From the peripheral to the transboundary: Documenting the lived experiences of students and parents with online math tutoring services.

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Abstract

Tutoring services have experienced exponential increases in enrollment in Canada, with Ontario alone witnessing a 60% increase in enrollment from 1996 to 2000 (see Aurini & Davies, 2004). While Canadian research has documented organizational changes (Aurini & Davies, 2004; Aurini, 2006) and parents' motives to enroll in tutoring services (Davies, 2004; Gale, 2016), the lived experiences of students with tutoring services are notably absent from the literature to date. In response, the current study investigates the experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring services ($n = 3$) and their parents ($n = 2$). The extent to which their participation in tutoring demonstrates "transboundary learning" (Kim & Jung, 2019b) is also examined in response to claims that tutoring services represent mainly peripheral learning environments as opposed to a core part of students' learning (Aurini & Davies, 2013). Guided by a poststructuralism theoretical framework, the study employs qualitative methods to respond to three questions: (1) What are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa (Ontario, Canada)? (2) What are parents' motives for seeking private tutoring services? and (3) How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school)? Data from semi-structured interviews with high school students and their parents are analyzed using thematic analysis and interpreted using a Transboundary Learning framework (Kim & Jung, 2019b). Findings reveal key characteristics of transboundary learning in participants' math tutoring contexts, suggesting a shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling from peripheral to transboundary learning, whereby, tutoring is not regarded as peripheral as it has been in the literature to date. These findings are discussed in light of the noteworthy influence of tutoring over students' learning and schooling, and the potential for more inequalities in education.

Chapter One: Introduction and literature review

Tutoring services have experienced exponential increases in enrollment in Canada, with Ontario alone witnessing a 60% increase from 1996 to 2000 (see Aurini & Davies, 2004). While Canadian research has documented institutional changes (Aurini, 2006; Davies & Aurini, 2004) and enrollment motives (Aurini, 2004; Gale, 2016), the lived experiences of students in tutoring centres are notably lacking; aside from a few exceptions that examined Asian students and families' perspectives with tutoring in British Columbia (See Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003). The current study seeks to fill the gap in empirical research by documenting the lived experiences of high school students receiving tutoring support from online tutoring services in Ottawa (Ontario), Canada.

Thesis and Format

This dissertation is presented in the thesis by article format and is organized into three chapters: introductory, the article, and conclusions chapters. This introductory chapter situates the study in the field of tutoring and introduces the reader to the topic to justify the current focus. I begin by situating the study in the field of tutoring and introducing key arguments on conceptualizations, parental motives, and students' lived experiences. Literature discussed in this section will provide the reader with background information on the state of research in the field of tutoring and where the current study fits and contributes. The second half of this chapter will introduce the theoretical framework guiding the study's design and the method adopted. I conclude this chapter with the data collection and analysis approaches followed in the study. Following the introductory chapter is a scholarly article where the findings are reported in a format ready for journal publication. Finally, the conclusions chapter expands on key findings and presents implications and global takeaways.

Rationale and Positionality

As part of my MA coursework, I came across a publication by Kim and Jung (2019a), entitled *Conceptualizing shadow curriculum: Definition, features and the changing landscapes of learning cultures.* At first, I was quite intrigued by the title, and then by the field of tutoring. I started reading on the topic in the Canadian context, and I was particularly interested in what students thought about tutoring. When exploring any topic, I am always interested in learning

about children and youth perspectives. I came to this position from my Child Studies degree, where the focus was always on the importance of children's and youth's voices, and our role as researchers in challenging their marginalization in research and public discussions. My position on a child's role in research influenced my undergraduate thesis, which documented refugee students' lived experiences in schools. The overarching goal of the current study is to carry on my desire to include youth and children's voices in research – in this case, the research on tutoring services.

Statement of Problem

The current study responds to three separate (but connected) problems related to tutoring in the Canadian context, namely, (1) lack of research on student voice in tutoring contexts, (2) the absence of qualitative research on tutoring for mathematics; and (3) gaps in the literature as they pertain to the characterization of tutoring as a form of "transboundary learning." First, research on tutoring is evident in Canada, with scholars investigating the changing structure of tutoring services (Aurini, 2006; Davies & Aurini, 2004) and motives to enroll in tutoring services (Davies, 2004; Gale, 2016). In these inquiries, the perspectives of franchise owners (Aurini, 2006; Davies & Aurini, 2004) and parents (Aurini et al., 2020; Davies, 2004; Gale, 2016) were documented, with limited inclusion of student input (Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003). Knowledge, claims, and characterizations of tutoring should be informed by students' lived experiences, in order to build a holistic understanding of tutoring services. However, while students are most impacted by tutoring services, their voices have not been of primary focus in research on tutoring services in Canada. The current study is viewed as a platform for students to share their perspectives on tutoring and have their voices heard, in line with Cook-Sather (2006) who argues that sharing one's voice means "having presence, power, and agency" in addition to being "heard and counted by others, and, perhaps, to have an influence on outcomes [of research]" (p. 363).

Second, many students attend tutoring to prepare for standardized testing (Gale, 2016; Hajar, 2018), with math, in particular, being one of the top subjects sought for tutoring (Gale, 2016; Kim, Paik & Ihm, 2016). To date, the research on math tutoring in Canada has been limited to quantitative pretest/posttest study designs examining students' mathematics

performances before and after taking part in tutoring services (Would, 2010). The current study will contribute a more in-depth qualitative perspective to previous inquiries on math tutoring in Canada (i.e., Would, 2010), particularly as it pertains to the student perspective.

Lastly, two leading Canadian scholars in the field of tutoring recently argued that tutoring in Canada plays a "peripheral" role in students' lives (Aurini & Davies, 2013). Recently, Kim and Jung (2019a) argued that tutoring and schooling are in fact transforming into "transboundary learning" spaces, in which students choose, combine and blur different forms of learning (e.g., private supplementary education) in their pursuit of academic success. In this new culture of learning, student academic learning is no longer limited to occurring only in the context of formal schooling. With the increased numbers of tutoring centres in Canada (Aurini, 2008; Davies & Aurini, 2004) there is a need for research exploring the existence of Kim and Jung's argument in the Canadian context, specifically the potential impact of tutoring on student learning and educational policy and practice. Emphasizing student voices within a transboundary learning framework will facilitate a focus on the relationships between people and institutions (in this case schools and tutoring services), and avoid the oversimplification of student voices as "equal to an individual, as single and uncomplicated" (Cook-Sather, 2006, p. 365).

This research responds to these problems by investigating Ontario high school students' and parents' perspectives related to the emerging conceptualization of school-tutoring contexts as "transboundary learning spaces." In centring the voices of Ontario high school students and parents on tutoring for math, this study offers an insider perspective on the recent debate in the Canadian field (i.e., tutoring as peripheral) and contributes to the limited empirical data on the emerging "transboundary learning" concept.

Literature Review

In this section, I situate the study in the field of tutoring. While both international and national studies will be reviewed, the emphasis will be on the Canadian context. First, I start with a review of the literature on the conceptualization of tutoring in Canada. Second, I introduce the concept of parentocracy and its relevance to debates on parental motives and tutoring decisions

with a particular focus on its role in creating inequalities. Third, I offer a review of studies that have documented students' lived experiences with tutoring services and where the few Canadian studies stand in this domain. Finally, I discuss research on math tutoring, which highlights a glaring methodological gap in Canadian inquiry in this area.

Tutoring in Canada

Research on shadow education (i.e., the commonly used term for tutoring in literature outside North America) began as recently as the 1990s, even though the phenomenon existed prior to that (Bray, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2020). To begin this section, I clarify what scholars deem to be "tutoring", drawing primarily from the work of lead Canadian scholars on this topic (i.e., Aurini & Davies, 2004, 2006, 2013). Then, I review the existing Canadian literature on tutoring to clarify definitions, unique characteristics and researchers' key claims.

Conceptualizations of Tutoring

Supplemental education has several terms in the literature, such as shadow education (Bray, 2017; Chan & Bray, 2014; Javadi & Kazemirad, 2020; Malik, 2017; Stevenson & Baker 1992), private tutoring (Hajar, 2018), learning centres (Aurini & Davies, 2004), and after-school programs (Lim, 2010). Private tutoring has been defined as any "fee-based tutoring in academic subjects that is in addition to the provision by formal schooling" (Hof, 2014, p. 347). Studies in Asia, where tutoring is most evident, refer to it as "shadow education" (Bray, 2017; Chan & Bray, 2014; Javadi & Kazemirad, 2020). The name is given because this form of tutoring shadows the schooling system in structure and objectives (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

A common issue in the field concerns the conceptualization of the term 'tutoring' (Bray, 2014; Malik, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2020). Authors either use the terms to mean different things or fail to clarify the concept they are using (Bray, 2014; Malik, 2017). This is problematic as "clarifying supplementary education-related terms and their meanings is crucial to the research endeavor because how the phenomenon is discussed and debated relies upon what each of these concepts encompasses and where these concepts may be limited" (Wiseman, 2013, p. xi). Reflecting on the state of the research, Malik argued that "the field seems to be building more floors upwards before looking at the foundations and strengthening it" (2017, p. 19).

Canadian Conceptualizations

Shadow education does not exist in the Canadian context because it cannot prosper in this unique educational structure (Bray, 2017; Davies & Aurini, 2004, 2013). Unlike other contexts in the world, the Canadian educational system varies by province and does not employ a unified educational approach (Bray, 2017; Davies & Aurini, 2013). More importantly, in Canada, there are no high-stakes entrance exams for university that typically necessitate an academic advantage, as is the case of the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) in the United States (USA) (Aurini, 2008; Buchmann, Condron & Roscigno, 2010). Further, Canadian universities have a "flat stratification system" (Aurini et al., 2020, p. 173), limiting competition over certain universities. Davies and Aurini lead the work on tutoring in Canada and offer important insights relevant to the Canadian educational context. Key findings from their work will be discussed in this section.

Davies and Aurini (2004; 2006) investigated the changing format of tutoring businesses into franchises in Ontario, arguing that "franchises are the main force driving the dramatic transformation of Canada's tutoring industry" (2006, p. 128). In this franchised climate, some tutoring services label themselves as "learning centers" (p. 421), to emphasize their scope as being outside of the constraints of academics (i.e., government-implemented curriculum) evident in the shadow education (Aurini & Davies, 2004; Bray, 2017). In fact, there are many differences between shadow education and the type of supplementary services common in Canada.

In their 2004 study, Davies and Aurini interviewed 21 tutoring franchise owners to highlight the dynamics in tutoring franchises. Data from transcripts were organized into six areas through which the authors outlined the differences between what the international literature refers to as "shadow education" and the "learning centres" form of tutoring evident in Canada. The results identified distinctive characteristics of learning centres. For example, learning centres develop their own curricula and go beyond academics and into developing interpersonal skills, for example becoming school-like as opposed to a supplement. They also offer short-term support in contrast to shadow education, which follows the schools' curriculum and offers long-term support throughout the academic year. Davies and Aurini (2004), conclude by arguing

that although tutoring in Canada is transforming into “learning center” franchises, they are not turning into a “shadow education” form of tutoring despite overlapping objectives.

Two years later, Davies and Aurini (2006) produced an additional publication with added insights into the tutoring field in Canada. Besides discussing the organizational and economic dimensions, the authors expanded their inquiry into examining the instructional and pedagogical aspects present in the Canadian supplementary education system. Findings showed that Canadian learning centres do not follow the one-on-one approach seen in shadow education; rather, tutors work with several students simultaneously. These centres are not constrained by school curriculum and deadlines. Furthermore, “shadow education tends to be goal specific and task-oriented” (Davies & Aurini, 2006, p. 125), while learning centres offer a variety of services such as skill development and are not limited to school-aged students (Davies & Aurini, 2006).

While investigating the position of tutoring centres in relation to other institutions in society, Aurini (2006) employed a mixed-methods design to examine how tutoring centres are situated in Canada, collecting data from policy documents, websites, interviews and observations. Aurini found that tutoring centres were an example of ‘legitimation projects’ in their attempt to establish a space in the Canadian educational context. In other words, tutoring centres were able to assert legitimacy in the learning market by asserting confidence in the uniqueness of their services; for example, their ability to enhance students’ self-esteem and respond to parents demands which “resonate with more recent cultural narratives that construct individualized programs and ‘nurturing’ as highly desirable and effective features of education organizations” (p.106).

To avoid repeating the issue of lack of conceptual clarity, both Bray (2014) and Malik (2017) emphasize an author’s responsibility to define the term early on in the study and outline any inclusion and exclusion aspects. With this in mind, and considering the Canadian literature reviewed above, I purposely use the term ‘tutoring services’ here because this study investigated students' experience with online tutoring, either as a result of COVID restrictions or because they were using a fully online tutoring service. I believe the term “tutoring centres” (or learning centres as referred to by Canadian scholars) implies a physical space thus is not relevant in the

current study. Therefore, I adopt the term "tutoring services" in this study to capture three tutoring-related characteristics previously established in the literature (Bray, 2014; Malik, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2020). First, the service must be private, meaning that a fee is required to obtain the service. Second, the service is supplementary to mainstream schools and is not offered during school hours or as a part of school activity. Third, as will be discussed in the following section, while tutoring offers various services in Canada, the focus of this study is on their academic services, specifically supporting students in mathematics.

According to Aurini (2008), "all research suggests that we are witnessing the birth of a tutoring revolution in Canada" (p. 93). However, taken together, the focus of Canadian research has been broadly on business models and organizational structures of tutoring services and less on the people most impacted by these learning spaces (i.e., students and parents). In the following section, I will discuss literature that includes parents' perspectives on tutoring services.

Parentocracy

In this section, I review the literature on parents' motives for seeking tutoring services for their children. I start by introducing and defining the term "parentocracy" and its positioning in research on tutoring as a critical component in the expansion of the industry. In line with Canadian scholars Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton (2016), parentocracy is evident in the Canadian context and is a critical component in understanding middle-class parents' educational choices, and most notably for this study, their decisions to enroll their children in tutoring. Following a discussion of the educational policies influencing parentocracy in Canada (and Ontario specifically), I conclude by outlining the impacts of parentocracy on equity and access as researched in both international and Canadian contexts.

The concept of "parentocracy" was coined by Brown in 1990 as the dominant ideology of the 'third wave' in education in the United Kingdom (UK) at the time. These waves capture the dominant socio-political discourse of education across different time periods in the UK. In the first wave, education and schooling were tools to maintain the social and gender divide. During the second wave, education transformed into being offered equally based on achievement and merit. Arguments grew over how the education offered in the second wave caused a decline in educational standards, limiting families' freedom of choice and leading to the high

unemployment of youth from the 1980s (Brown, 1990). These arguments fueled the transformation of the educational field into a free market. As a result, parental freedom of choice became possible, with the family's socioeconomic status as the determiner of the extent and quality of educational choices available to their children. This new educational environment is referred to by scholar Phillip Brown (1990) as the parentocracy wave. Although the term is reflective of the UK's educational system, Brown argued that similar patterns were evident in other developed nations. As I discuss in the following sections, parentocracy has been documented in Canada and elsewhere, as is evident in changing educational policies encouraging parental choice in both tutoring and in the overall privatization of education.

Educational Policies

Brown (1990) characterizes the rise of parentocracy as a consequence of policies allowing free market, freedom of choice and opportunities for parents to choose educational advantages for their children. This connection between neoliberal policies on privatization and increased parental choice was documented in Shanghai (Zhang & Bray, 2016). This is evident in Canada's educational policies, as "parental involvement has not only increased but also has been institutionalized" (Aurini, 2004, p. 483). Parents' socioeconomic status, level of involvement, and membership in a dominant group in society were all found to be positively correlated to school choice activities (Davies & Aurini, 2011). Similar policies are present in other provinces, such as the Manitoba School Choice Policy, and at the national level, such as the French Immersion systems, both examples of policies that allow freedom of choice, thus, encourage parentocracy (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016). As a business, tutoring services are responding to the political shifts shaping consumers' demands and driven by parentocracy (Aurini, 2004; Hallsén, 2018).

In Sweden, Hallsén (2018) positions Private Supplementary Tutoring (PST) as a policy enactment that changes and molds in response to the present educational policy. Tutoring services were marketing themselves in a way that aligned with government policies emphasizing parents' involvement and responsibilities towards child's education. Through analyzing parent consumer narratives from three tutoring websites, the authors demonstrate how in all three

documented narratives, the parents were portrayed as struggling and in need of help, and the tutor positioned as having a role that cannot be fulfilled by the parents nor the school. Hence, demonstrating parental need to support their children through private tutoring (Hallsén, 2018). Similarly, in Canada, Davies, Aurini and Quirke (2002) reveal that parents' role in child's education has changed, with parents being more involved in educational choices. As a result, parents are demanding more individualized and customized learning opportunities; these motives were also reported in later inquiry [e.g., Aurini (2004)]. Tutoring services are responding to this need by advertising individualized services to students, thus, garnering their legitimacy and making parents potentially disregard their lack of educational credentials (Aurini, 2006). Similar findings were reported in Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003); and in a larger cross-national study encompassing 41 nations (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre & Wiseman, 2001). In addition to market-related evidence, recent arguments (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016) and empirical evidence (Aurini et al., 2020; Aurini & Davies, 2013; Davies, 2004; Davies & Aurini, 2008) suggest that parentocracy is present in Canada, as will be discussed in the following discussions.

