The Function and Purpose of the Shadow Education System: An Action Research Study of Post-16 Students' Perceptions of Private Tutoring

REED, CLAIRE L.M.

The Function and Purpose of the Shadow Education System

An Action Research Study of Post-16 Students' Perceptions of Private Tutoring

Claire Louise Mary Reed

First Supervisor: Professor Kate Wall
Second Supervisor: Professor Steve Higgins

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctorate of Education

School of Education
Durham University
2018

1 Abstract

The shadow education system, as private tuition is known as on an international scale (Bray, 1999), is an increasing global phenomenon. Its growth has many implications: socially, we may be creating divides between those who can and cannot afford to pay for additional support; politically, it may indicate education systems are ineffective and economically it makes governments consider their investments in education (Jokic, 2013). The purpose of this thesis was to consider whether the shadow education system was detached from mainstream education in terms of its purpose and function.

Current research in England is limited to large scale quantitative analysis, typically with GCSE students. This study offered a qualitative design utilising post-16 participants to address this gap in the literature. The project consisted of four action research cycles, where one aspect of the research led to the development of the next. The first was a literature review, the second was an assessment of student definitions of private tuition, and the final two were semi-structured interviews with both tutored and non-tutored participants.

Analyses suggested functions of the two education systems are the same, yet in relation to *purpose* tutoring is predominantly sought to improve academic performance. Novel barriers to participation were noted by non-tutored participants, such as fear and time. Social inequalities, which may arise if tuition continues to grow, were also highlighted by the sample.

This research suggests private tuition is an inevitable shadow, which is unlikely to be removed despite classroom teachers' best efforts. Local, national and international reforms may need to be implemented if tuition impacts educational outcomes, to prevent societal divisions. The project concludes that the views of a wider demographic are needed, alongside the consideration of the actual academic benefits of private tuition.

2 Declaration

This thesis is my own work and has not been offered previously in candidature at this or any other university.

3 Statement of Copyright

4 Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the continuous and enduring support of my supervisors, Kate and Steve. Supervising a full-time teacher, part-time distance learner through the many obstacles of life cannot have been easy. Thank you so very much for the guidance, honesty and feedback throughout the six years of this project.

Secondly, my parents Richard and Anne, who have prompted and prodded me at every opportunity to “write my story”. Thank you for consistently encouraging me to achieve highly, for your love and unwavering kindness.

Finally and most importantly, my husband James and daughter Beatrice. This thesis would not have been possible without you by my side. You have inspired me to see this project to its end and supported me in so many ways. Thank you for joining me on this journey – I look forward to what the future may bring, as this chapter closes.

5 Dedication

This work is dedicated to BEMG.

"Aspire to surprise those around you with your true capabilities.
Persist, perform and take pride in your accomplishments, but no matter what, remember you are loved."

6 Contents

7 List of Figures

8 List of Tables

9 Glossary of Abbreviations

A2	Advanced Level GCE
A-Level	Advanced Level
AS Level	Advanced Subsidiary Level
CBL	Classroom-Based Learning
CPD	Continued Professional Development
DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EEF	Education Endowment Foundation
GBP	Great British Pounds (Sterling)
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IFS	Institute for Fiscal Studies
KS3	Key Stage Three (11-14 years)
KS4	Key Stage Four (14-16 years)
KS5	Key Stage Five (16-18 years)
NAO	National Audit Office
NTP	Non-Tutored Participant
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PT	Private Tuition
SE	Shadow Education
SEN	Special Educational Need
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TP	Tutored Participant
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

10 Introduction

As Head of Department for Psychology and Sociology in a rural comprehensive school, my everyday teaching predominantly involves Post-16/Key Stage 5 (KS5) students, aged between 16-18 years. At this point in their education, students have made the decision to stay at school or college and have selected varying subjects to study to an advanced level (A-level), rather than entering employment or training.

Although the school is both oversubscribed and underfunded, it is rated by OFSTED as outstanding; importantly, high quality teaching is consistently noted through both internal and external moderation. However, despite excellent teaching and provision of resources, for many years my colleagues and I have found that increasing numbers of KS5 students are seeking additional support for their studies. This may involve attendance at teacher-led revision sessions, but more predominant is private tuition, undertaken across a full spectrum of A-level subjects offered at the school.

Informal observations about the growth of private tutoring within my school led to the decision to conduct action research in the form of this project. The academic literature suggests that the 'shadow education' system, as private tuition is known on a global scale, is increasing dramatically (Bray, 2010; Popa & Acedo, 2006). Indeed, research by the Sutton Trust (Kirby, 2016) indicates that approximately a quarter of young people in the UK have received private tuition at some stage in their education. Typically it is those students from families with higher incomes, which are accessing private tuition, with nearly double the number of children from wealthier homes having tutors, compared to their less well-off peers (Bray & Kwok, 2003).

Clearly this potential disparity is concerning. Therefore I felt it necessary to consider why students seek tutors to support them in their learning and to see if the rise in private tutors stems from deficiencies within schools. Students' perspectives were sought as they are the key stakeholders in regards to private tutoring, particularly in Key Stage 5, where autonomous education decisions are made e.g. university/apprenticeships etc. (Smyth, 2009).

10.1 Epistemological Perspective

The following doctoral thesis explores from a constructivist approach the perceptions of post-16 students in relation to private tuition; its conceptualisation, function and purpose. Constructivist inquiry involves "understanding and reconstruct[ing] the constructions people (including the inquirer) initially hold" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.113), with conclusions being socially situated. Palincsar (1998) argues that constructivism can be viewed as a spectrum. This project relates most significantly with social constructivism: all knowledge and understanding is relevant to the situation in which it arises, rather than ideas such as radical constructivism, which questions the extent there is a knowable reality (Doolittle & Camp, 1999). Thus, the relationships between concepts and the comprehension of them is relevant to participants, school and the practitioners involved (Lorsbach & Tobin, 1992). They do not exist objectively from these features, but may offer insights into other similar fields, or contrasting perspectives (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Alternative paradigms, such as positivism and critical theory offer answers to some of the criticisms constructivism faces, including gauging quality of research (Baumfield, Hall & Wall, 2012). Yet, constructivism as an epistemology aligns with my own pedagogical stance and as such my desire to conduct action-research in the field of shadow education (Prawat, 1992). Throughout this thesis transparency has been sought, to allow other researchers to make their own judgments of the data gathered and conclusions drawn.

10.2 Introduction to Methodology

To achieve the aim of researching the shadow education system, a variety of methodological strategies were used in conjunction with action research, including practitioner research and participatory research.

Action research is a method of research which aims to change outcomes for those involved; both the researcher and the participant (Wilson, 2017). There are many different models of action research, although they all share the common stages of: identification of a problem, planning, action and observation, reflection, and the planning the next stages based on the outcomes of the previous (Schmuck, 2006; Wilson, 2017). Throughout my teaching I am encouraged to reflect upon my practice and its impact upon student outcomes. Action research as a method of investigation, supports my own educational and occupational values, deeming it appropriate for the nature of this investigation. Lichtman (2011) suggests

that often action research is favoured by teachers who seek to both change and improve their practice. This was indeed the long term aim of this research: to uncover whether private tuition is a separate system from mainstream education or if they are sharing the same purpose and function.

Practitioner research involves educational practitioners (teachers, lecturers etc.) collating information about their own practice, students and outcomes in a detailed and scientific manner, with the benefit of 'insider' perspectives (Zeni, 2001). The purpose of practitioner research may fall into one of three categories "professional, personal [or] political" (Noffke, 1997, p.305), with professional being the most appropriate for this study. The increased numbers of students in my own school with private tutors was the initiating factor for this research, and as such it is necessary to investigate this as a teacher-researcher.

Participatory research involves participants, rather than just researchers, throughout varying stages of research (Coad & Evans, 2008). It is a "process of dialogue, action, analysis and change" (Pretty, 1995, p. 1254). The participants in this study belonged to my school and the purpose of this research was to reflect upon their views, ascertain factors contributing to private tuition, and to use this information to bring forth change where necessary.

It is important to contextualise how these three concepts are used, in regards to methods and methodology. Kaplan (1964) defined methodology as "the study—the description, the explanation, and the justification—of methods, and not the methods themselves" (p. 18), whereas methods are the "procedures, tools and techniques" of research (Schwandt, 2001, p. 158).

The overriding methodology in this thesis is that of Action Research; I sought to improve my own practice and the outcomes of my students, by consulting their views (McNiff & Whitehead, 2010). I developed research cycles based on social issues within my own practice, which in turn informed the proceeding research and actions (Whitehead, 2009). The flexibility of action research as a methodology, in allowing me to select methods (such as literature reviews, visual methods and interviews) best suited to each cycle was further reason why it was chosen. However, action research was not only my theoretical stance, but also the technique/method by which data was gathered (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). There is by definition no set procedures or criteria which an action research project must follow (McNiff, 2013), yet the process of planning, execution and reviewing is a method within itself.

