could also help them pass those exams. They even come to me with a sample of their calligraphy and some key sentences from the text of their written exams, so I can easily recognize their writing and be lenient. Of course, I do not accept this kind of manipulation, but many of my colleagues do.*

I argue that this situation is strongly related to the teachers' status, which, over the years, has carried less and less weight in the public opinion's eyes. In this context, any theoretical distinctions between "capitalism" and "socialism" do not seem to matter anymore, as the elements of continuity far outweigh those of change. As subsequent chapters will show, I argue that the various characteristics and transformations of the private tutoring are grounded in the

[50] Very often, taking care of the educational journey of a child is not fathers' duty, but mothers'. Traditionally, Romanian women present themselves not as submissive and weak, but as the strong affective center and pivot of daily life and of family relations.

challenge to conceive and construct a new professional identity, as imposed by different political and social contexts.

VII. THE "MATERIALITY" OF THE ROMANIAN TEACHERS' WORK AS PRIVATE TUTORS

> *Markets are not so much things that need to be measured as meanings that need to be narrated and interpreted.*
>
> Lavoie, D. & Chamlee-Wright, E. (2000). *Culture and Enterprise: The Development, Representation and Morality of Business*.

A. TEACHERS' REASONS FOR TUTORING

1. Financial

Teachers are some of the most underpaid professionals in Romania, whose earnings fall below the national average. In August 2005, the average net wage in the Romanian education was 206 EURO, compared to the national economy average of 209 EURO. However, in September 2006, following teachers' protests and strikes organized by the teachers' unions, the average net wage in the public education sector rose to 261 EURO (~ 327 USD), while the average net salary was 245 EURO (~ 307 USD). Nonetheless, the absolute level of the net monthly average wage is still less than 200 EURO (~ 265 USD).

It was noticed that "low salaries continue to be the main shortcoming of Romanian civil service. With no exception, civil servants think that they should be paid more, the average raising

considered for a medium net salary of 5.4 million ROL being a doubling of this amount. At the same time, a cut of 15% would determine more than half of the civil servants (55%) to leave their jobs". (Institutul de Politici Publice, 2004).

Salaries for beginners are rather low, starting around 113 EURO (~ 150 USD) and reaching 377 EURO (~ 500 USD) for an experienced teacher (Romanian National Institute of Statistics, 2006). A UNESCO report shows that "the salary of a Romanian teacher represents now about 40% of the payment he received in 1990". (UNESCO, 2004). Older teachers, who had worked in the education system before 1989, perceive even more acutely than the younger ones the continuous degradation of their wages. Marilena has been teaching Biology for eighteen years and she clearly sees a big difference between her incomes before and after 1989:

> *I am completely exasperated by the government's approach to our situation. I feel that we were better off during Ceauşescu's regime. With the miserable salary that I receive now I cannot even pay my utilities. Before '89, I could afford summer vacations on the Black Sea shore and many other things that are not accessible to me anymore.*

In this context, more and more teachers supplement their meager incomes by doing private tutoring. The price for a two-hour session of private tutoring varies between 15 RON (approximately $5) and 50 RON (approximately $20). Let's say that a teacher offers private tutoring to only one student ($15 per session) every week, for an entire month. This means that his/ her monthly (non-taxable) supplementary revenue would be $60. For an average salary of $300, the money that one teacher would earn by tutoring one single student represents 20% of his/ her wage. Should $60 be considered a big profit? A quick survey in the Romanian streets would probably reveal that many people think otherwise. At a first sight, these amounts do not seem excessively high. However, one should take into consideration additional factors, such as

the living costs[51] and the average national wage of the Romanian society. Even so, the picture becomes complicated by the fact that many Romanians hold more jobs (usually in the underground economy). Therefore, accounting for the total revenue of a working family would be almost impossible. Yet, paying for their children's private tutoring takes a toll at those who have small salaries and do not work in the private sector / the grey economy.

Most of the teachers, especially those who teach subjects in high demand for private tutoring (such as Mathematics, Romanian and Foreign Languages) have more than one student tutored every week. Those teachers manage to double (and even triple) their salary, yet this does not mean much when compared with the salaries of those working in the private sector or even with state employers' in the administration/ justice sector.[52]

For teachers who do not work as private tutors, life is very difficult:

> *There are still many teachers who don't have any other source of income besides their insufficient salaries. I don't even imagine how they survive. One can easily notice that they are wearing the same old shoes we'd seen them wearing ten years ago. What is happening nowadays is terrible*. (Rosemary, 48 years old, German teacher)

Sanda does not tutor any students. Not because she is not willing to do so, but because Physical Education, the subject she teaches, is not in high demand for private tutoring. She admits that her salary is not enough to support her family of five:

> *I am lucky, since my husband works as an engineer, in constructions. He makes all the money in our house. My salary is so small that it doesn't even count, when we talk about our family's finances. We have three daughters. He always teases me that I can keep my salary for myself, which would be just enough to buy a few cookies*. (Sanda, Physical Education teacher)

---

[51] The price of one loaf of bread is approximately 0.50 RON (~0.20 USD), at least four times cheaper than in the EU.

[52] For instance, the average salary of a state employer working in the judiciary sector is 1,120 EURO (HotNews, 2007).

76.4 % of the teachers whom I have interviewed at the Orchard High school (thirty-nine out of the fifty-one participants) identified their low salaries as the first reason for teachers' involvement in the private tutoring practice. Interestingly enough, none of them has ever mentioned "profit" as a reason for their work as private tutors. However, they used words such as "survival" and "making ends meet". Stories about teachers who have grown rich, in some cases fabulously rich, abound in the newspapers and on TV. However, few rip off their students' parents, as Daciana argues:

> *I've heard about some teachers who charge 400.000 lei [approximately $30] for a two-hour session. That is too much, I think, since parents cannot afford such prices. On the other hand, I agree that our work should be rewarded financially. I work very hard both as a private tutor and as a teacher. Honestly, with what I earn from these two activities I only manage to pay my bills. I have two daughters in school, and mortgage on my apartment. My salary and that extra-money coming from private tutoring can barely cover these expenses.* (Daciana, 43 years old, Economics teacher)

Despite being the best-paid teacher at the Orchard High School, because of her age and experience, Iris' financial worries have never been alleviated. Therefore, she has constantly sought the private tutoring activity to supplement her income. Although private tutoring has not entirely solved her financial problems, it has significantly changed her situation:

> *With the money earned from private tutoring, I am helping all my family: my mom, who is eighty years old and lives on a state pension of $50; my two children who are students; my spouse, who is retired; my sister, whose salary is very small; a cohort of cousins…Some would think that I should be rich by now, with all the private tutoring I am doing. But I am not – I barely make ends meet.*

She says that the government does an inadequate job helping the teachers. However, top officials are increasingly brazen in their approach to teachers' situation and, as I am going to discuss below, they seem to lack a genuine and sustained effort to improve teachers' conditions.

a. Teacher Unions and Strikes: Less than Meets the Eye?

Sparked by poor wages and living conditions, the street demonstrations and strikes affected the course of every government since 1989. Teacher unions have been a constant presence in all these actions, unfortunately, only partially solving the many problems that plague teachers' work and lives.

By 1958, an entity known as the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions (Uniunea Generală a Sindicatelor din Romania, UGSR) was formed of "branch (industry) federations and, below them, enterprise trade unions" (Bush, 2004, p. 420). Its goal was to "mobilize the masses for accomplishing the program of the Romanian Communist Party".

Immediately after 1989, Romania has witnessed a rapid development of trade unions. "As of 1997, Romanian commentators estimated that there were over 14,000 enterprise trade union organizations, 150 federations, and 18 confederations in the country", representing "between 50 and 70 percent of the workforce" (Bush, 2004, p. 422). Unfortunately, Romania's trade unions are fragmented, "plagued by *atomization*", because of "distrust of higher authority, personal ambition, and the unwillingness of leaders to reduce or eliminate their power by merging with larger organizations" (idem). Attempts to affiliate trade unions with competing federations or to reach agreements between rival confederations have been doomed to failure. For instance, in 1993, CNSL and Frăția merged as CNSL- Frăția, but their union did not last longer than one year, mostly because of the power struggle between the heads of the two organizations: Victor Ciorbea of CNSL and Miron Mitrea of Frăția. Therefore, "[i]n August 1994, Ciorbea took his teachers' federation, together with a few other affiliates, and created a new confederation, Confederatia Sindicatelor Democratice din Romania (CSDR, the Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions of Romania)". (Bush, 2004, p. 423).

However, in the past few years, there has been "a greater willingness to cooperate […] among the leaders of the four large confederations", who came together "in a campaign of pressure, coordinating tactics and policy objectives". (Bush, 2004, p. 423). Demands of the unionists have focused on raising the minimum wage and indexing salary levels to deal with rising prices. For instance, here is what Gabriela remembers about the dispute that arose in 2004 between the government and the teachers unions:

> *At the time, the government had committed itself to ensuring an average 17% pay-rise for 2005. Of course, that had never happened, so the syndicates started a strike. It was at the beginning of the Tăriceanu / Băsescu government. I remember that very clearly, because it was the first time when I had realized that the new government was not on our side. It is sad, because we, the intellectuals, had voted for them. It is because of our help that they won the elections. Tăriceanu said that they wouldn't give us a rise, since we already had supplemental income from the private tutoring and accused us of tax evasion.*

On that occasion, Tăriceanu argued that, in fact, teachers had already raised their salaries by 5-6%, because of the introduction of the flat tax. Also, he said that there was no money in the budget of the new government, because they were not approved by the former ruling party. As many other protests, this one was eventually stifled and the general strike was called off.

Preda (2006) rightly notices that "teachers are a professional category with a strong civic conscience that prevents them from going to extremes in order to have their grievances resolved, as this would affect the schooling of the young – consequently an indefinite strike seems unlikely". In addition, teachers' leaders seem to lack the vision and the courage to carry on with their protests and strikes until teachers' demand are entirely met. However, one can observe that for the past years they have come to the meetings with the officials with far more anger about the conduct of the government and with fewer illusions about the politics involved.

b. The Taint of Corruption

The dominant Romanian official discourse regards private tutoring as a fraudulent activity that disrupts the efficient running of the formal education system and deprives the state of tax (Ministry of Education, 2000; see also the Prime Minister Tăriceanu's comments above). Academic commentators adopt a similar narrative. For instance, Bray (2003) identifies various "adverse effects of private tutoring", including the "manipulation of clients" by tutors, especially in situations where mainstream teachers provide pay supplementary tutoring for their own pupils after school hours. In a few instances, such narratives become stronger, as to consider private tutoring a form of corruption in education (see, for instance, Biswal, 1999).

Corruption in education may be defined as the "abuse of authority for personal as well as material gain" (Heyneman, 2004, p. 637): "The definition of education corruption derives from the more general set of corruption issues. Like other areas, it includes the abuse of authority for material gain (Anechiarico and Jacobs, 1996; Kalnins, 2001; Frimpong and Jacques, 1999). But because education is an important public good, its professional standards include more than just material goods; hence the definition of education corruption includes the abuse of authority for personal as well as material gain".

Heyneman identifies private tutoring as being a "professional misconduct"[53] – part of the broader notion of corruption in education: "In some countries it is common for teachers to offer after school tutoring for a price, and to suggest that students might fail if they did not pay for after school tutoring. In some countries, faculty may operate a 'private' school in the after school

[53] "Since education is a public good, education corruption must include an element broader than illicit material gain for personal use; it must include an element of professional misconduct. Misconduct can be found in other professions – legal, architectural, accounting, engineering etc. But when misconduct affects children and youth, citizens who are not adults or who are young adults, the implications are more serious and the safeguards must be more stringent". (Heyneman, 2004, p. 644).

hours, hence using public property for private gain. In some instances, a school administrator, or university rector may rent school property, or use it for manufacturing or agriculture commerce and not report the income". (Heyneman, 2004, p. 644).

While noticing that "objective estimates of the prevalence of corruption specific to the education sector are hard to determine", mostly because of "the difficulty in clearly defining the behaviors that constitute it", Chapman (2002) compiles some illustrative data regarding education corruption perception indices in several countries, including Romania.[54]

As Table 7 reveals, the percent of citizens who believe corruption is widespread among Romanian teachers is 18, while among university professors reaches 22. However, the percentage of those asked by a university professor for a bribe is 13, lower than that in the case of the teachers (15). How shall we interpret this discrepancy? A hypothesis would be that, although teachers seem to ask their students for "bribes" more often than the university professors, that is not always perceived as being "corruption". On the other hand, the faculty's asking for bribes is perceived as a clear act of corruption (also, perhaps the amount of money involved is greater than in the case of teachers).

[54] Corruption in education exists in both developing or "transition" countries and developed, "capitalist" ones. See, for instance, the recent story featured by the CNN about an American college instructor accused of trading grades for cash and wine. (CNN, 2006).

Table 7. Perceptions of pervasiveness of corruption, selected countries

	% who perceive corruption is widespread among			% who have been asked for bribe by		
Country	**University Professors**	**Teachers**	**Within the education sector in general**	**University Professor**	**Teachers**	**Education professionals in general**
Albania	32	10		28	11	
Bangladesh						74
Bosnia	38	22	38	11	5	
Bulgaria	28	10		14	4	
Croatia	31	16		5	2	
Honduras			2			
Indonesia			53			24
Latvia			1			
Macedonia	43	23		14	9	
Montenegro	32	21		10	6	
Peru	18					7
Romania	22	18		13	15	
Russia			20	16	6	
Serbia	42	33		27	20	

Source: Chapman (2002).

However, the term "corruption" applied to teachers' work as private tutors sounds too harsh to all my respondents. Some admit that there are a few teachers (not themselves!) who teach less in class, in order to oblige students to come to their home for private lessons:

> *I read about that in the newspapers. However, these are exceptions. I have my own professional deontology and I would never deprive my students of knowledge, only to get more money for myself. I know that my colleagues would agree with me. In this respect, they are not different from myself.* (Cerasela, English teacher)

This form of "corruption", described by Cerasela, is related to what Kotkin & Sajó (2002, p. 375) reports from Tajikistan, where some teachers provide poor education in class, as they can earn good money by teaching the same lessons to the same students, at their home.

The Romanian government is increasingly tightening its grip on teachers' work as private tutors and some restrictive measures are in sight. Meantime, the Romanian officials remain tight-lipped when the media reveals new cases of blatant corruption among important public figures. Lidia, a 42 years old Mathematics teacher, is angry about that:

> *There are a few, very few teachers who are corrupt. However, in general, teachers are the professional category the least affected by corruption. How about our officials, those who have devoted much time to acquiring personal fortunes? Or even better, let's compare a teacher's "corruption" with the lust for money and the ruthlessness of the new riches! Why doesn't anybody see the big corruption, which is happening every day at the top of our society? Why us, who can barely make ends meet?*

Lidia's remarks reinforce the general belief that that the large-scale corruption and financial fraud continue to be left unscathed by the government officials. Corruption is rife in Romania, affecting all the levels of society. In the 2006 Transparency International (TI) corruption ranking report, Romania has one of the worst scores among the recent EU accession countries and it ranked the second lowest in Europe after Albania. Mikos Marschall, TI regional director for Europe and Central Asia considers this data as being "devastating for a country that will join the EU next year" (*Der Spiegel*, 2006). However, he adds that this ranking "does not mirror the real level of corruption in the country because it does not reflect the reforms reported over the past year". The government vowed to "catch the big fish" and consequently, has implemented a variety of anti-corruption measures in the past two years (for instance, the government introduced a flat tax, which translates to higher incomes and company profits). "The reality", Mikos Marschall argues, is that "the country is less corrupt than perceived". (*Der Spiegel*, 2006)

Still, *Der Spiegel* reports that "bribes are considered commonplace for basic services like health care", while the Romanian Justice system is struggling. Mungiu-Pippidi (2005, p. 226) describes the mechanisms to receive public services in Romania. The strategy that seems to work the best, in terms of the clients' satisfaction with the service, is represented by "connections", meant to "personalize service". That strategy is closely followed by "bribery", in order to "increase efficiency of service". Last, although occasional bribery or abstention are used by more than 50 % of the Romanian population to "get some service", people's satisfaction with this strategy is very low.

Table 8. Mechanisms to receive public services in Romania

STRATEGY AND RESOURCES	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	MECHANISM	SATISFACTION WITH SERVICE
Connections	20-25	Personalize service	Very good
Bribery	10-20	Increase efficiency of service	Fair
Occasional bribery or abstention	>50	To get some service	Low or none

Source: Romanian Academic Society (2004); compiled by Mungiu-Pippidi (2005).

Miller et al. (2001, p. 226) argue that educators in general are less willing than people employed in other "services" to rigorously apply the laws and regulations and "more willing than average to justify taking payments from 'clients' for 'extra' or 'faster' work: "Those who worked in the education services were distinguished most by their wish for more freedom and discretion to do their job. Compared to the average official they put 17 per cent more weight on freedom and discretion. Conversely, they were also less likely than the average official to give priority to strictly applying the laws and regulations. They were especially likely to complain about lack of

resources. They were somewhat **more willing than average to justify taking payments from "clients" for "extra" or "faster" work.** Very few reported that their clients frequently threatened them with violence. Like those in the health services they were relatively positive about the overall behaviour of clients". Obviously, by any means that is not a justification for teachers' receiving bribes or requiring students to attend their private tutoring lessons, but it might help understand better their "misconducts". Moreover, as a study on corruption in Romania, published by the World Bank in 2001, reveals, although a few teachers receive "unofficial payments", usually in the form of gifts, "many of these payments were in fact expressions of gratitude" (World Bank, 2001a, p. 31).[55] In the same study, the respondents were satisfied with the quality of teachers and staff (although only one third of households with students in high school were satisfied with school equipment). In fact, the general perception is that the education sector is among the least corrupted institutions in Romania (see Fig. 1).

[55] "It should be noted, however, that at the higher levels of education, respondents were more likely to report that the payments were made as a matter of routine, or because the school workers required it". (World Bank, 2001, p. 73).

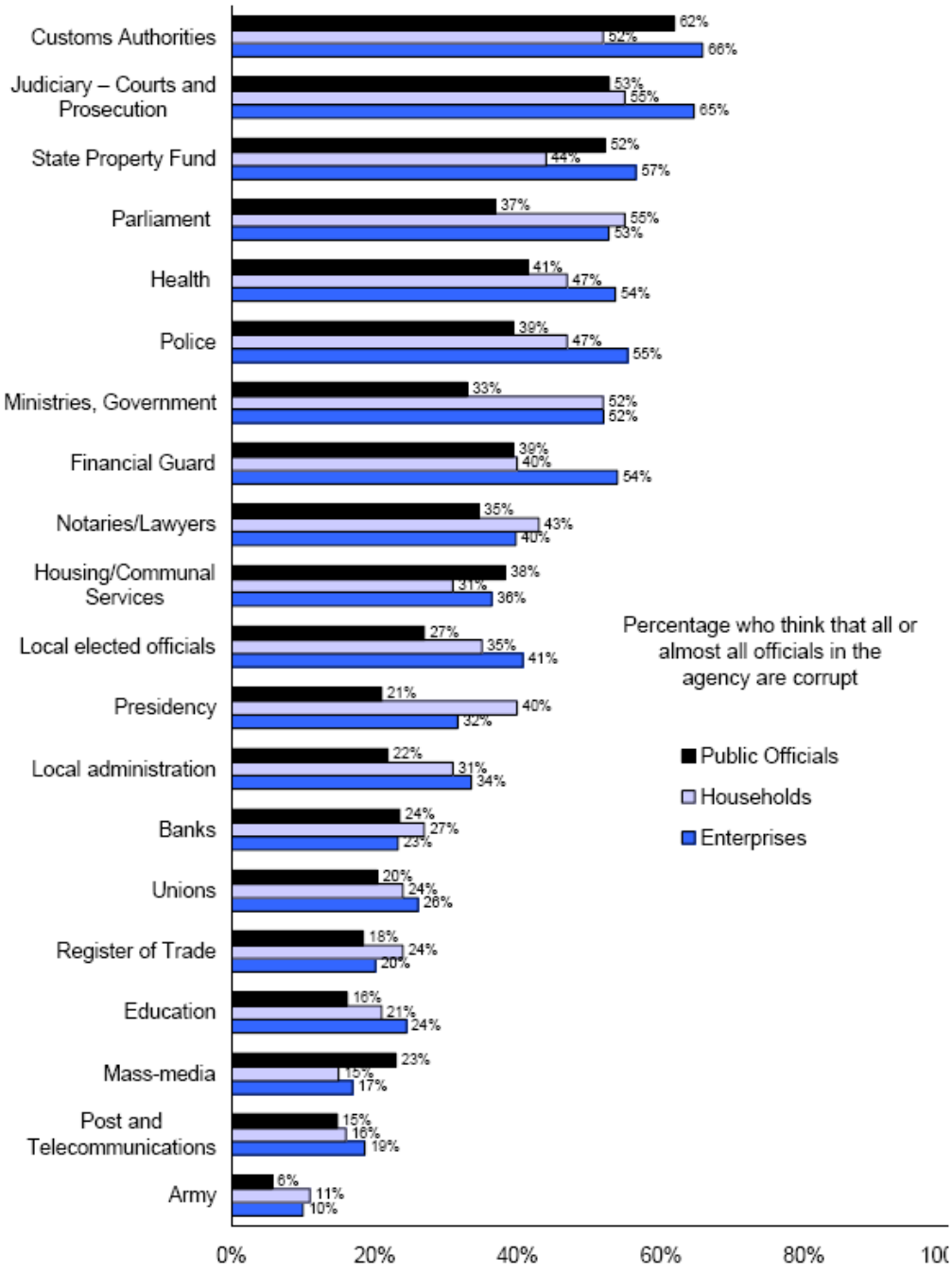

Figure 1. The perceived level of corruption in various state agencies

Source: World Bank (2001a)

c. The Grey Economy

Ştefan, who teaches History at the Orchard High School, opens our dialogue by making a fundamental statement about teachers' work as private tutors. He puts it in the form of a question, which he asks in a grave whisper:

> *Why do we have to hide while teaching students at home? Is this something so bad that we have to be punished for it? We only help our students, while making a little money, in order to survive. Then, why not to punish all the other people? Honestly, how many Romanians can live with the money they earn from their own jobs? Everybody has another job aside, in order to survive.* (Ştefan, History teacher)

Ştefan's comments suggest a close relation between the private tutoring practices and the "grey economy", although he does not use those terms. Still illegal, untaxed, cash-based and vulnerable to state persecution, private tutoring seems to be an integral part of the underground economy: "…a very broad definition of the underground economy would be one that included all transactions, legal and illegal, market and non-market that are either intentionally excluded from GDP or omitted from the tax base". (Tedds, 2005, p. 158). Researchers seem to agree that, in Romania, the "revenue received from […] tutoring is not faxed as it is 'informal' employment and thus contributes to the 'grey economy'. Most of the individual tutors are high-school teachers or university professors, earning extra income 'on the side'". (Tsakonas, 2002d, p. 34).