Canada

The increased number of tutoring centres in Canada indicates the growing presence of 'parentocracy.' This exact term is not used universally; instead, authors are using terms such as 'parent engagement' or 'involvement' to refer to parentocracy (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016). In the current study, I purposely use the term because I wish to refer to the phenomenon and associated political and societal dimensions as opposed to using terms that imply individual actions which are disconnected from the socio-political educational reality. Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton (2016) argue the relevance of the term to understanding Canadian middle-class parents' educational logic, in addition to their motives for pursuing tutoring services. Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton (2016) expand on Brown's 1990 original conceptualization by adding Annette Lareau's (2003) 'concerted cultivation' as an additional dimension.

'Concerted cultivation' is the term coined by Annette Lareau (2003) to refer to the distinctive child-rearing practices of American middle-class parents and their active role in all aspects of their child's life. Such parents engage in a variety of activities to support their child's

cognitive development and educational trajectory and they show their engagement by challenging educational authority, collectively applying pressure with other parents to demand certain options for their children and mobilizing resources to their child's advantage. As a result, children from middle-class backgrounds move to the working world with feelings of entitlement and key abilities to interact with institutions and authority figures to their advantage (Lareau, 2003). Barret DeWiele and Edgerton argue that concerted cultivation involves parental choices and therefore should be considered as a facet of parentocracy. A study in Singapore confirmed the existence of these extended conceptualizations of parentocracy in the context of private tutoring centres (Tan, 2017). Evidence was also present in Canada (Davies & Aurini, 2008; Davies, 2004).

In an edited chapter, Davies and Aurini (2008) report on their mixed method study investigating the reasons behind the increase in school choice activities in Canada. The authors aimed to reveal the type of parents that engage in such activities and their logic. In 2005, surveys and follow-up focus groups from a national study of 2000 Canadian parents and follow-up focus groups with parents and teachers were conducted (Davies & Aurini, 2008). The survey recorded parents' demographic information, involvement in child education, and attitudes towards school choice. Focus groups narrowed on identifying participants' attitudes towards issues motivating choice (market forces, consumers, or social class influence). Findings reveal that parents who engaged in and expressed favorable views of school choice were more involved in their child's education and came from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds in comparison to parents who did not engage in those activities. Findings demonstrate that parents' rationale for supporting educational choices supported the presence of concerted cultivation. These parents argued that they have a role to challenge school authority if it does not fit with their view on what works best for a child's education, and, when necessary, chose different educational options when needs are not met. They viewed schools as responsible for responding to parents' needs, and that parents are entitled to an education that aligns with their aspirations for their child. Therefore, the authors argue that school choice activities are part of concerted cultivation, as choice involves proactive decisions by parents to willingly search for the best educational opportunities for their children.

Davies (2004) offers further support for the presence of concerted cultivation in relation to education in a study of the reasons behind the increase in tutoring services in Canada. In this study, the scope moved from franchise owners' view on tutoring business to parents' motives in enrolling their children in private tutoring services. The data on parental motives were collected from a national survey on attitudes towards education and a review of the literature on school choice. Davies maintains that parents who hired tutors had higher income, educational background, were mostly white and have overall favorable views of private schools and homeschooling as opposed to parents who do not seek tutoring. Using statistical analysis, Davies confirmed this hypothesis and proposes two reasons for the expansion of tutoring centres in Canada: competition culture and institutionalization of schooling (p. 250), which are both facets of parentocracy (Brown, 1990), particularly the new conceptualization by Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton (2016). As explored below, in contrast to Davies (2004), recent publications challenge the inclusion of 'concerted cultivation' as an aspect of parentocracy present in Canada (Aurini et al., 2020; Aurini & Davies, 2013).

Interviews with middle/upper-class parents' documenting their logics for deciding child's after-school activities in Ontario indicate that due to Canada's Higher Education (HE) "flat stratification system" (Aurini et al., 2020, p. 173), parents' logics for choosing after school activities are not stratification- oriented but rather focused on other factors, such as students' enjoyment of the after-school activity. This logic was evident during interviews, specifically when parents discussed their child's future after school. Parents did not discuss the importance of competition or view their children as developing projects (both key components of concerted cultivation). Instead, they expressed openness to different pathways for their children. A few years prior, this finding was documented by Aurini and Davies (2013) who conclude through policy documents and secondary data analysis that supplementary education in Canada has a "peripheral position" in the Canadian schooling system and society (p. 156). They discuss how Canadian parents identify the absence of globally high-ranking universities and entrance exams in Canada as reducing their motivation to use tutoring services for their children. Participating parents also viewed schools as the primary source of learning whilst also expressing satisfaction with schools' and teachers' performance, which reduced their perceived need for tutoring in their

lives. These findings coincide with smaller Canadian studies reporting parental dissatisfaction with schooling as a primary motive for seeking tutoring services (Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003).

In conclusion, evidence on whether concerted cultivation drives Canadian middle-class parents' educational logic is inconsistent, with some researchers documenting its existence (Barrett & Edgerton, 2016), while others do not (Aurini et al., 2020). Nevertheless, the core concept of parentocracy (i.e., parent choice and free-market education [Brown, 1990]) has been well studied and recorded in Canada (Davies, 2004; Davies & Aurini, 2008), particularly as a drive for tutoring (Aurini, 2004; Barrett & Edgerton, 2016; Davies, 2004). The current study adds contemporary data on the presence of parentocracy, and specifically to the divide on concerted cultivation. Parentocracy in this study is not only presented as a lens through which to understand parental motives in relation to tutoring but is also seen as a dimension through which to highlight inequality, because as argued by Brown (1990) and recent scholars "parentocracy creates inequalities amongst the different social classes and can be seen as a force of status-quo maintenance" (Barrett & Edgerton, 2016, p. 206). Arguments on the link between parentocracy and inequality will be outlined in the following section.

Inequalities and Access

As education becomes further driven by privatization and free-market logic, parents are positioned through educational policies and tutoring advertisements as the main decision-makers when it comes to a child's educational choices, with policymakers being left outside the conversation. School choice supporters argue that "eliminating public schools' monopoly status will lead to greater equality of choice for parents, improved student performance and greater cost-effectiveness for all" (Aurini, 2004, p. 476). However, research suggests that these claims are far from reality - what parentocracy creates is a context where parents' socioeconomic status determines the child's educational trajectories (Brown, 1990; Barrett & Edgerton, 2016; Tan, 2017). Children from working-class socioeconomic status backgrounds will have access to fewer opportunities, which in turn will determine their professional career and their ability to move up the social ladder; these inequalities, specifically in tutoring contexts, have been documented in many countries including the US (Buchmann et al., 2010), Japan (Stevenson & Baker, 1992),

China (Chu, 2015), UK (Hajar, 2018), Turkey (Atalmis, Yilmaz & Saatcioglu, 2016), Spain (Runte-Geidel & Marzo, 2015), Israel (Addi‐Raccah, 2019), Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003); And Canada (Davies, 2004). Here, I explore the international literature and conclude with Canadian findings related to the inequality of access.

International Evidence

In the United States, Buchmann et al. (2010) identify a correlation between family background and the use of more expensive and higher-quality SAT preparation tools. Families with higher socioeconomic status afforded expansive SAT preparation options for their children, such as private tutors, which resulted in higher SAT scores and enrollment in selected colleges in comparison to students from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds. Similarly, in Spain, socioeconomic status, parental employment, and educational level were all associated with the use of shadow education (Runte-Geidel & Marzo, 2015). Similar findings were recorded in Turkey (Atalmis et al., 2016), China (Chu, 2015), and Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003) where parents from high socioeconomic status backgrounds were able to afford the most expensive forms of tutoring services (i.e., one-on-one tutoring). Investigating students' attitudes towards school and tutors in Israel, Addi‐Raccah (2019) concludes that for students from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds, any social shortcomings from their classroom teacher (e.g., the socio-affective role of teachers), was mitigated by their relationship with the tutor, detailing the unequal advantage tutoring offers. This advantage was not available to students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Hence, private tutoring is "an additional means by which high SES [socioeconomic status] parents compensate for their children's deficit in public schools" (Addi‐Raccah, 2019, p. 956). In addition to socioeconomic status, the family's cultural capital was also found to be related to tutoring use. A review of 17 nations' use of tutoring in relation to family capital (i.e., availability of books at home, parent occupation, etc.) revealed that the higher the level of cultural capital the higher the family's use of supplementary education (Southgate, 2013). In this way, tutoring becomes more than academic support and instead "serves as a form of social reproduction" (Southgate, 2013, p. 254).

Inequalities are not only evident in survey data (Buchmann et al., 2010); Hajar (2018) reveals through semi-structured interviews in the UK that students who attended tutoring centres were aware of the inequalities created by attending the services. Students in the study viewed tutoring as creating unequal competition for standardized exams; they further detailed the advantage private tutoring (PT) offers them, which puts them unfairly ahead of their counterparts who did not attend PT (Hajar, 2018). The author also highlights that the schools located in higher socioeconomic neighborhoods had more students attending PT services, as opposed to schools in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods (Hajar, 2018). In Japan, Stevenson and Baker (1992) reveal the chain effect of these advantages documented through interview data. Students in this study had higher chances of accessing the most prestigious universities in Japan in contrast to their counterparts (i.e., students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds), as a result of PT services.

Canada

As explained by Aurini and Davies (2004), tutoring services are expanding in Canada as profitable franchises, reinforcing a context in which "education is a marketable service," and competition is encouraged (Bray, 2017, p. 490). Bray (2017) further explains how this changing view of education imposed by increasing supplementary services, widens inequalities, as "market forces tend to reinforce inequalities since high-income families can purchase more and better supplementary education than can low-income counterparts" (p. 480). In Canada, parents who seek tutoring largely have high socioeconomic status, advanced educational backgrounds, and are white (Davies, 2004). For this group of parents, tutoring has become a core competitive strategy and one that is affordable relative to other private alternatives (Davies, 2004). This, coupled with recent survey reports indicating that 25% of Canadian parents and 24% of Ontario parents have used tutoring to support their child's education (Aurini, 2008, p. 93), point to a need to learn more about Canadian parental motives to seek tutoring services.

In addition, parentocracy is increasing inequalities through the deregulation of education (Brown, 1990) caused by the increasing demand for tutoring services. Formal schooling in Canada is regulated and monitored by provincial/territorial governments, with standardized tests (such as EQAO) being used to evaluate the curriculum, teaching performance and to maintain

accountability between schooling institutions. However, tutoring services are not subject to such accountability evaluations:

> Countries with regulations tended to focus more on the business side (registration, contracts, taxation, etc.) and safety (fire escapes, toilets, etc.) than on educational matters such as curriculum and tutors' qualifications. (Bray, 2017, p. 480)

This reality is evident in the UK (Hajar, 2018) and in Canada, specifically in Ontario (Aurini, 2008). Bray (2017) explains that this kind of neglect could be due to policymakers being constrained in terms of expertise and ability to be more involved in tutoring services, and an overall assertion of tutoring as being one of "the least understood education phenomena of the contemporary era" (p. 486). As a result, Bray argues that such constraints and lack of clarity could lead to further problems related to consumers struggling to evaluate the impact of tutoring services adequately. More importantly, "without regulation or affiliations with educational bodies, the act of education becomes consumer, rather than expert, driven" (Aurini, 2004, p. 484). In response, findings from the current study will potentially offer insight into the important role of tutoring in students' educational journey, and as a result, motivate an increased attention towards this educational sector.

Conclusion

Parentocracy is changing the educational landscape worldwide and specifically in Canada. Parents have expanding freedom of choice in a privatized marketplace and tutoring services are flourishing in response to parents' changing needs. Although parents have the right to decide on their children's educational opportunities, when these choices create inequalities the value and purpose of having freedom of choice and the reasons behind the continued deregulation of tutoring services must be re-examined. As Southgate (2017) maintains, "the fact that in most nations supplementary education is not monitored, or even noticed, speaks loudly to its social reproductive nature" (p. 255). The current study adds to earlier inquiries on parents' motives and degree of involvement in children's education in tutoring contexts.

The preceding discussions highlight a variety of research on parents and tutoring services, however, there is limited research on students' perspectives on tutoring services. As argued earlier, the studies conducted by Davies and Aurini are important in highlighting the dearth of research in the Ontario context specifically. The Canadian focus of inquiry on this topic has mainly used secondary data to investigate organizational structures and business models. When primary data were obtained, it was through interviews with franchise owners (Aurini, 2006; Davies & Aurini, 2004) or surveying/interviewing parents (Aurini et al., 2020; Davies, 2004). To date, students have not been a primary focus in Canadian research and are glaringly absent in the literature on tutoring in Ontario. It is with this gap in mind that this study aims to document the lived experiences of students receiving tutoring services, looking specifically at the extent to which tutoring plays a central or peripheral role in relation to their schooling and daily lives. What research does exist on this topic both in Canada and internationally is summarized in the next section.

Lived Experiences in Tutoring Contexts

In this section, I will start by discussing international literature that has documented students' lived experiences in tutoring contexts. I will end the section with the Canadian studies that documented lived experiences.

International

Using semi-structured interviews with students, researchers in Hong Kong (Chan & Bray, 2014) and the United Kingdom (UK) (Hajar, 2018) document students' perspectives on the benefits and issues associated with tutoring. Hajar's (2018) and Chan and Bray's (2014) findings reveal the value of interviewing students on their lived experiences with tutoring services. Through interviews with participants, Hajar (2018) brought to the forefront participants' negative views of private tutoring and their feelings of anxiety and pressure to pass the Kent exam (a standardized test in England) due to their awareness of the financial strains on their parents caused by attending (PT) services (Hajar, 2018). Similarly, Chan and Bray (2014) used interviews to gain insights on Hong Kong students' lived experiences in tutoring centres. Students' input revealed how shadow education presents a serious threat to the achievement of

the curriculum objectives as prescribed by the government of Hong Kong, as tutors focused on test preparation as opposed to fostering the prescribed Liberal Studies learning objectives (i.e., fostering student creativity and critical thinking skills). In addition, the authors conclude that shadow education challenged teachers' teaching strategies and their overall role in schools.

Following a mixed-methods design, Bray and Kwok (2003) used surveys and interviews to identify the motives and factors influencing the expansion of tutoring centres in Hong Kong. Tutoring for exam preparation was one of the main motives. In addition, parent pressure, help with homework and making new friends were also shared as motives for attending tutoring centres. An important aspect of this study is its inclusion of participants who did not attend tutoring. Findings reveal that students who did not attend tutoring reported various reasons such as, being able to overcome any study issues independently, having family members that can help, benefiting from previous tutoring help and no longer need for more tutoring, and having not benefited from prior experiences with tutoring. Some students also mentioned that they could not afford to attend, further highlighting inequalities created by tutoring services.

Canada

As argued earlier in this chapter, students' lived experiences have not been captured in great detail in the Canadian literature on tutoring services. In Vancouver (British Columbia), Lim (2010) and Wu (2003) offer the only exception where students' and parents' perspectives are documented. In the study by Lim, the focus was on the lived experiences of 11 Asian families in an after-school enrichment program in Vancouver. Both parents and their children took part in interviews to document their lived experiences of an afterschool tutoring program. Results reveal that students benefited from the program both through enhanced academic performance and improved confidence levels, both of which aligned with parents' expressed views on the benefits of the program.

Wu examined the lived experiences of Taiwanese immigrant families in Canada in connection with teachers and tutors. Data were collected from interviews with 10 schoolteachers, 12 parents and 12 tutor-tutee pairs on their perspectives on tutoring and its role with immigrant students. In addition, a discourse analysis of 10 months of recordings of tutors-tutees

interactions. Results reveal that tutoring served more than just providing academic support; rather, it provided emotional support and a contact link between the parents and the school. However, teachers expressed concerns over students' overreliance on tutoring. Wu concludes by noting the existence of "a complex and interactive relationship between tutoring and the educational system" (p. iii). Although Wu's inquiry was published over a decade prior to recent conversations on transboundary learning occurring across schools and tutoring centres, the early signs of a changing learning culture are evident in Wu's work.