The way in which I interpreted the findings of my methods, was as a practitioner-researcher. Some scholars argue that practitioner research is a subset of action research (Altrichter, Posch, Somekh & Feldman, 2005), whereas others claim that practitioner-inquiry is a stance, which action research is subservient to (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). However, the theoretical discussion of the varying types of action research could in itself be a doctoral thesis. The stance of McNiff (2013, p.6) best summarises why I am opting to describe this approach in the most simplistic of forms:

> "researchers have a tendency to compartmentalise action research, sometimes as idiosyncratic movements… declare their allegiance to this or that brand of research… it becomes more about themselves… and sometimes [they] lose touch with the voices of the people in the streets and workplaces, which is what action research should be all about"

The findings of each of the action research cycles were inferred both as a researcher and a practitioner. I sought to develop the next steps in the project and considered the methods in order to do so, as a researcher, however the findings of the topic area guided both my action and research as a practitioner. Within the Discussion chapter, a consideration of how these varying roles interacted in each of the cycles is presented. Also throughout the action research cycles, series of questions are identified, to indicate my own reflections on the processes and findings. Use of first person terminology, also helps to situate me, as both a researcher and a practitioner within this thesis (Wall, in press).

Participatory research was also used as method in the project, to ensure the participating students were involved not just in data collection, but also data analysis. Whereas other researchers may try to include participants as holistically as possible, pragmatics limited the extent to which this was achievable within this thesis. These limitations can be found in the Discussion chapter.

10.3 Structure of the Thesis

The final project had four cycles of action research; an outline is presented in Figure 1. Each cycle is presented holistically; methodology, methods, results and conclusions form each chapter, rather than collective methodology and results chapters. The purpose of this was to ensure clarity between the cycles and to maintain transparency as to how the research project developed.

A synoptic overview is found within the closing discussion chapter, where the results from all cycles are linked to the existing literature, future considerations are proposed and the

conceptualisation of action research is challenged. Therefore the reader should be aware that this introductory chapter may have greater brevity than would be expected of typical doctoral thesis.

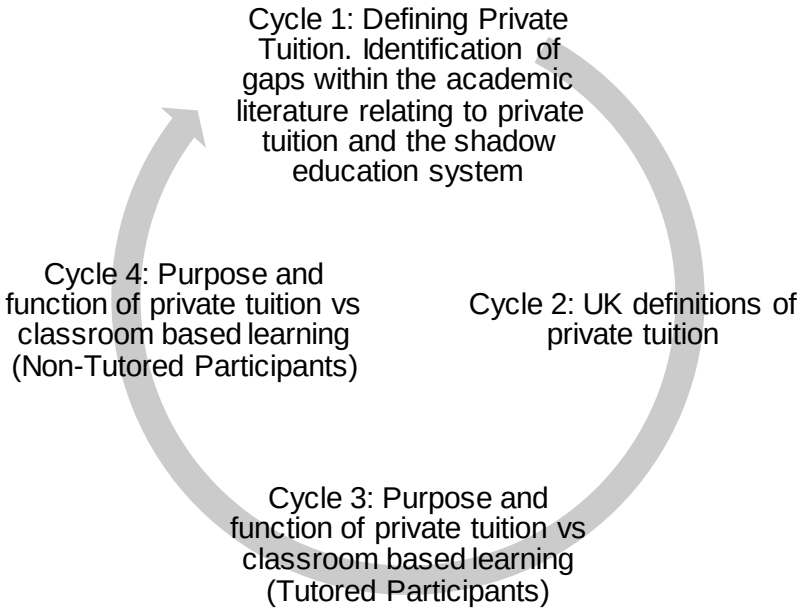


Figure 1: Overview of Action Research Cycles

In Cycle 1, the current literature surrounding the shadow education system was explored, to ascertain not only a definition of the term, but also to identify suitable research questions for the following cycles. In Cycle 2, an exploration of the definitions of private tuition occurs with student-participants, with the use of visual methods techniques. In Cycles 3 and 4, semi-structured interviews are conducted with both tutored and non-tutored participants to understand what happens within tuition sessions, why tutoring is sought, as well as barriers to participation.

In the following chapter, terminology relating to the topic of private tuition is both introduced, refined and explored as the first of four action research cycles.

11 Action Research Cycle 1: Literature Review

11.1 Introduction

The purpose of the first action research cycle was to establish the key questions to guide the overall project. Although I had ascertained the broader topic area I wished to research (private tuition), it was important to engage with and understand the literature surrounding the topic, before conducting my own investigations (Hart, 2018). This allowed me to identify gaps in the wider field and to inform decision making (Boote & Beile, 2005). Though perhaps not a conventional action research cycle, the processes involved in the literature review mirrored those traditionally expected. A problem was identified (developing understanding of private tuition), a plan was made, actions occurred (researching the field) and reflections led to Cycle 2.

The literature review presented is both narrative and thematic. It is narrative as I sought to present a breadth of research relating to the field of private tuition (Baumeister & Leary, 1997). It could also be described as thematic, as to help comprehend the many facets of private tutoring, key concepts were grouped together (Booth, Sutton & Papaioannou, 2016). Electronic databases (e.g. ERIC, British Education Index, Google Scholar etc.) were used for primary searches relating to private tutoring and shadow education. Key articles in the field were examined, then a review of references within cited articles occurred (Randolph, 2009). Following this, direct contact with a number of experts was made (Mark Bray, Judy Ireson, Boris Jokic). This was to ensure that the review was representative of the current academic literature as possible. Exhaustive reviews would have produced significantly more data, but in turn would have limited the time available for additional action research cycles (Cooper, 1988). As the review was completed in a series of stages, topics are identified through the use of diagrams within the chapter. These aim to provide clarity for the reader, by contextualising the varying aspects of research.

Finally, as this thesis was conducted as both a practitioner and a researcher, I have presented my thoughts in both roles, as formative and summative reflections throughout the chapter. This is to guide the reader through the decisions made in regards to the literature review process, but also the overall project.

11.2 Research Questions

Two research topics relating to methodological requirements and content, guided the literature review process:

- Methods: Through conducting a literature review, is it possible to develop research questions suitable for practitioner-enquiry relating to private tuition?
- Content: What is private tuition? Is private tuition a feature of global education systems or just UK students? What gaps exist in the current academic literature surrounding private tuition? Are these gaps relevant and applicable to practitioner-enquiry, particularly to my own teaching and students?

11.3 Literature Review

This chapter begins with a global overview of education and economics, to highlight the importance of successful outcomes for students and the necessity of research in this field. Further discussion relates to the stages of education, particularly Key Stage 5, in connection with my own teaching practice. Finally, key concepts and current research regarding the shadow education system and private tuition are explored.

Private tuition and the emerging "shadow education system" (De Silva, 1994; George, 1992; Marimuthu et al., 1991; Stevenson & Baker, 1992) are phenomena present on a local, national and international scale (Aslam & Atherton, 2012; Cohen, Kulik & Kulik, 1982). Its growth has implications on social, economic and education policies; if it is viewed as a system both distinct and more productive than traditional methods of educating students, then perhaps it must be investigated further (Bray, 2010).

11.3.1 Global Overview: Economics and Education

The economic viability of a country is the ultimate concern of all ruling powers, be they an elected government, monarch or other (European Union, 2007; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2014; See Figure 2 – star representing prioritisation of economic stability). It has been long established in economic theory "that people are an important part of the wealth of nations" (Schultz, 1961, p.2). This awareness has never been more a priority, with the rapid decrease globally in the trade of natural resources and the increase in competitive markets across the world (Barnett & Morse, 2013).

Although the natural resources available may play a significant role in dictating a country's prosperity (Barnett & Morse, 1963; Simpson, Toman & Ayres, 2005; Smith, 1979), it is the education of the work force which could have a greater impact on economic growth when these resources are exacerbated (Gylfason, 2001; Gylfason & Zoega, 2003; 2004). It is estimated that some governments spend over one fifth of their total finances upon education (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011).

Through investment in educational provision for their citizens, governing bodies anticipate that each individual will contribute successfully to the nation's human capital (OECD, 2001a; 2014). This term is defined as "a person's competencies, knowledge, social attributes, personality and health" (Fender, 2013, p.2; Schultz, 1961) and is a calculated score relating to earning potential.