However, the definition of the private tutoring from the perspective of the underground economy can be quite fluid. Lately, teachers who do private tutoring have openly acknowledged their work outside school. In fact, as I am going to show below, they are even proud of their work and well-respected by the others because of their successes as private tutors. The private tutoring is gradually moving from underground to legitimacy.

d. Exchange of Favors

Underground economy has always existed, as a shadow of any economy in the world (Dallago, 1990). The percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) represented by the underground economy is estimated to be substantial and increasing on a global level.[56] Also, it is generally believed that the underground economy in transition is greater than under communism, and this is not a small thing, thinking that the *grey economy* was flourishing in Eastern Europe, under the communist regimes. In Romania, the financial crisis in the1980s brought endemic shortages of basic goods, such as toothpaste, toilet paper, sugar, and sunflower oil. Therefore, "in this environment, participation in the informal economy became a matter of survival". (Pittaway, 2004, p. 182). The 1980s witnessed a growth in the number of teachers (but also engineers, university students and other social categories) who were doing private tutoring. Conducted by word of mouth and paid for in cash or "products", private tutoring was an essential part of that period characterized by shortages and the spread of a shadow economy. Adelina, who teaches Romanian language and literature, remembers:

> *One year I was paid in…apples. The kid I was tutoring then was from the countryside. Very poor family – apples were the only thing that they could offer to me. The boy was very smart and the apples were…good, even though I knew that they were "stolen" from the orchards owned by agricultural cooperatives.*

Daciana adds her own story:

> *I got paid in fresh eggs and milk, sometimes even a chicken from their relatives in the countryside.* [57]

---

[56] Braithwaite et al. (2003), Tedds (2005). For instance, in Canada, "[T]he value of the broadly defined underground economy grew from about 7.5 percent of GDP in 1976 to about 15.3 percent in 2001. In real (1997) dollar terms, it increased from about $38 billion to $159 billion *per annum*.

[57] "Given the scope of state restriction and repression, extended kin networks that united town and country were mobilized in order to ensure supplies of food from villages to urban relatives". (Pittaway, 2004, p. 182)

She also tells me about another student, whose parents were working at an *alimentara*[58] (a grocery store during socialism). They paid for the private tutoring of their kid with…meat:

> *I considered myself so lucky when those people had asked me to tutor their kid. My family ate well for an entire year. Besides that, they had a relative working as a forester, so around Christmas they brought me a gorgeous fir tree.*

Their accounts are not singular. Adela, Mihai and Ştefan, among others, confirm that quite often their private tutoring was paid in the form of products rather than money. As Los (1992, p. 113) notices, "[W]hereas, however, in Western developed countries this type of informal economy is most likely to thrive among low-income families, uprooted immigrant groups and seasonally employed workers, in non-market economies it is vital for all social strata as a mechanism for survival and the reallocation of resources based on individual need and not on an anonymous plan".

Private tutoring was and still is paid in the form of gifts as well. Bottles of cognac and whisky, cigarettes or hand-painted icons are among the most popular gifts that the teachers at the Orchard High School report to have received from their students' parents. In some cases, those gifts are added to the pay in cash, as a token of the parents' contentment with their children's progress or in order for the teachers to pay a special attention to their kids. In other cases, those gifts replace the cash payment. Maria, Ştefan and Daciana acknowledge that sometimes their price is so low that it may pass for "pure charity", as Maria says. She tells me that in a few instances, she has charged her students' parents only what they could afford to pay, or even provided private tutoring without any compensation. I ask them why they do not charge some

[58] In the 1990s, the artist Călin Dan put together a project called *Alimentara* – an exhibition on food, which was scarce in the 1980s: "We invited a lot of people, theoreticians and artists and together we tried to reconstruct the inside of a grocery store from the 1980s. Memories of these experiences and this environment were disappearing very fast, for people were forgetting or repressing all unpleasant memories of the past. This was a sort of cleansing period. However, it is true that such public events were almost impossible in Romania of the 80's". (Čufer, 2006).

parents any money. Maria mentions her altruistic wish to help students coming from poor families. By doing that, she seems to redefine her own mission as an educator:

> *Many, incredibly many families cannot afford to pay for their children's private tutoring lessons. They cannot even afford to send their children to school. Some of those kids are very smart, diligent students. It is a pleasure to work with them. Their parents ask me to tutor them and, while we talk about payment, they also mention something about their personal life and, inevitably, about their financial situation. They are willing to make sacrifices in order to pay for their kids' lessons. That is the moment when I decide not to take any money from them.*

Ştefan conveys the same idea, adding that:

> *Sometime the parents are doctors or teachers. In this case, I don't take any money from them.*

His explanation is quite simple: they struggle with financial problems as well. In addition, some of them can be helpful in the future. Ştefan feels obliged to reciprocate favors, even when he accepts payment from the students sent by another teacher:

> *They are as poor as I am. In addition, I never know when they will return my favor…For instance, I tutored Georgescu's daughter. He teaches Romanian. After a few years, I met him again, when my daughter decided that she had wanted to pursue higher education studies in literature. He is one of the best teachers around and he agreed to tutor her without taking any payment. Not only that: we help each other. He sends me his students to be tutored in History and I recommend him to my students. We make a successful team*[59]*: our pupils get into the best universities.*

Daciana also uses the word "favor", when talking about the people from whom she has decided not to take any money:

> *I have tutored the daughter of the local newspaper's director, the son of the best gynecologist in town, the three kids of a Mathematics teacher…In all these cases, I refused to accept any payment.*

[59] History and Romanian grammar/ literature are required subjects of the entrance examination at many Romanian universities.

All fifty-one teachers whom I interviewed told me that they had quite frequently done private tutoring for free. My conversations with them made it clear beyond dispute that, in their view, private tutoring was also a means of helping out somebody else or building / maintaining social networks. Of course, as Grossman (1989, p. 154) notices, "exchange of favours in the form of access to goods or services is not only common practice but a salient feature of the Soviet informal economy, embedded as it is in the elaborate interweaving of horizontal informal social networks and vertical patron-client relations". What I find interesting is the application of the "exchange of favors" to the private tutoring practice and the persistence after 1989 of "these unwritten laws" which "codify basic rules of complimentary exchanges of goods, favours, services, information and support". (Los, 1992, p. 114)

2. Professional and Social Status

Examining the rationales of those who tutor privately, I should note that the financial motive is not always to the fore of their activity. Although other reasons are not immediately apparent, they gradually surface from my discussions with the teachers at the Orchard High School. An important one, which keeps recurring in my interviews, is the teachers' need to gain more professional and social status.

After 1989, an increasingly austere economy as well as profoundly altered social conditions and a number of confused and unfinished educational reforms resulted in a marked diminution of teachers' social and professional status.

Professionally speaking, the pace of the teachers' work has been "intensified" (to use Apple's concept) through steady tendencies of more administrative and assessment tasks,

lengthening of their working day, and elimination of opportunities for more creative and imaginative work.

Karina explains:

> *Sometimes I feel like a bureaucrat. Everyday I have to fill out paperwork, and this is awfully tedious and so useless. I hate paperwork! I feel that I haven't learned so much as a university student just to become a pen pusher. Am I wrong by saying that? I am not arrogant, but there are certainly things that I know how to do better, such as teaching and sharing my knowledge with my students and my colleagues.* (Karina, Economics teacher).

Karina's view about the dichotomy between teachers' work and bureaucracy is not singular. All my respondents complained about the ineffective and at times nerve-racking process of filling out paperwork, which seems to increasingly occupy their time, and which is not "the kind of job for which we have prepared ourselves" (Irina, teacher of Romanian language and literature).

Irina also complains about the lack of opportunities for more creative work, hampered by a heaving curriculum:

> *It's paradoxical: the "curriculum at the school's option" has been reduced from 25% to almost zero by our officials. They said that we did not use it efficiently. It's true, I had to teach Romanian grammar in those optional classes, because the curriculum is jam-packed with too much knowledge. I had no time to teach everything in my classes, so I had to use the optional ones to teach more. However, under different circumstances, I would have taught some more interesting classes. Many of my students are interested in a class about "philosophy and movies". I would have loved to teach that.* (Irina, teacher of Romanian language and literature).

All the participants in my study grumble about their own assiduous rush to comply with the bureaucracy of their occupation, while teaching the content that they are supposed to teach in a constraining time framework. For instance, Ştefan, who teaches History, complains about the number of hours allocated to his teaching discipline, which has been curtailed since 1989. In his opinion, the textbook (usually put together by a few superintendents along with a university

professor) does not offer sufficient training. Therefore, his students feel compelled to seek extra training, which also reassures their parents that they, the students, would be successful:

> *I cannot teach everything that my students need for their exams in only one hour every week. In addition, if one wants to really know history, one hour per week doesn't suffice. Therefore, in my private lessons I add details and consolidate the topics taught in class.*

The overloading of the teachers' schedules is not compensated by higher salaries. On the contrary, as I have noticed above, their wages are plummeting, especially when compared with those of other social categories.

These are only a few aspects of the teachers' deteriorating working conditions, which are a result of both the educational reforms started in the 1990s and the complex socio-economic and political changes in which their work is situated. Despite evident signs of an increasing process of de-professionalizing teachers' work, the education reforms started in the 1990s have constantly included attempts to "professionalize" the teaching occupation. One of the ways in which the government has been trying to accomplish that is by "requiring" teachers to attend more "specialization classes". Courses in management and financing of education, for instance, have been popular among the teachers at the Orchard High School. However, when asked why she attended those courses, Tatiana's reply is disarmingly candid:

> *I did it because they have asked us to take such courses. I paid for it from my own money. Honestly, I slept through the entire class. There was a guy reading some papers to us. I don't think he knew what he was talking about. In any case, I haven't learned anything. A waste of time and money*. (Tatiana, Chemistry teacher)

Tatiana explains that the teachers themselves support financially all their required professional training (for instance, courses called *Perfecționări*, which aim at perfecting teachers' skills and improving/ refreshing their subject knowledge, were initiated by the Communist regime, but are

still compulsory nowadays). In her words, "I am not sure if they want us to become better teachers or if they only need our money".

In reality, as my respondents argue, "professionalism" and "professionalization" remain abstract concepts, at times even mocked by the teachers, since their meaning has not been fully explained to then:

> *I remember that one evening we had a very long and boring meeting with a big shot from the Ministry of Education. He was going on and on with abstract theories and he even threw a few English names into his discourse, perhaps to impress us. It was getting very late, all of us were exhausted, but that person from Bucharest seemed to be unstoppable. Suddenly, Mircea [a Mathematics teacher] stood up. We knew that we were in for a moment of honesty. He shouted: 'Dear officials, give us a break with your aberrations. Who are those John, Michael and so on? We are tired and we want to go home. Tomorrow, all of us will wake up and start teaching. It's our profession, we know how to do it and we do it well. It's an insult to say that we need to be professionalized. We are profesori,[60] for God sake!'. Everybody started applauding him, so loudly that they had to end the meeting. He saved us!* (Gabriel, Physics teacher)

The assumption behind Mircea's words is that teachers are already professionals. Indeed, they are highly educated, have a specialized knowledge and they are committed to service for their students; they have peer regulation of qualifications, entry standards, selection and discipline – elements that, as I have illustrated in Chapter III of this study, discern a profession from other occupations. Alexandra, among other teachers from the Orchard High School, does not understand why they should be "professionalized":

> *Is this another crazy idea of our government, copied after foreign models? As soon as I hear this word [professionalization], my memory keeps bringing other powerful words: nationalization, cooperativization…All those "ations"…which don't bring anything good…* (Alexandra, Biology teacher)

[60] In Romanian, teachers are called *profesori* (singular, *profesor*), a denomination that they share with the university faculty.

In her opinion, the government only borrows foreign ideas, whose meaning is not understood by the Romanian officials and therefore not clearly explained to the teachers. Teachers' views about their own profession are muted in a top-down process of imposing concepts, which seem not to have any relevance to their concrete work in the classrooms. Alexandra explains:

> *The teaching profession is mocked daily by our officials. It looks like they want to destroy, not to help us. They forgot what they had promised us, but they don't forget to create more and more specialized agencies, all of them having pompous and intimidating names. Those institutions are meant to control and threaten teachers' work, while adding new meaningless tasks to our job description. All of these are happening in front of our eyes, but nobody ever bothers to give us any explanation. They only demand more and more from the poor teachers.*

Tatiana concedes that, in principle, the idea of professionalizing the teaching occupation is a good one, but there are no means to apply it to the context of their work, without distorting its meaning:

> *Yeah, it's wonderful: we are going to have more decision power, more authority, more freedom, more money…How? When? Everything is a big lie. As always, the government plays with us.* (Tatiana, Chemistry teacher)

In her view, efforts at professionalizing their work have been greatly unsuccessful. Moreover, many of the government's initiatives have dented teachers' professional identity. Teachers at the Orchard High School fully identify themselves with the teaching profession. In their view, "professionalism" is embedded in their definition of an "intellectual", which, as Mircea, a Mathematics teacher, argues, means "exactly what we do or, better said, what we are supposed to: learning, reading, understanding, and sharing our knowledge with the world". As I have illustrated in previous chapters, *intellectual* and *professional* are concepts socially and culturally bound. Teachers' work is situated in the general dynamics of these two definitions, which, at least theoretically, confer status and legitimacy to the teaching occupation.

Although all fifty-one participants in my study said that teachers were an integral part of the social category represented by the "intellectuals", they also griped about the fact that the term was losing its traditional positive meaning:

> *I still remember the miners' invasions of Bucharest, in the 1990s, and their terrible shouting: 'We work, we don't think!'. To be an intellectual means, in many ignorant views, that one does not really work. It also means to be very poor. We are the mockery of the entire society. We are the mockery of our government.* (Carmina, History teacher)

Indeed, the old folk wisdom about the teachers, seen as examples of erudition, sacrifices and moral standards is rapidly eroding. For instance, the general opinion – including that of students and their parents – reflects a decline in the traditional trust and respect accorded to teachers. The decline stems in part for the intense negative publicity transmitted via radio and TV stations and national newspapers. Not only are their miserable salaries made public, but also the media, in its constant pursuit of incendiary topics, presents cases of corrupt or incompetent teachers. Newspapers abound with articles about teachers who receive bribes from students/parents, or educators who face breathalyzer tests before starting their lessons (because they have turned up drunk). I asked teachers what they think about the way the public regards them. All of them acknowledged that the media did a big disservice to them:

> *These are the elements of our tainted image nowadays: corruption, drunkenness, absenteeism from school, unfairness to our pupils. When you read these things or you listen to people in the street making the general portrait of all teachers, while you know and feel the entire physical and moral exhaustion after every day of teaching...It is unfair and painful...* (Alina, Mathematics teacher)

Before 1989, teachers performed their work according to state and party guidelines. However, they seem to have enjoyed a relatively unchallenged position of authority toward students and parents. Nowadays, the parent-teacher relationship could be defined as an ambiguous one. Many parents are pushing for high academic standards and quality, which might be another reason for

the expansion of the tutoring system. Yet, many others are too busy trying to make money (an increasing number of people have two or more jobs) to really take care of their children, let alone focus on what happens to them in secondary school. The hierarchical relationship between teachers and at least the former group of parents is rapidly crumbling. This loss of authority is perhaps one of the major problems that teachers face, and this process is emotionally charged for many of them. Parents often encourage teachers to be lenient and give students high grades that would secure them admission to universities; in exchange for this service, parents would liberally shower the teachers with gifts and money (World Bank, 2000). With an average monthly income of $150, teachers' work is profoundly affected by "corruption":

> *Parents know very well that we are poor and easily to be bribed. However, usually teachers don't get anything from this humiliating process. Very often, parents deal directly with the heads of school. The heads get the gifts, favors, payments and so on.* (Cornelia, Mathematics teacher)

I asked teachers what happens if they don't agree to be part of the game. Their answers highlight a few stringent constraints that they have to face:

> *Rich parents have started to make financial contributions to the school, but nothing is for free. They want their children to succeed, by any means. Somehow, they force the principal to accept this masked bribe, and the principal takes care of everything else...Paradoxically enough, if you give bad grades, you are not considered a good teacher...Then, there is a lot of criticism against you and a lot of pressure. Suddenly you realize that it is not worth staying away from this complicity.* (Aura, French teacher)

Teachers' authority is not only contested by parents, but also by students. All the interviewed teachers lamented that the situation has worsened since 1989, for example, with respect to students' engagement with learning:

> *I do think that they don't have a sense of direction and they don't have a vision of the schooling. I don't mean to generalize (because we also have many very clever and good students), but many are now attracted by anything else but learning. This is the naked truth: children don't learn anymore. It is "democracy" that went to their head.* (Tudor, Geography teacher)

Perhaps the most alarming point of all our discussion with them was the frequent complaint about their students' behavior:

> *Discipline has disappeared. I feel shocked and very often helpless in dealing with their lack of respect. They wouldn't have dared before...We stood above them and their parents.* (Bogdan, History Teacher)[61]

Without enjoying a high social status, and having their specialized knowledge, professional commitment, and professional autonomy questioned, teachers feel embarrassed and even ashamed to acknowledge their occupation.

Marilena panics at the thought that she would teach all her life, but also she experiences profound uncertainty, dealing with damaged self-esteem:

> *I feel exhausted and I would like to have the courage to get out. However, I chose this profession by myself. Somehow I like it: I have vacations, a permanent job, some additional money from tutoring... I love my students and my work... However, I still feel that I am the subject of the whole society's mockery...*

Professionals are supposed to enjoy high social status, economic rewards, and political influence. None of these is now recognizable in the actual conditions in public schools in Romania. However, they are more apparent in a parallel, shadow system, represented by the supplementary private tutoring:

> *I am glad when parents come to me and tell me that they've heard about my successes in privately tutoring students for the [secondary school or university] admission exam. I am proud of both my accomplishments as a teacher at school and a teacher at home, but I can sincerely say that I am much prouder of my work at home. I am not anymore a poor teacher, but an excellent one, who opens the future to her students.* (Maria, Teacher of Romanian language and literature)

---

[61] Another indication of loss of teachers' authority is the relatively large number of out-of-school youths. This is in part a consequence of students' distrust in the practical usefulness of education: in the current social and economical context; few can hope that their studies will secure respectable social positions and substantial remunerative rewards. As a result, there is little in the way of an incentive for them to pursue their education more thoroughly.