In conclusion, studies reviewed in this section highlight the value of using qualitative methods (specifically interviews) in research with students. Detailed aspects of students' lived experiences were revealed that are challenging to identify otherwise. More importantly, the findings and conclusions are informed primarily by students' (and parents') perspectives. The current study adds to this literature; specifically, both studies by Lim and Wu research inform the formulation of interview protocols (See Appendix C). The current study expands on Lim and Wu's work by offering qualitative data on the utilization of tutoring spaces for math support specifically, which has yet to be explored in the Canadian context. The research on this topic is described in more detail below.

Tutoring in Mathematics

Tutoring services offer support in many subjects (Davies & Aurini, 2004). The current study focuses on tutoring services that offer support in mathematics. Math is one of the top subjects sought for tutoring in many countries including, Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003) and Israel (Addi‐Raccah, 2019). To date, tutoring in mathematics has been documented in both international and Canadian tutoring literature (Atalmis, Yilmaz & Saatcioglu, 2016; Choi, Calero & Escardibul, 2012; Gale, 2016; Kim, Paik & Ihm, 2016; Ünal, Özkan, Milton, Price & Curva, 2010). In a study conducted by Kim, Paik and Ihm (2016), a positive relationship between tutoring and math achievement was identified. Particularly, the authors reported a connection between time spent in tutoring and students' academic achievement, namely that students who spent more time in tutoring performed significantly better in mathematics. The findings are based on longitudinal survey data on students learning activities. Research has documented a positive

relationship between time spent in tutoring and performance in mathematics (Atalmis et al., 2016; Choi et al., 2012; Ünal et al., 2010).

In Canada specifically, Would (2010) examined the impact of tutoring on mathematics performance in the context of the Kumon franchise of tutoring centres. In this quantitative study, Would (2010) employed a pretest-posttest design to identify the impact of Kumon[1] Mathematics services on Grades 4 to 6 students' performance in math (n = 22). Math abilities were measured prior to attending the tutoring centre and six months after using standardized cognitive and academic abilities testing measures administered by the researcher. Results reveal a positive improvement in participants' computation skills and overall mathematic abilities; however, the Kumon tutoring centre was deemed ineffective in advancing students' mathematical reasoning skills. Gale (2016) ranked mathematics as one of the top subjects sought for tutoring in Canada. Absent in these inquiries are students' voices on tutoring for math. Although math is recognized as one of the most sought-after subjects for tutoring, parents' and students' perspectives on tutoring for math are absent from the Canadian literature, consequently, limiting our understanding of lived experiences in relation to math. In response to this gap, the present study adds to these conversations by documenting Canadian high school students' experience in a tutoring context as they receive support in math, contributing participants' lived experiences to empirical discussions on tutoring and mathematical performance.

Theoretical Framework

This section introduces the overarching poststructuralism framework guiding this study and relevant scholarly work regarding its central principles. Then, I present the Transboundary Learning conceptual framework and its role in the current study.

Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism theory represents my epistemological stance on students' representation in research and my view on issues related to tutoring services and their role in students' lives. Specifically, I adopt Michel Foucault's take on poststructuralism and its role in research. As a

[1] Kumon is a franchised tutoring service that offers tutoring in reading and mathematics.

prominent poststructuralist theorist, Foucault proposed influential perspectives on knowledge, discourse, and power. The current study is informed by his conceptualization of these concepts and how they are understood in research and in society at large.

As described by MacNaughton (2004), Foucault maintained that a discourse is a "body of thinking and writing that use[s] shared language for talking about a topic, shared concepts for understanding it and shared methods for examining it" (2004, p. 16). Foucault believed that truths around a topic or issue are what create discourses which in turn create what he called "regimes of truth". These regimes exist in any given field of study, and they guide how we think, understand and discuss concepts and issues. The interaction of truths is also veiled in power relations, in that "as one truth accumulates official sanction, others become marginalized and/or silenced" (MacNaughton, 2004, p. 28).

Informed by a Foucauldian lens, the current study disrupts and questions several regimes of truth on tutoring, learning spaces and student voice and power. First, it is clear from the literature that one single truth has been projected on tutoring services in Canada, specifically that they have a peripheral role in education (Davies & Aurini, 2013). Students' voices and perspectives (i.e., marginalized truths) have not been of focus on this topic, motivating this study as a way to voice this marginalized truth in educational research on tutoring in Canada.

Another disputed regime of truth in the field of education is what constitutes a learning space. When asked to think of academic learning contexts, most people think of schools. However, "meanings are never fixed" (Walshaw, 2013). Thus, schools should not be positioned as the primary space of academic learning because it represents only one single truth. One can liken such a post-structuralist view of academic learning spaces to Walshaw's view on social categories, where he states that they are "inherently unstable and operate in a fluid space, overlaid by social structures and processes. They are constantly negotiated by individuals" (2013, p. 102). Similarly, learning spaces are understood in this study as fluid and open to interpretations.

Finally, Foucault argued that power is what "bring[s] a regime and its truth to life" (MacNaughton, 2004, p.23). The inherent power within the dominant discourses on tutoring and

learning contexts are problematic because they "frame how we think, feel understand and practice in specific areas of our lives" (p. 16). For instance, a powerful discourse in the field of tutoring is that it is what " 'good' parents" do for their children (Davies & Aurini, 2013, p. 167). This discourse neglects the socioeconomic realities that make it possible for some parents (and not others) to enroll their children in such costly services. In order to challenge these discourses, the "power imbalances" between students and researchers must be disrupted, allowing space for student voice (Cook-Sather, 2006, p. 366). This was achieved in this study by creating space for students and parents to share their perspectives via interviews that recognized their agency and active role in informing research (Cook-Sather, 2006).

Adopting a poststructuralism perspective in the current study enabled the challenging of existing regimes of truth and the associated power imbalances inherent to tutoring contexts and the families who use them (i.e., students and parents), in addition to illuminating perspectives on the relationship between schooling and tutoring spaces. In the next section, I introduce empirical research that demonstrates the interplay between tutoring and schooling.

Tutoring and Schooling

Supplementary education in all its forms is commonly linked to the schooling system. However, some forms of tutoring exist independently of the schooling system, such as private tutoring (Bray, 2017). Both learning contexts influence and impact each other's performance, with tutoring having both positive and negative impacts on schooling. On the negative side, scholars document challenges that tutoring presents to the schooling agenda (Chan & Bray, 2014; Gale, 2016; Wu, 2003). On the positive side, researchers outline the unique advantages of tutoring services over schooling (Chan & Bray, 2014; Hajar, 2018). This contrast between challenges and advantages is presented in more detail below.

In a recent Canadian inquiry, Gale (2016), reports on the dynamics between tutoring services and an independent school in Vancouver (British Columbia). The study examined parents' motivations and types of tutoring. As an administrator at the school, Gale investigated the impact and influence that tutoring (in any form) had on the school as a whole (i.e. teachers, students and administrators). Parents from the school who had children in tutoring centres

participated in the study. Data were collected using an online questionnaire documenting parents' demographic information, in addition to the type of tutoring they sought for their children, its location, frequency of use and their overall motivation for seeking the service. Parents reported dissatisfaction with the lack of synergy between schooling and tutoring in terms of how tutoring presented a challenge to the school agenda because of the "lack of tutor awareness of the school curriculum, different teaching styles between tutors and schoolteachers and limited knowledge of the school programs" (p. 62). Parents also discussed concerns over students' over-reliance on tutors to help with school work as limiting their ability to "become independent learners" (p. 70). This same issue of students potential overreliance on tutors was also documented in Chan and Bray's (2014) study of high school students in Hong Kong. Students' overreliance on tutors was also an area of parental dissatisfaction with tutoring in both Gale (2016) and Wu (2003); however, Wu found similar overreliance reported amongst teachers as well. Wu argues that the issues with tutors/tutoring centres extended beyond overreliance and were broad-reaching, affecting the home environment by offering contradictory information resulting in disputes between parents and the school (Wu, 2003).

Researchers have attempted to explain and justify these findings by highlighting how the institutional structure and goals of tutoring are inherently different from those of schools. As discussed earlier, tutoring centres are expanding in franchise forms and are treated by franchise owners as a business as opposed to a learning context. Bray (2017) argues that this results in tutors being expected to tutor "rather than [develop] pedagogy and associated materials" (Bray, 2017, p. 478). From a business expansion standpoint, financial gains end up being prioritized over quality, resulting in cost-saving measures (e.g., hiring university students who demand less pay) (Aurini, 2008; Bray, 2017; Davies & Aurini, 2004). In Ontario, franchise owners rationalized this employment preference by arguing that tutors offer low-cost employment and are not affiliated with the teaching profession (Davies & Aurini, 2004).

Interestingly, Bray (2017) maintains that the inherent differences between the two institutions are potentially positioning tutoring as having an advantage in comparison to schooling. Bray offered more details on school/tutoring dynamics by outlining their

contradictory characteristics. For example, tutoring services are more focused on client satisfaction as opposed to schools that aim to maximize student learning and achievement. Also, tutoring services are under fewer restrictions and rigid guidelines and have more room for catering to students' and parents' needs. Ultimately, "insofar as schools have become more tightly controlled by accountability measures and managerialism, [they have] unintentionally dampened innovative teaching and professional growth. The supplementary sector may then become a more dynamic arena than the main body" (Bray, 2017, p. 479).

Research that includes student perspectives on tutoring offers additional insights on the potentially positive role of tutoring. For example, Chan and Bray (2014) argue that shadow education offers secondary students many positive opportunities for learning that they fail to find in their regular classrooms, such as receiving individualized attention and offering relevant teaching resources. Similarly, through interviews and drawings, students in Hajar's (2018) study indicated how they benefited from the individualized attention they received from tutors which was not given by their teachers. Moreover, in tutoring centres, the participants used the internet and various activities to learn material and practice math, which encouraged students to learn (Hajar, 2018). These resources are not as readily available or frequently used in students' regular classrooms. Guided by students' positive accounts, Hajar (2018) recommends that teachers incorporate the same kinds of technology and enjoyable activities in the classroom that participants were experiencing in the tutoring centres, as it is shown to increase student engagement and investment in the relevance of the content being studied.

Furthermore, investigating relations between schools and tutoring, Zhan and colleagues (2013) report on Hong Kong student's experiences. Using survey and follow-up interviews with students and teachers, the authors explain how high-stakes examinations motivated students to seek tutoring (Zhan et al., 2013). Using the same data in a subsequent article, authors explain that tutoring centres offer examination practice and techniques that were not offered in the classroom, in addition, the authors report a dissonance between students' learning styles and teachers' teaching styles. These issues motivated students to attend tutoring (Kwo & Bray, 2014). Further, applying an ecological lens to the same set of findings, the authors argue that tutoring has

changed the educational ecosystem in Hong Kong. The study compared students' and teachers' perspectives on the two microsystems (i.e., school and tutoring centres). On the one hand, students expressed positive views on tutoring, they praised the non-disciplinary nature of tutoring contexts, approachability and availability of tutors and exam-oriented focus. On the other hand, teachers had an overall positive view of more individualized tutoring (e.g., one-on-one tutoring), while opposing large-scale tutoring and the large marketing campaigns used to persuade students. A teacher explained how some materials offered to students contained many mistakes (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015). Although Hong Kong's educational structure is different from Canada's, with continued tutoring expansion, similar patterns could be observed here. More importantly, research points to a need to investigate areas of learning outside school and how they impact schooling.

Studies in this section make evident the blurring of boundaries between the roles of schools and tutoring in students' learning. This synthesis of student and parent perspectives on tutoring vs. schooling is organized in Appendix D. The following section will outline how these intertwined relations are viewed through the lens of the concept of transboundary learning.

Transboundary Learning

Kim and Jung (2019a) conceptualized the term "shadow curriculum" as an aspect of worldwide shadow education phenomenon that is defined as a "supplementary curriculum out of schooling provided by educational business industries that is intended to improve academic success among individual students in formal education" (p. 150). Different from shadow education is the addition of "individual" in the definition. This element refers to how a shadow curriculum is specific to individual student's and his/her parents' needs. Kim and Jung present six characteristics of a shadow curriculum:

- Aims to achieve academic success;
- Is specific to academic needs;
- Depends on parent's financial abilities;
- Increases competitiveness in education;

- Encourages parents and students to be active agents in choosing how to best achieve their academic goals and finally;
- Shadow curriculum changes the boundaries of learning spaces.

In discussing this final characteristic (i.e., the change in boundaries of learning spaces), Kim and Jung argue that the boundaries between tutoring centres and schools are starting to "blur," and students' learning is no longer limited to the formal schooling context:

> In some ways, student learning too is moving away from the total control of governments which means that students' learning for their academic success is not limited to what formal schooling provides them. (p. 154)

Kim and Jung coined the term 'transboundary learning' (TL) to refer to this changing learning environment. The term, as explained by the authors, has been used in educational literature, specifically in studies on media and learning; however, Kim and Jung offer a new angle on it in the context of tutoring. For the purposes of this study, transboundary learning is understood as referring to the learning taking place in both tutoring contexts and schools, as defined by Kim and Jung (2019a, 2019b) below:

> [S]tudent learning has been crossing the boundaries of school walls, becoming shaped and influenced by shadow curriculum. Students navigate different forms of curriculum spaces, merging and blurring them— including, excluding, and combining what they need—to reach their final goal of entering a desired university. In this new transboundary culture of learning, students participate in competitive shadow education by engaging in various forms of learning for their best educational outcomes and school grades. We can call this aspect of the changing landscape of student learning 'transboundary learning.' (p. 154)

In their conclusion, Kim and Jung propose that learning in two categorically distinct contexts (in this case, schools and tutoring services) should receive more focus from educational researchers. Shortly after Kim and Jung's call, leading scholars Bray and Zhang (2020) released a publication on directions of tutoring research in the current decade where they repeat this call for research. Beginning in 1999, Bray has been leading the work on comparative research on

tutoring. Each decade since, Bray published an installment on key arguments and future directions in the field (see Bray, 1999; 2009). In this third installment, Bray is joined by colleague Zhang (2020) to offer a quick review of the past two decades and an agenda for future research in the field on important areas of investigation. Following Kim and Jung's discussion, the authors suggested that research work in the current decade is "likely to show increasingly blurred boundaries between public and private [learning contexts]" (Zhang & Bray, 2020, p. 331).

Responding directly to Kim and Jung's (2019) call and Bray and Zhang's (2020) recommendations, and drawing on the work of earlier Canadian researchers (i.e., Gale, 2016; Wu, 2003), this present study examines the dynamics between tutoring services and schools in the domain of math education. This is done using the concept of transboundary learning as a conceptual guide for thematic analysis to ascertain how tutoring has the potential to "blur" the boundaries of learning spaces beyond the bounds of formal schooling. Specifically, this study aims to address the following research questions:

1. What are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa (Ontario, Canada)?
2. What are parents' motives for seeking private tutoring services?
3. How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school contexts)?

Method: Qualitative Research

The current study adopted a qualitative research design (Creswell & Guetterman, 2018) to help gain insights into students' and parents' lived experiences in tutoring contexts and explore the emerging transboundary learning phenomenon. Choosing a qualitative approach was key to fulfilling the proposed study's rationale of centring student and parent voices by "collect[ing] data to learn from participants in the study" (Creswell & Guetterman, 2018, p. 17). Using data collection tools like interviews and employing thematic analysis aligned well with

this qualitative research approach to answering the research questions. Furthermore, this study speaks directly to the absence of qualitative literature on math tutoring experiences.

Procedure

A total of three students receiving math tutoring services and two parents in Ottawa were recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews for the study. Recruitment focused on any private tutoring service for math in Ottawa. After obtaining ethical clearance from the university (See Appendix A), I contacted tutoring services to request access to interview both students. Parents emails and social media posts were used to recruit potential participants (see Appendix B). Two tutoring locations that offer math tutoring were interested in sharing information about the study with their students/parents. In terms of inclusion criteria, recruitment of student participants was limited to high school students (Grade 9 - Grade 12) who were participating in a math tutoring program. Parent participants were the parent/legal guardians of two of the high school students receiving tutoring support in math from the participating tutoring services.

Data Collection

With the goal of documenting parents' and students' lived experiences with math tutoring, one semi-structured interview was conducted with each participant. Semi-structured interviews "allow researchers to explore subjective viewpoints (Flick, 2009) and to gather in-depth accounts of people's experiences" (Evans, 2018, p. 3). They also allow for the collection of detailed accounts of lived experiences. With semi-structured interviews, participants were not limited in their answers and were able to discuss other areas of interest during our interview. I used an interview protocol with a list of questions to ensure all required areas were addressed (see Appendix C), while also conducting the interview in a conversational manner to allow for probing and to attempt to reduce power relations often present between researchers and participants. An important advantage of semi-structured interviews is that it "enables probing for more information and clarification of answers." (Louise Barriball & While, 1994, p. 330). Louise Barribal and While (1994) also emphasize how "probing, in particular, can be an invaluable tool

for ensuring reliability of the data" (p. 331), while also facilitating the building of rapport with the participants during the interview session.