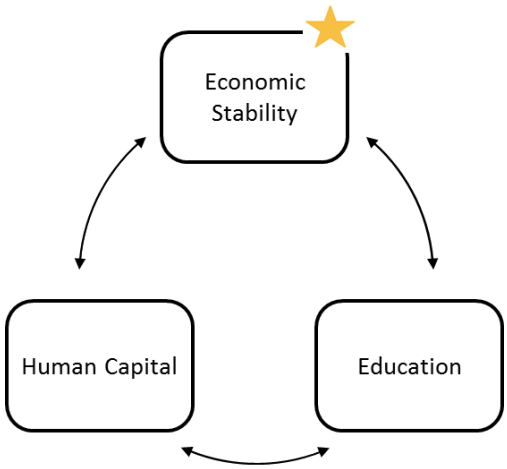


Figure 2: Interrelationship between economics, education and human capital

However, O'Mahony and de Boer (2002, p.56) indicate that there are issues with calculating human capital, as "they are a record of attendance rather than attainment" and formal education rather than training received during employment. Yet despite this, there exists a well-established correlation between length of education and human capital estimates (Fender & Calver, 2014), with those engaging in higher levels of education, earning and thus contributing more (Savani, Rattan & Dweck, 2017). An example of the impact of human capital was considered by Ozatac and colleagues (2018) in France. They found a consistent causal relationship between expenditure on education and the Gross Domestic Product. This has led to "education-induced economic growth" in the country (p.61), showing the value placed on populations rather than resources.

When considering an English context, (for this is where the current project was conducted), the Department for Education and Skills (2007, p.5) calculated that

> "on average a young person getting five or more good GCSEs earns more than £100,000 more over their lifetime",

than those who do not. Furthermore, in 2013 the Office for National Statistics reported that individuals' studying further education courses (A-levels etc.) "held 23.9% of the human capital stock, and made up 22.9% of the population" (Fender & Calver, 2014, p.8). Therefore, in order for education and thus human capital to provide a significant benefit to the economy, there must be suitable investment in the education sector (Jorgenson & Fraumeni, 1989), as illustrated by Figure 2.

The UK is one of Europe's largest investors in education, although its total expenditure on education is not purely funded through public resources (Courtney, 2015; OECD, 2014; Roberts & Bolton, 2015). In the UK, there have been particular difficulties in calculating the total amount spent on education, but what is evident is that the amount spent has remained between 4-6% of GDP, over the past twenty years, "peaking at £96 billion" in 2011-12 (Bolton, 2014, p.5). Yet, the Institute for Fiscal Studies (2018) more recently reported that funding had decreased in real terms, which prompted the allocation of an additional one billion GBP to support schools. This may suggest that the necessity of effective investment in education and its implications for human capital must not be overlooked.

Due to the nature of this current study it is important to consider that the funding provided for different educational settings may not be evenly distributed. Research reports that "primary education continues to exhibit the highest social profitability in all world regions", therefore more investment may be present in this sector (Psacharopoulos, 1994, p.1326). This appears to be the case in the UK, with early years, primary and secondary education experiencing greater consistency of funding, in comparison to both higher and further education (IFS, 2017).

Thus, it may be claimed that the aim of education (and the subsequent investment) in it is to increase the contributions each citizen makes to the economy. Educational initiatives must be assessed to validate their worth. There has been a global emergence of a shadow education system, suggesting that perhaps the current investments in education are no longer appropriate and may need to reform, adapt or change (Silova & Kazimzade, 2006). Alternatively, the shadow system, may have its own purpose and function and can coexist logically, with mainstream provision.

From the perspective of a researcher, I felt it was necessary to consider economics within this report to give the background context relating to the shadow education system. I have deliberately ensured that the literature covered is brief, as I do not wish to detract from the predominant research focus, which is that of private tuition. There is a clear relationship between economic stability, education and human capital; whereas some researchers may suggest that the hierarchy proposed here differs (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008), I feel that economics is key as without financial capabilities, all other components would not be feasible. However, it is important to further consider other influences of educational policy, beyond economics. Is the funding provided by the government insufficient in establishing the best human capital for all citizens? Are budget restraints for Sixth Form students leading to an increase in students seeking private tuition, to supplement their learning in school?

As a teacher I am acutely aware that parents are not paying for education, as was the case in my previous employment at a private school. I seek to ensure that my students are equipped, extended and able to access the next steps in their educational or employment careers. Yet despite the efforts of myself and my colleagues, students seek the support of private tutors.

11.3.2 Global Overview: Educational Policy

Although economic stability is one reason why there is investment in education; there are also numerous pieces of international legislation which further dictate investment in it, as illustrated by Figure 3.

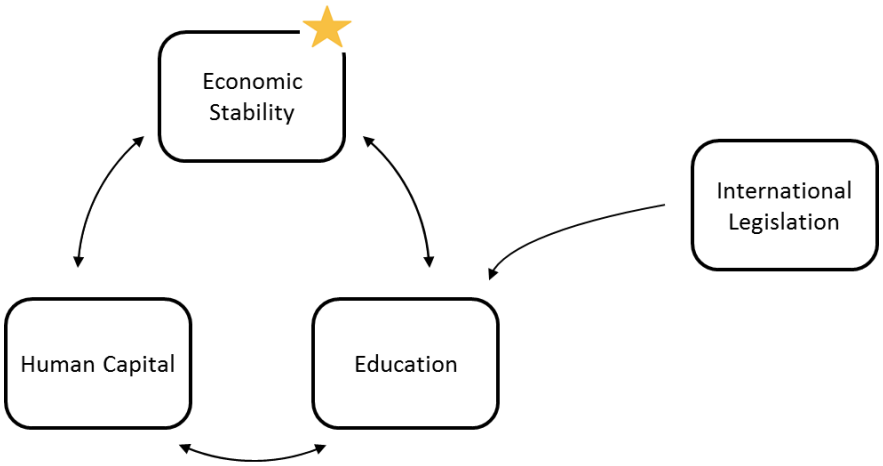


Figure 3: Influences on education; economic and legislative

The right to education was formalised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948, Article 26.1), which states, “Everyone has the right to education”. This was reiterated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1959, Principle 7):

> “The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages”.

There are many human rights which are considered compulsory, however education is a standalone article as it must also be free (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Yet, it is only primary education, which is consistently referred to by the United Nations as having to be free of charge (United Nations, 1966, Article 13; 1989, Article 28). More recently the World Education Fund and UN’s Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2000; UNESCO, 2007) re-emphasised the need for free primary education. Secondary and higher education must be made “accessible”, but the compulsion to offer these without cost is not obligated (United Nations, 1989, Article 28). This was also noted at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA, 1990) which acknowledged the great difficulty in expecting all forms of education to be free:

> “educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task”. (p.31)

Indeed there is an acceptance that perhaps organisations will have to charge, in order to provide secondary or higher educational services without acquiring substantial debt (Windham, 1992, as cited in Bray & Kwo, 2013). Therefore, there is a legislative obligation to provide a right to education, yet for how long can be subjective to each country.

The English government requires education, employment or training for students up to the age of 18 years (Parliament - Education and Skills Act, 2008). As a Sixth Form teacher, conducting practitioner research, the current project focused on Key Stage Five students, as the increasing prevalence of a shadow education in the later years of education may indicate issues with the provision for these stages of formal education.

11.3.3 Global Education Systems

Although national economies and legislation influence global education systems, each country differs in the nature of educational provision, teacher training and curriculum, amongst others (Spring, 2015; see Figure 4). When initially considering the topic of private

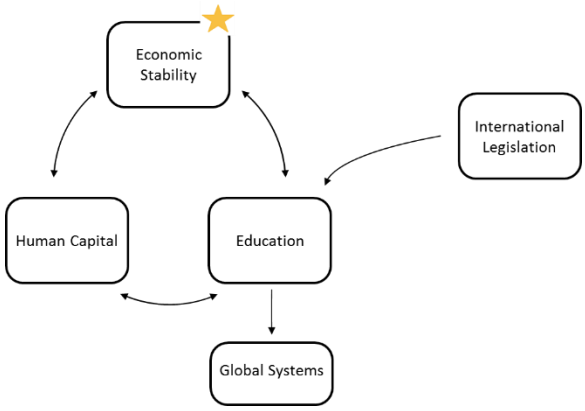


Figure 4: Global education systems

education, the prominence of Asian countries became clear (Manzon & Areepattamannil, 2014). Bray and Silova (2006) suggest that in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, private tuition has become a "universal phenomenon" (p.30), with significant numbers of students engaging regularly with tutors. Whilst it may be of interest to conduct a cross-cultural study to ascertain what factors have led to differences on an international scale, not only is this beyond the scope of the current project, but also would not contribute directly to the outcomes of my own students, which I seek to achieve.

11.3.4 Shadow Education System: Introduction

As stated, governments are legally obliged to fund education (although provision for post-16 studies is not legislated) and this provision must be fit for purpose. The growth of a shadow system may imply that current systems are not working effectively (Popa & Acedo, 2006), or there is a distinct purpose and function which shadow education fulfils.