Teachers' *defensible spaces* represented by the private tutoring practice add to their professional status. Not to do any private tutoring means, in Ioan's view, that "one is not a good teacher" (Ioan, Mathematics teacher). Therefore, there is a lot of pressure that "the others" put on the teachers to do private tutoring. For instance, Rosemary explains her reasons to start tutoring:

> *I decided to teach private lessons because all my friends were already assuming that I had done private tutoring. At some point, I even felt ashamed. Maybe people thought that I was not a good teacher and that is why parents did not ask me to tutor their kids.*

The underlying assumption behind Rosemary's reasons to do private tutoring is linked to teachers' status, both in the profession and in the larger society. The authority and prestige of a "good teacher" transcends the education field and has implications for his/ her social status.

In order to understand better that aspect of their work, one needs to understand the complications of the democratic reality after 1989, a world in which the "criterion of the intellectual, artistic and scientific authority has been radically and scandalously replaced with that of the popularity – which is more appropriate for fields like sports, divertissement and folkloric music". (Ciachir, 2006).[62] Offering private tutoring is becoming a fashion among the teachers (as it has already happened among the students), giving expression to the spirit of age.

The Romanian society, still struggling with its past, but very receptive to the Western values and norms, has lately been trying to mimic many aspects of celebrity culture. Teachers are caught themselves in this rhetoric and the image of "private tutor" represents an extraordinary conferral of star status:

---

[62] "Surprisingly, beginning with the 60's last century the communist regime unwillingly created genuine elites, instead of artists and intellectuals for the masses. Until the fall of the communist regime, the elite's recognition was not conferred by the 'public' or by the appointed overseers of cultural matters, but from experts in those respective fields, from the 'Free Europe' radio station and from a few prestigious Romanians living in exile. Only the underachievers – with a few cynical exceptions – wanted to be praised by the aforementioned (party-appointed) overseers, although some of those overseers themselves detested the sterile devotion of those underachievers". (Ciachir, 2006; my translation from Romanian).

> *I am not able to receive any more students into my private tutoring classes. My "groups" are already full.*[63] *People keep calling me, but I cannot guarantee that I will have an available spot until next autumn*. (Nicolae, Teacher of Romanian language and literature)

Fashion might not always be the central reason that draws teachers to do private tutoring, but it is certainly something that is worth analyzing, since it is an expression of their search for gaining more professional and social status.

B. A GLIMPSE AT THE TORTURE CHAMBER

The "class" or tutoring session in Romanian grammar takes place in a rather cramped room in Iris' apartment. Once the students have entered the apartment, one can see some fourteen pairs of shoes carefully aligned along the walls in the entrance hall (as well as an impressive amount of all too visible fingerprints on the walls and door). The students or "tutees" never ring the bell, in order to avoid drawing the attention of the teacher's neighbors and to raise suspicions (not all of Iris' neighbors are particularly friendly and some would readily contact the authorities if aware that she prefers not to pay taxes on her tutoring income). The students do not even knock on the door; they simply enter the apartment as if it were their own (this strict rule, of course, was instituted by the teacher herself). One of the students arrived late, because she stopped in a nearby marketplace to buy a bouquet of flowers for Iris; she also presents the teacher with a can of coffee and 600,000 lei (approximately $20) stashed in an envelope; the money is supposed to cover the *past* two sessions (300,000 lei/session).

[63] Nicolae's students are distributed into four tutoring groups that meet two times every week. Each group has ten students.

The students quietly enter the "torture chamber" itself and for a while keep whispering to each other. They have gathered around a long table and they are waiting for the teacher to start the class. While their teacher dictates a brief text, they are taking it down submissively. Iris' voice is resounding and one can feel tension in the air. She asks each one a few questions and promptly chides them fiercely when they make mistakes. The two-hour span goes by without the shortest break. After the session ends, several students hang around for another 30 minutes or so (the teacher never asks for or accepts money for the extra time spent with her tutees). Even after the extra half hour, two female students linger around to share news and stories with the teacher (about things that happened at school or at home) and to ask the teacher for some advice. The post-session conversation is relaxed and there is no sign of the tension that dominated the two hour and a half grammar marathon.

After the tutoring session, two of the parents drop by to pick up their children and inquire into the performance of their beloved scions. When Iris overtly displays signs of dissatisfaction with regard to one of the students, the student's father unhesitatingly urges her to give his son an extra assignment, as a form of punishment. Another three parents phone the teacher and want to know whether their children showed up on time for the session and whether they made reasonable progress.

I look around and notice that the furniture in the apartment is rather sparse and of poor quality. Nothing about the apartment is a symbol of economic prosperity. The teacher told me that, from the fourteen students who had attended that day's session, only eight are paying a fee to her (the other six are quite needy, and she wouldn't think of taking money from them). In addition to the fourteen who are preparing for the university entrance exam, she tutors another

ten, who are preparing for the "baccalaureate" exam in literature; in this case the sessions are more frequent and even more intense (among other things, they include mock examinations).

Iris does not need any form of noisy advertisement, since her students are by far the most successful in their high school and, accordingly, their parents thoroughly trust her effective skills. She is also reputed to be quite severe during classes and tutoring sessions – a quality that is indeed cherished by the parents. The teacher tells me with a smirk that some of her would-be tutees, outright terrified, were virtually dragged to her door by their parents only to discover that behind her severity and stern appearance there is a good deal of generous intentions. I also learn from her that there is a category of parents who entrust their children to her only for a couple of months, right before their children are supposed to take some crucial exams, in order to "prepare the field", that is – in the hope that this particular teacher might just happen to be among the examiners. There are also a few students who seem willing to attend her tutoring sessions in order to secure higher grades in the classroom.

Iris' "torture chamber" features many elements of the traditional way of schooling: an "authoritarian" teacher, who masters all the knowledge; quiet students, diligently taking notes; a classroom; a schedule; and so on. The relationship teacher-student-parents is an "ideal" one: parents trust entirely teacher's ability to communicate and inculcate knowledge; they show great interest in the progress that their children are making and they may use punishments or rewards to try to improve it.

C. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have attempted to examine the various motives behind Romanian teachers' decisions to do private tutoring. Certainly, their work as private tutors is primarily driven by financial reasons.

However, very few are those who become rich by doing private tutoring.[64] In fact, only one of the teachers I have interviewed at the Orchard High School admitted to gain a big profit from his private lessons. Most of those who do private tutoring on a small-scale can still barely make ends meet. Some of them, like Tatiana and Bogdan, are even afraid they would not be able to pay their winter heating bills, which can easily eat up half a month's pay. Those who do private tutoring on a large-scale (in groups of more than fifteen students at a time) seem to be better off, although most of them "invest" their "profit" in helping their extended families.

Quite often, private tutoring is associated with "corruption", especially in the case of the teachers who do not teach well in class, only to attract more students to their private tutoring classes. Newspapers report cases in which they compel their own students to attend private lessons, by giving them bad grades in class. This negative feature of the private tutoring is to the fore in the discourses of most national governments. As Chapman (2002) aptly put it, "the essential point is that thoughtful, reasonable people can disagree over what constitutes corruption. Even when observers agree that certain actions constitute corruption, they may differ in their tolerance of the offense (e.g., when the sale of grades is tolerated because teachers are underpaid)". My respondents did not feel comfortable at all with the labeling of corruption,

[64] The school inspectors in Timisoara acknowledge the fact that there are quite a few teachers who earn approximately ten million lei per day (~$380). However, in the same city, less then ten teachers have declared their additional income for tax purposes (voluntary self-reporting of tax obligations is encouraged).

applied to their work as private tutors. In addition, our conversations revealed that this approach was hopelessly out of touch with the nature of the private tutoring activities.

My discussions with the teachers at the Orchard High School have made it clear beyond dispute that more than simple monetary gain is at stake here. Beyond making money, there are additional reasons for those people to forego other opportunities and to undertake considerable efforts to do private tutoring. In fact, while they could have looked for other activities to supplement their income (and made even more money than they already do as private tutors), most of them persisted in familiar ways, setting themselves as private tutors. Perhaps the single most shocking revelation comes from a throwaway admission by Maria, that, in fact, teachers who do private tutoring lack initiative and the spirit of enterprise:

> *We do what we have learnt how to do before 1989. We could have started a business, as many Romanians had done after the Revolution. Or have worked for private companies. Teachers are different from other professionals. We don't have business skills. We have a noble goal and we believe in it: we struggle to inculcate knowledge to our students. It is part of our mission as educators.*

By her own admission,

> *Private tutoring has left me unchanged: I remained meek and impecunious.*

Her statements helped me re-think my own assumptions of the private tutoring phenomenon as a "business". Clearly, this is a viable perspective on the private tutoring practice: within the language of the market, teachers would transform expert skills and knowledge into "services", while the users of those "services" would be repositioned as customers. Teachers themselves signal that, even without naming it as a "business":

> *It is intriguing that parents become increasingly demanding and selective and do a lot of bargaining in an attempt to impose unfulfillable conditions on the tutors, who receive for their efforts only a humiliatingly meager reward (which they have to accept, given their incredibly low salaries).* (Ela, Teacher of Romanian Language and Literature)

However, teachers' "marketing strategies" for their educational services have remained virtually unchanged since the socialist times: they consist in the advertisement of their "services" mostly by the word of mouth, and in transactions based on trust rather than formal rules. Certainly, these are signs of the underground economy, which continues to thrive in the post-socialist Romania.

Nevertheless, there are instances in which private tutoring offers little financial gratification. For example, many teachers set prices well below the "market" or do not charge any payment from some students. Examining their diverse motives, two overarching themes prevail: their genuine wish to help others out and their desire to create/ maintain social capital. Some teachers do that because they actually believe in social justice and equality of chances for their students. Other teachers "oil the wheels" for developing/ sustaining closer relations through private tutoring, since social networks represent great resources on which they draw when need it. Initiating links with people one does not know,[65] developing greater reciprocity and trust are motives that have gradually become evident from our discussions. Their private tutoring done for close social relations might also be a part of the "complex normative and psychological heritage of the former era" (Los, 1992, p. 131), when "informal exchange networks" used to play an important role in the Romanian economy and society.

Creating and maintaining social capital is interviewed with teachers' need for more social status, something that they feel is gradually disappearing in the Romanian society. Therefore, nowadays it is very fashionable for teachers to be private tutors. Their status as private tutors carries significantly greater weight than the status of an obscure schoolteacher.

---

[65] I. e. in order "to build bridging social capital" (Williams, 2004, p. 119).

Indeed, the complex dynamics of the current socio-economic, political and cultural changes, as well as the education reforms started in the 1990s, have had as a visible negative effect on teachers' work and lives. We are witnessing an increasing deterioration of their working conditions, along with the vanishing of the traditional respect that teachers used to enjoy in schools and in the society. Many education changes initiated by the government since the 1990s have aimed at professionalizing the teaching occupation. Instead, they have accentuated a clear process of de-professionalization of the educators' work.

Romanian teachers seem to accept – or at least be resigned to working and living within – the established modes of power relations. At no point during the past eighteen years have they protested (publicly/collectively) against the often hasty educational policy decisions of the government.[66] However, teachers resist them and open up the possibility of different ways to define their own identity and status. Private tutoring is certainly an important element of their strategy, used to legitimate their work and even to recuperate an ideal type of relation teacher-student (see *A Glimpse at the Torture Chamber*).

The private tutoring activities entwine with the larger social context and could provide a framework in which to explore teachers' identity as workers, intellectuals and citizens, as well as the relation between teachers and state.

---

[66] Their often protests and strikes have focused on raising the minimum wage, indexing salary levels to deal with rising prices and a budget for education equal to 4 percent of GDP. Interestingly enough, faculty have not joined the trade union movements: "What would be in theory the faculty's trade union, *Solidaritatea Universitara*, stubbornly abstains from strikes and other open forms of protest. This organization seems to be, instead, a political movement in support of the Constantinescu presidency; many ministers and MPs are university professors. Only in February 2000 faculty organized protest rallies and gone on Japanese-style strikes in support of the teachers […]". (Antohi, 2004, p. 345).

VIII. SOCIO-SPATIAL VARIATIONS AND HIERARCHIES OF THE ROMANIAN TEACHERS' PRIVATE TUTORING WORK

A. GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATIONS OF PRIVATE TUTORING

1. Countryside vs. "The City"

It was in 1989 that the career of Iris, a former substitute teacher in the countryside, took a decisive turn for the better. For the first time in her life, she was doing what she had most wanted to do – teach "in the city" and doing private tutoring. Both those "activities" have given her a lasting professional satisfaction and a new and honorable professional identity. In our discussions, she openly displays her pride for both her accomplishments, as a teacher at school and at home. Before 1989, she was a "nobody", as she says, but now she is a well-respected teacher. The beginning of both her new "careers" was not easy at all. She wanted to get along with the other teachers, but her uplift used to be rebuffed at every turn, especially by her colleagues:

> *When I first came to the Orchard High School, for most of my colleagues, I was only a countryside teacher, without any skills and knowledge. I had to work very hard to become what I am now: a well-respected teacher and tutor. I have always kept the faith and fought a good fight. Thanks to my professional successes, I have outsmarted those who had derided me.*

Iris' case is not unique. Like her, many other teachers in the countryside had the opportunity to move to the city immediately after the fall of Ceauşescu's regime. Like her, many of them proved to be wonderful teachers and gained the respect of their students and colleagues. Like her, they started to do private tutoring, something that very few were doing as teachers in the countryside.

Private tutoring is an urban phenomenon, by excellence. However, while teachers who practice it are employed in the city's schools, some of their students come from the countryside. Lidia, a Mathematics teacher at the Orchard High School, offers me a few examples:

> *I have three students from the countryside, in my private tutoring "group". One is the son of a village mayor. But the other two come from poor families. A janitor working for our high school (who lives in the same village with them) has kindly asked me to help them and I immediately agreed with that. I couldn't accept any payment from them, since their financial situation is so bad.*

Besides proving, once again, the goodness of heart of many teachers who do private tutoring for free for disadvantaged students, Lidia's account opens up the field for more questions about teachers' involvement in the private tutoring. I ask her why teachers from the countryside do not usually do private tutoring and why some parents from rural areas prefer to send their children to urban school and to be tutored "in the city". A possible reason, she says, might be those teachers' lack of time. Many of them live in the countryside and work their land as any other farmer. Some commute from the city to their work place in the countryside (in same cases, their bus riding takes three-four hours daily). Iris adds that the reason why many teachers in the countryside conduct little private tutoring is not only because of their lack of time or even their fear of prosecution, but also their lack of social networks and opportunities to engage in such work. Providing such networks or opportunities, however, appears insufficient to tackle the barriers that prevent those excluded from doing private tutoring. As Aura says, although many teachers in

the rural areas are very good educators, they are not up-to-date on the requirements of the high school or university admission exams. Therefore, their ability to offer private tutoring classes is questioned by the students and their parents, who seek tutors in the city. She adds:

> *The truth is that the rural schools are not very competitive. They are fine up to the eighth grade, but then, whoever wants to learn more enroll in the urban high schools. The entrance exams are tough and those students need more preparation. Usually, children coming from wealthy or more intellectual families are sent to the city's best high schools. Most of them are very smart, they only need some supplemental lessons in order to be successful*. (Aura, French teacher)

The success of the urban teachers as private tutors is also founded on the derogatory meanings that many Romanians attach to the word "countryside", something that some teachers whom I have interviewed found intolerable to say, but could not sometimes help feeling.

2. Small Cities vs. Big Cities

Besides the obvious differences between private tutoring in the countryside and the city, other geographical variations seem to exist between big and small cities. Daniela, a Physics teacher, explains:

> *I think everybody will agree with me when saying that the most serious schooling is done in small cities, like ours, where people still value education and culture. Bucharest, for instance, like other big cities, is a rich soil for intellectual fraud and all kind of fools, who hide behind a masquerade of competence. My niece is a high school student in Bucharest and her parents send her every week to the Hilly City, for private tutoring. They are scared and horrified (and I cannot agree more with them) by her low level of preparation in mathematics and physics. She tells us that the teachers cannot teach their classes because of their students' lack of discipline. They had hired a private tutor in Bucharest, but he did not have a good teaching method, and my niece was not able to make any progress. In addition, that private tutor was charging an outrageously big amount of money (double of what we ask for here).*

Daniela's disdain for Bucharest is symptomatic for a more general belief shared by the inhabitants of the small cities/ villages, one that states that steady work and seriousness are not characteristics of the capital city. Their contempt seems to be qualified by a willingness to admit other benefits of the big cities, such as the quality of the higher education and more professional and financial opportunities than in small cities.

3. Professors vs. Teachers

However, especially in small cities like the Hilly City (which is situated only two hours away by car from Bucharest), it is very fashionable for some parents to send their children to the capital city to be tutored. Yet, the tutors are not middle school or high school teachers, but university professors.[67] There are cases when parents look for a professor in the same department where their kid seeks admission, secretly hoping that she/he might be aware of the questions asked at the entrance exam. The private tutoring by the professors does not replace the "regular" one, done by the teachers, but it supplements it. Sometimes, as Gabriel says, teachers have no idea that their student is tutored twice, but most of the time they work hand-in-hand with the professors. Usually teachers recommend their students to university faculty, who administer them mock tests before the admission exams. Gabriel argues that this practice is an expensive fashion:

---

[67] "Romanian faculty survive materially and intellectually thanks to alternative, extra-institutional resources. They also teach courses at private universities. They work in the widespread private tutoring system that prepares high school graduates for admission examinations (traditionally very competitive for job-market-oriented universities and faculties). They often have a (parallel) career in politics and government, where the salaries and perks are better, and where rampant corruption opens the possibility for generating considerable amounts of quick money. They work for the media, especially for the private and international electronic media. They also translate, take sojourns abroad (usually thanks to European Union-sponsored international faculty mobility schemes), conduct research, and receive publication subsidies granted locally by foreign organizations, and so forth". (Antohi, 2004, p. 337).

> *It is* de bon ton *for the parents to send their children to Bucharest for private tutoring. As a private tutor, I charge 200.000 for a two-hour session. In Bucharest, they take 400.000 for two hours, sometimes even more. And most of them do not even teach anything, they only administer tests. Before 1989, I heard stories about professors who, besides being paid for their tutoring lessons, had received the keys of a Mercedes as well. In those cases, the students were almost certainly admitted into the university. I think things have changed lately, as the entrance exams is not as tough as they used to be*.

Cases like the one that Gabriel describes sully the already tarnished image that some university professors have in the public opinion. However, as he says, teachers too are not always endowed with positive qualities, and one should not be eager to denigrate an entire professional category based on a few isolated examples.

Gabriel highlights the interdependencies between the private tutoring work of the teachers and that of the professors, and considers them an important factor for the continued existence of the private tutoring phenomenon. The networks that teachers and professors develop are of a special nature, as they are heavily embedded in their common working practices as educators. They have a common education background in the disciplines they teach and they understand very well the education context in which they "operate" (for instance, their work as private tutor focuses on topics most probably to be encountered in the exam, etc.).

B. TO TUTOR OR NOT TO TUTOR

When I first met Vladimir, he was nibbling on a piece of bread, while running home for his private tutoring lessons. "I haven't eaten all day", he told me. "I am so busy that I can barely find a few minutes for myself". In addition to his full-time teaching at school, he does private tutoring on a "large-scale": at home, he teaches two groups of some twenty students every day, including

the weekends. That means around two hundred eighty students tutored every week in Romanian language and literature. Doing private tutoring on a large-scale earned him contempt from his colleagues. They worried it would cast doubt on the integrity of the teachers, in general, and undermine teachers' prestige in the eyes of the local community:

> *Everybody talks about Vladimir. He is a disgrace to our profession. I heard from his students that he is not doing a good job in class anymore. He is too thirsty to make more money at home. He used to be a very good teacher. Also, the students whom he had tutored have had very good results at the national competitions and the university entrance exams. Students still want to be tutored by him, because of his good reputation. However, one cannot do a good job and pay attention to each student's individual needs, while working with so many of them at the same time*. (Adriana, Teacher of Romanian language and literature)

Vladimir seems to feel uneasiness when I raise the subject of his "mass" private tutoring. He describes the teachers who criticize him as being jealous of his success as a tutor. Vladimir does not have any unpaid bills on his desk. On the contrary, he is one of the most fortunate teachers, who affords, among others, trips abroad, restaurant meals and the remodeling of his apartment. He tells me his story as a private tutor with considerable glee and much of our conversation suggests his strong engagement with the real world. Among others, he mentions the fact that teachers face a choice, to opt between living without any salary supplements (and their subsequent privileges) and working very hard as a tutor, in order to live decently. The timing of his "choice" was particularly apt. His main achievement is to have skillfully encompassed and understood the complexities of the post-1989 period and to take advantage of them:

> *The transition period had brought about vertiginous mood swings in the Romanian population. Every parent wants his child to be tutored in one, two or even three subjects. I don't even care about my students' reasons to get tutored. I am only doing my job and everybody seems to be happy with my work.*

One may distinguish among three broad types of tutors: those who do "mass" private tutoring (tutor a number of students higher than thirty); those who tutor less students (between five and thirty students) and those who do private tutoring with less than five students (usually infrequently, whenever solicited, but not interested in doing it on a regular basis). All these three categories are present among the teachers at the Orchard High School. Forty-four out of the fifty-one teachers whom I interviewed admit to do private tutoring. Sixteen state that they do "mass" private tutoring, twenty-two tutor on a small-scale, while six of them say that they tutor only one student.