Once recruited, each participant ($N = 5$) was invited to a semi-structured interview for approximately 60 minutes. Due to the current COVID-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted via Zoom. Student interviews ($n = 3$) focused on exploring their reasons for seeking support from tutoring services, and hypotheses on how different contexts (e.g., school, tutoring centre) can offer math support. Students were also prompted to reflect on the support they have received thus far in different contexts, specifically from the tutoring services and school (see Appendix C). For parents ($n = 2$), the interview focused on prompting them to share their motives for seeking tutoring for their child, their view of tutoring and schooling, and the presence of parentocracy (see Appendix C). Findings from this interview not only complemented previous inquiries into parent perspectives but also expanded on the student data set documenting students' lived experiences and added a diverse perspective on the emerging transboundary learning phenomenon.

Data Analysis

Data collected through semi-structured interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis, similar to other studies on tutoring centres (Gale, 2016; Hajar, 2018). Thematic analysis has been defined as a "method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data." (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). The identified themes were interpreted through the lens of the conceptual framework (i.e., transboundary learning) for this study to respond to the research questions. Evans (2018) emphasizes the value of using this analytical tool when investigating lived experiences:

> Thematic analysis is useful because it enables us to examine, from a constructionist methodological position, the meanings that people attach [...] and, more broadly, their social constructions of it. At the same time, it also enables us to examine how these constructions might reflect the 'reality' of participants' lived experiences (p. 4).

In the current study, Braun and Clatke's (2020) expanded conceptualization of thematic analysis was used. In their 2020 publication, the authors organized thematic analysis into three types: (1) codebook; (2) coding reliability; and (3) reflexive thematic analysis. Reflexive thematic analysis was used in the current study because of its emphasis on the active involvement of the researcher in the study. Reflexive TA can be used both inductively, in which authors lay down the theoretical assumptions outlining the analysis, and deductively, in which literature review and theoretical framework are used to code, analyze and interpret the data. I decided to use reflexive thematic analysis deductively because it aligned with the rationale for the study (i.e., centring students and parents lived experiences in tutoring research). Adopting a deductive approach allowed me to also offer a rich description of participants narratives which is "a particularly useful method when you are investigating an under-researched area, or you are working with participants whose views on the topic are not known" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). Data on student and parent perspectives on the learning taking place in different contexts were also triangulated (Youngs & Piggot, 2014) to ascertain the extent to which their opinions converged or diverged around this topic.

The analysis process began with coding the entire data set (i.e., five interview transcripts) by assigning category labels to identified patterns in the codes. Guided by the conceptual framework, I then attempted to map these categories onto Kim and Jung's characteristics of TL (2019b). Three characteristics of TL were present in the data, suggesting a shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling from peripheral learning (PL) to TL. These three characteristics were nuanced by the data and organized into three themes. For example, one of the identified characteristics of TL that was present in both data sets was the "decentered authority of education." This characteristic highlights the changing authority of schooling over learning, as argued by Kim and Jung when they stated that "students and parents no longer have blind faith in public education and school teachers and are relying on their authority less and less" (2019b, p. 164 -165). In the data, I had established a category label of "participants' perspectives on tutors" which included narratives on tutors and their role on students' learning. In their narratives, participants displayed dissatisfaction with some teacher-student dynamics, which were being mitigated by their tutor-student relations. Participants viewed tutors positively

as friends and mentors. I mapped this category label on to characteristics of TL, eventually attributing it as evidence of the "decentered authority of education" characteristic, because the teachers' authority over students' learning (and ultimately success) was being contested by both parents and students through the mobilization of tutors to fulfill a shortcoming in the school system. Based on the data, I distinguished this theme specifically as "tutors as mentors and friends."

Following Sections

The following chapter in this dissertation presents the scholarly article where the study's findings are reported. The article will be submitted for publication in the Canadian Journal of Education. Results from parent and student interviews revealed that the boundaries between tutoring and schooling contexts are blurring as we witness a shift in the relationship between schooling and tutoring from PL to TL. Three specific themes were identified: (i) parents and students as main-decision makers; (ii) tutors as mentors and friends; and (iii) math success as a combination of tutoring and schooling. These themes were linked explicitly to characteristics from Kim and Jung's (2019b) TL context, notably: (i) conversion of decision-making agents; (ii) decentered authority of education; and (iii) various models of academic success. A move to TL means tutoring is playing an increasingly important role in students' learning and families' daily life. Issues of inequalities are implicit in these findings, as families who cannot access tutoring will be at an increasing educational disadvantage in comparison to families who can afford to access the service.

The third and final chapter in the thesis is the conclusions chapter. In this chapter, I answer each research question in-depth and outline the theoretical and practical implications of the findings and their contribution to future research. I decided to focus on the findings relating to the impact of the shift to TL on inequalities. I establish the connection between findings on parentocracy and how it relates to educational inequalities. Then, I offer personal reflections on this issue, as well as the importance of amplifying lived experiences in research and lessons learned from the current work. Finally, I turn to discuss the advantages of the TL conceptual framework and its possible use in future inquiries. I conclude the final chapter with future directions.

Chapter Two: From the peripheral to the transboundary: Documenting the lived experiences of students and parents with online math tutoring services

Abstract

Despite the growing prevalence of tutoring services in Canada, and a corpus of studies focusing on its overall implementation, research on the tutoring experience of Canadian students is lacking. This article reports findings from a study that responds to this gap through interviews with three high school students receiving online tutoring services in math, and two parents of children receiving online tutoring services. Specifically, the study responds to three questions: (1) What are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa, Ontario (Canada)?; (2) What are parents' motives for seeking private tutoring services?; and (3) How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school)? In response to these questions, this article outlines the extent to which student participation in online tutoring demonstrates "transboundary learning", responding to earlier claims arguing that tutoring services are considered to be more like "peripheral" learning environments as opposed to an important context for student learning. Findings show a distinct shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling, where learning is more transboundary in nature and boundaries between schooling and tutoring are blurred. Discussion of findings elaborates on evidence of this transformation as aligning with central characteristics of transboundary learning, notably: (1) Parents and students as main-decision makers; (2) Tutors as mentors and friends; and (3) Math success as a combination of tutoring and schooling. The increasing role of tutoring over families' learning and schooling experiences could signal the potential for more inequalities in education, which are discussed in detail.

Keywords: Online tutoring, math tutoring, transboundary learning, students, parents, parentocracy

From the peripheral to the transboundary: Documenting the lived experiences of students and parents with online math tutoring services

Tutoring services have experienced exponential increases in enrollment in Canada, with Ontario alone witnessing a 60% increase from 1996 to 2000 (see Aurini & Davies, 2004). While Canadian research has documented institutional patterns (Davies and Aurini, 2004, 2006) and parent motives (Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003), inquiries into students' lived experiences are lacking, specifically with regards to recent debates on the relationship between tutoring and schooling (Bray, 2017; Chan & Bray, 2014; Davies & Aurini, 2013; Hajar, 2020; Kim & Jung, 2019a, 2019b; Zhang & Bray, 2020). In societies with high-intensity tutoring (e.g., Korea and Japan), the boundaries between schooling and tutoring are blurring, creating what was termed *transboundary learning* (TL) (Kim & Jung, 2019a, 2019b). Recent publications have argued that tutoring in Canada plays a "peripheral" role in students' education (Davies & Aurini, 2013), however, research has not yet incorporated the voices of students in this line of argumentation. As Hajar (2020, 2018) suggests, building a more holistic understanding of tutoring services in Canada demands the inclusion of students' lived experiences to the existing knowledge, claims, and characterizations of the relationship between tutoring and schooling. This study seeks to fill this gap in empirical research by documenting the lived experiences of three high school students and their parents with online tutoring services for math in Ottawa, Ontario (Canada).

Conceptualizations of Tutoring

Supplemental education is referred to in a variety of ways in the literature, such as shadow education (Bray, 2017; Chan & Bray, 2014; Javadi & Kazemirad, 2020; Malik, 2017; Stevenson & Baker 1992), private tutoring (Hajar, 2018, 2020), learning centres (Aurini & Davies, 2004), and after-school programs (Lim, 2010). Studies in Asia, where tutoring is quite popular, refer to it as "shadow education" (Bray, 2017; Chan & Bray, 2014; Javadi & Kazemirad, 2020), a term given because this form of tutoring shadows the schooling system in structure and objectives (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

With the diversity of names and the relative novelty of the phenomenon, comes a common issue in the field concerning the conceptualization of the term 'tutoring' (Bray, 2014;

Malik, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2020). Authors either use the term to mean different things or fail to clarify the concept they are using (Bray, 2014; Malik, 2017). This is problematic as "clarifying supplementary education-related terms and their meanings is crucial to the research endeavor because how the phenomenon is discussed and debated relies upon what each of these concepts encompasses and where these concepts may be limited" (Wiseman, 2013, p. xi). In this article, the term 'tutoring services' is used to encompass three tutoring-related characteristics previously established in the literature (Bray, 2014; Malik, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2020). First, the service must be private, meaning that a fee is required to obtain the service. Second, the service is supplementary to mainstream schools and is not offered during school hours or as a part of school activity. Third, tutoring offers various services in Canada, but the focus in this article will be on their academic services, specifically supporting students in mathematics.

Student Lived Experiences and Theoretical Considerations

This research is situated within a poststructuralist framework, specifically the work of Micheal Foucault. Foucault argues that truths around a topic or issue are what create discourses which in turn create what he called "regimes of truth" (MacNaughton, 2004, p. 28). These regimes exist in any given field of study, and they guide how we think, understand, and discuss concepts and issues. The interaction of truths is also veiled in power relations, in that "as one truth accumulates official sanction, others become marginalized and/or silenced" (MacNaughton, 2004, p. 28). Informed by a Foucauldian lens, this article aims to disrupt and question several regimes of truth on tutoring, learning spaces, and students' voices.

Students' lived experiences have not been a primary focus in the Canadian literature on tutoring services. Lim (2010) and Wu (2003) offer the only exceptions where student and parent perspectives are documented. The current research adds to this small body of emergent literature. Math is one of the top subjects sought for tutoring in many countries including Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003) and Israel (Addi‐Raccah, 2019). To date, tutoring in mathematics has been documented in both international (Atalmis, Yilmaz & Saatcioglu, 2016; Choi, Calero & Escardibul, 2012; Kim, Paik & Ihm, 2016; Ünal, Özkan, Milton, Price & Curva, 2010) and Canadian (Gale, 2016; Would, 2010) tutoring literature, however, studies on tutoring for

mathematics are largely quantitative (Would, 2010). Findings from this study offer qualitative data on the utilization of tutoring for math support specifically, which has yet to be explored in the Canadian context.

Learning spaces

A disputed regime of truth in the field of education is what constitutes a learning space. When asked to think of academic learning contexts, most people would think of schools. However, as Walshaw (2013) argues, "meanings are never fixed", and thus, schools should not be positioned as the primary space of academic learning because that would represent only one single truth. One could liken such a post-structuralist view of academic learning spaces to Walshaw's view on social categories, where she states that they are "inherently unstable and operate in a fluid space, overlaid by social structures and processes. They are constantly negotiated by individuals" (2013, p. 102). Similarly, learning spaces are understood in this study as fluid and open to interpretations.

Aurini and Davies (2013) argue that supplementary education is at the periphery of educational institutions. Through the organizational lens, the authors offer compelling evidence demonstrating the uniqueness of the Canadian educational structure, which limits the intensity of tutoring's impact on schooling. For example, Canadian universities do not require an entrance exam, in addition to having a "flat stratification system" (Aurini et al., 2020, p. 173), contrary to educational systems with entrance exams as is the case of the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) in the United States (USA) (Aurini, 2008; Buchmann, Condron & Roscigno, 2010). In contrast, the Canadian educational system is less intense with each province offering its own educational structure (Bray, 2017; Davies & Aurini, 2013), creating opportunities for diverse and province-specific tutoring. Aurini and Davies (2013) argue that tutoring in Canada is therefore not particularly intense (despite its constant growth and popularity), making its relation to schooling peripheral in nature. In high-intensity societies (e.g., Korea and Japan) tutoring shadows the schooling systems to the point of blurring the boundaries between tutoring and schooling spaces, creating a new space termed transboundary learning (TL) (Kim & Jung, 2019a; 2019b).

In a country like Korea, tutoring is intensifying to the point of becoming a key part of most students' learning experiences. High stratification and competition to enter university are behind the increased tutoring demands (Kim & Jung 2019a, 2019b). Hence, research in the field of tutoring in Korea is focusing on how tutoring popularity and intensity is changing learning spaces (i.e., tutoring and schooling). In this regard, Jung and Kim argued that we are moving into an era of TL where lines or boundaries between schooling and tutoring blur. In this space, students' learning occurs in multiple contexts as they merge and combine resources in their journey to access the university of their choice.

In this article, the peripheral learning (PL) and TL arguments are viewed as two ends of a continuum on learning. Transboundary learning characteristics are contrary to the peripheral learning characteristics, particularly in their position on the role of schooling and tutoring on learning - PL views tutoring as a supplement that is yet to penetrate the border of schools, while TL maintains that the border is almost disappearing with the two contexts having equal roles on students' learning. Student input is key to these debates as they are the key players in both institutions. However, unlike Kim and Jung's research, Davies and Aurini did not source data from students to inform their arguments. In this study, motives for pursuing math tutoring are reported based on both student and parent perspectives.

Table 1 outlines the main areas of difference between TL and PL (Findings in the table are based on Aurini and Davies, (2013); and Kim and Jung, 2019b). In terms of perspectives on public schooling, a PL perspective argues that most families are relatively satisfied with schooling and teacher performance, whereas a TL perspective maintains an increased dissatisfaction with public schooling in the broader education system (Kim & Jung, 2019b). Second, while PL debates position schooling as a primary source of learning, TL enthusiasts insist that parents and students no longer view school (and teachers) as the main source of learning. Finally, in the PL context, models of academic success are stable and academic success is attributed as a direct result of support from school and students' individual efforts; however, a TL perspective maintains that families are contesting the traditional school-based model of academic success and seeking learning opportunities elsewhere.

Table 1

Comparison of peripheral learning and transboundary learning characteristics

Peripheral Learning (PL)	Transboundary Learning (TL)
Satisfaction with public schooling	Dissatisfaction with public schooling
Centring of school authority	Decentering of school authority
Stable models of academic success	Changing models of academic success

Parentocracy

Parents' perspectives and motives are often discussed in the tutoring literature (Bray & Kwok, 2003; Davies & Aurini, 2008). In recent decades, a parent's role in their child's education has evolved with them actively demanding educational advantages for their children. Brown (1990) described these changes to be a result of free-market education and choice advocacy creating a socio-political ideology termed "parentocracy." Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton (2016) expanded this conceptualization by adding Annette Lareau's (2003) "concerted cultivation" as another layer of parentocracy referring to the distinctive child-rearing practices of North American middle-class parents (i.e., parents' view of their active role in all aspects of their child's life and maximized engagement in a variety of activities to support their child's cognitive development and educational trajectory). Regarding tutoring, findings from Tan (2017) out of Singapore confirmed that such extended conceptualizations of parentocracy materialize in tutoring choices (Tan, 2017). Concerted cultivation as parenting logic has also been documented in Canada (Davies & Aurini, 2008; Davies, 2004). With this in mind, Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton's conceptualization of parentocracy discourse is the lens through which parent data are understood and discussed in this article.

To address these arguments and gaps in the empirical and theoretical literature, this study aimed to respond to three research questions linked to student and parental lived experiences in math tutoring, namely:

1. What are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa (Ontario, Canada)?;
2. What are parents' motives for seeking private tutoring services?; and
3. How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school)?

Methods

To create a space for student perspectives in research, researchers need to disrupt discourses of "power imbalances" between students and researchers (Cook-Sather, 2006, p. 366). In this study, this is achieved by creating space for students and parents to share their perspectives via interviews that recognize their agency and active role in informing research (Cook-Sather, 2006). Like other related studies (e.g., Chan & Bray, 2014; Hajar, 2018), semi-structured interviews with students reveal detailed accounts of students' experiences in these learning contexts. Further, semi-structured interviews allow for the documentation of "meaningful insights into pupils' experiences, aspirations, attitudes, and feelings towards attending PT" (Hajar, 2018, p. 519). Student and parent interview protocols (see Appendix C) were directly informed by previous Canadian inquiries documenting students' and parents' lived experience in tutoring contexts (i.e., Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003).