Despite the significant investments by governments in compulsory education, there remains both a historical and global phenomenon of a 'shadow education' system, used by individuals and organisations to improve the educational and economic outcomes of students (Bray, 2010; Popa & Acedo, 2006).

Academic reference to a 'shadow' system of education emerged in the early 1990s. De Silva et al., (1991) and Marimuthu et al., (1991) were the first researchers to investigate the phenomena formally. Yet the term 'shadow' did not appear until slightly later (George, 1992; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Bray (1999, p.17) believes that the use of the word shadow is appropriate for varying reasons:

> "first, private supplementary tuition only exists because mainstream education exists; second as the size and shape of the mainstream education system change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring; third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct"

The term shadow education is used interchangeably with the phrase 'parallel school' (UNESCO, 2000) and the more familiar concept of 'private tuition' (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). It refers to a system of education which is in addition to normal provision, as illustrated by Figure 5. The first use of private tuition is unknown, but historically it was associated with the upper and middle classes who sought education at home for their children (Bray & Kwo, 2013; Shanahan, 1998; Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Wasik & Slavin, 1993).

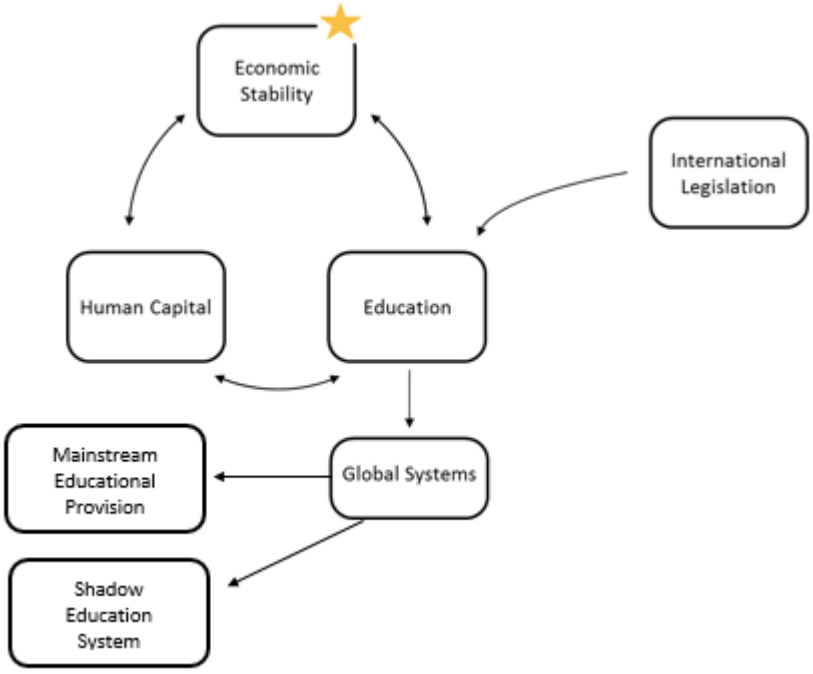


Figure 5: Two systems of education

Although private tuition is not the main aspect of any global educational system, it continues to be a growing area, both in terms of implementation and research (Aurini, Davies & Dierkes, 2013; Bray, 1999; 2009; 2010; Education Support Program, 2006; Kwok, 2004; Mori & Baker, 2010) with its positive effects remaining largely unacknowledged (Bray & Kwok, 2003). Baker and LeTendre (2005, p.55) denoted private tuition as a "worldwide

megatrend" as both the numbers of students and the research interest in the field have increased.

However, as the field and the research interest increases, so do ambiguities with terms associated with private tuition (Bray, 2010). What follows are some examples of definitions used by researchers and a discussion of the recurring themes found in each. This is to ensure that a clear and accurate definition of private tuition is understood for the rest of this research project.

An early proposed definition was:

> "learning activities for the clientele of the formal school which take place outside the regular school instruction program for a fee or as a community service" (Marimuthu et al., 1991, p.5).

Although this offers some indication of what private tuition may be, as this concept was first used in 1991, I felt it was important to consider a wider range of terms. Much more ambiguous statements have been used, which clearly lack the detail and specificity to separate the shadow education system from mainstream schooling. Examples include:

> "extra lessons after school" (Ban, 1995, p.75) or
> "personalized and individualized instruction" (Medway, 1995, p. 271)

Foondun (2002, p.487) defined private tutoring as;

> "extra coaching in academic and examinable subjects that is given to students outside school hours for remuneration"

The emphasis on payment was important in this definition and that proposed by Bray and Silova, (2006, p.29);

> 'tutoring in an academic school subject, which is taught in addition to mainstream schooling for financial gain.'

However, I felt further detail relating to who delivered the sessions was also valid for inclusion. Silova, Budiene & Bray, (2006, p.13) provided the following detailed account, to acknowledge the nature of the delivery of the tutoring no longer simply being a one-to-one ratio (Ellson, 1976):

> "fee-based instruction in academic school subjects that is complementary to instruction mainstream schools provide free of charge. Private tutoring includes lessons provided one-on-one or in small groups by individual instructors as well as larger classes provided by individual instructors and companies".

There are clearly many varying definitions of private tuition. Bray and Kobakhidze (2014) comprehensively analysed the terms associated with the shadow education system and criticise researchers who fail to explicitly define their interpretation of the terms, as this prevents comparisons being made. They initially focus upon the term private, noting that this could be in reference to "fees, location or number of participants" (p.592). Are parents or schools financing additional support? Does one-to-one support that takes place at school, class as private, or must it be in a separate geographical place? Can private tuition take place in small groups? All these potential discrepancies in interpretation, pose problems with researchers attempting to compare results. Furthermore, as the shadow education system investigates the views of students of all ages (for example, TIMSS and PISA; 13 and 15 years respectively), to avoid subjective interpretation, terms must be objective. This is not just for the benefit of researchers, but for participants too.

The term tuition or tutoring causes concern for Bray and Kobakhidze (2014) as there are many formats that this can take; individual instruction, online provision or as is common in some Asian countries, additional lectures provided on a large scale. The researchers do not imply that there should be one term used by all researchers in the field, but rather any definitions used must be explained clearly.

Further associations with private tuition appear in relation to the purpose of the tutoring. Tutors may be employed to deliver material not offered at school (supplementary tuition) or to support students struggling with a particular element of the curriculum (remedial tuition; Cohen, Kulik & Kulik, 1982; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

From the small selection of definitions outlined above, the recurring themes are of payment, examination subjects and in addition to formal education. Jokic (2013) acknowledges the types of tutoring available identified in the Silova, Budiene and Bray (2006) definition and suggests this must not be overlooked.

For the purpose of the current research and in line with Bray and Kobakhidze's (2014) requirement for researchers to have clearly outlined concepts, private tuition will be defined as the following:

> Tuition in academic examination-based subjects that is additional to normative educational provision, delivered by a paid instructor outside of timetabled school hours, in either a one-to-one or small group setting.

This definition accounts for the difference between tuition for academic studies and enrichment activities such as sport or musical instruments, which although may be examined are not classified as academic (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). It also distinguishes between support provided by teaching staff in school free of charge, (Bray & Kwok, 2003; Psacharopoulos & Papakonstantinou, 2005; Tanner et al., 2009) and aligns with the most common forms of private tutoring to occur in the UK (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; Kwo & Bray, 2011). It may not have been correct in other contexts to deduce that tuition refers to one-to-one or small groups situations, as it can also take place as lectures (Kwo & Bray, 2011) and interactively through online forums (Ventura & Jang, 2010).

The term instructor rather than teacher acknowledges the many varying types of tutor available, from undergraduate students to professional tutors (Bray & Kwo, 2014), as the biography of the tutee influences who is the 'tutor'. Younger students may not be tutored by qualified teachers, but rather undergraduate students, whose skills are such as to teach to a lower level of education; large scale lectures of specialist subjects are unlikely to utilise someone inexperienced or under qualified in their field (Davies & Aurini, 2006). As this is a practitioner-enquiry, the focus will be on students rather than tutors, which is why the definition used simply refers to instructors. It may be worthwhile to explore this as an aspect of an action research cycle, where students provide their own definitions of private tuition, to see if there is a difference between who leads their additional instruction.

Avoiding specific reference to a location accounts for the fact tuition may occur in the participant's home, the tutor's home or a neutral location such as a library (Bray, 2015; Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014; Hartmann, 2013). Outside of timetabled school hours allows for private tutoring arranged in free periods, during the traditional school day, but not in a school context, which may occur with the Key Stage Five students.

Although I have generated a definition of private tuition from influences in the literature, I also feel that this would be a suitable area for an action research cycle in its own right. It is important to comprehend how my students view private tuition, to ensure there is both objectivity and validity of terms, before considering other cycles. Bray and Kobakhidze (2014) emphasise the issues surrounding definitions and the need for further clarity. Therefore this supports the need for a cycle directly focusing upon this aspect of tutoring.