Table 9. Number of teachers who tutor privately by types of tutoring

Types of private tutoring	"Mass" private tutoring	Small-scale tutoring	One-student tutoring	Total number of teachers who do private tutoring
Number of teachers who do private tutoring	16	22	6	44

The difference between those who do private tutoring on a large scale and those who tutor a reasonable number of students seems to be chiefly a moral one. For those who do private tutoring on a large scale, the profit motive seems to be at the fore of their work. Usually those who tutor a high number of students have them "organized" in big groups. The outcome of their decision to tutor big group of students is a thriving business, which produces a relatively significant additional income to complement their salaries.

This is not to say that teachers who tutor smaller groups of students do not seek profit, but in their case, there might be additional reasons to be involved in that type of work, such as genuinely wanting to help their students, or acquiring and expressing their professional skills, etc. Yet, in both cases, private tutoring gives the teachers their badge of identity. In Daciana's

(an Economics teacher) words, “the private for-profit practice is not inferior in value to the public service”. Not only did this give her a place of honor among the teachers, but she feels that she has launched herself on a new career centered on something meaningful for herself and for her students.

Very few Romanian teachers (none at the Orchard High School, though) declare their private tutoring “business” for tax purposes. However, they continue to conduct a large proportion off-the-books. The four teachers who do private tutoring on a large scale have never declared these payments. When asked Stefan why he conducts his work as a tutor on an off-the-books basis, he says that he has always hated working for others and sees this work as a way of gaining control over his working life. He complements his assertion with a diatribe against the government, which is “made up of fools and thieves”. He seems to enjoy his hectic and stressful working life (which he deliberately chose), especially since it is financially rewarding. However, his colleagues sharply express their disapproval for his activity as a private tutor on a large scale, which, they feel, has a deleterious effect on his work as a teacher. They mention, among others, his constant obsession with making more money, which makes him neglect his teaching in class.

Finally, there is the category of teachers who do not do private tutoring. For them, life is not easy. Adriana, who teaches Romanian language and literature, and does private tutoring, explains:

> *As utility costs rise, some people have taken to unplugging their refrigerators in winter and putting their food on their balconies. Some have given up their telephones. I have colleagues who are really struggling with that kind of situation. I am not going to mention their names though.*

Although some of the teachers at the Orchard High School may have been drowning in the inexorable tide of penury, in our discussions they have never fully acknowledged their

deplorable situation. They behaved as true professionals, embracing an absolute commitment to their "noble" occupation:

> *Yes, it is hard, but what can we do? We'll survive, as all the Romanians do*. (Sanda, Physical Education teacher)

Not everyone appeals to tutoring. Selecting a tutor is based to a large extent on her/his prestige, experience, advertisement skills, and her/ his more or less enjoyable presence and affable personality. Therefore, the social experiences of teachers in general have become very different. Although the teachers I interviewed did not want to elaborate more on that, some subdued tensions and even jealousies surfaced in our discussions concerning their (non)involvement in the private tutoring business.

C. SUBJECT TEACHING VARIATIONS OF THE PRIVATE TUTORING

Obviously, the subjects in high-demand for private tutoring are those required for admission exams or for the Baccalaureate exam. They include: Romanian language and literature; Mathematics and Foreign languages. However, not every Math or Romanian language teacher is tutoring. As I mentioned above, criteria such as personality and prestige (along with teaching experience / age) are very important in the students' and parents' choosing of a private tutor. For instance, Roxana, a teacher of Romanian language and literature, tutors only two students. She tells me bluntly that no other students have been interested in receiving private lessons from her. She is painfully aware that other teachers in the same subject have their houses full of students. She has a particularly feminine sensibility, which shows in our dialogue, in the way the unspoken thought undercuts what is being said. Her deep sense of exhaustion and melancholy is

something very palpable in our conversations, in which I can easily detect her mood of chagrin and personal failure. Her colleagues tell me that her marriage is falling apart and that she had just overcome cancer. In spite of her health problems, she keeps up her work, teaching her classes and writing her poetry. Her apparent lack of interest in anything outside the cocooned and private world of her thinking and writing is evident in the way she talks to me. In any school perhaps there is a teacher to beam the lights of "general culture". At the Orchard High School, she is the one, erudite, well spoken and up-to-date with the latest works in literary criticism and literature. She is reluctant to draw attention to herself and displays an admirable modesty. However, she is not a natural teacher and she confesses that teaching absolutely terrifies her. Her colleagues tell me that her students do not take any notes during her classes and they are not very attentive and disciplined. She is known in the Orchard High School as being "the Philosopher", an appellative that sounded to me more like an attempt at mocking her erudition and eloquence. Nevertheless, to see her work and life solely in light of her teaching in class is to do her an injustice. When she sits down in a small room with her two students, I learn, her lessons are always well-informed, stimulating and thought-provoking. She seems to be a fantastic tutor, although not an ordinary one. Her two students are very interested in learning about literature and philosophy more (or even in a different way) than their teachers would teach them in class. Interestingly enough, both of them have an additional tutor, in the same subject, one who would teach them, among other topics usually required at the university admission exams, some complicated grammar issues. Having that second tutor may have been a blessing in disguise for Roxana, since it gives her the freedom to teach her students what she really thinks is important, and not what the official, rigid outlines say that is important.

Besides Roxana, there is George, a Mathematics teacher (a subject in high-demand for admission exam), who does not tutor any students. He does not want to talk to me about that, and only informs me candidly that he does not do any private tutoring. One of his colleagues, a teacher in the same subject, casts him as "a bad teacher": "he does not show up for his classes, is a drunker and a womanizer". He is close to his retirement, so perhaps he has lost much of his interest in "being a good teacher".

In addition to those two isolated cases, there are other examples of teachers who do not do any private tutoring. As a result of the education reform, certain subjects, whose acquisition used to involve tutoring, have become less important. Among those subjects are Physics, Chemistry, History and Biology. There are fewer teaching hours allotted to these subjects than before 1989, and therefore less interest from the students to study them. Six teachers from the Orchard High School (in addition to George, who teaches Mathematics) state that they are not tutoring any students. Unsurprisingly, their teaching subjects are: Physical Education (two teachers); History (one teacher); Biology (one teacher); Chemistry (one teacher) and Arts (one teacher). Although History, Biology and Chemistry are disciplines still required for the Capacitate exam (at the end of the eighth grade), those teachers have not been solicited by parents to tutor their children. There are also teachers like Horia (a forty-seven-year old Biology teacher), who offers private tutoring lessons on an informal basis, only when asked by his friends or acquaintances. His colleagues tell me about his personal decision not to tutor any of his own students or any other students from the Orchard High School. When I ask him why he has made that decision, he invokes his ethics and moral principles.

An important aspect of the private tutoring activity is the way in which teachers of various disciplines communicate and work together. Usually two or three teachers of different

subjects required for the same admission exam team in order to offer the student the best preparation. For instance, Ioan, a Mathematics teacher, tells me about his "partnership" with Irina, a well-known teacher of Romanian language and literature, and Anca, a French teacher:

> *When a parent asks me if I can tutor his child for the Capacitate exam, I immediately ask him back whom he has as a tutor for Romanian. If he did not choose anybody yet, I warmly recommend Irina. Usually they follow my advice. Conversely, if they had already chosen a tutor for Romanian, and I am not happy with their choice, I tell them to be cautious, maybe to find an additional tutor for the same discipline, or just to switch to Irina. Our work together bears very good results*.

This kind of "partnership" between the two teachers looks to me stronger than an alliance, as they seem to know and trust each other's teaching methods, personality and outcomes of their private tutoring work. In Ioan's opinion, their partnership is a sure recipe for their students' success. They advertise each other's skills because their working together has already proved to be successful, and not because they had decided (or even paid each other) to do so.

My discussion with Ioan also opens up my interest in learning more about the ways teachers know about each other's activity in class and at home. As my respondents argue, "rumor has it" that their knowledge, skills and talents are quite remarkable. In addition, there are some (isolated) cases in which the private tutoring session becomes a setting where teachers can learn more about their colleagues. There are simple rhetorical questions, Ioan says, such as "Has your teacher never taught you that in her class?", "How is it possible for you not to know that already?" etc., which prompt students' sincere responses. However, Ioan rightly questions the accuracy of many students' accounts, who only want to make the tutor "feel good about himself". In cases like the one just described, doing private tutoring seems to set teachers apart from each other. Not a hostile separation though, but rather some muffled tensions, which also

seem to be isolated. Nevertheless, in most of the cases, partnerships and mutual respect are being developed between teachers of different subjects.

D. TEACHERS' EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND AGE VARIATIONS IN THE PRIVATE TUTORING

A delicate balance of power seems to exist at the Orchard High School among the older and the younger teachers. I could feel it as soon as I had started my first interview with Tatiana (a twenty-six old teacher of Chemistry). She was complaining that some teachers (especially the junior ones) were excluded from the "market" of the private tutoring. In fact, she argues, doing private tutoring as a junior teacher is almost impossible. Young teachers should build their prestige, proving (not only to their students, but also to their older colleagues) that they are hard-working and serious teachers.[68] Some senior teachers like Ecaterina (a 53 years old Chemistry teacher), who genuinely cares about those who just start their careers, pass to her junior colleagues a couple students who need tutoring. That might be a short-term strategy to test out their capability as tutors or to help them establish themselves as both teachers and tutors. When their private tutoring "ventures" grow, they move into a second category of tutors, those who have made a name for themselves. In that case, they afford setting their own rules, such selection criteria for their students, a higher price, etc.

Only two respondents at the Orchard High School are substitute teachers. Although both of them declared that they would do private tutoring, they teach private lessons in very small

[68] There are exceptions, notable talents, who as soon as they start their teaching careers, attract students to their private tutoring classes (especially in subjects as foreign languages, where the demand for tutoring is growing at a fast pace).

groups (one-two students) and quite infrequently. For students and their parents, choosing a tutor from a prestigious school like the Orchard High School is a matter of great pride and that might be a reason behind its substitute teachers' relative successful career as private tutors. Usually however, since being a substitute teacher means that he/ she is not constantly associated with the same high school, students' parents are less willing to choose a substitute teacher as a tutor. The same thing is true for retired teachers who still teach on an hourly paid basis. As long as they are affiliated with their high school, Marin argues, they still have a pool of a few students interested in having them as private tutors. All four retired teachers at the Orchard High School say that they still do private tutoring for a couple of students. As Irina, a 62 years old retired teacher of Romanian language and literature, argues, her private tutoring is built on her hard work during her long teaching career:

> *I have been teaching for more than thirty years. I retired two years ago, but I still teach a few classes. This is my passion, my joy, my life. My students still seek my advice and knowledge. I am touched and proud to know that I still can help. Most of my colleagues who retire are not even greeted by their colleagues and former students. Sooner or later, all of us will fall into oblivion, but I still have a couple more years left before that happening…*

Her humoristic approach to the inexorable process of time passing cannot hide her sense of isolation. Her career as a teacher has been a spectacular one. Through assiduous study and preparation she made her way to the University of Bucharest and then to the Orchard High School, where she has been working as a teacher for the past thirty years. From the beginning of her career, she knew that teaching would be "her life". Overwhelming her students with a heavy arsenal of erudition, drawing them into the questions she posed, and dealing compassionately with their academic and personal problems are only a few qualities observed by both her colleagues and students. Students often balk at the idea of a master, but Irina has clearly assumed

the role of master to her "apprentices". Her students have always obtained exceptional results in national and international competitions, as well as at the university admission exams. After a successful career spent in pursuit of the knowledge, she admits of her plodding pursuit of her strong ideals of service to school. She expresses fears about the way the government deals with education in general, and with teachers in particular (among others, obliging senior teachers, still capable to teach, to retire as soon as they reach the retirement age, in order to create new jobs). In addition, despite the fact that teaching has given her a place of honor among her colleagues, she feels isolated. That feeling is exacerbated by the fact that most of his colleagues seem to avoid her. "When you are retired", she says, "nobody cares about you". She feels thus "exiled" in her own profession; a situation which, as she has discovered, suits her admirably, as she invests all her efforts and energy in teaching at home. The shift in her sentiments towards school mirrors the disappointment of many other teachers with the current state of the education system, but also the new meanings that private tutoring gains for those semi-retired teachers, who still feel able to work.

E. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have identified a few factors, such as the geographical position, (non)involvement in private tutoring, teaching disciplines and professional experience, which affect the private tutoring activities of the Orchard High School teachers, contributing to their social and economic differences.[69] However, the barrier between "difference" and "hierarchy" is

[69] I was not able to find any clear role that gender differences might have in teachers' work as private tutors. This situation could be related to the Romanian communist past, when, at least theoretically, women and men used to

thin and permeable. Actually, all those "differences" between the teachers might be considered clearly delimitated hierarchies.

Private tutoring varies geographically both at the cross-national level as well as regionally and locally. The distinct spatial variations between countryside and cities, also between towns/small city and big cities/ the capital are in fact signs of a very well structured hierarchical system of beliefs, embedded in the Romanian people's conscience. Viewing teachers' activities as private tutors through the lens of the Romanian cultural heritage/ norms allows one to understand better the hierarchical organization of the private tutoring system.

The meaning of the teachers' work as private tutors is also established in relation to its opposite, professors' activities. They share a common academic background (teachers too are university graduates and many of them hold masters and even PhDs). They even share the same name – both teachers and professors are called in Romanian "profesori" (pl.).[70] However, they seek to ground long-term alliances in the fleeting language of interests rather than in their shared academic background. For professors, their material interest is more evident than in the teachers' case. They accept students for private tutoring (which consists mostly in mock tests), only against exorbitant amounts of money. For the teachers, having those alliances with the professors adds up to their prestige as tutors. In their case, individual fame and hierarchy are not in conflict and they seem to accept the overall hierarchical frame of the teacher-professor relation (in which faculty appear to reinforce or/and examine teachers' work as private tutors).

---

enjoy equal rights. As Russinova (2000, pp. 91-92) notices, "one the one hand, there was legal equal recognition of the equality of men and women , so that women officially had equal opportunities with men in the areas of education, employment, professional careers, and social benefits (Kostova, 1993), although they bore the quadruple burden of their roles as wives, mothers, workers, and often public activists (Valentich & Gripton, 1991)".

[70] Except that "învaţători", which etymologically applies to both, is a more accurate translation of "teachers" of elementary education.

The second compelling variation is across those who tutor and those who do not. The economic differences between those two categories of teachers are growing at a fast pace. This, though, is only half of the story. Being a tutor clearly counts for the teacher's reputation in school, but also for his/her social status outside the school. Therefore, in the face of many inequalities of prestige, luck, talent, income and even wealth, stifled tensions are bound to appear between the two categories of teachers. There are also instances in which some teachers neglect their activity in the class, devoting more time, energy and talent to their teaching at home. They have flair, courage and drive to run their own tutoring "business", although they live in a fevered marathon race, by tutoring large groups of students at a time. Certainly, their occupation is not without its "detractors". Many of their colleagues see it purely as a "business" only, without much care for the actual results of their work.

The third variation takes place among different teaching disciplines. Those who teach subjects in high-demand for examinations are financially and socially better off than the other teachers.[71] However, more often than being in conflict, they form professional alliances with teachers of different disciplines. Those instances of teamwork are essential for the students' success, but also for the status of the teachers themselves. As I have tried to show in Chapter VII, the survival and growth of the private tutoring culture depends, at least to an extent, on social networks. The interviews with my respondents prove that those social networks work not only outside the private tutoring system, but also among the teachers who are private tutors.

The forth variation of the private tutoring activities regards teachers' professional experience. Some junior teachers lodge complains on their lack of tutoring opportunities and

[71] Social and economic differences are present even between teachers of the same subject. In a way, I felt that Roxana had entirely removed herself from any hierarchies. Her teaching (both as a tutor and a teacher at school) goes beyond any rigid set of requirements. She is not considered a good teacher by her peers, but she seems to be an admirable tutor.

they yearn to become drawn into the "privileged" (both financially and socially speaking) sphere of those who do private tutoring. However, as soon as they establish themselves as "good teachers", their private tutoring starts flourishing too (sometimes, generously helped by senior teachers). Semi-retired and substitute teachers are in a special situation, as they feel even more acutely their prestige threatened by a general rather negative opinion and by their non-involvement in the private tutoring activities. Yet, in a few cases, when retired teachers had built their prestige over a long teaching period, what they may have lacked in their peers' respect/ attention they more than compensate for by doing private tutoring.

The thread that I am able to tease out of these "variations" is the extraordinary sense of "organization" developed among the teachers who do private tutoring. The hierarchical structure of the private tutoring system drives and sustains their work as private tutors, but has also implications for their social and professional status. The discussions I had with my respondents have confirmed and bolstered my own observations of a "system" in which stark distinctions coexist with strong forges among individuals. The organizational thoroughness of the private tutoring system is dazzling in its technical resources, and this might be an additional explanation for its extraordinary vitality. Moreover, I believe that no attempt to comprehend the meanings of the teachers' work as private tutors can be successful without acquiring a deep sense of the inner organization of their activities.

IX. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF MY RESEARCH FOR POLICY MAKING

A. MATERIAL TEACHERS

My research has provided a detailed account of the shadow private tutoring practice of a Romanian high school's teachers. Using first-hand explanations from participants, I have consequently analyzed the nature, extent and reasons for existence of their private tutoring activities. I have also chronicled the complex changes in economic and political practices in the last sixteen years, being particularly curious about how they influence those teachers' lives and work as private tutors. In that context, I have sought to understand how patterns of their work as private tutors have changed and how various forms of thought have altered during the communist regime, and after 1989, in the wake of a return to "capitalism".

As my research advanced, I increasingly felt that an inadequate moral was tagged onto a complex story. Official accounts of teachers' work as private tutors usually focus on their lack of morals, neglect of their teaching duties in class, and even corruption. Making a profit, without paying any taxes to the state, is a negative feature of the private tutoring, which is to the fore in the discourses of the Romanian government. By the same token, the Romanian officials rail against the tutors (especially those who have a good "track record" of getting students into the right schools through private tutoring) who charge outrageous amounts for tutoring and make

high profits. Certainly, their accusations do not emerge out of thin air: there are cases (widely publicized by the media) of teachers who make good money from doing private tutoring and whose goal is profit only. However, their cases are isolated and do not characterize all the Romanian teachers' activities.

Moreover, teachers whom I interviewed do not consider "profit" as being their main reason for doing private tutoring. In their views, doing private tutoring only helps them survive financially, but not really prosper. Also, despite the fact that one may identify elements of entrepreneurship in their work as private tutors, they are not skillful "businessmen". In fact, willingness to take a risk in the Romanian incipient market economy has not characterized any of the Orchard High School teachers. While they could have looked for other activities to supplement their income (and made even more money than they already do as private tutors), most of them persisted in familiar ways, setting themselves as private tutors. Indeed, my incursions into the history of the private tutoring, as recounted by the teachers at the Orchard High School, reveal many resemblances between the private tutoring activities before and after 1989. Among them, teachers' "marketing strategies" for their private tutoring practice have remained virtually unchanged since the socialist times: they advertise their "services" mostly by the word of mouth, their transactions are based on trust rather than formal rules and they are paid for in cash or "products". These are clear signs of the underground economy, which continues to thrive in the post-socialist Romania.

However, there are important changes too. For instance, since 1989, teachers who do private tutoring have started to openly acknowledge their ("illegal") work outside school. They are even proud of their work and well-respected by the others because of their successes as private tutors. The private tutoring practice is gradually moving from underground to legitimacy.