Procedure

After receiving ethics clearance (see Appendix A), social media posts and parent invitation letters (see Appendix B) were used to advertise the study. Interested participants were asked to contact the researcher. Snowball sampling was also used to recruit additional participants, whereby consenting participants were asked to share the recruitment materials with anyone who might be interested and who fulfilled the recruitment criteria. This sampling method proved successful as it allowed for the recruitment of one additional student participant through their parents.

A total of five participants (three students and two parents) each took part in one 30-60 minute semi-structured interview. Due to COVID-related restrictions, all interviews were

conducted virtually using the Zoom platform. The interviews took place in December 2020 and January 2021. Students were all attending different public high schools in Ottawa, Ontario (Canada) during the time of data collection. Kevin[2] and Jessica were grade 12 students and Hannah was a grade 11 student. The participants were respectively receiving tutoring in math from two online tutoring services and an independent tutor. In addition to math tutoring, Jessica and Kevin were receiving tutoring in physics. In terms of parent participants, Jennifer (Hannah's mother) and Andrew (Kevin's father) also took part in one interview. The sample size and narrow scope represent limitations to the study. First, while the smaller sample of participants provided rich data, arguments and conclusions should continue to be tested with different samples of varying sizes in different contexts. Second, since only parents and students were interviewed, other dimensions of TL were not investigated (e.g., teachers' perspectives on tutoring). Future studies could increase the sample size and interview other stakeholders, such as teachers, to add to the reported findings.

Several changes to the schooling system in Ottawa, Ontario (Canada) were in place during the 2020-2021 school year due to COVID-19. Public schools were following a quadmester[3] model in adherence with the public health guidelines to limit the number of students in the classroom. Parents and students were also given the option at the start of the academic school year to choose whether to go fully online or to do the quadmester schooling structure. Hannah and Jessica were experiencing the quadmester structure, whereas Kevin opted for the fully online schooling option. As will be discussed in the findings, student answers reflected this educational reality and associated challenges.

Analysis

The data were analyzed using a thematic analysis (TA) method (Braun, Clarke & Rance, 2014; Braun & Clarke,2012). In their recent publication, Braun and Clarke (2020) expanded on their earlier work on thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) by introducing three types of TA; (1) codebook; (2) coding reliability; and (3) reflexive TA. For this article, reflexive TA was

[2] Pseudonyms are used to protect participants confidentiality

[3] Under the quadmester school year, students were required to take two courses per semester for four semesters. This model replaced the typical two semesters per year structure.

the TA approach followed. It differs from TA in that it positions the researcher as actively involved in the data analysis and interpretation. Reflexive TA can be used both inductively, in which authors lay down the theoretical assumptions outlining the analysis, and deductively, in which literature review and theoretical framework are used to code, analyze and interpret the data. In the current study reflexive TA was used deductively, in other words, the TL conceptual framework formed the lens through which data is coded and analyzed. After transcribing the interviews and becoming familiar with the data (Braun, Clarke & Rance, 2014; Braun & Clarke,2012), data were coded using NVivo 12 plus, and themes were created. Themes were then reviewed and revised (if necessary) in relation to the entire data set to determine relevance.

Findings and Analysis

Findings revealed a shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling from PL to TL. This shift was evident in the data related to three of Kim and Jung's (2019b) characteristics of TL, namely: (i) conversion of decision-making agents; (ii) decentered authority of education; and (iii) various models of academic success. These characteristics emerged from the data with nuanced features related to participants' unique lived experiences. These nuanced features were organized into three themes: (i) parents and students as main-decision makers; (ii) tutors as mentors and friends; and (iii) math success as a combination of tutoring and schooling. Overall, these findings emphasize the important role played by tutoring in participating students' learning and suggest a shift in the positioning of tutoring from the periphery of students' overall learning experience to primary position.

Parents and Students as main decision-makers

The first theme identified in the data is "parents and students as main decision-makers." This theme expands on the TL characteristic "conversion of decision-making agents." As the boundaries between tutoring and schooling blur, Kim and Jung (2019b) argue that parents and students start to display increasing autonomy over learning: "teachers and governments may believe they are still responsible for making decisions about student learning, but in reality, the responsibility now lies with students and parents" (p. 166). Findings showed purposeful agency

on the part of both parents and students in regard to their expressed motives for pursuing math tutoring and discussion of its benefits. Findings under the theme "parents and students as main decision-makers" were organized into two sub-themes: (i) students' customization of learning through tutoring; and (ii) parents displaying parentocracy. I will start with students' perspectives and display of agency over their learning needs followed by those of parents.

Student Customization of Learning Through Tutoring

In this study, participating students reported using tutoring to both customize and take responsibility for their learning. They viewed tutoring as a form of flexible and individualized support that they purposefully aligned with their general learning needs and math-specific goals. For example, many strategically scheduled tutoring to align with their learning in school, like Jessica who used tutoring to help organize ideas following a class: "I usually have tutoring after a class and it definitely helps to kind of string together everything we did in the day." Students also strategically scheduled tutoring sessions before tests:

> The way I would have worked out my tutor sessions is I'll have tutor emergency sessions. I'll have with them if I need it. But generally, we'll be like planning the week and say, 'Well, I know I've got a test on let's say Friday. Why don't we have a tutor session on Thursday the day before?' And one on this day, for example, whether I know I'll need the help then or not. And even if I don't need the help during these tutor sessions, I'll just make sure I get through as much homework as I can much faster. (Kevin)

Besides having control over scheduling students also chose their tutors and were able to change the tutor if they did not connect with them:

> I guess that's the benefit of tutoring. I in a way I could go through one online tutoring specifically, if I don't like my math tutor, I could simply go out of my way to go find another one. If you're doing online tutoring across the world, there's a massive amount of people that want to tutor math. So, if I'm not understanding the way the tutor is talking to me or don't understand what they're trying to show me, we just don't. It doesn't click right away. I could just go and get another math tutor. (Kevin)

Unlike in their relationship with the classroom teacher, students can choose to work with the same tutor for years. Andrew (Kevin's parent) discussed this drawing from his experience in the tutoring industry:

> What I'm able to see from my data, is the students, you know a lot of them want, they get a tutor and they want to keep that tutor [...] Some show up to get a help, one or two sessions for an exam, an assignment, a problem they are having, and then they start, make more sessions with the same tutor they develop a relationship [...] so I've seen tutoring becomes very relationship style if it progresses and they develop that bond, that's not like getting help from dad.

This was also evident in the student data. Both Kevin and Jessica reported working with the same tutor for years. For Hannah (who is still in grade 11), her mother explained that they plan to work with the same tutor next year "we've already talked about you know next year when you take grade 12 math we'll see if we can arrange for the same tutor just for that support." In Jessica's case, working with the same tutor for years made for more familiarity with her learning preferences which she explained as being important for her learning:

> I like that. It's consistent. She knows how I learn. I know how she teaches. So we've gotten like used to each other's style of learning [...] My tutor definitely gets to know how I like to learn and she can design lessons or notes that fit me best, whereas a class, we basically just work on problems at whiteboards with people.

Similarly, Kevin discussed the advantage of working with the same tutor in terms of building a relationship over the long-term (versus short-term relationship building with school-based teachers):

> If you have a tutor that, let's say, you've been working with through a couple years, who knows [you] personally, it's much easier for them to explain a topic than someone who's only met you for a few months now, comparatively. So, I just find that having that one-on-one experience is really beneficial in terms of learning whether I need the help or not.

Kim and Jung argue that such displays of student agency over learning in the form of autonomy over their educational choices is evidence of TL, because if their needs are not being met,

tutoring allows them to access to this freedom and the power to “leave and find another provider” (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 167). More importantly, in the TL context, students are able to experience learning that matches their individualized needs: “in this way, the curriculum in terms of content, teaching style, learning materials, and learning sequence is constructed by individual students” (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 167). Participating students identified the fast-paced schooling environment as a challenge to their math learning needs. Hence, tutoring was utilized purposefully to address this issue and slow the pace of learning to a speed that worked for them:

> It's more move at your own pace where a teacher has to move at the pace of the class, not the pace of the student, which is big for especially for people who are struggling. I don't necessarily struggle but it's still useful. To be able to learn things at your own pace rather than the agenda of the class. (Jessica)
>
> It's similar [to schooling] because we go over like, the concepts and you're like, kind of getting like taught it. But in a way, it's different. Because you can like, I feel like you can ask more questions. And if you need to, like, take it slower, you can - while in a classroom, you can't because you're with a bunch of other people. (Hannah)

This purposeful use of tutoring services to fulfill learning needs that are not being met in the classroom is a clear indicator they are exercising agency over their learning through tutoring. Students took control over aspects of their learning that are normally uncontrollable, namely, choosing their educator, and adjusting the learning pace to their individualistic needs. In other words, “passive learning in schools through standardized curriculum and structured lectures is being augmented (or replaced) by shadow education” (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 166 - 167). As a result, it could be deduced that for these participants, boundaries between schooling and tutoring are starting to blur as parents and students increasingly mobilize tutoring services to customize their learning experience.

Parents Displaying of Parentocracy

In the TL context, agency is not only displayed by students, but is also evident in parents’ actions regarding student learning and their tutoring motives (Kim & Jung, 2019b). As described in the sections that follow, findings showed evidence of parents displaying Barrett DeWiele and

Edgerton's (2016) extended conceptualization of parentocracy (i.e., parents having choice over their children's education and displaying concerted cultivation).

Choice.

The discourse of parentocracy encompasses the idea of parents using their socioeconomic status to organize educational options for their children. Parents following this logic emphasize the need to have educational choices for their children, such as tutoring (Tan, 2017). Tutoring fulfilled different kinds of educational preferences that parents wanted for their children, which they felt were not possible through traditional schooling, such as additional support. For example, on the one hand, research has shown that tutoring can be used to challenge high achieving students (Davies & Aurini, 2013). This was evident with Andrew, for example, who felt that Kevin was not challenged enough in school and was often bored in math class. Therefore, math tutoring was sought to challenge and further enhance his math performance "he excels quite highly in mathematics, so we got him a tutor not because he had problems because he's good, to challenge him to do even better because he found class to be boring." On the other hand, tutoring can also be used by parents to help their children who are struggling (Davies & Aurini, 2013). As an example, Jennifer felt that her daughter (Hannah) needed to enhance her confidence in math, which would lead to better grades. Hence, tutoring was sought to enhance both her confidence and grades since such support was not necessarily possible or being provided in the classroom context:

> It was almost immediate. The way her confidence improved (...) so for example, you know asking a question in class, before having tutoring you know she wouldn't want to ask, she wouldn't want, she was afraid she would look stupid in front of the class and the teacher and that sort of thing. But I think with the tutoring, she had the opportunity to have that one-on-one tutoring where you could ask the question…and a safer…what she felt was a safer environment and a more comfortable environment. And then because she could get a handle of the material, then when she was in the school classroom scenario (..) she could ask questions that she felt it was a not a stupid question.

Such agentic narrative suggests a shift to TL, namely increased parental involvement in their child's education and an overall blurring of boundaries that "[expose] parents to numerous possibilities outside of public schooling… some parents are desperate to find the very best curricula and teachers for their children" (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 167). Here, parental agency over learning is being accommodated by tutoring services, suggesting a clear shift to TL.

Concerted Cultivation.

Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton's (2016) extended conceptualization of parentocracy includes the notion of concerted cultivation, which was also evident in participants' accounts of their child-rearing practices and corresponding views about individualized support and the use of tutoring for math. At the centre of this logic is the idea that "a concerted cultivator believes that 'good parents' not only provide food and shelter but also nurture a stimulating environment in the name of child development" (Davies & Aurini, 2008, p. 57). Here, parents demonstrated concerted cultivation in their purposeful mobilization of academic and extracurricular opportunities outside of school, including tutoring. Participating parents viewed themselves as responsible for guiding their child's educational trajectory and mobilizing opportunities when possible, as Andrew explained: "as a parent you've got to open your kid's eyes, it's one of your key roles, [to] open their eyes…you can't tell them what to look at but you've got to be able to open their eyes and show them." To bolster their concerted cultivation logics, Andrew and Jennifer sought out extracurricular activities outside of school. Involvement in sports was argued by the parents as a necessity for teaching time management and organizational skills. Parent discussion of the benefits of sports is evidence of concerted cultivation, as "concerted development of children, particularly through organized leisure activities [is viewed as] an essential aspect of good parenting" (Lareau, 2003, p. 2). Participating parents also reported having high expectations for their children's academic performance in preparation for university and the workplace - expectations that were being met via tutoring. Jennifer reported that tutoring enabled her to monitor her child's performance and check on their progress. For Andrew, tutoring helped to reinforce his belief in cultivating academic discipline at an early age, starting as early as middle school:

> Since grade 7 I told him, his number one goal, every year is to be on the honor roll (…)So our philosophy, mine was, to get my son into training a study habit, and a training habit for his school work, so that when he hits grades 11 and 12 it would not be such a shock, so all I did as a dad was try to preempt him getting a shock.

Andrew went on to justify his parenting methods as representing 'what good parents do', even though these practices went against other parents' approaches:

> Others who say "yeah it's only grade 11 and 12 that count". They may get good marks also but they would not have had the mindset, the study skills lined up that practice (…) to manage their time well. And there will be a shock for a lot of them.

Such "deliberate cultivation of children and their leisure activities" (Lareau, 2003, p. 5) is another sign of concerted cultivation. Tutoring allows involved parents the space to extend their involvement in their child's activities and ultimately development because unlike schooling, tutoring allows for "more opportunities for them [parents] to make decisions" (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 167). Their extended agency in the tutoring context was particularly evident in their choice of math tutoring as it was sought to offer an advantage or to keep options open. For example, Andrew chose tutoring in math to challenge Kevin who is a high achiever, and to enhance his math abilities which were argued as essential to improving performance in other academic subjects:

> What I find is personal experience. If you're good at math, you could be very good at most of the sciences fields generally. If you have a mathematical mind. It lends so much to the other things, like physics. So because he has advanced his math even more with tutoring, he's now really good [laughing] at everything science.

Further, Jennifer talked about the importance of improving math abilities in particular to allow more options for Hannah later on "you want to keep her options open, she may discover something in Grade 12 or you know, maybe she goes to university you know she might discover there's a path she wants which we want to keep her options open."

In their role as educational choice seekers and in line with a concerted cultivation approach, parents "are rarely content to merely complement existing school arrangements and strive to instead manage their child's education" (Davies & Aurini, 2008, p. 58). Participating

parents understood that their high expectations for their children's education were challenging to meet in a traditional classroom context where teachers cannot offer individualized support. Nevertheless, parents' increased involvement did not stem from their dissatisfaction with schools and teachers. Rather, they believed that their preferences related to their child's education were better accommodated in tutoring contexts, and they expressed empathy and understanding related to the limitations of school-based educators to meet their needs. In this way, tutoring was therefore allowing participating parents to customize their child's learning.

Therefore, they opted for tutoring to help fill perceived gaps in their children's school-based education. When asked what distinguishes schooling from tutoring, Andrew discussed the school restraints preventing the possibilities of individualized support: "in school, there's not enough time in the day, for teachers to help everybody. There's just not enough time. So, I think you'll have to look for that outside help." Jennifer echoed Andrew's perspective, saying that "definitely that one-on-one personalized teaching. I mean the teacher cannot…be individual with fifteen different students in the class. Especially kids with different learning styles you know."

These perspectives on schooling and underlying motives for seeking tutoring align with the extended conceptualization of parentocracy. Although Kim and Jung do not refer to Barrett DeWiele and Edgerton's (2016) extended conceptualization of parentocracy when discussing the "conversion of decision-making agents" characteristic, the authors do refer to the notion of a guiding discourse on parenting that "is visible and explicit," specifically, in parents' "decisions about their child's career path, school, curriculum, materials, teachers, and tutors" (p. 167). Correspondingly, the visibility of parentocracy discourse in parents accounts supports the existence of this key TL characteristic.

Taken together, parents' and students' increased agency over learning suggests a shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling from the PL to the TL. Tutoring is playing an important role in learning and was not used solely to enhance performance in math but was instead a result of parental involvement in all aspects of a child's academic development and students' ownership of their learning experience. Parents' and students' accounts indicated their understanding that "the ultimate responsibility for learning should be shouldered by the student

and parents" (Kim & Jung, 2019b, 167). Instead of leaving the responsibility for learning to teachers and the school, parents and students see tutoring as a way to customize the learning experience to their preferences and expectations. The agency over learning that was made possible through tutoring is shifting the role of tutoring from being peripheral to transboundary.

Tutors as Mentors and Friends

The second theme identified in the data is "tutors as mentors and friends" This theme links to the TL characteristic "decentered authority of education."(Kim & Jung, 2019b). In this section, I will outline evidence from the data on how views on formal education are changing. Specifically, I will discuss participants' description of tutors as friends and mentors.