11.3.5 What is the purpose and function of private tuition?

Private tuition and the shadow education system's definitions have been explored, and I have clarified the definition to be used throughout this research project. I felt it was now important to consider the purpose and function of the phenomenon, to establish why students have tutors and what occurs in the sessions. There can often be issues with the interchangeable use of the terms purpose and function (Bergmann, 1962), therefore for this research project Bass' (1968, p.26) definition of purpose as the "intention for which a thing exists" and function as "the normal, natural actions", shall be used. These interpretations of terminology align most logically with my own definitions.

The purpose and function of private tuition are much debated, with researchers claiming that over time original functions have been "distorted" (Foondun, 2002, p.488). Others state that private tuition does not have one sole purpose; it differs both between and within countries (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Research relating directly to function is limited, whereas discussions relating to purpose is much more prevalent (Kirby, 2016).

Bray (2003) outlines three reasons for private tuition: cultural, economic and educational, which Dang and Rogers (2008) further separate into "macro and micro" considerations (p.164). Of the three presented, educational factors appear to be the most significant.

Firstly, cultural reasons for private tuition may depend upon whether or not a culture believes academic performance is due to effort or ability (Bray, 2003; Dweck, 2008; Salili, 1999; Silova & Bray, 2006). The relationship between effort and ability is complex with both positive and negative correlations proposed (Muenks & Miele, 2017). Where it is believed effort is the key to success, it is more likely that private tuition will be sought, as is found in many Asian cultures (Foondun, 2002; Bray, 2006). For instance in Japan *juku* ("extra-school instruction", Wolf, 2002, p.339) is a social norm. Increased prevalence in private tuition across the globe may suggest a cultural shift in educational perspectives (Popa & Acedo, 2006), amongst other factors such as quality of teaching provision.

In the UK, research indicates that students are attributing academic success or failure to effort, rather than their ability or external factors such as schooling (Gipps & Tunstall, 1998; Alderman, 2013). The growth of "mindset" (Dweck, 2008) within in UK educational contexts (Boaler, 2013) may have not only influenced perceptions of effort over ability, but also student desire for private tuition. When conducting a preliminary literature review into the relationship between mindset and tutoring, this area has yet to be researched in the field of education. This could therefore form a further action research cycle in this project.

The second reason presented by Bray (2003) relates to economics and can be split into two elements; national and family economies (Dang & Rogers, 2008). If a country underfunds education, parents may seek supplementary tuition to ensure their children achieve academic goals (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Tsiplakides, 2018). Underfunding may include expenditure on teacher salaries; if teachers are not paid sufficiently well they may seek to enhance their wages through delivering only part of the curriculum in a school context and delivering the rest as part of fee-paying private tuition (Bray & Silova, 2006; Jeruto & Chemwei, 2014). Foondun (2002) reports this unethical practice in Mauritius and Shafiq (2002, as cited in Education Support Program, 2006) in Bangladesh.

In terms of family economics, where families have additional income, they may wish to fund extra tuition, to help improve chances of education success (Bray & Kwok, 2003). Indeed it is widely reported that parental education, occupation and income are factors influencing reasons for having private tuition from across the world (Peters, Carpenter, Edwards & Coleman, 2009; Tansel & Bircan, 2006; 2008). For example, Davies (2004) found that parental income and education could predict employment of a tutor for Canadian students. Moreover, it was found in the UK, that if a child's father had attended university they were twice as likely to have a tutor, compared with those whose father's education only extended to school (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

In connection, Ireson and Rushforth (2005) found that the main barrier to private tuition, if parents felt their child required it, was the cost. Children also share concerns about the expense of private tutoring, with 46% of Year 13 students stating this was the main reason they did not utilise one (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011), which suggests family economics does influence decisions relating to private tutoring. Similarly, in Georgia, Machabeli and colleagues (2011) found that those students who did not have a tutor, felt it was cost which prevented them accessing one. More recently Tsiplakides (2018), researching Greek populations found that parental wealth not only influenced whether private tuition was accessible, but also the quality of it.

Therefore reasons for having a tutor may relate to the affordability or underfunding of state education; this has made me consider whether in further action research cycles it may be possible to contrast the views of students both with and without tutors, to see if cost is a barrier to participation, or whether affordability is one of the reasons why students had a tutor. Whilst considering the types of research method which are best suited to this project, it appears small-scale, but in-depth qualitative data collection will best suit this aim. It will

be interesting to consider if the purpose and function of private tuition is shared or differs within a sample of my students.

Thirdly, there are educational reasons for private tuition, including both improved outcomes and private tuition being an affordable alternative to private education. The key phrase relating to the benefits or impact of private tuition is "inconclusive" (Zhang, 2013, p.1). Many students and parents state the main reasons for having a tutor is increased educational outcomes (Guill & Spinath, 2014; Bray, 2017). Yet, research has not conclusively determined whether or not private tuition fulfils its purpose or function of improving educational outcomes (Jerrim, 2017; Pearce, Power & Taylor, 2018).

Positive impacts of private tutoring have been found in Taiwanese "cram schools", aiding students of all backgrounds and both genders to improve academic results (Liu, 2012). In Vietnam, Dang (2007) discovered that students who achieved higher academic scores, had employed the services of a tutor, a result mirrored by Sohn and colleagues in South Korea (2010). Similarly, in Kenya, Mwania and Moronge (2018) found that private tuition had had a beneficial effect on both student and school performance, in their review of a range of stakeholder perspectives.

There exists a presumption that private tuition enables students who are failing, to make the necessary academic progress within school (Safarzynska, 2013). Yet when systematic and controlled research methods are used, these expectations are not found. Zhang (2013) failed to find a significant effect private tuition for Chinese students taking the National College Entrance Exam. However, the study was a quantitative measure of effects of tuition, therefore cannot make assumptions about the nature and thus quality of the private tuition.

Furthermore, Smyth (2008) conducted a survey of secondary school aged students in Ireland and found no statistically significant difference between the academic performance of those having private tuition and those not. Ireson and Rushforth (2005) studied private tuition for GCSE Mathematics in England and found a statistically significant effect of private tuition for boys, but this was not true of girls. The nature of the tuition seems to play a role in whether or not it is beneficial; Ho, Kwong and Yeung (2008) found mixed results regarding private tuition in Macao; tuition aided rote learning, but not transferable competences. This contrasted with results from Byun (2014) who found examination technique impacted students results, but this was the only type of tutoring to do so.

Varying results are found when the type of tutor is the research focus, but also when groups of children with a tutor are compared to those without (Graesser, D'Mello & Cade, 2011).

However, Mischo and Haag (2002) found improved levels of motivation and academic achievement in large scale "pre-post-control-group-design" (p.263) conducted in Luxembourg. In a follow-up survey they found only a small percentage of students (4%) did not find private tuition beneficial. Thus, although a reason for private tuition may be for improvements in educational attainment, the extent to which this actually occurs is unclear.

When considering the demographic of students to use in further action research cycles, a survey conducted by Ireson and Rushforth (2014) on students in the UK, including KS5 students is useful. They discovered that the main reason for employing a tutor at this stage was to improve their examination results (71% of KS5 students interviewed). Parents feel unable to support their child's learning, in the same way they could have done during the primary years, therefore seek external sources (Cooper, Lindsay & Nye, 2000; Ireson & Rushforth, 2011, 2014; MacBeath & Turner, 1990).

A further educational factor influencing reasons for private tuition is educational transition. In some countries tuition takes place throughout a child's education; however it may be used in preparation for examinations (Bray & Kwo, 2013; Ghosh & Bray, 2018). Tutoring may be sought to ensure that students are able to transition to the next steps in their schooling (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011, 2014; Tansel & Bircan, 2008). If it is necessary to pass certain tests to attend a well-respected establishment, (such as the 11+ examinations in the UK to access a grammar school), or to achieve exceptional A-level grades to attend Oxbridge universities, parents may seek private tuition to increase their child's chances of success (Tsiplakides, 2018). It is becoming a social norm for parents in the UK to seek one-to-one tuition if they are concerned about their child's progress (Elbaum, Vaughn, Tejero-Hughes & Watson Moody, 2000), although who is sought for this support differs between social classes. Parents with a lower income are less likely to approach a private tutor; instead they prefer to seek support from their child's teachers (Reay, 1998; Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009).

Choice of subject is usually determined by grades required to access the next level of education and as such, secondary school pupils may require different tutors when compared to either primary or further education (Bray & Kwo, 2013). However, Baker and Le Tendre (2005) did not find such trends when analysing TIMSS data. Tutoring is also no longer used as a remedial measure to deal with under performance; instead higher attaining students are increasingly employing private tutors to guarantee elite performance (such as A*s in GCE examinations) or to "maintain their competitive edge" (Bray & Kwo, 2013, p.486; Zhang & Bray, 2018).