My discussions with the teachers at the Orchard High School have made it clear beyond dispute that more than simple monetary gain is at stake here. Beyond making money, there are additional reasons for those people to forego other opportunities and to undertake considerable efforts to do private tutoring. The findings of my research draw to the conclusion that one of their main reasons to do private tutoring is their constant goal to gain more social and professional status, which has been challenged by successive regimes of contrasting political hues. Therefore, my research becomes an account of an elusive entity – teachers' professional and social status, shaped, among others, by prestige, respect and monetary gain – and the ways in which they can try to achieve and preserve it through their tutoring practices. Let me illustrate these general points more thoroughly.

B. PRIVATE TUTORING AND TEACHERS' QUEST FOR PROFESSIONAL AND SOCIAL STATUS

Darvas and Nagy (1995) talk about the "professional legitimacy" that was given to the teachers in Eastern Europe, in the communist period, by the state: "In such an elitist type of schooling, teachers used to play a critical role in the students' lives, even though they did not enjoy much social prestige or economic benefits. Average teacher salaries were set at the lowest among the intellectual professions", whose corresponding salaries were already low, when compared to similar professions elsewhere in Europe (Darvas and Nagy, 1995, p. 216). However, their prestige and authority boosted, being prompted by socialist education policies such as the increased number and the high complexity of examinations, combined with the conditions of

numerus clausus for admission to the upper secondary level and for admission to university studies; the encyclopedic aspect of teaching and learning; etc.

Teachers had an ambiguous professional identity, created and sustained by the communist state, in order to favor its interests. They were the "intellectuals", whose professional role extended to include the restructuring of the society and the economy, the socialization of the masses, etc. The acceptance of the centralized and bureaucratic control of their work was implied. However, in their classrooms, they felt empowered and even freed from particular ideologies and power structures. Highly educated, experts in their subject content, many of them decided to stay away from politics and to seek refuge in their profession. They identified themselves with a paradoxical system of education: one that was theoretically embedded in its rhetoric of equality, but which was in fact highly competitive and even elitist in its structure and content. Professionalism became their safe haven.

Yet, their identity was located in and was a product of the communist regime. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, they have had to confront and adjust to a set of educational, but also political, socio-economic and cultural conditions radically different from those that existed only a few years before. The transition has been difficult for many of them, who felt that they had lost the identity and cohesion provided by the communist regime. What remained of their common professional and moral commitments? My findings point to the fact that transforming their beliefs has been scarcely possible. Teachers whom I met at the Orchard High School are, in their large majority, sophisticated people of charm and good nature. Some of them display an almost unaccountable compassion and generosity towards their colleagues and students and their fundamental sense of justice is in flagrant contradiction with the "capitalist" approach promoted by the current social and economic changes. However, during the 1990s,

their ideal of selfless service embodied in their commitment to "general education" and elitism (as it had existed in the "formal" education system during the communist regime), started to falter in their teaching activities at school. Thus, that happened not because they had changed, but because there have been (educational and social) changes that made the old idealism unsustainable.

Their "old" identity has been continuously challenged by the many socio-economic and educational changes that have happened since then. The major changes in education that the Romanian government has been undertaking for the last decade converge toward a unique model, which tries to superimpose a commodified image of late capitalism over a system which until recently was embedded under the communist rule. This frame is itself further delimited by its own convulsive contradictions, complicated by the every four-year change of government and, implicitly, the change of education policy. Teachers are required to apply in their classrooms a series of "new" education policies, without being provided with the necessary ongoing support in order to deal with those changes. Meantime, bureaucracy and politics are increasingly smothering their teaching activity.

What is more, various education changes initiated by the government after 1989 have circuitously aimed at constructing a new identity for them. Professionalism plays again a key role, as it did during the communist regime, but this time, the notion is embedded in the rhetoric of democracy, with new elements, such as managerial responsibility, flexibility, work team and collaboration with the community. The discourse of the education reform includes the promise of a "new professionalism" (Robertson, 1996) for teachers, envisaged as empowered professionals. However, as Tyler (1995, p. 241) observes, in general, empowerment "means little more than working to a role and mission statement, encumbered with on-the-line responsibility for a

severely reduced budget and subject to populist pressures, while the community has now been defined as various subsets of stakeholders whose involvement appears to be determined solely in terms of short-term private interest".

Instead, the recent education reforms have accentuated a clear process of de-professionalization of the educators' work, which has been intensified through elements such as an increasing number of administrative and assessment tasks (and subsequently the lengthening of their working day), the scarcity of resources, the elimination of opportunities for more creative and imaginative work, etc. In addition, teachers' activities depend more and more on external specialists, who control and evaluate their work. Not only accountability and control measures by specialists have power over their work. Worryingly, we are witnessing an intrusion of the politics and business in schools, partly due to the pressure put on the teachers to become more entrepreneurial and to identify partnerships/ sponsorships outside the schools.

Higher salaries do not compensate the overloading of the teachers' schedules. On the contrary, the level of their wages is one of the lowest on the scale of working people's salaries in the country.

Teachers are losing not only "extrinsic rewards", such as status and wages, but also the "intrinsic" ones, namely the relationships with their students, "which they associate with teaching" (Robertson, 1996, p. 31). The process of losing their authority and the traditional respect that they used to enjoy in schools and in the society is emotionally charged for many of them. Without enjoying high salaries, and having their specialized knowledge, professional commitment, and professional autonomy questioned, many of my respondents said that they were feeling embarrassed and even ashamed to acknowledge their occupation.

However, Romanian teachers seem to accept – or at least be resigned to working and living within – the established modes of power relations. At no point during the past eighteen years have they protested (publicly/collectively) against the often hasty educational policy decisions of the government. Their often protests and strikes have focused on raising the minimum wage, indexing salary levels to deal with rising prices and a budget for education equal to 4 percent of GDP. Although the number of strikes and the vigor of their protests have intensified in the recent years, teachers' leaders still seem to lack the vision and the courage to carry on with their actions until teachers' demand are entirely met. Unionism is still weak, plagued by fragmentation and political interests, and does not seem to offer a viable solution to the teachers' many problems.

Yet, teachers have turned the weight of the official changes against themselves: they resist and open up the possibility of different ways to define their own identity and status. In my study, I argue that teachers' work as private tutors is part of their efforts at "resistance", which stand unarticulated in their own views about education reforms, but also about socio-economic and political changes that affect their working conditions. Nostalgic about their own evanesced prestige and authority, confused by the complications of a new democratic reality, they choose to continue their way of *dissimulation*, by retreating themselves in the private tutoring practice. Their activity has grown into a very well organized, hierarchical system, in which stark distinctions coexist with strong alliances among individuals. For instance, the private tutoring practices vary geographically both at the cross-national level as well as regionally and locally; across those who tutor and those who do not; among different teaching disciplines; and differs with teachers' professional experience. The hierarchical structure of the private tutoring system drives and sustains teachers' work as private tutors, but has also implications for their social and

professional status. Their status as private tutors carries significantly greater weight than the status of an obscure schoolteacher. Not to do any private tutoring means, in one of my respondents' words, that "one is not a good teacher".

A few significant features characterize the teachers offering supplementary private tutoring. First, professional competence is at the heart of this process. Teachers have a specialized knowledge base and shared standards of practice; they are committed to meet the needs of their "clients". In addition, they have a strong identity with this "profession"; and in relation to bureaucratic control over their practice, they enjoy more autonomy as tutors than as teachers. The attributes of a professional extend beyond the level of the individual teacher. Indeed, the teacher builds a kind of professional community with other teachers (for various subjects). They recommend each other to their own students, meet frequently and discuss ways of collaborating better in order for the students to be successful. In addition, the "group" of teachers who tutor pursue their "members"' interests, by limiting entry, defining and protecting their markets, setting fees, and maintaining autonomy (Johnson, 1979).

Professionals are supposed to enjoy social prestige, economic rewards, and even political influence. None of these is now recognizable in the actual conditions in public schools in Romania. However, they are increasingly apparent in the parallel, shadow education system, represented by the supplementary private tutoring.

As I have suggested in my study, the private tutoring practice also recuperates an ideal type of relation teacher-student (see *A Glimpse at the Torture Chamber*). Iris' "torture chamber" features many elements of the traditional way of schooling: an "authoritarian" teacher, who masters all the knowledge; quiet students, diligently taking notes; a classroom; a schedule; and so on. The relationship teacher-student-parents is an "ideal" one: parents trust entirely teacher's

ability to communicate and inculcate knowledge; they show great interest in the progress that their children are making and they may use punishments or rewards to try to improve it.

Yet, their recuperating/ reinventing the past is not driven by pure nostalgia. Private tutoring becomes both a tactic for gaining status and for restoring their authority, and a subtle answer to the education policy changes. Teachers create and preserve their *defensible spaces* of the private tutoring practice, and they are engaged in critically explaining their own work in relation to their professional ideals, but also to the social and economic context. Behind their words, one can simply sense ambiguities that are not easily resolved, including their relation with the state and definitions of their own professional identities.

As we have seen, the communist state created, sustained and legitimated an "emancipated" professional and social identity for the Romanian teachers. The ideology of professionalism (used by the state as a means of controlling teachers and keeping them away from the unionism) played an important role in the process. The current context presents a different set of challenges. Recent attempts to "professionalize" teachers' work have been rather unsuccessful and even mocked by the teachers, who consider themselves as being professionals already. The results of the recent education reforms are unsettling for the many teachers, who are gradually losing exactly the elements that were at the heart of their ideals of "professionalism": authority, autonomy, concern for the service offered, and prestige.

As important aspects of their professionalism are fading away, we might expect the state to use less efficiently the notion of professionalism as a controlling ideology. We should also expect a smoothing away of the conflict between professionalism and unionism, as the unions would help defend elements of professionalism such as those mentioned above (Ozga & Lawn, 1981). However, as I have just indicated, the unions are not always…unified in their demands,

which usually deal with teachers' salaries and not with the "craft" of their work. What is more, the unions' protests and strikes have not convinced the public opinion that teachers were hard-working and competent professionals, and that they needed to be paid accordingly. On the contrary, as a result of those actions, teachers' social status has declined even more. In the absence of a coherent and efficient action of the unions, individual teachers are the ones to defend their own ideals of professionalism. It is in the private tutoring practice that they find answers to their most critical problems, such as authority, financial gain, prestige, even student motivation and discipline. Private tutoring becomes teachers' way of re-legitimating their profession and restoring their professional and social images.

I interpret the process of private tutoring in terms of empowerment in an upbeat rather than defeatist fashion. I see this ("illegal") process of tutoring students as a small victory for teachers as individuals and as an occupational group, albeit on a minor scale, by offering an alternative to union struggles and electoral politics as a model: it creates some kind of protected zone, where the results could be rendered predictable.

This practice represents a living culture on the increase, and not only in Romania. A global phenomenon, private tutoring is a symptom of a broader problem. First, it may signal that something does not work properly with respect to the formal education system. Second, they engage ways of being for teachers to rewrite "profession" in terms of "power". My research attempted to reveal that what the teachers had lost in their professional status (as a result of various socio-economic, cultural and political contexts) was compensated through their private tutoring practices. Yet, is their empowerment an illusory one? Some might argue that their activity as tutors is nothing more than another feature of their proletarianization, where teachers' work is intensified, by adding (voluntary) extra responsibilities and workload (Densmore, 1987).

My answer to this argument is in close relation to teachers' ability to identify the ways in which their work in schools has been proletarianized and in which the economic and the political have penetrated their teaching activities (Robertson, 1996). Confronted with those conditions, many teachers choose to invest ever more work and energy in a parallel system of education, represented by the private tutoring. They understand their work as a critical solution in a critical period of transition in the Romanian society.

The private tutoring practice might be interpreted as a *defensible space*, where teachers are rewarded, both "extrinsic" and "intrinsic", to use Robertson's terms. However, are teachers' spaces of resistance something more than a provisory solution for their problems? Are they defensible indeed? I argue that it is perhaps too early to offer an answer to these questions. As long as their profession is professionally devalued (very often by those who are in charge of increasing their professionalism), many of them will continue to find refuges in the private tutoring practice.

The devaluation of teachers' professional work has enormous implications on how they are perceived by the larger society. Let me briefly discuss the implications of the private tutoring practice on the teachers' social status, as revealed by the findings of my research.

Teachers' lack of social status (with the notable exception of the countryside until not too long ago, where the teacher used to be an iconic figure revered by the entire village where she or he lived and taught) has been an unsolved problem during both capitalist and communist regimes, being mostly related to their low wages. However, as I have illustrated throughout my thesis, during the communist times, their professional qualities, as well as their definition as intellectuals engaged in the reconstruction of the country, offered them some social prestige.

Also, as "servants of power", they have certainly had a sheltered place in the society, which has vanished after the fall of Ceauşescu's regime.

Teachers whom I interviewed feel too that, generally speaking, educators' social status is gradually disappearing in the Romanian society. Therefore, creating and maintaining social capital through the private tutoring practice is interviewed with their need for more social status. There are instances in which teachers do not charge any money for their private tutoring sessions. Some are motivated by their genuine wish to help others out, as they still believe in social justice and equality of chances for their students. Others do that in order to create/ maintain social capital. Social networks represent great resources on which they draw when need it. Hence, they use private tutoring as a way to develop closer relations and greater reciprocity and trust. In fact, many of my respondents were willing to trade away financial benefits for their social status, which they were trying to attain through complex networks of social interactions and mutual favors.

Teachers' formally recognized expert knowledge, and various social networks and exchange of favors on which they can rely contribute to their acquiring some social status, which is usually provisory and functions as long as they are still involved in both education systems (private tutoring and school teaching). Furthermore, it is through the very practice of private tutoring that their social status is declining too. My respondents signaled quite a few elements of the power relationship that existed between the students and their parents, on one hand, and the teachers on the other hand. For instance, parents try to manipulate teachers' decisions and they do a lot of bargaining in an attempt to impose unfulfillable conditions on the tutors. In exchange, teachers receive for their efforts only a humiliatingly meager reward (which they have to accept,

given their incredibly low salaries). They feel humiliated, "the mockery of the entire society", as one the teachers at the Orchard High School explained to me.

My argument, in brief, is that the practice of private tutoring has not really helped Romanian teachers gain any social status. On the contrary, perhaps because private tutoring is usually perceived as diminishing the quality of their work in the classrooms and because it is driven by financial needs, teachers' position in the society is increasingly weakened.

Let me end this section of my thesis with an explanatory note. My discussion on teachers' professional and social status, as depicted by the participants in my study, is located in a specific historical context. It envisages their experiences during both the communist regime and the beginning of the capitalist one. In some rare instances, it involves recollections of the older times of another capitalist regime, in place before 1945. Finally, there are quite a few younger teachers, who were socialized during Ceauşescu's regime, and still have reminiscences of that period. In all these instances, historical memory is at intense work. Therefore, there is a risk in idealizing the past and overlooking the myriad of problems (social, economic, political, bureaucratic, etc.) with which they were confronted before 1989 (see also Hargreaves, 1994a). To some Romanians who have experienced the dreadful aspects of the communist regime, their accounts might seem a fragile claim and my findings would perhaps be in their hot debate. Let me carefully assert that much has still to be learned about the Romanian recent past and that tensions among various personal reconstructions of a national past are always to be expected. Yet, when all such reservations are made, there remains the substance of a necessary beginning to understand Romanian teachers' work in an important socio-economic and political context. Listening to their voices has opened the space for myself to hold a more critical view of "the way in which

new discourses, structures and struggles about the nature of teachers' work are layered upon and between old ones" (Robertson, 1996, p. 31).

C. IMPLICATIONS OF MY RESEARCH FOR POLICY MAKING

In his seminal book on private tutoring, Bray (1999b) identifies six options that governments can consider in dealing with the phenomenon of private tutoring:

a. A laissez-faire approach, where governments ignore this "shadow" market for education and leave it to regulate itself
b. Monitoring, but not intervention, where governments only gather data on the size, shape and impact of the sector
c. Regulating and control, which usually involves regulations such as class sizes, cover fees, nationality of tutors, etc.
d. Encouragement, through which governments see this process as a way to reduce unemployment, raise teachers' salaries, satisfy the needs of students, or improve equity
e. A mixed approach that allow some types of private tutoring, while prohibiting others
f. Prohibition, which bans any private tutoring of commercial nature

I believe that any of these options above may prove to be fantastically inefficient, if the policy makers do not take into account all the factors that contribute to the growth of the private tutoring phenomenon. More to the point, I strongly argue that any attempt at drawing specific

policy initiatives regarding private tutoring should start with an understanding of the reasons that lead the teachers to join the "parallel system of education". If only financial gain were at stake, a logical solution would be increasing their salaries, something that the government has reluctantly and insufficiently done over the past few years. However, when their motifs drift imperceptibly from "material" to "intellectual", as in the Romanian case, a concrete solution might be even harder to reach. Restoring teachers' professional and social status is something that, I am afraid, will not be an easy task for any government in power. Nevertheless, I am going to propose a few policy "recommendations" that might inform the education policymaking.

Before doing that, however, I should note that the Romanian officials have never been very explicit in their approach on the private tutoring activities, although they made it clear, through regulation, control and sanction measures, that they did not want to continue the official laissez-faire attitude present before 1989. The government keeps sending out mixed messages regarding their tactics towards private tutoring, blurrily coupling their intentions to enable teachers to transition to a legitimate, formal tutoring system (which would benefit the state, through the taxation system) to those to eradicate "the parallel system of education".

Teachers have been reluctant to transfer their underground work into the legitimate realm, despite the fact that the government had started to raise awareness about the benefits of working formally. In fact, paying taxes on their work would make private tutoring look like a veritable business (and, as I found out, they do not feel that way about their work). In the same spirit, they would be unwilling to accept business-like solutions such as those identified by Williams (2004, pp. 216-17): direct and indirect tax incentives, micro-enterprise development programs or even work bonuses (which anyway have proved to be inefficient in the Western governments' attempts to harness the underground economy, more generally).

Despite the fact that the education law 300/2004 stipulates that private tutoring should be done only through specialized companies, that has not happened yet. Not only would that setting up such companies be expensive and bureaucratic. Most probably, the Romanian teachers will never want to be associated in big corporations which provide private tutoring, such as the Sylvan Learning Center in the US or Gabbitas Educational Consultants in the UK. They still keep their intellectual aura and professional individuality / prestige, which do not go well together with the uniformity that such associations entail.

The government's attempts at eliminating the private tutoring system have been enacted through basic "punishment" measures such as financial charges for those caught doing undeclared private tutoring and through more subtle ones, such as the curriculum reform policies. Deterrence measures have not worked so far, and, as the Korean case points up,[72] banning private tutoring altogether is not a realistic or effective solution, since governments are unable to enforce it. As I have illustrated in chapter III of this study, Korea banned private tutoring in the 1980s, in an attempt to equalize educational opportunities for the poor and to relieve parents of the burden of paying for education. Ignoring the law, many parents paid under the table for the illicit private tutors, who managed to evade the investigators. The ban was lifted in 2000, as it was in violation of the people's basic right to educate their children. In Portes' (1994, p. 433) words, "state efforts to obliterate it through the expansion of rules and controls can exacerbate the very conditions that give rise to these activities".

As Adelina (a Teacher of Romanian language and literature at the Orchard High School) argues, stamping out the private tutoring activities would also not win the battle against the so-called teachers' "corruption". If the government decides to take away the private tutoring from

the teachers, she says, the education system will be indeed confronted with a vast wave of corruption:

> *Nobody can survive on a miserable salary, so we'd be constrained to find new ways to replace that supplemental income.*

Teachers from the Orchard High School do not see themselves as being engaged in dubious economic practices, as is the case of the nouveaux riches or the politicians implicated in large-scale corruption. In many of my respondents' opinion, the Romanian government does not have the moral right to talk about the teachers' corruption. The officials' attempts to present themselves as capable of tackling corruption are unavailing as, very often, the extent of their own "outright theft", as Adelina says, is exposed by the media.

I believe that any of these tactics described above might have negative consequences for the teachers' lives and work and, more generally, for the education system, if they are not combined with a thorough analysis of the actual situation of the Romanian teachers and with additional measures to improve their professional and social circumstances. In my opinion, the government needs to move beyond simplistic solutions in order to find the underlying cause of both the issues of the private tutoring and that of the plummeting socio-economic and professional condition of the teachers. The "solutions" that I propose are stated below:

Increasing teachers' wages and government's funds allocated to the education sector

Romanian teachers have consistently employed private tutoring as a survival strategy. Although the trade unions have been rather successful in raising their salaries and the funds allocated to education (which in 2005 reached a critically low level of 3.3 % of GDP), teachers' earnings still fall below the national average wages. Teachers are some of the most underpaid professionals in Romania and they feel humiliated by their own status as recipients of the government's grudging

"charity". Meeting their material needs would certainly play an important part in increasing their professional and social status.