Findings showed that tutors and tutees have a unique relationship beyond the focus on teaching and learning the school-based curriculum. Here, tutors were described as friends, mentors and role models, in addition to being "that second wave of help you can get" (Kevin). Kevin described what this friendship looks like between him and his tutor:

> You get to meet someone and talk to them, like, almost like a friend in math and be like, "Oh, yeah, so I had this problem that was bugging me a bit. I really want to solve it" [...] It almost gets to the point that they want to solve it too with you. I'm like, "well, what's the problem? I'm curious." Especially when you start running into people that really are passionate about what they're teaching and learning. Oftentimes, a lot of the tutors are doing it not as a job but more as a passion, which is really like really, really, really nice to know. Because it's much easier to get taught by people who really, really have a passion in the things that are getting taught.

Kevin also talked about how tutors are mentors. For instance, not only did his math tutor help him with math, but he also helped by "show[ing] me what I could learn in university at the same time to be able to be at the same level as them per se." Jessica also talked about the different skills she learned from her tutor that went beyond the math subject:

> I think the main thing about tutoring is that I've learned that I can know how to ask questions to teachers because I think before that, I really wouldn't like because I was

> fairly good at math, I would just go on my own way. But now I feel like if I have a question, I'll really try to bring it up to them so I can understand something more fully.

Hannah reiterated this idea of tutors teaching important skills that went beyond the math subject: “you like go over stuff. But then you can also you also like, learn new ways to do things and like other things that you might need.”

A noteworthy element to the tutor-student relationship transforming to more of a mentorship or friendship could be the narrow age gap between the student and tutor, as Andrew pointed out by saying “these are smart people and they are only 3, 5 years older than [Kevin], so he relates better, than to a 55, 60-year-old person right?”

This characterization of tutors as mentors was mirrored in the parent data. Andrew (i.e., Kevin’s father) also referred to tutors as mentors “the tutor uhmm, I..I would hesitate to call them tutors actually anymore, I would actually call them a tutor/mentor.” He explained that this was specifically the case with his son Kevin. As discussed earlier, Kevin did not necessarily need a lot of help with math, so Andrew viewed the tutoring as a way to communicate and learn from a mentor:

> What I found was is by having, having a tutor, became more like a mentor/friend. Someone to help guide him because he didn't need help in math. But when he had a mentor, who he could look up to, who's more advanced than him, he could then talk with him and, and do even better from what he was doing. (Andrew)

Andrew further explained why the relationship between tutors and students could be seen as more of a mentor-mentee relationship:

> Because when a younger student is looking up to someone in university or above, they, they, they open their mind up to what is the next step that could be for them [...] So these people become more than just the tutor, they do become a mentor, mentors more than just the math part, they talk right, they are not robots, they talk they have an hour, an hour and a half session, they talk.

Another factor that strengthens and ultimately transforms the relationship between tutors and tutees into mentors-mentees is the efforts made to match tutors and tutees. Jennifer explained

how the tutoring centre took the time to interview both her and Hannah, which led to them matching her with the right tutor:

> She connected with him right away, and I mean I think part of it is that the tutor like [name of the tutoring service], they took the time to do an interview with us before we started the tutoring, so they could match her with an appropriate tutor and I'm sure part of that is personality and sort of knowing what her needs were so I felt that was a valuable [pause] exercise they know ahead of time what her needs were sort of what her situation was and they matched her with who they felt would be an appropriate tutor.

The informal setting of a tutoring environment allows time for students and tutors to talk and develop a relationship that might not always be possible in a classroom setting. In this vein, Kevin shared how he was able to ask questions on the curriculum with his tutor that went beyond the textbook to expand his learning:

> And sometimes, like the theoretical part of physics sometimes or other ways is like I don't understand, completely unrelated to what we're doing in school. I'm like, I'll ask my physics tutor saying, Hey, I don't really understand the physics behind how this works. Next thing you know, I know how they make like electricity in those turbines at some dams and stuff. And being able to talk with people about that. That's really helped me understand a bit more what diving into university, knowing my goals, what that could teach me.

Hannah echoed Kevin's comments, explaining the sense of confidence she feels in her tutoring session which allowed her to ask questions without hesitation:

> The tutor. He was really nice. And he made me like, feel like more like confident. And like, I don't know, I felt like... really easy just to ask questions [...] made me feel really really comfortable too, like in the environment.

Kevin also contrasted the tutor-mentor relationships with the students-teacher relationship:

> In a way, my mentors and role models in terms of education-wise have been my tutors more than my, than my teachers have. (That's) not to say that my teachers haven't provided me with plenty of opportunities to expand on my learning. But definitely, I

> would say that having that friend there to help me through my educational experience has impacted my goals, what I wanted to do.

Kevin explicitly referred to teachers negatively as “bosses” while tutors were described positively as friends, mentors and role models. He explained his preference for working with tutors, saying “with the tutor, you don't have to hand them in anything. They're purely there to help you. It's good to know that there's very little stress while you're doing the work with them.” This framing of tutors in a more favorable light compared to teachers is not uncommon; as Addi‐Raccah (2019) explains: “unlike schoolteachers, private tutors who interact with pupils on a more individual and personal basis seem to provide the care and support that pupils need while being exposed to pressure for high academic achievements” (p. 954). This kind of favoring of tutors over teachers is a sign of the changing authority of education, whereby tutors hold more than a simple “second teacher” position in parents’ and students’ eyes (Kim & Jung, 2019b).

Positioning tutors as mentors and friends suggests a clear trust in tutors, which leads to them being heard (by parents and students) and ultimately having influence and authority over students' learning. These findings suggest that expanding the definition of educator and mentor to include tutors is evidence of a shift in the holders of educational authority over learning, whereby students and parents rely on both tutors and teachers. The line separating educators in school versus educators in tutoring contexts was also being blurred by participants; while teachers often have the added responsibility for assessment and accountability towards students and parents, tutors were not characterized in the findings as being fully on the periphery. Instead, tutors were seen by participants as playing equal roles (and in some cases even more prominent roles) in students' learning journey. In addition to reshaping the definition of an educator, views on academic success were also being reshaped by participants, as will be discussed in the following section.

Math Success as a Combination of Tutoring and Schooling

The final theme in the study is “math success as a combination of tutoring and schooling.” I will discuss how this theme connects to the TL characteristic “various models of academic success.”(Kim & Jung, 2019b). Findings showed that participants viewed academic

success generally, and in math specifically, as being a result of both school and tutoring learning contexts.

As the boundaries between school and tutoring blur, Kim and Jung (2019b) explained how "simply put, academic success can no longer be attributed solely to the role of public education - it now extends to shadow curriculum" (p. 173). In this study, participating students did not attribute their success solely to school and instead discussed how tutoring had a specific role to play in their overall academic achievement. Kevin discussed this by saying "is tutoring gonna get you better marks? I think it should. I mean, for me, it definitely helped me do better in math and English and everything." Kevin's father (i.e., Andrew) reiterated how tutoring helps with achieving academic success:

> The tutoring definitely helps, tutoring helps anyone, get better than what they currently are, because unless you're scoring 100%, you can always improve, and if you can't do it on your own, that outside source (a tutor, a mentor) will help you to get to that next piece, that next…help you put that jigsaw puzzle together where you're missing that last piece. Tutoring definitely helps, whether you're not too smart, or you're very smart.

Students in the study were all motivated to achieve their best and tutoring was utilized as a tool to maintain or enhance marks. In line with the blurring boundaries of TL, they considered their academic success to be contingent on both schooling and tutoring. For many, academic success was particularly important in order to go to university:

> I guess just to do well, and like be proud of where I'm at. But I say like for especially like now we're in grade 12. I'm pushing myself to get grades that I can apply with. (Jessica)
>
> I wanna do well, so that I can like go to university. (Hannah)

Student participants' desire for high achievement was further supported by tutors who helped them improve their math grades and enhance confidence in the subject. Even though Jessica and Kevin regarded themselves as math people and were high achievers, tutoring allowed them to do even better. When asked whether she experienced improvement with tutoring, Jessica stated:

> Definitely, from when I didn't have my tutor to when I got my tutor, I saw a difference in grades. So it's pretty nice. I think I got a 90 grade 10 I think I got a 96 [...]And I think that

> stems from just like, being more competent with the subject knowing that I have someone there to support me if I do need support.

Students explained how tutoring helped them significantly with challenging subjects. Specific to math, Jennifer noticed a “dramatic improvement” in both Hannah’s grades and confidence with math. When Hannah was asked whether the improvements she experienced in math were because she better understood the subject with the help of tutoring she responded by saying; “Yeah, because I'm able to go over it later with someone that can give me extra support and knows how to teach it.”

Participating students acknowledged the role tutoring played in their academic success particularly in math. In their discussion of the different models of academic success, Kim and Jung argued that “students of today... do not believe that working hard at school is the only way to ensure academic success” (p. 173). Hence what emerges in the TL context is different models of academic success that are not limited to “the traditional model of sitting in a school classroom and diligently following school teachers” (Kim & Jung, 2019b, p. 175). Instead, and as was evident in the findings of this study, students are achieving their academic goals through merging resources from both tutoring and schooling contexts. In this vein, their learning experiences are changing due to tutoring.

Discussion

The aim of the study was to document students' and parents' lived experiences with tutoring services for math and their views on the relationship between tutoring and schooling. Specifically, the research questions posed in this study were: (1) what are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa (Ontario, Canada)?; (2) What are parents’ motives for seeking private tutoring services?; and (3) How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school)?

Findings reveal a shift in the relationship between tutoring and schooling from PL to TL. The following sections will outline this key finding and associated sub-themes in terms of how

they respond to the research questions, correspond to findings from the existing literature, and suggest implications for practice and research.

Learning Experiences in Tutoring Contexts

As of today, very few Canadian studies report students' lived experiences with tutoring (Wu, 2003; Lim, 2010). The current study responds to this gap in the scholarly literature by centring the voices of students on tutoring services for math. Participating students' narratives revealed the important role tutoring plays in their educational journey. Students shared many advantages and benefits of tutoring that align with earlier work in the field, such as tutor availability (Chan & Bray, 2014), fulfilling shortcomings from the classroom such as: lack of individualized attention (Addi-Raccah, 2019; Chan & Bray, 2014), dissonance between learning style and teaching style (Kwo & Bray, 2014) and informal learning setting (Hajar, 2018, 2020). Participants reported benefitting from the informal context of learning that tutoring provided, where they could receive tailored support and have enough time (and confidence) to ask questions and expand their knowledge beyond the ascribed curriculum. These needs were fulfilled in the tutoring context; and, as a result, students reported enhanced math achievement in school and an overall increase in their perceived confidence and competence in the subject.

Students took ownership of their learning by recognizing these needs and fulfilling them through seeking tutoring services. It was evident that the participating students' experiences in tutoring contexts were more agentic, as opposed to the kind of dependent experience reported in schooling contexts (Kim & Jung, 2019b). Here, participants' socioeconomic status allowed them to access tutoring, and as a result, experience agency over their learning and ultimately succeed in math. However, more common to the broader context is the reality that tutoring is not affordable for everyone, and therefore many students are unable to experience these kinds of positive and agentic experiences made possible through tutoring, which leads to widening achievement gaps. Despite the expansion of tutoring, to this day "the theme is given inadequate attention" (Bray, 2017, p. 484), particularly in Canada. Therefore, as these findings show, to mitigate tutoring's impact on educational inequality, more attention needs to be given to tutoring

and its role in student learning. More data from different parts of Canada is needed to ascertain the impact of tutoring in the hopes of consequently provoking action.

Discourse of Parentocracy and Associated Inequalities

In addition to highlighting student perspectives, parental motives were also investigated. On the surface, participating parents wanted to support children with their math development; however, examining parent data through a parentocracy lens also revealed the clear presence of the extended conceptualization of parentocracy (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016). Similar to Tan (2017), findings show that the newly conceptualized parentocracy discourse (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016) is present as a parental logic informing educational decision-making particularly related to tutoring. For instance, participating parents viewed tutoring as an aspect of educational choices that "good parents" should seek to give an advantage to their children. For math specifically, parents recognized the importance of math for opening doors to different academic paths (Jennifer) and to expand cognitive abilities in the sciences (Andrew). Reasons such as struggles with math were not the only underlying motive for math tutoring. Findings from the parent data pointed to their desired involvement in areas beyond academics to other after-school activities (including tutoring), which aligns with a concerted cultivation perspective on parentocracy (Barrett & Edgerton, 2016; Lareau, 2003).

Evidence of parentocracy as a guiding parental motive for seeking out tutoring raises concerns over inequality (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016, Brown, 1990). Here, parental involvement and educational orientation enabled participants to mobilize resources (including math tutoring) in order to provide a competitive advantage for their children. As a result, their children would have more opportunities and a higher chance of moving up the social ladder. The additional push for concerted activities (such as extracurricular activities) is also concerning, as it can often lead to "the transmission of differential advantages to children" (Lareau, 2003, p. 5). Lareau elaborates on this concern by saying that "children raised according to the logic of concerted cultivation can gain advantages, in the form of an emergent sense of entitlement, while children raised according to the logic of natural growth tend to develop an emerging sense of constraint" (p. 7). In this vein, recommendations for tutoring expansion come with an important

caveat that such expansion risks increase in parentocratic discourse and associated inequalities. Policymakers need to recognize the increasing influence of tutoring on learning and its role in creating and maintaining inequalities.

Changing Narratives and their Implications

The third and final research question inquired about both parent and student insights on learning in schooling and tutoring contexts. Participants perceived student learning in both contexts as distinct by arguing that tutoring offered many advantages that were absent from the schooling context. A reading of these positive accounts through the TL conceptual lens suggests a change in the narrative around education that makes space for tutoring when discussing the influence of educators and school on academic success generally, and the merits of tutoring specifically. Students and parents reported that success in math was not due solely to students' efforts and teachers' support; instead, high achievement in math was due to the additional support they received from tutors. This was the case for participants who were struggling (Hannah) and those who were not (Kevin and Jessica) and was echoed by the parents. For participants who were not struggling, tutoring was "an easier way to be successful" (Kevin).

Participants' descriptions of tutors as friends and as mentors, and their positioning of that as an advantage of tutoring, calls for a revisiting of some fundamental questions related to education like "Who is considered an educator? And why?" or "What is the role of an educator?" The answers to these questions lay in the examination of what parents and students want in an educator. Findings from this study showed that participants wanted an informal context of learning where they could receive tailored support and be provided time and space to build confidence to ask questions and expand their knowledge beyond the ascribed curriculum. In many cases, tutors were viewed positively as educators, mentors and friends (when compared with school-based teachers), mainly because (unlike teachers in schools) their role in student learning does not involve the added responsibility of assessment and they are able to offer more individualized support.

Conclusion

Following Kim and Jung's analysis of TL in the tutoring context, Zhang and Bray (2020) suggested that future research is "likely to show increasingly blurred boundaries between public and private [learning contexts]" (p. 331). Such is the case in the present study, which provides evidence of a shift to TL in the context of math tutoring in Canada. Findings revealed that the boundaries between tutoring and schooling is blurring, as tutoring increasingly impacts students' learning and academic success. Findings in the study suggest that future conversations about math tutoring in Canada and other countries should examine its influence in schooling contexts as opposed to examining it in isolation of learning in schools.

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Chapter Three: Conclusions

Tutoring is not a new research area in Canadian literature. Scholars have investigated many aspects of tutoring including the changing structure of tutoring services (Aurini, 2006; Davies & Aurini, 2004;2013), parents' motives (Aurini et al., 2020; Gale, 2016), and franchise owners' insights (Aurini, 2008; Davies & Aurini, 2004). However, unlike the case in other countries (Chan & Bray, 2014; Hajar, 2018;2020), research on Canadian students' and parents' lived experiences is lacking with a few exceptions (see Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003).

Scholars outside Canada are expanding their research scope by focusing on the interaction between tutoring and schooling contexts, and the influence of both on students' learning (Chan & Bray, 2014; Kwo & Bray, 2003; Hajar, 2018, 2020). In a recent publication based on research in South Korea, Kim and Jung (2019a, 2019b) argue that the boundaries between tutoring and schooling are blurring, leading them to propose the concept of "transboundary learning." Kim and Jung maintain that transboundary learning is likely evident in other parts of the world such as North America. Recent debates in the Canadian context positioned tutoring as peripheral in relation to other educational institutions, such as schools (Davies & Aurini, 2013), however such findings were not based on documented lived experiences. This study adds a Canadian perspective to empirical research on transboundary learning and responds to the dearth of research on parents' and students' lived experiences with tutoring services.