Furthermore, perceived differences between state and private schools may influence choices regarding private tuition. UK and Canadian parents unable to afford independent education for their children, instead pay for additional private tuition (Davies, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2005), to supplement perceived deficits in state education, such as large class sizes (Elbaum, Vaughn, Tejero-Hughes & Watson Moody, 2000). This may be based upon research such as Vaughn and colleagues (2003), who found that individual teaching (1:1) and small group teaching (1:3) were equally effective in a range of measures regarding a reading intervention. Both were more beneficial than a group ratio of 1:10, when intensity and type of intervention remained constant, which may indicate parents are justified in their decisions. Yet, it must be noted that this study did not actually use private tutoring, as it was an intervention occurring within the school day, thus the results may not necessarily inform private tuition findings.

11.3.6 Context: English Education System

Having established what private tuition is and the possible function and purposes it serves, I feel it is valuable to reflect on variables relating specifically to its growth in the UK (see Figure 6). Much of the research regarding educational outcomes for the UK fails to acknowledge the significant variations between the English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish schooling systems (Ball, 2013; Grek, 2012). Each country has its own legislation and procedures, which in turn influence individual and economic outcomes (Ball, 2013; Gray, McPherson & Raffe, 2012; Menter, Mahoney & Hextall, 2004; Pearce, Power & Taylor, 2018; Ozga, Baxter, Clarke, Grek & Lawn, 2013).

As the current research will take place in England, it is important to consider some factors which may influence decisions regarding private tuition, particularly with Key Stage Five students. Whilst it would be of interest to explore UK trends in this emerging field, as my aim for this practitioner research is to have a direct impact upon the outcomes of my students, I feel it is of greater importance to focus on one country rather than the UK collectively.

In England, within "mainstream" education, (by which I am referring to the everyday school experiences available to the wider population*), there are two options typically accessible. These are state schools, which are funded by the government, or private schools, which are fee-paying establishments. More recently with the introduction of academies and free school, boundaries may have blurred, but the main differential is parental payment or free state-funded places (DfE, 2018).

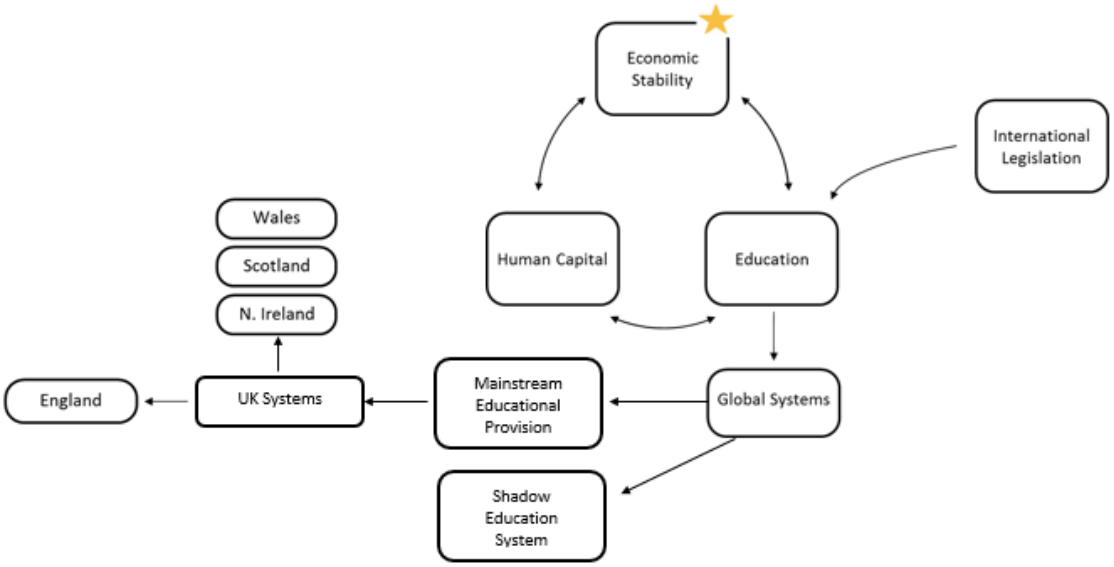


Figure 6: UK context in global systems of education

(*Some students may not be able to attend mainstream provision, and as such may enrol at specialist SEN schools or be home schooled.)

11.3.7 Overview of the English Education System

Whether private or state schools, children in England start formal primary education at age four. They study from the ages of 11 to 16 at secondary school, and from 16 to 18 students in England must attend some form of formal education or training programme as outlined in the Education and Skills Act (Parliament, 2008). This may be an apprenticeship, A-levels or other qualification. At the end of each stage of education, examinations or assessments occur, which amongst other purposes, allow the generation of data for the next aspect of schooling; known as transition points. Following compulsory education, students may opt to continue their academic studies to undergraduate level at higher education institute. For example, in 2017 37% of 18 year old students enrolled on a degree course (UCAS, 2017). This optional choice is indicated in Figure 7, through the green arrow.

However, despite the provision of education up to the age of 18, similarly to other countries across the globe, private tuition and the shadow education system has continued to grow. What follows is a discussion of some of the reasons which may have contributed to this, including political systems, school leavers' age, higher tuition fees, parenting style and examination systems (See Figure 8).