Involving teachers in policy-making

In the 1990s the Romanian government started some timid attempts to involve teachers in the reform process, by organizing "cascade training programs" in order to disseminate educational reform within the entire county. Nevertheless, as I showed in my thesis, that model of training delivery was a centralized one, by expecting local trainers to replicate such training nationwide. Teachers still do not have the ongoing support required to engage in the type of change expected. I argue that reformers could have achieved more, by communicating more directly with the teachers, overcoming their own fragmentation, and mobilizing them to spearhead change. Teachers' participation in decision-making is crucial to refloat the battered ship of the Romanian education, but also to give a sense of legitimacy of their professional work.

Understanding and respecting teachers' professional identity

Private tutoring is already at the very heart of the Romanian teachers' identity as professionals. Their professional status is constructed in both their public (in schools) and private (at home) spaces of teaching. Private tutoring might be seen as a catalyst for teachers' professional activity: among others, it helps them become better educators and stimulates their need to keep updated with the disciplines that they teach. It also allows them to feel respected and valued as professionals.

In this context, one may ask what is the right way for the government to deal with teachers' involvement in the private tutoring. As we have seen, more regulation, control and sanction are not a viable solution. Instead, I believe that improving teachers' social and

professional status through other "methods" than their private tutoring activities would benefit both the teachers and the education system in general.

Strong and competent leadership

Teachers are usually seen as scapegoats, blamed for the shortcomings of a system plagued by many unfinished or incoherent reforms, but also by a lack of visionary and competent leadership. At its highest level, the Romanian education system needs a leader who has experienced directly, as a teacher, and theoretically, as a specialist in educational policy studies, the problems that besiege the Romanian education. So far, almost all the ministers of education since 1989 have been employed in other fields than education. Their lack of understanding towards teachers' lives and work were very often complemented by incompetence, cynicism and arrogance. In this context, teachers' situation has actually never improved.

Revisiting the past

As I have tried to show in my research, mentalities that would seem to have been alien to socialist principles had existed before 1989. However, they were coupled with clear-cut policies directed at making education accessible to a student population of diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Nowadays, these policies are less and less visible in the Romanian education. Therefore, the gap between the rich and the poor, between those who afford getting an education and those who do not is widening. In this context, teachers' work as private tutors amplifies these inequalities to a much larger extent than it did during the socialist regime. Perhaps understandably, in education, as in other sectors, the government wanted to get rid of the country's recent communist past and rushed to implement policies borrowed from abroad, without analyzing more carefully if the socio-economic and cultural environment was favorable

to those types of changes or if those policies really work in their original context. I am not exactly nostalgic for the vanished world of the communist times, but I cannot help being an analyst of the gains that they left behind[73] and the losses that the Romanian version of capitalism brings with it. I argue that the Romanian policy makers should revisit the country's past (including both the socialist times and the pre-war period) in order to find out if what was working well back then is still viable and applicable to the current situation.

More research on teachers' life and work

Policy makers should be especially concerned about the fact that virtually there are no academic studies or detailed official reports on the Romanian teachers' lives and work. The few statistical data compiled by the Ministry of Education and the European Union cannot and should not replace a comprehensive analysis of their actual socio-economic and professional situation. In the absence of more studies on that topic, any attempt at making decisions directed towards teachers might be considered both vain and fictitious.

Despite an abundance of research over several decades on private tutoring, researchers, policy-makers and practitioners around the world are still trying to grapple with the issue of the extraordinary vitality of that phenomenon. In Romania, the development and the structure of the private tutoring system are not documented by any research studies, something that may cause several difficulties for the policy makers and politicians. One of them concerns their use of official indicators, which are unreliable in the presence of a growing parallel education system. The effects of the private tutoring on the formal education system and on its teachers' professional lives are quite important to consider too. In the case of teachers' work as private

[73] Among others, communism left behind a literate and numerate society.

tutors, there are elements such as their ambivalent attitudes towards money, the wide networks of acquaintances and mutual trust between them and other participants, etc., whose significance goes beyond their concrete utility. Analyzing them, I hope, will provide a richer understanding of their work and lives, but also of the private tutoring phenomenon, more generally.

In my thesis, I chose to deal with only a small instance of the private tutoring work of the teachers from a Romanian high School. In that context, giving space to a few themes, neglecting others, I was able to make use of the rich data provided by my respondents, in order to explore my research topic. My conversations with the fifty-one teachers from the Orchard High School each had their own flavor. Teachers' disapproval for the Romanian officials' "wooden rhetoric" was loudly voiced in our discussions. Their problems were revealed in sometimes long, intimate conversations, in which they came weighted down by their life stories, crammed into a matter of sentences. While trying to balance their right to privacy against my eagerness to know and report everything, I found myself sharing as much about myself as were the teachers interviewed. Those conversations transgressed the frame of simple question-answer interviews and proved invaluable for both my research and for my own intellectual development. The sophistication of their professional identities and lives is dazzling in their variety, but also in their common elements. Put simply, this complexity, most of all, is what I want the reader to take away from what I have written. I can only hope that my research will help others think and write about private tutoring, or at least reflect on their own assumptions about that topic. After all, it is worth remembering that *meditație*, the Romanian term for private tutoring, comes from the Latin *meditatio*.[74]

[74] Originally the Latin *meditatio* indicated every type of physical or intellectual exercise, then later evolved into the more specific meaning "contemplation".

APPENDIX

SCRIPT AND INTERVIEWS

1. SCRIPT: INFORMATION FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of this research study is to examine Romanian teachers' involvement in and views of supplementary private tutoring, in the context of secondary education reform.

For this purpose, I will interview 30-50 academic school teachers, from secondary level schools in the Hilly City [pseudonym], Romania.

Each interview will take approximately 45 to 60 minute. All personal information and your responses will remain confidential. All data will be stored securely in a locked file cabinet. Only the principal investigator (Simona Popa) will have access to these data.

There are no foreseeable risks associated with the project and your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw from this project at any time. No inducement will be given to participate.

This study is conducted by Simona Popa, a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh. She can be reached at (412) 648-1588 or by e-mail, at: smpst74@pitt.edu.

2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Teachers' Involvement in Private Tutoring

1. a. Do you currently tutor students privately? If not now, are you considering (re)starting tutoring?

   b. Have you previously tutored students privately? If not, why no longer?

2. If not:
   a. In your opinion, what are the reasons behind other teachers' decisions to tutor students?
   b. Can you approximate the percentage of students in secondary schools who get tutored privately?
   c. In your view, is private tutoring detrimental or beneficial for students' achievement?
   d. Is private tutoring accentuating or diminishing the socio-economic gap between students?
   e. Is private tutoring accentuating or diminishing the socio-economic gap between teachers?
   f. In your opinion, what effect does private tutoring have on teaching/ learning in school?
      - effects on students
      - effects on teachers' classroom behavior/ preparation outside of class
   g. Would you recommend your own students to be tutored in the subject you teach?
   h. Would you recommend students from other classes (where you are not their teachers) to attend private tutoring lessons?
   i. Any reasons why you would prefer NOT to be tutoring?

3. If yes, why do you engage in such activities?

    - your finances, enjoyment, sense of accomplishment, etc.?
    - the students' benefit, need, etc.?

4. How many of your tutees are your own students from your classes at school?

    a. In case you are their teacher both in class and in private sessions, why do you think your tutees need tutoring?
    b. In case your tutees are not your own students from school, why do you think they need tutoring?

4. In case you teach private lessons, are you proud to be a tutor?

5. In your opinion, are your tutored students more likely to pass admission exams?
    a. Is this also the case for most/ some/ all students who get tutoring?
    b. Why is this the case?
    c. Why not the case at least sometimes?

6. What is the approximate percentage of your tutees who need tutoring for "remedial" reasons (bad grades in class; repeat a grade, etc.)? How many of them are your own students?

7. How have students and their parents learnt about your supplementary private tutoring activity? Do you use any (formal/ informal) means of advertisement of your "services"?

8. Do other teachers ever recommend you as a tutor?

9. Do you recommend students (and their parents) teachers who tutor in other subjects?

10. Do you advise students to get a "second opinion" (for instance, more mock tests) from another teacher in the same subject you teach or from a university professor?

11. Did you declare to the authorities that you tutor privately?
    a. If not, why not?
    b. If yes, why did you do so? Did you declare the actual number of students who attend your private classes and the actual "profit" you make from this activity?

Tutoring before and after 1989

12. Did you tutor students before 1989?

13. If yes, can you notice any differences and/or similarities before then and now, regarding your own involvement (also students' involvement/ success rate, etc.) in the private tutoring system?

14. If you did not tutor privately before 1989, what is your perception of any similarities/ differences between the characteristics of the private tutoring system then and now?

15. Since 1989, have you noticed any growth or decline in the number of students who are tutored? Have you noticed any growth or decrease in the number of teachers who tutor?

16. Have you ever been tutored?

    a. If yes, why, when and in which subjects? Do you think it was helpful for you?
    b. If not, why not?

Tutoring during the 1989-1998 Period

17. Did you tutor students between 1989 and 1998?

18. If yes, can you notice any differences and/or similarities before then and now, regarding your own involvement (also students' involvement/ success rate, etc.) in the private tutoring system?

19. If you did not tutor privately before 1998, what is your perception of any similarities/ differences between the characteristics of the private tutoring system then and now?

20. Since 1998, have you noticed any growth or decline in the number of students who are tutored? Have you noticed any growth or decrease in the number of teachers who tutor?

Teachers' "Profession" Status

21. What does it mean to be a good tutor? Is it different from being a good teacher in class?

22. What does it mean for you to be a “professional” teacher?

23. What does it mean for you to be a “professional” tutor?

24. When do you/ others feel more like a profession – in school or in private tutoring?

25. In your opinion, does doing tutoring help to increase or decrease the professional status of teachers as a group?

26. How other members of the society perceive your teaching occupation (in class)?

27. Has the status, remuneration, authority of the occupation of teaching increased or decreased since before 1989/ since 1989-1998 period?

28. How other teachers perceive your tutoring activity? How other members of the society perceive your decision to tutor privately? Do students in your class at school know that you tutor privately and, if yes, how do they perceive your after-school activity?

The Impact of the Secondary Education Reform on Teachers’ Work

29. How, if at all, has the current secondary education reform (started in 1998) affected your work at school?

30. How, if at all, has the current education reform affected your work in the private tutoring system?

31. What do you think about the government’s attempts to “professionalize” teaching?

32. Do you think the current secondary education reform has had any impact on the growth/ decrease of the number of teachers who tutor?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbot, A. (1988). *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Acedo, C. & Popa, S. (2003). "Reforming Romanian Secondary Education in the 1990s". In *International Journal of Education Reform*, Spring 2003.

Adevărul (2006). "Se Poate Ajunge la Liceu şi fără Promovarea Testelor Naţionale". 11 October 2006.

Almishkat (1998). *Capital Accumulation and Development*. Available on-line at: www.almishkat.org

Andor, L. & Summers, M. (1998). *Market Failure: A Guide to the East European Economic Miracle*. London: Pluto Press.

Antohi, S. (2004). "The Post-Communist Generation of Students". In Carey, H. F. (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Apple, M. (1981). "Curriculum Form and the Logic of Technical Control". In L. Barton, R. Meighan & S. Walker (eds.). *Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum*. The Falmer Press.

Apple, M. (1983). "Work, Gender and Teaching". *Teachers College Record*, 84, pp. 611-628.

Apple, M. (1986). *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. (1996). *Cultural Politics and Education*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Apple, M. & Jungck, S. (1996). "You Don't Have to Be a Teacher to Teach This Unit: Teaching, Technology and Control in the Classroom. In A. Hargreaves & M. G. Fullan (eds.) *Understanding Teacher Development*. Teacher Development Series. London: Cassell.

Aronowitz, S. (1973). *False Promise: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Aronowitz, S. (1994). "Radical Democracy: The Situation of the Left in the United States". *Socialist Review*, 23 (3), pp. 5-79.

Ariès, P. & Duby, G. (1991). A *History of Private Life: Riddles of Identity in Modern Times*. Vol. 5. Cambridge, MA; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Bachman, R. D. (ed.) (1989). *Romania: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. Available on-line at: http://countrystudies.us/romania/

Bacon, W. (2004). "Economic Reform". In Carey, H. F. (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Bajada, C. & Schneider, F. (2005). "Introduction". In C. Bajada & F. Schneider (eds.). *Size, Causes and Consequences of the Underground Economy: An International Perspective*. Ashgate.

Baker, D. et al. (2001). "Worldwide Shadow Education: Outside-School Learning, Institutional Quality of Schooling, and Cross-national Mathematics Achievement". *Education, Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 1-17.

Ball, S. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ballet, K., Kelchtermansa, K. & Loughranb, J. (2006). "Beyond Intensification: Towards a Scholarship of Practice: Analysing Changes in Teachers' Work Lives". *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 2006, pp. 209–229.

Baritz, L. (1960). *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Sciences in American History*. New York: Wesleyan University Press.

Barton, L., Meighan, R. & Walker, S. (eds.) (1981). *Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum*. The Falmer Press.

Bassler, T. (2005). "Patterns, Paradoxes, and Puzzles of Education Change in South East Europe". In T. Bassler (ed.). *Learning to Change: The Experience of Transforming Education in South East Europe*. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press.

BBC News (2002a). "Blairs Join Private Tuition Boom". July 5, 2002. Available on-line at: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/2096850.stm

BBC News (2002b). "Private Tuition 'Distorts' Results". July 5, 2002. Available on-line at: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/2098780.stm

Becker, H. (1998). *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think about your Research while Doing It*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Berdahl, D. (2000). "Introduction: An Anthropology of Postsocialism". In D. Berdahl, M. Bunzl & M. Lampland (eds.). *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

Berend, I. T. (1996). *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Beyer, L.E. et al. (1989). *Preparing Teachers as Professionals*. New York: Teachers College Record.

Biswal, B. P. (1999). "Private Tutoring and Public Corruption: A Cost-Effective Education System for Developing Countries". *The Developing Economies*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, pp. 222-40.

Bîrzea, C. (1996). "Educational Reform and Power Struggles in Romania". *European Journal of Education*, 31(1), 97-107.

Bjola, C. (2005). "European Integration and the Politics of Commitment: The Case of Romania". In A. Skuhra (ed.). *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: Efforts and Obstacles on the Way to Membership*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag.

Blackmore, J. (1993). "In the Shadow of Men: the Historical Construction of Educational Administration as a 'Masculinist' Enterprise". In J. Blackmore and J. Kenway (eds.). *Gender Matters in Educational Administration and Policy*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin Press, pp. 27-48.

Blackmore, J. (1995). "Breaking out from a Masculinist Politics of Education". In B. Limerick and B. Lingard (eds.). *Gender and Changing Educational Management*. Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder Education, pp. 44-56.

Blau, P. & Duncan, O. (1967). *The American Occupational Structure*. NY: Free Press.

Boldrin, M. (1992). *Public Education and Capital Accumulation*. Discussion Paper 1017. J.L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, Northwest University.

Bogdan, R. C. & Bicklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Boston Women's Teachers' Group (1983). "The Other End of the Corridor: The Effects of Teaching on Teachers". *Radical Teacher*, (23), pp. 2-23.

Bozoki, A. (1999) (ed). *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press.

Braithwaite et al. (2003). "Charting the Shoals of the Cash Economy". In V. Braithwaite (ed.). *Taxing Democracy: Understanding Tax Avoidance and Evasion*. London, UK: Ashgate.

Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and Monopoly Capitalism: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. Monthly Review Press.

Bray, M. (1996a). *Decentralization of Education: Community Financing*. Directions in Development Series. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Bray, M. (1996b). *Counting the Full Cost: Parental and Community Financing of Education in East Asia*. Directions in Development Series. A collaborative report by the World Bank and the United Nations Children's Fund. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Bray, M. (1999a). *The Private Costs of Public Schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia*. IIEP series: Mechanisms and strategies of educational finance. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP in collaboration with UNICEF.

Bray, M. (1999b). *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners*. Paris: UNESCO; International Institute for Educational Planning.

Bray, M. (2003). *Adverse Effects of Supplementary Private Tutoring: Dimensions, Implications, and Government Responses*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

Bray, M. (2005). "Private Tutoring: Supplementary Function or Conflicting Alternatives". In *Sixty Years of Korean Education: Achievements and Challenges*. Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute.

British Council (2002). *Private Tuition in EYL*. UK: London. Available on-line at: www.britishcouncil.org/english/eyl/private3.htm

Brock, C. (1994). *Education in a Single Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Bush, L. S. (2004). "Trade Unions and Labor Relations". In Carey, H. F. (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Caillods, F. et al. (1998). *La Formation Scientifique au Maroc: Conditions et Options de Politique*. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Canada, Council of Ministers of Education (2000). *Science Learning: The Canadian Context: School Achievement Indicators Program 1999*. Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education.

Carey, H. F. (2004) (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Carnoy, M. (1984). *The State and Political Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Yale University Press.

Carnoy, M. (1986). “Education for Alternative Development”. In M. Apple (ed.). *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology and the State*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Carnoy, M., and Levin, H. (1985). *Schooling and Work in the Democratic State*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Carron, G. & Carr-Hill, R. (1991). *Non-formal Education: Information and Planning Issues*. IIEP Research Report no. 90, International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Castells, M. (1989). *The Information City: Information Technology, and the Urban-Regional Process*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Census (2002). *Recensământul Populației*. (Census). Guvernul României.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2003). *The World Factbook: Romania*. Available on-line at: *https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ro.html#Intro*

Cerych, L. (1997). “Educational Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe: Processes and Outcomes”. *European Journal of Education*, 32(1), 75-96.

Chapman, D. (2002). *Sectoral Perspectives on Corruption. USAID Corruption and the Education Sector*. USAID. Available on-line at: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/ac/sector/education.doc

Chen, L. C. (2002). *Education, Equity, and Security*. Paper presented at the *Education, Equity and Security Workshop*, Kolkata, India, January 2-4, 2002.

Cheng, K.M. (1995). “Education: Decentralization and the Market”. In L. Wong and S. MacPherson, (Eds.). *Social Change and Social Policy in Contemporary China*. Avebury, Aldershot.

Chew, S. & Leong, Y. (eds.) (1995). *Private Tuition in Malaysia and Sri Lanka: a Comparative Study*. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Social Foundations in Education, University of Malaya.

Christian Science Monitor (1998). *When Rote Learning Fails Against the Test of Global Economy*. April 15, 1998. South Korea: Seul.

Ciachir, D. (2006). “Boierii Bunului Simț”. *Ziua*. No.3805/ 13 December 2006.

Ciupagea, C. (2002). “Romania”. In R. Neef & M. Stănculescu (eds.). *The Social Impact of Economies in Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

CNN (2006). "College Instructor Accused of Trading Grades for Cash". December 7, 2006. Available on-line at: http://www.cnn.com/2006/EDUCATION/12/06/grades.for.cash.ap/index.html

Cohen, L., et al. (2000). *Research Methods in Education*. The 5th edition. London and New York: Routledge/ Falmer.

Collins, R. (1979). "The Politics of Professions". In *The Credential Society: A Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*. New York: Academic Press.

Connell, R. (1985). *Teachers' Work*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Connell, R. (1989). "The Labour Process and the Division of Labour". In B. Cosin, M. Flude & M. Hales (eds.). *School, Work and Equality*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Connell, R. (1995). "Transformative Labour: Theorizing the Politics of Teachers' Work". In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *The Politics of Educators' Work and Lives*. London: Garland Publishing.

Constantiniu, F. (2002). "Ecologie culturală: Din nou, despre manualele de istorie. Au cuvântul istoricii" [Cultural Ecology: Again about the History Textbooks. Historians Have the Floor]. *Formula AS*, no. 427, 21-28 August.

Cosin, B., Flude, M. & Hales, M. (eds.) (1989). *School, Work and Equality*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Crişan, A. (2005). "To Change or Not to Change". In T. Bassler (ed.). *Learning to Change: The Experience of Transforming Education in South East Europe*. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press.

Crompton, R. and Jones, G. (1984). *White-Collar Proletariat: Deskilling and Gender in the Clerical Labour Process*. Basingstone: Macmillan.