The Article

In the study, I centred parents' and students' perspectives on tutoring services through semi-structured interviews. As insiders, participant reporting was detailed and authentic.Findings revealed a change in the relationship between learning via tutoring versus schooling, signaled by a move from the peripheral to the transboundary. In other words, tutoring is playing a more serious role in supporting student learning of math than researchers have previously argued (e.g., Aurini & Davies, 2013). This shift was evident in the documentation of three of Kim and Jung's (2019b) characteristics of TL in the data, which were nuanced by participants' unique lived experiences and organized into three themes: (i) parents and students as main decision-makers;

(ii) tutors as mentors and friends; and (iii) math success as a combination of tutoring and schooling.

In this conclusions chapter, I start with discussing the identified themes and sub-themes as responses to each research question. Next, I discuss a key finding that resonated most with me (i.e., the implications of the TL shift on inequalities), followed by the advantages of the TL as an analytical lens and possible use in future inquiries. I conclude with reflections on the value of documenting lived experiences in research and global takeaways.

Research Questions

In the following section, I will explain how the findings respond to each research question, which were: (1) What are the lived experiences of high school students receiving math tutoring from a private tutoring service in Ottawa (Ontario, Canada)?; (2) What are parents' motives for seeking private tutoring services?; and (3) How do participants perceive the learning taking place in different environments (e.g., tutoring vs. school)?

Students' Lived Experience

In Canada, there is a dearth of data on students lived experiences in tutoring contexts, with only a few expectations (See Lim, 2010; Wu, 2003). In this study, I wanted to highlight students' lived experiences and consequently add to the existing literature. Students' narratives revealed the important role tutoring plays in their educational journey. They shared many advantages and benefits of tutoring that align with earlier work in the field (Addi-Raccah, 2019; Chan & Bray, 2014; Hajar, 2018, 2020). A synthesis of these earlier narratives on tutoring versus schooling was organized in a table (see Appendix D). In an updated table, I include the theme "tutors as mentors and friends" as a nuanced contribution from the current study to the earlier synthesis (see Appendix D). Participating students reported benefits point to the significant potential for tutoring to be an influential aspect of students' math learning experience. Equally interesting were students' active merging of resources from both learning contexts and agency over their learning, which suggests a shift from viewing tutoring as peripheral learning to a transboundary learning experience. In many cases, although the school was an important context

of learning, both students and parents reported seeing tutoring as intertwined with schooling because of its impact on the overall learning experience.

Parent Motives

Parents' insights were also examined in isolation of students' narratives. On the surface, parents wanted to support children with their math learning; nevertheless, examining the data through a parentocracy lens revealed the clear presence of the extended conceptualization of parentocracy (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016). Parents viewed tutoring as an aspect of educational choices that "good parents" should seek to give an advantage to their children. For math specifically, parents recognized the importance of math for opening doors to different academic paths (Jennifer) and expanding cognitive abilities in the sciences (Andrew). Reasons such as struggles with math were one of other underlying parental motives for math tutoring. For example, probing questions made evident the existence of concerted cultivation – i.e., parental involvement in areas beyond academics, such as after-school activities. Parents' increased agency over students learning, and search for additional support (i.e., display of parentocracy) were addressed via tutoring services for their children. Participating parents sought out tutoring to address challenges faced by their children related to math, including lack of confidence (Jennifer) and lack of individualized support (Jennifer and Andrew).

Although the extended conceptualization of parentocracy in the tutoring context has been discussed in the literature (See Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016; Tan, 2017), this concept has yet to be analyzed through a TL framework. In the current study, using the parentocracy discourse in conjunction with the TL framework to interpret the parent data was beneficial, as it allowed for the identification of connections between the findings and educational inequalities. The parentocracy lens meant that I was able to analyze parents' decisions to access tutoring as influenced by a parental discourse as opposed to viewing parents insights as isolated narratives; thus, bring to the forefront the broader socioeconomic realities influencing parents' agency over students learning, particularly in relation to tutoring. Consequently, findings pointed to a clear shift to TL and its potential to lead to an increase in parentocracy discourse. I will discuss this finding in more detail as it pertains to issues of inequality in a later section of this chapter.

Learning in Tutoring and Schooling Contexts

Besides documenting students' and parents' lived experiences in tutoring contexts, findings revealed noteworthy perspectives on learning in both schooling and tutoring contexts. Parents' and students' insights on learning in both contexts suggest they view these contexts as distinct from one another, arguing that tutoring offered many advantages that were absent from the schooling context (e.g., individualized support and personalized mentorship.) Considering these accounts through the conceptual lens of transboundary learning suggests a shift in narratives around the merits of tutoring specifically, and the influence of educators and school on academic success more generally (Kim & Jung, 2019b).

Students and parents recognized that success in math was not due solely to students' efforts and teachers' support; instead, high achievement in math was possible due to the additional support they received from tutors. Tutors offered customized support that mitigated challenges faced in school and obstacles to achievement. Besides changing narratives on academic success, findings showed evidence of changing narratives around tutors as mentors and friends. Participants referred to teachers as "bosses" and the school structure as "military-like," while tutors were referred to as "friends", "mentors", and "role models" – descriptors presented by participants as representing the advantages of tutoring. These changing views on academic success and teacher authority are key features of a TL context (Kim & Jung, 2019b) whereby fundamental elements of schooling and learning are being reconceptualized according to lived experiences in tutoring contexts.

A Shift to TL and the Issue of Inequalities

Besides highlighting families' lived experiences in tutoring contexts, findings from the current study show a connection between tutoring and issues of inequality. In this section, I will discuss how a shift to TL and associated increase in parentocracy could lead to an increase in educational inequalities.

Parentocracy and its Connection to Inequalities in Education

Parent data showed evidence of parentocracy, which raises concerns over inequality in education (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2016; Brown, 1990). In Canada, parents who seek tutoring are typically white and have high socioeconomic status and advanced educational backgrounds (Davies, 2004). Hence, not all parents are able to utilize resources and access tutoring.

Participating parents were oriented towards their child's education and were involved in their learning; more importantly, parents reported having the financial resources to enroll their children in tutoring for many years, allowing their children to gain many advantages. While the idea of tutoring offering advantages is not new, the findings from this study – and the documented shift to TL – offer a nuanced portrait of how tutoring is influencing students' overall learning experiences. Findings from this study suggest that because of tutoring, students were able to establish strong bonds with an educator (which helped in transforming the relationship into that of mentor-mentee) and gain increased confidence in their abilities. These benefits were mainly possible because of the closeness of the tutor-tutee relationship and the assessment-free learning environment, which are challenging to see in a traditional teacher-student relationship and an assessment-based classroom.

Participating parents were aware that their socioeconomic status realities made it possible for them (and not others) to enroll their children in such costly services, which allowed them to experience academic success and benefit from individualized support. Andrew stated this very clearly in his interview:

> Now (pause) I can afford that. There is a question of money when it comes to tutoring. Tutoring is not cheap (...) So if you're not in a good income bracket, I can see how that really can hurt people who need tutoring…their budget just isn't there sometimes. So, I've been fortunate that I have an okay budget to be able to do that.

Participating parents (and students) shared that their privilege allowed them this greater advantage, which is not possible for many. When asked how her parents help with her learning, Jessica explained "they're definitely, like really supportive. I get the resources I need, and

especially with tutoring. I'm lucky enough that we can afford that." Andrew further explained the challenge that faces families who cannot afford the tutoring and are looking for more affordable options, saying "you have to look very hard to find someone who's willing to just volunteer for you." Such inequalities of access to tutoring have been reported in other contexts such as the USA (Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010), Spain (Runte-Geidel & Marzo, 2015), Turkey (Atalmis, Yilmaz & Saatcioglu, 2016), Hong Kong (Bray & Kwok, 2003) and Japan (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

On a personal note, although I was aware of these issues, documenting these firsthand accounts was challenging as it made these issues all the more real and alarming. The presence of concerted activities (i.e., parent involvement in extracurricular and academic activities) was particularly concerning to me, as it is known to lead to "the transmission of differential advantages to children" (Lareau, 2003; p. 5). Furthermore, "children raised according to the logic of concerted cultivation can gain advantages, in the form of an emergent sense of entitlement, while children raised according to the logic of natural growth tend to develop an emerging sense of constraint" (Lareau, 2003, p. 7). This parentocracy discourse is creating a competitive society, which seems to only benefit certain groups of families who are privileged. While I think competition between students is beneficial because it encourages students to do their best, this kind of parentocracy discourse creates a competitive situation in which parents' socioeconomic status is the controller of the competition. I find this to be unjust because students' efforts are not the only object of competition. In this scenario, parents with the financial means can offer competitive advantages to their children in many ways, including through tutoring.

Hence, while I advocate for tutoring expansion as a result of these findings, I do so with the caveat that such an expansion could result in an intensification of parentocracy discourse and the associated inequalities described above. It is with this in mind that I suggest policymakers need to further discuss tutoring and its role in creating and maintaining inequalities as part of any contemplations of facilitating tutoring expansion. A first step would be to recognize students' increasing use of resources and enhancement of learning because of tutoring and facilitate access to more affordable tutoring options. Here, would offering affordable tutoring options be an effective solution? Or should attention be paid to school-based learning, with possible calls to

action towards reducing student-teacher ratio? Future research in this area may shed light on possible responses to these questions.

Theoretical Implications

Here, I discuss in this section the benefits of using the TL as an analytical tool in the current study and why it should be considered in future inquiries. Adopting a TL framework allowed me to centre both parent and student narratives on learning, success, and achievement across different learning contexts (in this case, school and tutoring). The TL framework highlighted the complexities in students' and parents' experiences of learning across these spaces, allowing me to document the various factors informing students' learning experiences from both perspectives and strengthening my conclusions on the shift to TL. Future scholars who are interested in gaining insight into the blurriness between the two learning contexts and amplifying students' and parents' lived experiences should consider using the TL framework as their conceptual lens.

Furthermore, the TL framework allowed me to identify and isolate current arguments on learning in schools and tutoring contexts in Canada. This led me to identify the PL arguments (see Davies & Aurini, 2013) and integrate them as part of the conversation on TL perspectives. Specifically, positioning TL and PL arguments in a synthesis table (See Table D3) allowed me to recognize differences between the two perspectives on the relationship between student learning across tutoring and schooling contexts. Analyzing the data with this understanding allowed me to argue that learning across tutoring and schooling contexts is shifting from a PL perspective to a TL perspective. Consequently, I was able to situate perspectives on TL in the Canadian context and discuss context-specific implications that nuanced Kim and Jung's (2019b) recommendations. Researchers in other contexts might consider similar juxtaposing of current context-specific arguments on tutoring and schooling in relation to TL arguments. In this vein, using TL as an analytical tool will help in the documentation of how it is lived out in different contexts and the degree to which it builds off or challenges existing debates about student learning and (in)equality in the field of education more broadly.

Research with Lived Experiences

My original motive for conducting this study was to amplify student and parent voices. I wanted to discuss findings that were grounded in the research but most importantly based on firsthand accounts of lived realities in tutoring contexts. I was able to achieve this goal; and to revisit and challenge my initial assumptions and interpretations considering the participants' lived experiences.

Prior to data collection and during literature synthesis, I believed that to support learning outside school, we needed to regulate tutoring services (Bray, 2017). I also shared the same sentiments as other Canadian scholars that tutoring lacking "regulation or affiliations with educational bodies" will lead to the "act of education [to] becomes consumer, rather than expert, driven" (Aurini, 2004, p. 484). However, after documenting the advantages shared by participants, I am no longer holding the same view. Instead, I now view the lack of regulation in tutoring institutions as one of its most important features distinguishing it from schooling and allowing it to become a space for students and parents to fulfill needs not met in the classroom. I realize that my previous opinions were not informed by my lived experiences and were based on readings and my own interpretations, which were limiting. Conversations with students and parents who were embedded in these institutions offered me a counter-narrative that is often the result of conducting research on student voices, as "it's not possible to "do" student voice without thinking and rethinking" one's previous positions on the topic of focus (Cook-Sather, 2006, p. 382). Coming to these conclusions has also reinforced my initial rationale for the study that more research on lived experiences in tutoring contexts is needed. Any general educational actions, or specific tutoring actions, should be informed by parent and student perspectives (Sahlberg, 2010).

Finally, it is worth noting that I also set an intention early on in this study to give back to the participants by sharing the findings in an accessible format. In this vein, I decided to create an infographic that details the key takeaways from the study (see Appendix E). I hope in my future roles following my MA that I continue to amplify student and parent voices through

research and give back to them in more impactful ways (e.g., advocating for meaningful policy reform).

Final Thoughts

Through this thesis, I responded to a gap in Canadian literature on students' and parents' lived experiences with tutoring services and offered empirical insights on transboundary learning. Participants' lived experiences reinforced my position on the importance of including students' and parents' perspectives in educational research and having their insights inform policy changes and any reforms involving educational institutions. The findings presented here are particularly relevant to teachers and policymakers concerned with bettering students' learning experiences, as suggested recommendations are based on both parent and student perspectives. I hope that in discussing the possibilities of a shift to TL and its associated impact on inequalities, future researchers are motivated to engage in similar inquiry. More importantly, attention to the tutoring phenomenon from the research community could lead to data-driven calls to action. These findings will hopefully offer stakeholders a first step to working towards positive and relevant educational reforms that specifically mitigate inequality related to tutoring. I believe any future actions in this regard should be guided by Jessica's well-articulated and straightforward perspective on tutoring and access, where she says "I honestly believe that everyone should have access to personal help if they so choose." Her words could be considered to be obvious or 'common sense', but they are often forgotten or entirely disregarded in the complexities of educational reform. I hope that this research will spark more interest in investigating tutoring services and considering the TL framework in future inquiries.

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Appendix A

Ethical Clearance

09/11/2020

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number	S-10-20-6082
Titre du projet / Project Title	Documenting the lived experiences of students and parents in Ontario math tutoring centres.
Type de projet / Project Type	Thèse de maîtrise / Master's thesis
Statut du projet / Project Status	Approuvé / Approved
Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	09/11/2020
Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	08/11/2021

Équipe de recherche / Research Team

Chercheur / Researcher	Affiliation	Role
Alaa AZAN	Faculté d'éducation / Faculty of Education	Chercheur Principal / Principal Investigator
Stephanie ARNOTT	Faculté d'éducation / Faculty of Education	Superviseur / Supervisor

Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

Appendix B

Recruitment Documents

Appendix B1. Parent invitation letter

Documenting the lived experiences of students and parents

in Ontario math tutoring centres.

Dear Parent/Legal guardian,

My name is Alaa Azan, and I am a master's student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. I would like to invite you to participate in the above-mentioned study that I am conducting in partial fulfillment of my master's degree under the direction of Dr. Stephanie Arnott. The study received approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (REB).

Purpose: To gain an in-depth understanding of high school students' and parents' experiences with math tutoring. Parents of students receiving tutoring are invited for an interview to allow for a more comprehensive documentation of students' lived experiences in tutoring centres.

Participation - Your participation will involve taking part in an approximately 60 minutes online interview (via Zoom or Microsoft Teams) to share your motives for seeking tutoring services for your child and gain insights on your overall involvement in your child's academic journey.

Benefits Taking part in the interview is a chance for you to self-reflect on your motives for choosing tutoring for your child and your overall involvement in your child's education. Your participation in this study is an opportunity to reflect on your motives for choosing tutoring and its overall effect on your child's progress. Your input will help determine whether math tutoring for Canadian high school students is effective for improving student performance.

Compensation: As a thank-you for taking part in the study you will receive a $10 e-gift card from either Indigo or Starbucks. I will also send you an infographic or poster with the study's

findings so you can see the impact of your participation. Even if you decide to withdraw at any point, I will still send you the poster or infographic and the e-gift card.