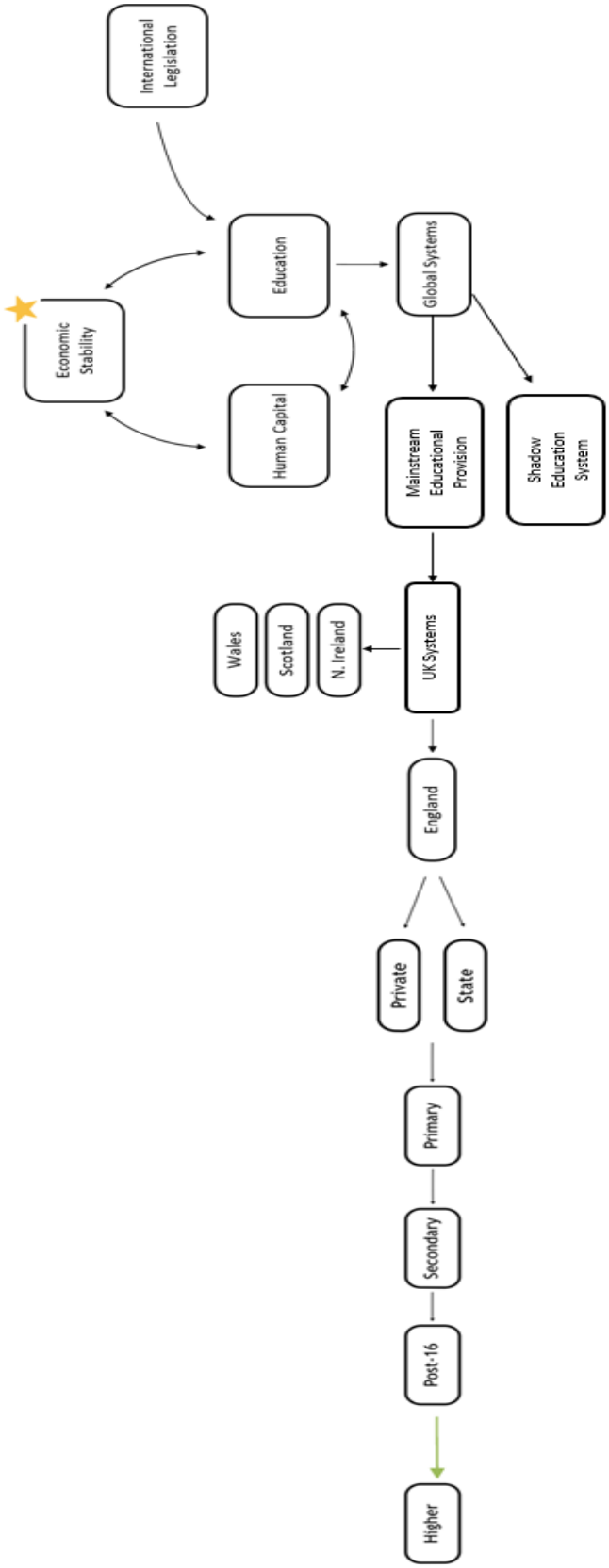


Figure 7: Stages within Mainstream English Education Systems

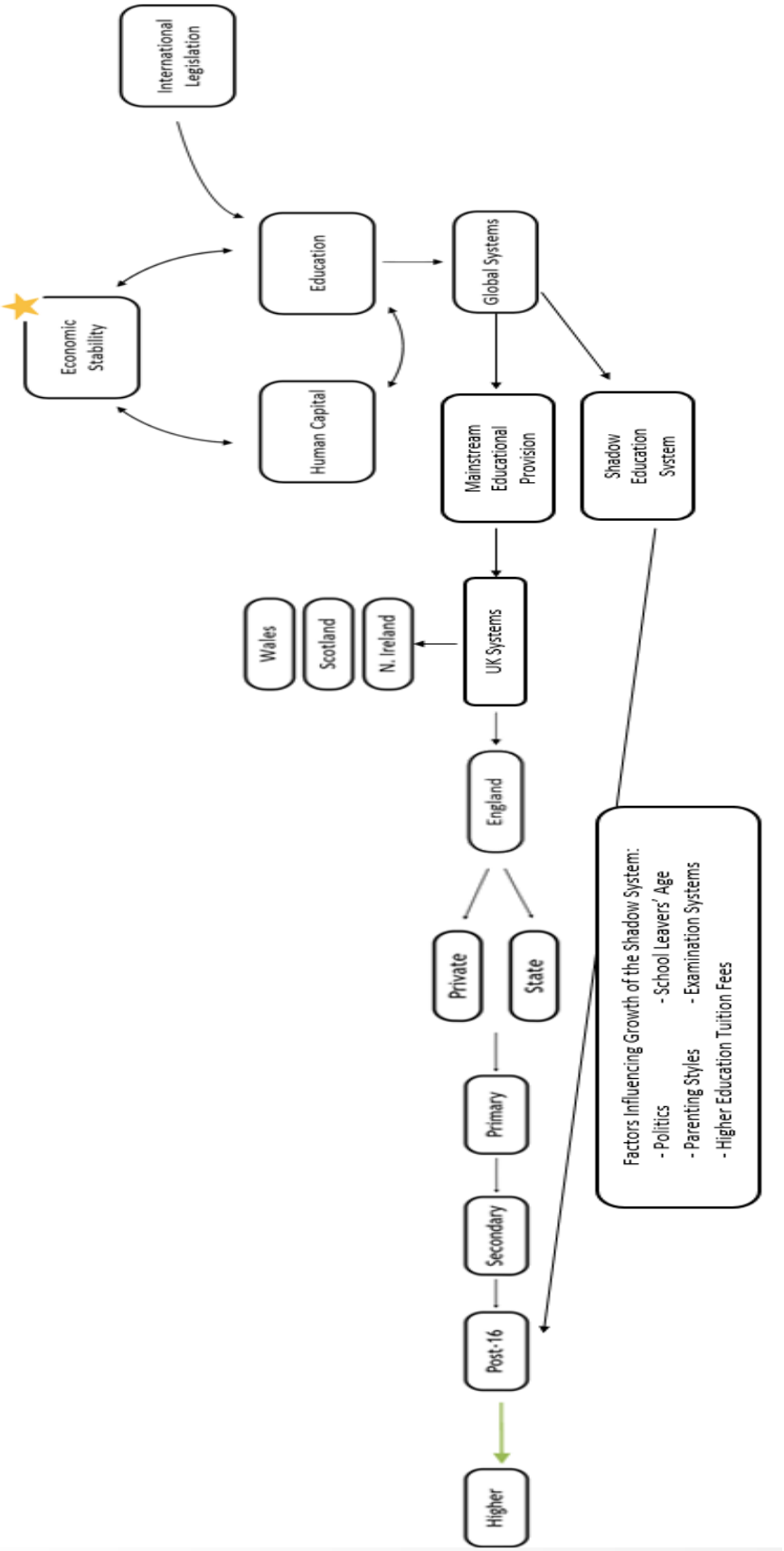


Figure 8: Influences on the growth of the Shadow Education system in England

11.3.7.1 Influence of Political System

As England is a democratic nation; the government is elected via public votes (Wright, 2013). This inevitably leads to changes in the political parties, the educational policies introduced and even the name of the department responsible for schools and students (Ball, 2013; Dewey, 2004; Glaeser, Ponzetto & Shleifer, 2007). Throughout England, there has been an "unprecedented... depth, breadth and pace of change" (Coffield, 2007, p.2) and "policy overload" (Ball, 2013, p.3) within education. Although this is vast it, is important to acknowledge the legislation which may have influenced the increase in private tuition in the country.

One such influence may lie in the changes made by the right-wing Conservative government between 1979 and 1997, including the marketisation of education (Whitty, 2008), the removal of the tripartite system (grammar, secondary modern and technical schools) and parents (the consumer) receiving greater freedom regarding school selection. A range of legislation was introduced, such as the 1980 Education Act, which provided students with funded places at private schools (Edwards, Fitz & Whitty, 1989), may have had an influence on private tuition. The act may have potentially created the view that the state education was inferior to that of the private sector and would not lead to as successful outcomes (Haydn, 2004).

Considering the age of Key Stage 5 students in 2015 (17-18 years), it is likely that some parents of this cohort were school children during this period and could have retained such a perception. However, the scheme may have contributed to the reputation of private education, rather than private tuition directly. Despite this, research has shown parents unable to fund private education may seek private tuition to supplement state provision (Rushforth & Ireson, 2009). Moreover, the places offered were limited and the policy removed by New Labour in the 1997 Education Act (Parliament, 1997) so the impact of this policy may not be far reaching.

11.3.7.2 Increasing the School Leaving Age

Although the expenditure on education has remained fairly stable in England, there have been many changes to the educational systems; the latter half of the twentieth century saw large-scale reforms particularly to post-16 educational policies (Bloomer, 1997), including the increase of compulsory school leaving age. Education comes in many formulations, with the age at which compulsory schooling ends varying significantly between countries (Brunello, Fort & Weber, 2007).

In the early 2000s, several national and international reports ranked the United Kingdom poorly in terms of educational participation post-16, which led to a review of educational provision and a drive to improve levels of participation (DfES, 2003a). A range of qualifications were introduced including Applied A-levels and apprenticeships, but also the number of A-levels required increased from three to four (DfES, 2003a). The 14-19 Education and Skills Act (Parliament, 2005) saw the government aim "to increase participation at age 17 from 75% to 90%" (p.4), in order to benefit both individual students and the wider national economy. The Education and Skills Act (Parliament, 2008) aided this objective by increasing the age at which students could leave compulsory education to 18.

Interestingly, over several years, a range of European countries have also increased the minimum school leavers age to be between 14-16 years, as opposed to 11-14 (Brunello, Fort & Weber, 2007). Poor quality skills markedly diminish England's output per hour rate, when compared to European and North American countries (O'Mahony & de Boer, 2002). Therefore, it was hoped that by raising the participation age individuals would be able to earn greater amounts and countries would benefit both economically and socially; a so called "graduate premium" (Pericles Rospigliosi, Greener, Bourner & Sheehan, 2014).

Although it has long been established that those who are educated to a higher or further level (further – post-16; higher - post-18 years) will earn more than those who are not, Brunello and colleagues (2007) report that the most significant benefits of an increase in compulsory school age, are typically to the lowest attainers. By continuing to study, young people develop the skills necessary to contribute to the national economy as it strives to prevail alongside international competitors (Leitch, 2006). Further implied consequences of lower participation rates at post-16 include social, emotional and problems. For example, research suggests individuals are less likely to engage in criminal activity, become teenage parents or abuse drugs, if they are educated beyond the age of 16 (DfES, 2007).

Within the English education system there are many varying routes for those students aged 16 years or over, to ensure that citizens are able to pursue a variety of occupations. Participation in further education has not only benefits for individuals in terms of employment and consequently wealth, but additionally produces economic gains on a national scale (Croll, 2009). Educational outcomes are linked to the routes selected; however there also exists a strong correlation between length of education and socio-economic class, with children from poor backgrounds less likely to engage with non-compulsory education (DFES, 2007). Furthermore, Payne (2003) identifies gender

differences in post-16 education, with males less likely to study beyond GCSEs and success at KS4 being another predictor of post-16 participation (Croll, 2009; Payne, 2004).

Therefore, although the UK government claimed to provide a range of options for Further Education, the discussed policies meant that students, who may have traditionally left school for employment at 16, were obliged to continue their studies. This has two potential implications for private tuition; firstly students who may not have traditionally opted to pursue academic studies may have had to – particularly in schools with limited provision. They may have not been able to access the curriculum and therefore sought a private tutor for remedial support (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

Secondly, by increasing the number of students in post-16 education, there will have been further implications for applications to Higher Education. Alongside this, a New Labour White Paper (The Future of Higher Education) which aimed "to increase participation at university towards 50% of those aged 18-30" (DfES, 2003b), may have added further competitions to applications for oversubscribed universities. Students may have employed a tutor for supplementary support in order to achieve grades required for particular universities. By increasing the numbers of students in further education, there have been implications for higher education. Places have become more competitive with students seeking places at the most elite institutions, and therefore requiring exceptional examination results. To ensure this, parents may employ tutors to support educational outcomes.