Crook, S., Pakulski, J., and Waters, M. (1992). *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society*. London; Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Crowther, W. (1998). "Romania". In S. Berglund, T. Hellén & F.A. Aarebrot (eds.). *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Chetenham, UK & Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Čufer, E. (2006). "A Conversation with Călin Dan". SCCA. Ljubljana: Center for Contemporary Arts. Available on-line at: http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/worldofart/english/99/99Călinintang.htm

Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dale, R. (1982). “Education and the Capitalist State: Contributions and Contradictions”. In M. Apple (ed.). *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dale, R. (1989). *The State and Education Policy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Dale R. et al. (1981). *Education and the State: Vol. 2: Politics, Patriarchy and Practice*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Dalin, P. (1998). *School Development: Theories and Strategies: An International Handbook*. New York: Cassell.

Dallago, B. (1990). *The Irregular Economy: The “Underground” Economy and the “Black” Labour Market.* Aldershot, UK: Dartmouth.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1993). “Policy and Professionalism”. In A. Lieberman (ed.). *Building a Professional Culture in Schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Darvas, P. & Nagy, M. (1995). “Teachers and Politics in Eastern Europe”. In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *The Politics of Educators' Work and Lives*. (pp. 207-231). London: Garland Publishing.

Das, J., & Khwaja, A. I. (2002). *Monopolistic Provision of Excludable Public Goods with an Application to Education*. The World Bank. Available on-line at: www.worldbank.org/wbi/B-.pdf

Day, C. (2000). “Stories of Change and Professional Development: The Costs of Commitment”. In C. Day, A. Fernandez, T. E. Hauge & J. Møller (eds.). *The Life and Work of Teachers: International Perspectives in Changing Times*. London and New York: Falmer Press.

de Silva, W. A. (1994). *Extra-school Tutoring in the Asian Context with Special Reference to Sri Lanka*. Maharagama: Department of Educational Research, National Institute of Education.

De Swann, A. (1994). “Perspectives for Transnational Social Policy in Europe: Social Transfers from West to East”. In A. De Swann (ed.). *Social Policy beyond Borders: The Social Question in Transnational Perspective*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 101-115.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) (1998). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Densmore, K. (1987). “Professionalism, Proletarianization and Teachers’ Work”. In T. S. Popkewitz (ed.). *Critical Studies in Teacher Education: Its Folklore, Theory and Practice*. London and Philadelphia: Falmer Press, pp. 130-160.

Der Spiegel (2006). “Are Romania and Bulgaria Ready? New EU Members Score Badly in Corruption Ranking”. November 6, 2006. Available on-line at: http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,446803,00.html

Derber, C. (1982). “Managing Professionals: Ideological Proletarianization and Mental Labor”. In C. Derber (ed.). *Professionals as Workers: Mental Labor in Advanced Capitalism*. Boston, MA: G.K. Hall and Co., pp. 167-208.

Dessy, S. E., St-Amour, P. & Vencatachellum, D. (1998). “The Economics of Private Tutoring”. Cahiers de recherche 9809, Universite Laval, Departement d'economique.

Dimitrova, A. L. (2005). “Europeanization and Civil Service Reform”. In F. Schimmelfennig & U. Sedelmeier (eds.). *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Dore, R. (1976). *The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Drakulic, S. (1997). *Café Europa: Life after Communism*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Dudwick, N. & Shahriari, H. (2000). *Education in Albania: Changing Attitudes and Expectations*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Durkheim, E. (1956, orig. 1922). *Education and Sociology*. New York: Raven Press.

Economist (1999). “Life at the Bottom: Where Reforms Aren’t Working”. 03/20/99, Vol. 350, Issue 8111, p. 10.

Eastman, M. (1926). *Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth*. London: Faber and Gwyer.

Edwards, R. (1979). *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann.

Engvall, R.P. (1997). *The Professionalization of Teaching: Is it Truly Much Ado about Nothing?* Lanham, NY, London: University Press of America, Inc.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1993). “Post-industrial Class Structures: An Analytical Framework”. In G. Esping-Andersen (ed.). *Changing Classes: Stratification and Mobility in Post-Industrial Societies*. London: Sage, pp. 7-31.

Etzioni, A. (1969). *The Semi-Professionals and Their Organizations*. NY: Free Press.

European Commission (2001). *Applicant Countries Eurobarometer*. Available on-line at: http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/epo/aceb_en.html

European Commission (2002). *Applicant Countries Eurobarometer*. Available on-line at: http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/epo/aceb_en.html

Evenimentul Zilei (2006). “Mafia meditațiilor”. 21 Aprilie 2006.

Evenimentul Zilei (2003a). “Meditații ilegale”. 10 Noiembrie 2003.

Evenimentul Zilei (2003b). "Profesori cu tabla în sufragerie". 16 Iunie 2003.

Evenimentul Zilei (2004). "Începe bacalaureatul". June 21, 2004. Available on-line at: http://www.evenimentul.ro/articol/ncepe-bacalaureatul.html

Ferge, Z. (1993). "Winners and Losers after the Collapse of State Socialism". In R. Page and J. Baldock (eds.). *Social Policy Review*. Canterbury: Social Policy Association, pp. 270-287.

Fetterman, D. (1989). *Ethnography Step by Step*. Applied Social Research Methods Series Vol. 17. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Fielding, A. & Portwood, D. (1980). "Professions and the State – Towards a Typology of Bureaucratic Professions". *Sociological Review*, 28 (1), 23-53.

Filson, G. (1988). "Ontario Teachers' Deprofessionalization and Proletarianization". *Comparative Education Review*, 32 (3), pp. 298-317.

Fine, M. (1991). *Framing Dropouts: Notes on the Politics of an Urban Public High School*. Albany: SUNY.

Fontana, A. & Frey, J. H. (1998). "Interviewing: The Art of Science". In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Foondun, A. R. (1992). *Private Tuition in Mauritius: the Mad Race for a Place in a 'Five Star' Secondary School*. Monograph No. 8. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

Foondun, A. R. (1998). "Effects of Poor Sanitation on Private-Tuition Children". Paper presented at the 24th WEDC Conference: Sanitation and water for all, Islamabad, Pakistan, 1998.

Formula AS (2005). "Interviu cu Gheorghe Mihai Bârlea – Mai-marele județului Maramureş". No. 417. Available on-line at: http://www.formula-as.ro/reviste_417__188__.html

Freidson, E. (1983). "The Theory of Professions: The State of the Art". In R. Dingwall & P. Lewis (eds.). *The Sociology of the Professions*. New York: St. Martin's.

Freidson, E. (1986). *Professional Powers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gabór, I. R. (1990). "Second Economy and Socialism: the Hungarian Experience". In E. Feige (ed.). *The Underground Economies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Galal, A. (2002). *The Paradox of Education and Unemployment in Egypt*. The Egyptian Center for Economic Studies (ECES), Egypt: Cairo.

Gallagher, T. (2005). *Modern Romania. The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation*. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press.

Gatej, I. (2006). "Corupția este preferată şi se învață pe băncile şcolii". *Cotidianul*, 28 Jul. 2006.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

George, C. (1992). "About $260 Million a Year Spent on Tutors' Fees". *Straits Times*, 4 April.

Gibson, U. (1992). *Non-Government Expenditure on Education*. Working Paper No.4.3. Education Sector Study Project, Yangon: Myanmar Education Research Bureau.

Giddens, A. (1982). *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Gilbert, T. (1975). *Modernization in Romania since World War II*. New York: Praeger.

Gill, G. (2002). *Democracy and Post-Communism: Political Change in the Post-Communist World*. London & New York: Routledge.

Ginsburg. M. (1987). "Reproduction, Contradiction and Conceptions of Professionalism". In T. Popkewitz (ed.). *Critical Studies in Teacher Education: Its Folklore, Theory and Practice*. London and Philadelphia: Falmer Press, pp. 86-129.

Ginsburg, M. (1988). *Contradictions in Teacher Education and Society: A Critical Analysis*. London: Falmer Press.

Ginsburg, M. (1989). "El process de trabajo y la accion politica de los educators: Un analisis comparado [The Labor Process and Political Action of Educators: A Comparative Analysis]". *Revista de Educacion* (August). (cited by Ginsburg et al., 1991).

Ginsburg, M. (1995). "Contradictions, Resistance and Incorporation in the Political Socialization of Educators in Mexico". In M. Ginsburg, and B. Lindsay (eds.). *The Political Dimension in Teacher Education: Comparative Perspectives on Policy Formation, Socialization and Society*. London, Washington, DC: The Falmer Press.

Ginsburg, M. (1996). "Professionalism or Politics as a Model for Educators' Work and Lives". *Educational Research Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 133-146.

Ginsburg, M., and Cooper, S. (1991). "Educational Reform, the State, and the World Economy: Understanding and Engaging in Ideological and Other Struggles". In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *Understanding Educational Reform in Global Context: Economy, Ideology and the State*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Ginsburg, M., and Lindsay, B. (eds.) (1995). *The Political Dimension in Teacher Education: Comparative Perspectives on Policy Formation, Socialization and Society*. London, Washington, DC: The Falmer Press.

Ginsburg, M. & Spatig, L. (1988). "On Producing a Competency-based Teacher Education Program". In Ginsburg, M. (ed.). *Reproduction, Contradiction and the Socialization of Teachers: A Critical Sociology of Teacher Education*. New York: Falmer.

Ginsburg, M. et al. (1980). "Teachers' Conceptions of Professionalism and Trades Unionism: an Ideological Analysis". In P. Woods (ed.). *Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School*. Croom Helm.

Ginsburg, M. et al. (1988a). "Teachers and the Ideology of Professionalism in India and England: A Comparison of Cases in Colonial/Peripheral and Metropolitan/Central Societies". *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Nov., 1988), pp. 465-477.

Ginsburg, M. et al. (1988b). "Teachers, Economy and the State: An English Example". *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 4 (4), pp. 317-337.

Ginsburg, M et al. (1991). "Educational Reform: Social Struggle, the State and the World Economic System". In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *Understanding Educational Reform in Global Context: Economy, Ideology and the State.* New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Ginsburg, M. et al. (1992). "Educators/Politics". *Comparative Education Review*, November 1992, pp. 417-445.

Ginsburg, M. et al. (2003). "Privatisation, Domestic Marketisation and International Commercialisation of Higher Education: Vulnerabilities and Opportunities for Chile and Romania within the Framework of WTO/GATS". In *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. Vol. 1, no. 3 (November).

Giroux, H. (1988). *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Pedagogy of Learning*. MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Giroux, H. (1992). *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. NY & London: Routledge.

Glenn, C. (1995). *Educational Freedom in Eastern Europe*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Goodson, I. & Hargreaves, A. (eds.) (1996). *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London, Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Gordon, E. E. & Gordon, E. H. (1990). *Centuries of Tutoring: A History of Alternative Education in America and Western Europe*. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America.

Gordon, L. (1992). "Educational Reform in New Zealand: Contesting the Role of the Teacher". *International Studies in the Sociology of Education*, 2(1), pp. 23-42.

Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1972). *The Evolution of a Profession*. Basil Blackwell.

Grace, G. (1985). "Judging Teachers: The Social and Political Context of Teacher Evaluation". *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(1): 3-4.

Grace, G. (1987). "Teachers and the State in Britain: A Changing Relation". In M. Lawn and G. Grace (eds.). *Teachers: the Culture and Politics of Work*. London: Falmer Press.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Gray, D. (2004). *Doing Research in the Real World*. London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Green, A. (1990). *Education and State Formation*. London: Macmillan.

Grossman, G. (1989). "Informal Personal Incomes and Outlays of the Soviet Urban Population". In A. Portes, M. Castells and L. A. Benton (eds.). *The Informal Economy*. Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press, pp. 10-69.

Gutmann, A. (1987). *Democratic Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Haerpfer, C. H. (2002). *Democracy and Enlargement in Post-Communist Europe: the democratisation of the general public in fifteen Central and Eastern European countries, 1991-1998*. London & New York: Routledge.

Halász, G. (Ed.). (1997). *Az oktatás minõsége és az önkormányzati oktatársirányítás* [The quality of education and the governance of schools by local authorities]. Budapest: Okker Kiadó.

Hall, R. A. (2004). "Political Culture in Post-Ceauşescu Romania". In Carey, H. F. (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Hanley, S. (1999). "Book Review: Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe". *Central Europe Review.* Available on-line at: http://www.ce-review.org/99/25/books25_hanley.html

Hargreaves, A. (1992). "Time and Teachers' Work: An Analysis of the Intensification Thesis", *Teachers College Record*, 94(1), 87–108.

Hargreaves, A. (1994a). *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hargreaves, A. (1994b). "Intensification: Teachers' Work – Better or Worse?". In A. Hargreaves (ed.). *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age*. London: Cassell.

Hargreaves, A. & Goodson, I. "Teachers' Professional Lives: Aspirations and Actualities". In I. Goodson & A. Hargreaves (eds.). *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London, Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Hargreaves, E. (1997). "The diploma Disease in Egypt: Learning, Teaching and the Monster of the Secondary Leaving Certificate". *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy and Practice*. Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 161-176.

Harnisch, D. L. (1994). "Supplemental Education in Japan: Juku Schooling and its Implications". *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 323-334.

Harris, K. (1982). *Teachers and Classes. A Marxist Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Harris, K. (1994). *Teachers: Constructing the Future*. Basingstoke: Falmer Press.

Helsby, G., and McCulloch, G. (eds.). (1997). *Teachers and the National Curriculum*. London: Cassell.

Herbst, J. (1989). *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Herzfeld & Rubin (1999). "Ten Years Later". *The Romanian Digest*, vol. 4, no. 12 (December 1999). Available on-line at: www.hr.ro.

Heyneman S.P. (2004). "Education and Corruption". *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24 (2004), pp. 637–648.

Hitchins, K. (1994). *Rumania, 1866-1947*. Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, J. (1995). *Beyond the State: An Introductory Critique*. Cambridge: Policy Press.

Hoffman, N. (1981). *Women's 'True' Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching*. Westbury: Feminist Press.

HotNews (2007). "Cele mai mari salarii la stat". 17 April 2007. Available on-line at: http://www.hotnews.ro/articol_44051-Cele-mai-mari-salarii-la-stat.htm

Hua, H. (1996). *Which Students Are Likely to Participate in Private Lessons or School Tutoring in Egypt? (a Multivariate Discriminant Analysis)*. EdD thesis, Harvard University.

Huberman, A. M. & Miles, M. B. (1998). "Data Management and Analysis Methods". In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hussein, M.G.A. (1987). "Private Tutoring: a Hidden Educational Problem". *Educational Studies in Mathematics*. Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 91-96.

Institutul de Politici Publice (2004). *Romanian Civil Service Barometer*. Bucharest.

Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei. (1999). *Sistem de indicatori ai învăţământului românesc în perspectiva integrării europene*. Agenţia Socrates, Bucharest: Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei: Editura Trei.

Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei and Ministerul Educaţiei Naţionale. (1998). *Sistemul de învăţământ din România*. Bucharest.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2003). *Outstanding Purchases and Loans [between IMF and Romania, 1984-2002]*. Available on-line at: http://www.imf.org

Illich, I. (1973). "The Professions as Form of Imperialism". *New Society*, 25, pp. 633-35.

Jeffries, I. (2002). *Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century: A Guide to Economies in Transition*. London: Routledge.

James, E. (1987). "The Public/ Private Division of Responsibility for Education: An International Comparison". *Economics of Education Review*, 6 (1), 1-14.

James, E. (1993). *Why is There Proportionately More Enrollment in Private Schools in Some Countries?* Working Paper Series 1069, Washington DC: Country Economics Department, The World Bank.

Jedlicki, J. (1999). "Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Volume 32, Number 3, September 1999, pp. 225-232.

Johnson, T. (1972). *Professions and Power*. London: Macmillan.

Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). *Participant Observation*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Jowitt, K. (1992). *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kachur, J. L. (2002). "The Postmodern Prince: Gramsci and Anonymous Intellectual Practice". In C. Borg, J. Buttigieg, P. Mayo (eds.). *Gramsci and Education*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Keane, J. (1988). *Democracy and Civil Society*. London: Verso.

Kenedi, J. (1982). *Do It Yourself: Hungary's Hidden Economy*. London: Pluto Press.

Kim, S. & Lee, J. (2001). "Demand for Education and Developmental State: Private Tutoring in South Korea". *Science Research Network* (March 2001). Available on-line at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=268284 or DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.268284.

King, R. R. (1980). *A History of the Romanian Communist Party*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University.

Klette, K. (2000). "Working-Time Blues: How Norwegian Teachers Experience Restructuring in Education". In C. Day et al. (eds.). *The Life and Work of Teachers: International Perspectives in Changing Times*. London and New York: Falmer Press.

Klugman, J., Micklewright, J., & Redmond, G. (2001). *Fighting Poverty in Transition: Social Expenditures and the Working-Age Poor*. The World Bank/UNICEF.

Konrad, G. & Szelenyi, I. (1979). *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. Brighton: Harvester Press.

Korea Times (2000). "New Horizon: Lifting Ban on Private Tutoring". Available on-line at: http://www.hankooki.com

Korka, M. (2000). "The Reform of Romanian Education (1998-1999)". Position-paper on education, training and skills in the pre-accession countries. Available on-line at: http://www.jrc.es/projects/enlargement/ThematicMeetings/ETS/Meetings/Vienna-99-11/Positionpaper/RomaniaToC.htm

Kotkin, S. & Sajó, A. (eds.) (2002). *Political Corruption in Transition: A Skeptic's Handbook*. Budapest & New York: Central European University Press.

Kovacs, J. M. (2006). "Which Past Matters? Culture and Economic Development in Eastern Europe after 1989". In L. E. Harrison & P. L. Berger (eds.). *Developing Cultures: Case Studies*. New York; London: Routledge.

Koucky, J. (1996). "Educational Reforms in Changing Societies: Central Europe in Period of Transition". *European Journal of Education*, 31(1), 7-24.

Kwan-Terry, A. (1991). "The Economics of Language in Singapore: Students' Use of Extracurricular Language Lessons". *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, Vol. 2, No.1, pp. 69-89.

Kwok, P. (2002). *Patterns & Determinants of Demand for After-school Tutoring Lessons in Hong Kong & Singapore*. Available on-line at: http://www.hku.hk/cerc/ceshk/english/Private_Tutoring.doc

Lampland, M. (1995). *The Object of Labor: Commodification in Socialist Hungary*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Larson, S. M. (1977). *The Rise of Professionalism. A Sociological Analysis*. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.

Larson, S. M. (1980). "Proletarianization and Educated Labor". *Theory and Society*. 9(1), pp. 131-175.

Lassibille, G., Tan, P. & Sumra, S. (1998). "Expansion of Private Secondary Education: Experience and Prospects in Tanzania". Working Paper Series on Impact Evaluation of Education Reforms. Paper no. 12, Development Research Group, World Bank.

Lavoie, D. & Chamlee-Wright, E. (2000). *Culture and Enterprise: The Development, Representation and Morality of Business*. CATO Institute. London & New York: Routledge.

Lawn, M. (1987). *Servants of the State: The Contested Control of Teaching, 1900-1930*. London: Falmer Press.

Lawn, M. (1989). "Being Caught in Schoolwork: the Possibilities of Research in Teachers' Work". In Carr, W. (ed.). *Quality in Teaching: Arguments for a Reflective Profession*. Lewes, Falmer Press, pp. 147-162.

Lawn, M. & Grace, G. (1987). *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work*. London, New York & Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.

Lawn, M. and Ozga, J. (1988). "The Educational Worker? A Reassessment of Teachers". In J. Ozga (ed.). *Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labor Process of Teaching*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 81-98.

Lee, C. (1996). *Children and Private tuition*. Youth Poll Series No. 34. Hong Kong. Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups.

Lee, J. (2001). *Education Policy in the Republic of Korea: Building Block or Stumbling Block?* The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.

Lewis, S. & Dundar, H. (1999). "Equity, Quality and Efficiency Effects on Reform in Turkish Higher Education". *Higher Education Policy*. *The Quarterly Journal of the International Association of Universities*, Vol. 12, no. 4.

Lomnitz, L. A. (1988). "Informal Exchange Networks in Formal Systems: A Theoretical Model". *American Anthropologist*, 90, pp. 42-55.