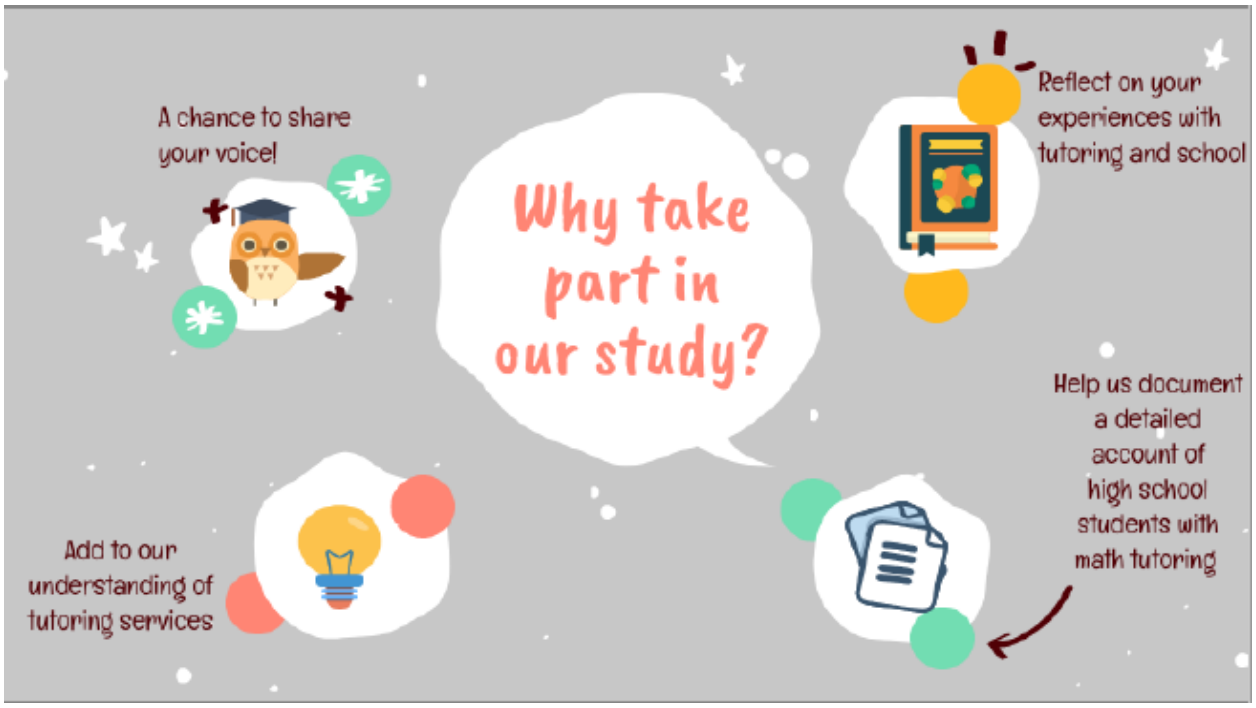
Confidentiality: Please note the above-mentioned research study is conducted separately from the tutoring centre. Any information you share will be kept confidential and will not be disclosed to any other party including the tutoring centre. In addition, your participation in the study will have no impact on the service you are receiving from the tutoring centre. Confidentiality will be maintained if the data becomes published or during presentations.

Please note, that participants will be chosen on a first-come-first-serve basis. If you should decide to participate and find that you wish to withdraw from the study, you have the right to discontinue anytime with no penalties.

Inviting your child: If you would like, you can also invite your child to take part in the student interview portion of the study. Your child's participation will consist of taking one (60 - minute) semi-structured interview. Students will be asked questions on the type of support they are receiving from both their school and tutoring centre. Similar to the parent interview, the student interview will be audio-recorded online (Zoom/ Microsoft Teams) at a time that works best for your child. Participation in the student interview will be determined on a first-come/first-serve criteria. Participation in this study is an opportunity for your child to inform the current gap in Canadian research about the lived experiences of students in tutoring centres. To allow students to voice their perspectives independently, it is preferred to do the interviews individually with the researcher. However, if you would prefer, you can attend the interview with your child.
If you're interested in the study or have any questions please contact the researcher at [Email Address]

Sincerely,
Alaa Azan
MA Candidate. Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Appendix B2. Student recruitment poster




Taking part in the interviews will be determined on a first-come first-serve basis!
Want to learn more? We've answers to your questions
Who Is conducting the study?
Alaa Azan (a master's student at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education) is conducting the study under the supervision of Dr. Stephanie Arnott.
Why Are we researching this topic?
We want to learn about high school students' experiences with math tutoring
What will you be asked to do?
You'll take part in one 60-minutes interview during which you'll be asked about:
. your motives and thoughts on tutoring, the support you're receiving from both school and tutoring and to reflect on your experience.
When will the study take place?
The interview will take place online using Zoom or Microsoft Teams platform. The interview will be scheduled at a time that works best for you.
How Are we protecting your data?
Anything you discuss during our interviews will not be shared with your parents, tutors, teachers or school.
Will there be any impact on you?
The study is conducted separately from the tutoring center. Therefore, your participation will have no impact on the services you are receiving from the tutoring center.


Interested?
send us an email!

Appendix C

Interview Protocols

Appendix C1. Student interview protocol

Motives (warm-up questions):

1. Tell me about yourself. What are your interests? What are your favorite subjects in school?
2. What are your academic goals?
    a. Describe how your parents have influenced your motivation to reach your academic goals.

Motives (con't):

3. Tell me what works/doesn't work for you in school when it comes to learning math.
4. What makes you want to do well in math? And in school generally?
5. Tell me how your parents help you with your learning in school or outside of school.
6. Why are you taking private tutoring for math? Who suggested private tutoring to you?
7. How do you feel about the math tutoring you're receiving?
    a. What do you like/dislike about it?
    b. What's your favorite / least favorite part(s) about it?

Online Tutoring:

1. Do you prefer online or face-to-face tutoring? Why? Are there advantages or disadvantages?
2. Do you prefer online or face-to-face schooling? (this will depend if the student is taking online school or not!)

Tutoring vs. Schooling

1. In what ways is learning math in through tutoring similar or different from learning in the class/at school?
    a. Does it *complement* the school material? If so, in what way(s)?
    b. Does it *supplement* the school material? If so, in what way(s)?

2. What does the program at the tutoring place provide that your school does not?
3. Tell me about how the following people help you with schoolwork:
    a. (a) tutors
    b. (b) teachers in school
    c. (c) parents.
4. Does anyone else help you with school work? If so, who? And how do they help?
5. Tell me about your relationship with your math tutor.
    a. What do you like /dislike about them?
6. Do you think tutoring is necessary to ensure your success in math?

Reflections

1. How do you feel about the math tutoring you're receiving?
2. In what ways has the support you received helped / not helped you with math in particular?

Academic Life:

3. How has your participation in the tutoring service helped you at school?
    a. Do you achieve higher grades?
    b. Are you able to understand more?
    c. Have you improved your learning?

Other Skills:

4. Do you feel you learned other skills from your time at the tutoring centre, other than math?
    a. Note-taking skills,
    b. Overall confidence, etc.
5. Has your participation in the tutoring place helped you feel better about yourself and your relationship with others
    a. speak or communicate better with school teachers by proactively asking questions, clarifying instructions and receiving feedback on your work?
6. What do you like/dislike about the tutoring place?

   a. Discuss about (i) the program, (iii) the peer group, (iv) the environment, and (v) your overall experience.
7. Based on your experience, in your opinion what makes a good tutoring service?

COVID-19 question:

1. Were you receiving tutoring for math before March of this year?
1. Have you received tutoring for math since the COVID restrictions were implemented?
   a. If so, tell me about your experience and how it compares to math tutoring you may have received prior to COVID.
2. Tell me about how COVID restrictions have impacted your school life? (doing online school, switching to homeschooling, quadmester...etc.)
3. Do you feel your relationship with your teachers has changed due to COVID restrictions? How?

Role of other external support:

1. Are there other <u>after-school program activities</u> that have helped your academic success?
2. Are there specific people who have influenced you so far in your life to reach your goals:
   a. *mentors*
   b. *role models*
   c. *teachers in school*
   d. *teachers outside of school.*

(Debriefing question at the end of each interview) Do you have any questions for me? Would you like to add anything to your answers?

Appendix C2. Parent interview protocol
Please think about your child enrolled in high school when answering these questions.

Perception of child's motivation and learning:

1. Tell me how your child feels about school.
    a. What drives them to perform academically?
    b. What are some of the ways/*traits/qualities* that your child has developed that help him/her learn well and achieve his/her goals?
2. How do they feel about learning math in particular?
3. What academic goals do YOU have for your child?

Perception of tutoring role in learning:

1. What motivated you to register your child in a tutoring service for math?
2. What were your expectations about the program and the tutors?
3. How has the tutoring program influenced your child's academic life?
4. Describe your perceptions of your child's experience in the tutoring program in terms of its
5. influence on your child's <u>intellectual development and academic life.</u>
   (improvement in academic skills, better study habits, speaking up more in class, more openly presenting ideas in class, proactive in learning and taking initiative. Do the skills taught and resources used overlap, build, enrich, and accelerate? Are students challenged?)
6. influence on your child's <u>confidence and communication skills</u>.
   (higher self-esteem, enhance leadership skills, more self-motivation, better communication skills or people skills, approaching teachers for feedback and clarification)
7. What role(s) do you think the math tutor plays in your children's learning?
8. Describe your perceptions of your child's relationship with the tutors.
    a. What do you like/dislike about them?

Has this tutoring experience influenced his/her future academic plans? If so, in what way(s)?

   b. If so, in what way(s)?
   c. If no, why not?

9. In your opinion, is tutoring necessary to ensure students' success in schools? Why?
10. How do you go about researching/finding tutors or tutoring centres for your child?
    a. What criteria influence your choice of tutors/tutoring centres?

Online Tutoring:

1. Do you prefer your child receives online or face-to-face tutoring? Why? Are there advantages or disadvantages?
2. Do you prefer your child receives online or face-to-face schooling? (this will depend if the student is taking online school or not!)

Tutoring vs. Schooling

1. Are there things that the tutoring centre offers that your child's school does not?
   a. Are there things that the school offers that the tutoring centre does not?
   b. *Discuss about (i) the curriculum, (ii) the teachers, (iii) the peer group, (iv) the environment, and (v) the overall experience.*

Role of other external support:

1. Are there other after-school program activities that have helped your child in his/her academic success?
2. Are there specific people who have influenced your child so far in their life to reach their goals:
   a. *mentors*
   b. *role models*
   c. *teachers in school*
   d. *teachers outside of school.*

Involvement in child's learning:

1. Tell me about how you see YOUR role in your child's learning…
   a. In school?

   b. Specific to math?
2. In what way(s) do you help your child with their math learning at home / in school/outside of school?
   a. *(Examples: supervising homework, modelling work habits, stressing work ethics, emphasizing reading rather than watching TV, encouraging library visits, limit the use of cell phones, computer, internet, monitoring the usage of internet, etc.*)

COVID-19 question (setting the context):

1. Was your child receiving tutoring for math before March of this year?
2. Has your child received tutoring for math since the COVID restrictions were implemented?
   a. If so, tell me about their experience and how it compares to math tutoring they may have received prior to COVID.
3. In what way(s) have COVID restrictions impacted your child's school life? (doing online school, switching to homeschooling, quadmester...etc.)
4. Do you feel your relationship with the school has changed due to COVID restrictions? How? (classroom teachers, principals, administration..etc.)

(Debriefing question at the end of the interview) Do you have any questions for me? Would you like to add anything to your answers?

Appendix D

Synthesis Tables

Table D1. *Synthesis of student and parent perspectives on tutoring vs. schooling*

Main Argument	Researchers
Overreliance on tutors	Chan & Bray, 2014; Gale, 2016;Wu, 2003
Lack of synergy between schooling and tutoring	Chan & Bray, 2014; Gale, 2016;Wu, 2003
Dissonance between teaching style in school vs. tutoring	Chan & Bray; Kwo & Bray 2014
Tutoring services are under fewer restrictions and rigid guidelines	Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015; Bray 2017; Chan & Bray 2014; Hajar 2018
Client-focused	Bray, 2017
Individualized attention	Hajar, 2018; 2020; Kwo & Bray, 2014
Relevant teaching style	Kwo & Bray, 2014; Zhan, Bray, Wang, Lykins & Kwo, 2013

Table D2. *Updated synthesis of student and parent perspectives on tutoring vs. schooling*

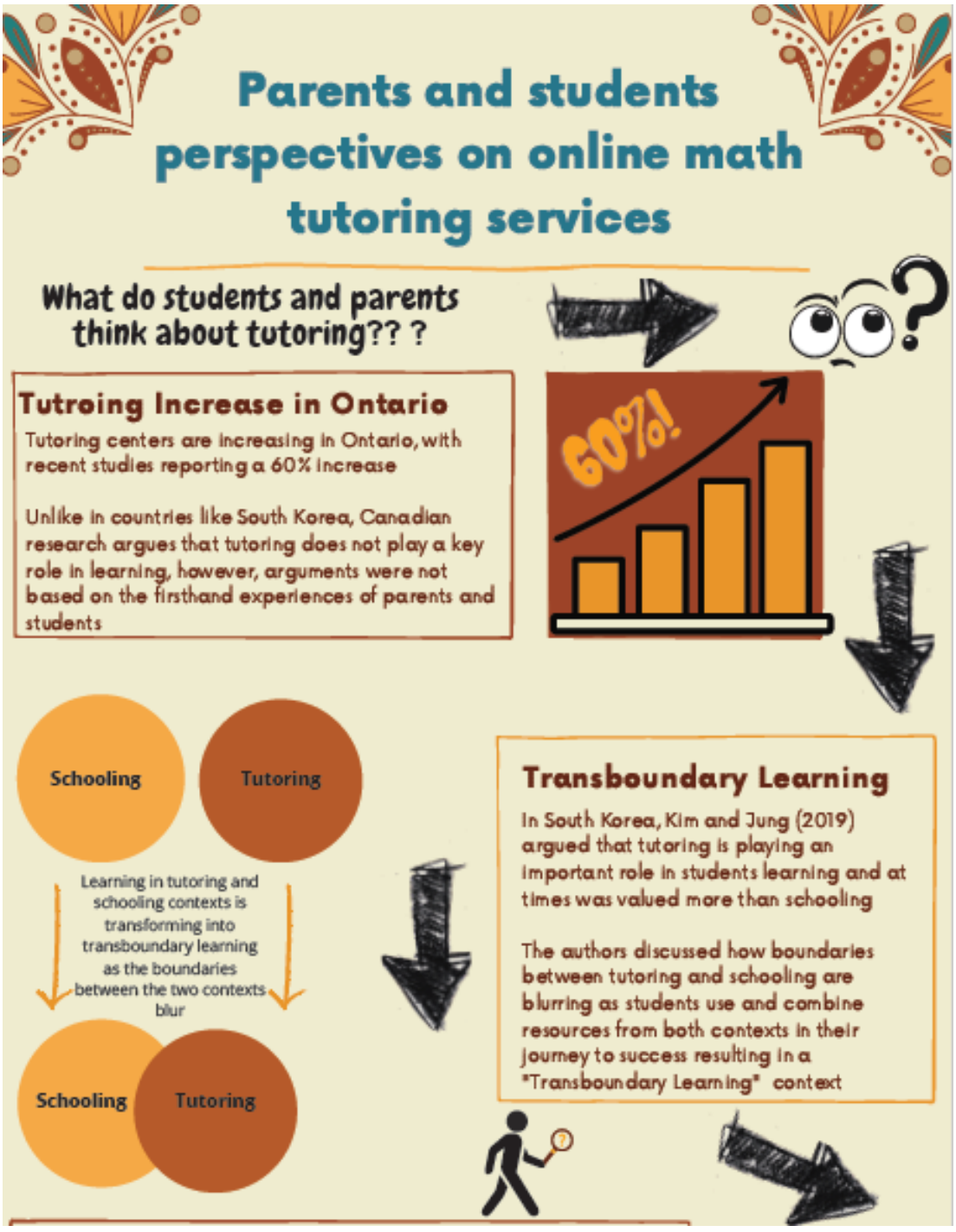
Main argument	Researchers
Overreliance on tutors	Chan & Bray, 2014; Gale, 2016;Wu, 2003
Lack of synergy between schooling and tutoring	Chan & Bray, 2014; Gale, 2016;Wu, 2003
Dissonance between teaching style in school vs. tutoring	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*; Chan & Bray; Kwo & Bray 2014;
Tutoring services are under fewer restrictions and rigid guidelines	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*; Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015; Bray 2017; Chan & Bray 2014; Hajar 2018
Client-focused	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*; Bray, 2017
Individualized attention	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*; Hajar, 2018; 2020; Kwo & Bray, 2014
Relevant teaching style	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*; Kwo & Bray, 2014; Zhan, Bray, Wang, Lykins & Kwo, 2013
Tutors as mentors and friends	*Azan & Arnott, 2021*

Table D3. *Comparison of peripheral learning and transboundary learning characteristics*

Peripheral Learning (PL)	Transboundary Learning (TL)
Satisfaction with public schooling	Dissatisfaction with public schooling
Centring of school authority	Decentering of school authority
Stable models of academic success	Changing models of academic success

Appendix E

Infographic




My Study
Respond to the current gap in the Canadian research by documenting parents and students lived experiences with online math tutoring services
Investigate whether there is evidence of a transformation of the relationship between tutoring and schooling into transboundary learning
Findings
Tutoring was viewed as an important part of math learning, which suggests we are shifting to transboundary learning!
Tutors were viewed as mentors and friends
Success in math was viewed as a result of support from both tutoring and schooling
A+
Parents and students viewed themselves as the main decision-makers over learning
So what?
Shifting to transboundary learning means that tutoring is playing an important role in students learning which challenges previous research findings. This study will hopefully encourage more research with parents and students in tutoring contexts specifically, and on the tutoring phenomenon more generally.
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