Los, M. (1992). "From Underground to Legitimacy: The Normative Dilemmas of Post-Communist Marketization". In B. Dallago, G. Ajani & B. Grancelli (eds.). *Privatization and Entrepreneurship in Post-Socialist Countries: Economy, Law and Society*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Lupşa, C. (2006). "Romania Needs to Kick its Habits". *The Christian Science Monitor*. January 9, 2006. Available on-line at: http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0109/p09s02-coop.html

Manea, N. (2004). "Foreword". In Carey, H. F. (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Manipur Online (2002). "Private Tuitions at Public Cost". January 5, 2002. Available on-line at: www.manipuronline.com/Opinions/January2002/privatetutor05_1.htm

Marga, A. (2000). "The Reform of Education in Romania: 1998-2000. Major Actions". Available on-line at: http://www.edu.ro

Marimuthu, T., et al. (1991). "Extra-school Instruction, Social Equity and Educational Quality". Report prepared for the International Development Research Centre, Singapore.

Martin, D. T. (1991). "The Political Economy of School Reform in the United States". In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *Understanding Educational Reform in Global Context: Economy, Ideology and the State*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Marx, K. (1963). *The Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. NY: International Publishers.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1975). *The German Ideology: Collected Works*. Vol. 5. New York: International Publishers.

Maurer, L. (2005). "The Process of the Fifth Enlargement of the European Union". In A. Skuhra (ed.). *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: Efforts and Obstacles on the Way to Membership*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.

Medical Post (2005). "Romania Still has High Abortion Rate". December 20, 2005. Vol. 41, Issue 44. Available on-line at: http://www.medicalpost.com/mpcontent/article.jsp?content=20051218_150608_552

Megahed, N. (2002). "Stratified Teachers, Stratified Students". Proposal PhD Dissertation [unpublished paper].University of Pittsburgh.

Merson, M. (2000). "Teachers and the Myth of Modernisation". *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 48(2), 155–169.

Middle East Times (2002). "Cheating Rampant in School Exams". Issue 26, 2002.

Miller, W., Grødeland, Å, & Koshechkina, T. (2001). *A Culture of Corruption? Coping with Government in Post-Communist Europe.* Budapest & New York: Central European University Press.

Mok, K.H. (1997) "Professional Autonomy and Private Education in Guangdong". *Leeds East Asia Papers*, 41, pp. 1-40.

Mok, K.H., & Wat, K.Y. (1997). "The Merging of the Public and Private Boundary: Education and the Market Place in China". Working paper. City University of Hong Kong. Available on-line at: http://www.cityu.edu.hk/sa/working_paper/wp9703.PDF

Montgomerry, M. et al. (2000). "New Elements of the Cost of Children: Supplementary Schooling in Ghana". The POLICY Project, USAID: The Futures Group International; Research Triangle Institute & The Centre for Development and Population Activities.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2005). "Poland and Romania". In L. Diamond & L. Morlino (eds.). *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Murphy, J. (1990). *Blackboard Unions*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Murphy, J. (1993, April). "What's In? What's Out? American Education in the Nineties". *Phi Delta Kappan*, 74 (8), pp. 641-646.

Neave, G. (1988). "On the Cultivation of Quality, Efficiency and Enterprise: an Overview of Recent Trends in Higher Education in Western Europe 1986-1988". *European Journal of Education*, 23(1-2), pp. 7-23.

Neef, R. (2002). "Observations on the Concept and Forms of the Informal Economy in Eastern Europe". In R. Neef & M. Stănculescu (eds.). *The Social Impact of Economies in Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Sixth edition. Boston et al: Pearson.

Nixon, J. (1995). "Teaching as a Profession of Values". In J. Smyth (ed.). *Critical Discourses on Teacher Development*. London & NY: Cassell.

Nzomo, J., Kaiuki, M., & Guantai, L. (2001). "The Quality of Primary Education: Some Policy Suggestions Based on a Survey of Schools – Kenya". SACMEQ Policy Research Report No. 6, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Obiectiv de Suceava (2006). "Subiecte uşoare la proba de limba şi literatura română din cadrul testelor naţionale". 20 June 2006.

OECD. (1996). *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Czech Republic*. OECD: Paris.

OECD. (2000). *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Romania*. OECD: Paris.

OECD (2001a). *Thematic Review of National Policies for Education: Croatia*.

OECD (2001b). *Thematic Review of National Policies for Education: Serbia*.

OECD (2002). *Thematic Review of National Policies for Education: Moldova*.

Open Society Institute (1999). *School Textbooks in 1999*. Available on-line at: http://www.budobs.org/osi-textbooks.htm.

Open Society Institute (2005). *Monitoring of Private Tutoring*. Summary report available on-line at: http://www.spc.fsf.vu.lt/tutoring/PT_Summary.doc

Ozga, J. (ed.) (1988). *Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching*. Milton Eynes: Open University Press.

Ozga, J. and Lawn, M. (1981).*Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organised Teachers*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Ozgediz, S. (1980). "Education and Income Distribution in Turkey". In E. Ozbudun & A. Uluson (eds.). *The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Turkey*. NY: Holmes & Mayer, Inc.

Pârâianu, R. (2005). "The History Textbooks Controversy in Romania: Five Years On". *Magyar Lettre Internationale* 58 (2005).

Parlamentul României (1972). *Codul muncii* [Labor Code]. Available on-line at: http://www.dorinm.3x.ro/work/legislatie/CodulMuncii1972.html

Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1987). *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation*. Newbury Park. CA: Sage.

Petre, Z. (2006). "Editorial: Din nou despre educație". *Ziua*, 23 iunie 2006.

Philips, D. (1992). "Education and Economic Change in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union". *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education* 2(1). Oxford, United Kingdom: Triangle Books.

Philp, M. (2002). "Political Corruption, Democratization, and Reform". In Kotkin, S. & Sajó, A (eds.). *Political Corruption in Transition: A Skeptic's Handbook*. Budapest & New York: Central European University Press.

Pittaway, M. (2004). *Eastern Europe: 1939-2000*. London: Arnold.

Poirot, C. (1996). "Macroeconomic Policy in a Transitional Environment: Romania". *Journal of Economic Issues*, 30 (4), 1057-75.

Polyzoi, E. and Černá, M. (2001). "A Dynamic Model of Forces Affecting the Implementation of Educational Change in the Czech Republic". *Comparative Education Review*, 454(1), 64-84.

Popa, S. (2002). "Directed Study: Redefining Professionalism: Romanian Teachers and Private Tutoring" [unpublished paper]. University of Pittsburgh.

Popa, S. & Acedo, C. (2006). "Redefining Professionalism: Romanian Teachers and the Private Tutoring System". *International Journal of Education Development*, Volume 26, Issue 1

Popkewitz, T. (1984). *Paradigm and Ideology in Educational Research: The Social Functions of the Intellectual*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Popkewitz, T. (1991). *A Political Sociology of Educational Reform: Power/Knowledge in Teaching, Teacher Education, and Research*. New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Popkewitz, T. (1993). "Professionalization in Teaching and Teacher Education: Some Notes on Its History, Ideology and Potential". *Teaching and Teaching Education*, vol. 10, pp. 1-14.

Popkewitz, T. (1998). *Struggling for the Soul the Politics of Schooling and the Construction of the Teacher*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Popkewitz, T. (2000). "Globalization/Regionalization, Knowledge, and the Educational Practices: Some Notes on Comparative Strategies for Educational Research". In T. Popkewitz (ed.). *Educational Knowledge: Changing Relationships between the State,*

Civil Society, and the Educational Community. New York: State University of New York Press.

Portes, A. (1998). "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology". *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24/ 1, pp. 1-24.

Pravda, A. (2001). "Introduction". In J. Zielonka & A. Pravda (eds.). *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe*. Vol. 2: International and Transnational Factors. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Preda, D. (2006). "Pay Dispute Continues in Education". *European Industrial Relations Observatory*. Available on-line at: http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2004/10/feature/ro0410103f.html

Preda, S. (2006). "Nu renunțați la şcoala pe care o aveți". *Formula AS*, no. 428/ 2006.

Private Tutoring Centers Association [in Turkey]. (2003). http://ozdebir.org.tr

Purvis, J. (1981). "Women and Teaching in the Nineteenth Century". In R. Dale et al. (eds.). *Education and the State: Vol. 2: Politics, Patriarchy and Practice*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Quest Economics Data (1999). *Europe Review World of Information: "Romania: Review 1999"*. (11 November 1999), on LNAU.

Rădulescu, D. (2004). "Assessing Fiscal Policy in Romania with Special Focus on Fiscal Sustainability". In R.S. Hacker, B. Johansson & C. Karlsson (eds.). *Emerging Market Economies and European Economic Integration*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.

Reporter (2001). "Social: Schoolgirl Dropouts".... September 2001, Egypt: Cairo.

Rifaey, T., Murtada, M., & Abd el-Azeem, M. (2002). "Urban Children and Poverty: Child Labor and Family Dynamics: Case Studies in Old Cairo". Paper presented at the *Children and The City* conference, Amman, Jordan, December 11-13, 2002.

Roberston, S. & Woock, R. (1991). "The Political Economy of Educational 'Reform' in Australia". In M. Ginsburg (Ed.). *Understanding Educational Reform in Global Context*. New York: Garland.

Robertson, S. (1994). "Teachers' Labour and Post-Fordism: an Exploratory Analysis". In J. Kenway (ed.). *Economising Education: the Post-Fordist Directions*. Geelong: Deakin University Press, pp. 105-151.

Robertson, S. (1996). "Teachers' Work, Restructuring and Postfordism: Constructing the New 'Professionalism'". In I. Goodson & A. Hargreaves (eds.). *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London, Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Robertson, S. (2000a). *A Class Act: Changing Teachers' Work, the State, and Globalisation*. New York: Falmer Press.

Robertson, S. (2000b). "Teachers' Labour, Social Class and Change: Toward a New Theoretical Framework". *International Studies in the Sociology of Education*. Vol 10 (3), pp. 285-302.

Robertson, S. (2003). "The Politics of Re-Territorialisation: Space, Scale and Teachers as a Professional Class". In H. Athanasaides and A. Patramanis (eds). *Teachers and European Integration*. Athens: Educational Institute, pp. 41-69.

Robilă, M. (2004). "Child Development and Family Functioning within the Romanian Context". In M. Robilă (ed.). *Families in Eastern Europe*. Elsevier.

Rothschil, J. (1989). *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe since World War II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Russell, N. (1997). "Lessons from Japanese Cram Schools". In W. Cummings & P. Altbach (eds.) *The Challenge of Eastern-Asian Education: Lessons from America*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Russinova, Z. (2000). "Changes in the Social Status of Bulgarian Women and Their Organizations during the Transition to a Market Economy". In Iatridis, D. S. (ed.). *Social Justice and the Welfare State in Central and Eastern Europe: The Impact of Privatization*. Westport, CO & London: Praeger.

Sachs, J. (2000). "Rethinking the Practice of Teacher Professionalism". In C. Day, A. Fernandez, T. E. Hauge, J. Møller (eds.). *The Life and Work of Teachers: International Perspectives in Changing Times*. London and NY: Falmer Press.

SaKong, I. (2001). "Utilizing Private Financial Resources for Education Reform". *Korea Focus*, Vol. 9, No. 3. Available on-line at: www.igenet.com/ceo/speech%20texts/ske010406.doc

Salehi-Isfahani, D. (1999). "Labor and the Challenge of Restructuring in Iran". *Middle East Report*, Vol. 28, No. 210, 34-37.

Save the Children (2006). *Romania*. Available on-line at: http://www.salvaticopiii.ro/romania_en/copiii_romania/natalitatea.html

Schimmelfennig, F. & Sedelmeier, U. (2005). "Conclusions". In F. Schimmelfennig & U. Sedelmeier (eds.). *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Schwartz & Jacobs (1979). *Qualitative Sociology*. New York: Free Press.

Serrant, T. D. and McClure, M. W. (2000). "Secondary Education Reform". Policy Briefing Paper. The World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.seryp.org/review/wb.html

Shanker, A. (1989). "Reform and the Teaching Profession". In L. Weis, P. Altbach, G. Kelly, H. Petrie, and S. Slaughter (eds.). Crisis *in Teaching: Perspectives on Current Reforms.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Sik, E. (1994). "From the Multicolored to the Black and White Economy: The Hungarian Second Economy and the Transformation". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 46-70.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.

Sîrbu, A. (2004). "Pe cine au supărat cadrele didactice?". *AlterMedia.info*. 15 Sept. 2004. Available on-line at http://ro.altermedia.info/date/2004/09/15/

Sklair, L. (1995). *Sociology of the Global System*. 2nd edition. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Smyth, J. & Shacklock, G. (1998). *Re-making Teaching: Ideology, Policy and Practice*. London & New York: Routledge.

Smyth, J. et al. (2000). *Teachers' Work in a Globalizing Economy*. London and New York: Falmer Press.

Sockett, H. (1989). "Research, Practice and Professional Aspiration within Teaching". *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. 21 (2), pp. 97-112.

Sokolowski, S. W. (2001). *Civil Society and the Professions in Eastern Europe: Social Change and Organizational Innovation in Poland*. New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moskow: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers.

Stark, D. (1995). "Not by Design: The Myth of Designer Capitalism in Eastern Europe". In J. Hausner, B. Jessop & K. Nielsen (eds.). *Strategic Choice and Path Dependency in Post Socialism in the Transformation Process*. Alershot, UK & Brookfield, US: Edward Elgar.

Stevenson, D. & Baker, D. (1992). "Shadow Education and Allocation in Formal Schooling: Transition to University in Japan". *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 97, No. 6, pp. 1639-1657.

Sultana, R. G. (1995). "A Uniting Europe, a Dividing Education? Euro-centrism and the Curriculum". *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 5(2), 115-144.

Swingewood, A. (1991). *A Short History of Sociological Thought*. Second Edition. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sykes, G. (1987). "Reckoning with the Spectre". *Educational Researcher* (Aug/Sept), 19-21.

Tansel, A. & Bircan, F. (2002). "Demand for Education and Private Tutoring in Turkey". Paper presented at the International Conference on Economics, Ankara, Turkey. September 11-14, 2002.

Tansel, A. & Bircan, F. (2004). *Private Tutoring Expenditures in Turkey*. ERC Working Paper in Economics 04/08. Available on-line at: http://www.erc.metu.edu.tr/menu/series04/0408.pdf

Tall, D. (2006). *Memory's Landscapes: An Autumn in Eastern Europe*. Available on-line at: http://www.deborahtall.com/work6.htm

Taylor, S., Rizvi, F., Lingard, B, and Henry M. (1997). *Educational Policy and the Politics of Change*. London and New York: Routledge.

Tedds, L. (2005). "The Underground Economy in Canada". In C. Bajada & F. Schneider (eds.). *Size, Causes and Consequences of the Underground Economy: An International Perspective*. London, UK: Ashgate.

Tesliuc, E. D., Pop, L. & Tesliuc, C. M. (2001). *Poverty and Social Security System*. Iasi: Polirom.

The East African Standard (2002). "Strike Benefits Private Tuition". October 12, 2002. Kenya: Nairobi. Available On-Line at: alafrica.com/stories/2000210130068.html

The Nation (1995). "Ambitious Students Now Find Intensive Tutorial Courses Essential for Progress". March 6, 1995. Bangkok, Thailand.

The Observer (2002). "Oxbridge Demands End to Quotas". Sunday, July 7, 2002, UK: London.

Therborn, G. (1995). *European Modernity and Beyond: The Trajectory of European Societies 1945-2000*. London: Sage.

Tilly, C. (1992). *Coercion, Capital, and European States: A.D. 990-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Tismăneanu, V. (2004). "Understanding National Stalinism: Legacies of Ceauşescu's Socialism". In H. F. Carey (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society. Lanham*, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Tismăneanu, V. (1997). "Romanian Exceptionalism? Democracy, Ethnocracy, and Uncertain Pluralism in Post-Ceauşescu Romania". In K. Dawisha & B. Parrot (eds.). *Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Torres, A. C. (1991). "State Corporatism, Educational Policies, and Students' and Teachers' Movements in Mexico". In M. Ginsburg (ed.). *Understanding Educational Reform in Global Context: Economy, Ideology and the State*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Torres, A. C. (2000). "Public Education, Teachers' Organizations, and the State in Latin America". In T. Popkewitz (ed.). *Educational Knowledge: Changing Relationships*

between the State, Civil Society, and the Educational Community. New York: State University of New York Press.

Troman, G. (1996). "The Rise of the New Professionals? The Restructuring of Primary Teachers' Work and Professionalism". *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1996), pp. 473-487

Tropp, A. (1957). *The School Teachers*. London: Heinemann.

Tsakonas, F. (2002a). "Private Sector Development in Education in South East Europe: Country Report: Albania". World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.see-educoop.net/portal/id_alb.htm

Tsakonas, F., (2002b). "Private Sector Development in Education in South East Europe: Country Report: Bulgaria". World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.see-educoop.net/portal/id_alb.htm

Tsakonas, F. (2002c). "Private Sector Development in Education in South East Europe: Country Report: Croatia". World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.see-educoop.net/portal/id_rbih.htm

Tsakonas, F. (2002d). "Private Sector Development in Education in South East Europe: Country Report: Romania". World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/private-sector-edu-rom-enl-t05.pdf

Tsukada, M. (1991). *Yobiko Life: A Study of the Legitimation Process of Social Stratification in Japan*. Berkely: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Turner, R. (1971). "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System". In E. Hopper (ed.). *Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems*. London: Hutchinson.

UNDP (1997). *Romania Human Development Report*.

UNDP (1999). *Egypt Human Development Report*.

UNDP (2002). *Arab Human Development Report*.

UNESCO. (2000). *The EFA 2000 Assessment: Country Reports: Romania*. Available on-line at: http://www2.unesco.org/wef/countryreports/romania/rapport_1.html

UNICEF (2006). *Romania*. Available on-line at: http://www.unicef.org/romania/index.html

Vaughan, D. (1992). "Theory Elaboration: The Heuristics of Case Analysis". In C. Ragin & H. Becker (eds.). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Verheijen, T. (2003). "Administrative Reform: Public Administration in Post Communist States". In B. G. Peters & J. Pierre (eds.). *Handbook of Public Administration*. London: Sage.

Wagner, F. P. (2004). "Sonderweg Romania?" In H. F. Carey (ed.). *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.

Wallace, C. & Haerpfer, C. (2002). "Patterns of Participation in the Informal Economy in East-Central Europe". In R. Neef & M. Stănculescu (eds.). *The Social Impact of Economies in Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Walton, J. (1992). "Making the Theoretical Case". In C. Ragin & H. Becker (eds.). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weber, M. (1946, orig. 1919). *Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. (1978, orig. 1922). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wijetunge, S. (1994). "Some Psychological Aspects of the Private Tuition System". *Economic Review*, vol. 20, no. 2-3, pp. 15-17.

Wilensky, H. (1975). *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Williams, C. (2004). *Cash-in-hand Work: the Underground Sector and the Hidden Economy of Favours*. Palgrave Macmillan.

World Bank (1995a). Equity *Issues in Public Examinations in Developing Countries*. Technical Paper No. 272. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (1995b). "Retaining Teaching Capacity in African Universities: Problems and Prospects". *Findings: Africa Region*, No. 39, May 1995.

World Bank (1996a). *Bangladesh: Education Expenditure Review*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. (1996b). *Reform of Higher Education and Research Project*. Report No. 15525-RO. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (1999a). *Education in the Middle East and North Africa: A Strategy towards Learning for Development*. Human Development Sector. MENA region.

World Bank (1999b). *Sector Study on Education Finance in Rural Education in Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay*. Report no. 19066, February, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. (1999c). *Education Sector Strategy*. Washington DC: World Bank. Available on-line at: http://www.worldbank.org.pl/html/ess.html

World Bank. (2000a). *Improving Education and Reforming Education Systems in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*. Available on-line at: http://www.worldbank.org/eca.nsf

World Bank. (2000b). *Education and Learning*. Working Paper.

World Bank (2001a). *Diagnostic Surveys of Corruption in Romania*. Available on-line at: http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/romenglish.pdf

World Bank (2001b). *World Development Report*. Available on-line at: www.worldbank.org/povert.pdf

World Bank (2002a). *EFA: The Lessons of Experience: The Impact of Policy in 20 Case Study*. Prepared for the Accelerating Action Towards EFA Conference, Amsterdam, April 2002.

World Bank (2002b). *Romania: Key Social and Economic Indicators*. Available on-line at: http://www.worldbank.org.ro/ECA/Romania.nsf

World Values Study Group (1994). *World Values Survey*. 1981-1984 and 1990-1993. [computer file], Ann Arbor: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Zeng, K. (1999). *Dragon Gate: Competitive Examinations and their Consequences*. London, UK: Cassell.

Zeng, K. & LeTendre, G. (1998). "Adolescent Suicide and Academic Competition in East Asia". *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 513-528.

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.