Thus, by extending the school leavers' age, governmental aims of economic improvements are achieved. Students are potentially equipped with greater skills and knowledge to enter the workforce. However, this area of education is significantly underfunded (Foster, 2018). Families may feel required to support their children's educational advancement by paying for private tuition. The current research project will be focusing upon post-16, or (Key Stage 5 students), as the majority of my teaching as a Head of Psychology and Sociology, involves this age group. An investigation into this cohort will allow me to see if the rise in private tuition at this age is caused by external factors, such as school funding and leavers' age, or by internal, student specific motivations. In both a global and English context, it is this age group who are most likely to employ the services of a private tutor in one or more academic subjects (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011; 2014; Safarzynska, 2013; UNESCO, 2000) and therefore it is of importance to gauge why.

11.3.7.3 Higher Education Tuition Fees

Although government policies sought to increase the number of students in the further and higher education systems (potentially for individual and national economic benefits), funding such an increase through government resources would be impossible (Dearden, Fitzsimons & Wyness, 2011). Thus tuition fees for Higher Education were introduced in 1998, were increased in 2006 and tripled in 2010 (Bolton, 2017). Although it was speculated that the introduction of tuition fees would lead to a decrease in participation in higher education, this did not occur (Bolton, 2017; Dearden, Fitzsimons & Wyness, 2011; Sutton Trust, 2010).

Increased tuition fees may have had an impact upon private tuition in England. In 2010 the maximum amount universities could charge rose to £9000, with most opting to do so (Kaye & Bates, 2017). This contradicted the predictions of the government, who believed that only the highest ranking universities would do so, in a self-evaluation of quality (Bolton, 2017).

As the fees have increased, both students and their families are experiencing greater financial pressure (despite the student loan system), thus they want to secure the best university place to ensure value for money (Budd, 2017). The perception of a graduate premium – whereby students who have a degree earn more may also be flawed (Kidd, O'Leary & Sloane, 2017); Cook, Watson and Webb (2018) indicate that many graduates are taking jobs previously held by non-graduates, whereas Walker and Zhu (2017) state choice of undergraduate study has a significant impact upon graduate premium, with some degrees leading to better outcomes than others. Research suggests that the most significant impact on decisions relating to higher education comes from parents (Foster & Higson, 2008); if parents are aware of cost implications of attending university, as well as the facets of graduate premium (Ahlburg, 2017), there may be pressure both on the student and their families to ensure the best possible outcomes at Key Stage 5 to widen choices for university placements. Thus, it is possible to see why increases in higher education fees may lead to a rise in private tuition; both students and their parents may feel there is value in investing in additional support to increase the undergraduate opportunities available (Shoup, Gonyea & Kuh, 2009). In future research cycles, considering reasons for having tutors, to see if there is an influence of parents and/or universities, could contribute to the academic field.

11.3.7.4 Parenting Style

Another related influence of private tuition and the choices surrounding it, is parental decision making. Increasingly, educational literature reports of the phenomenon of

"helicopter" parents – parents who participate fully, perhaps overly, in their son or daughter's life, ready to 'swoop in' and protect them where needed (Hunt, 2008); "lawnmower" parents, provide a similar service to their children, by removing barriers to success (Locke, Campbell & Kavanagh, 2012). It is claimed that developments in technology have aided the emergence of these parenting styles, with parents able to contact teachers/supervisors with greater immediacy, as well as monitor their children more closely (Black, 2010).

Naturally the extent of the over-involvement differs between families (Coburn, 2006), with some parents being concerned about social affairs, whereas others focused upon educational outcomes (Howe & Strauss, 2007). Hunt (2008) proposes several reasons why this may have occurred; economic - parents do not want to see their children waste their time and money; ideological – parents want their children to achieve more than they did; pragmatic – families have fewer children, therefore greater energy and resources are exerted over a smaller number of offspring. Helicopter parents have emerged at all stages of education, but a growing trend appears with Higher Education (Rainey, 2006), with the aim of ensuring the best possible educational outcomes (Francis & Hutchings, 2013; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). As students transition from school to university, the influence of parents continues, thus it is unsurprising that there may also be an impact on private tutoring decisions (Haywood & Scullion, 2017).

Whilst, there may be mixed accounts of benefits for the children whose parents act as "helicopters" (Fingerman et al., 2012; Lipka, 2007; van Ingen et al., 2015), the phenomenon is widely reported in the USA (Holdsworth, 2009) and parents across the globe display the same traits (Lee, 2014), deemed by Tan (2017) as 'parentocracy'. The potentially over-involved style of parenting is growing in the UK (Bradley-Geist & Olsen-Buchanan, 2014; Dixon, 2013; Foster & Higson, 2008; Womack, 2007) and is noted in post-16 education (Haywood & Scullion, 2017).

Although initially I had not considered investigating parental involvement as an action research cycle, it appears that this must be given more thought. Parenting style and influence on decision making processes may contribute the employment of a private tutor (Kirby, 2016). Parents want their children to succeed, therefore the employment of a tutor may reduce the anxieties surrounding examination success and entry to Higher Education, in the case of Key Stage 5 students. The concept of being unable to allow your child to fail, may have contributed to private tuition increasing in scope (Frey & Tatum, 2016; Tan, 2017).

11.3.7.5 Examination Systems

A further effect on private tuition in England may come from examination systems, namely the weight placed on achieving outcomes to enable progress to the next stages of education. English students take examinations at age 11, 16 and 18. Whilst the necessity of testing for "ascertaining achievement, accountability and quality assurance" (Parliament: House of Commons, 2008, p.17) is widely supported by schools and the government alike; the same report indicated that this may have led to teachers teaching to test and students taking whatever measures necessary to achieve their desired outcomes:

> "if the system is geared to constantly monitoring progress... it is hardly surprising that the focus is one ensuring students produce the best results" (p.44).

This has implications for the study strategies employed by KS5 students who "tend not to take responsibility for their own learning" (Parliament: House of Commons, 2008, p.53) and instead embrace the opportunity to repeated resit modules to pass the required qualifications. By resitting modules the emphasis is not on overall education, but instead passing examinations (Parliament: House of Commons, 2008). The promotion of resits and the lack of concern regarding failure, due to the option of 'having another go' has been engrained, and as such has possibly contributed to the growth of private tuition. In cohesion, Rushforth and Ireson (2009, p.28) indicated a perception amongst students that examinations are "the gateway to higher education and future careers". Therefore all strategies that may guarantee high level performance, including private tuition, are used by students and their parents.

The reforms to A-levels in 2015, particularly in my own subject area of Psychology, aimed to remove this reliance on resitting by reintroducing two year linear GCE courses. However the implications of reverting back to two year courses, may also have implications for private tuition, as students seek support to learn, revisit and revise vast amounts of content.

(It must be noted here that the data collected for this current study came from students in the final year of separate AS and A2 courses, rather than reformed specifications. A comparison of the findings of this project to current students presents an additional area for future investigation).

11.3.8 Why do we need to research private tuition?

This literature review so far has outlined both the economic and legislative reasons for education, as well as introduced the shadow education system and influences (specifically

in England), which may have contributed to its growth. To succeed in the final stages of education, more and more students appear to be employing the services of a tutor, leading to the emergence of a shadow education system. Therefore, I feel it is important to outline the reasons why it is necessary to research private tuition.

Private tuition has increased rapidly over recent years; although it has always had greater prominence in certain areas of the world (namely East Asia), the additional demand has occurred across the globe (Bray & Kwo, 2013). In a qualitative enquiry into the shadow education system, Jokic (2013) refers to private tutoring becoming a "phenomenon" and further suggests it has "become a norm rather than an exception" (p.13) in global education.

Indeed, international reviews such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Survey (TIMSS) have assessed the occurrence of private tuition and found it prevalent in all countries researched (Beaton et al., 1996; Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014; Dang & Rogers, 2008; Mullis & Martin, 2008; OECD, 2001b; PISA, 2006) including in areas with developing educational status, such as Poland (Murawska & Putkiewicz, 2006), Slovakia (Kubanova, 2006), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jokic, 2013) and Vietnam (Dang, 2011).

However, there are distinct differences between countries; up to 70% of Japanese students (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre & Wiseman, 2001) and around 80% of all Egyptian secondary school students are reported to have tutors (Sobhy, 2012). In Canada there has been a significant rise the number in students engaging with private tuition and thus a two-fold increase in tuition businesses (Davies, 2004; Davies & Guppy, 2010). The figures are typically much lower in European countries (OECD, 2001b), yet there are discrepancies within the research. Mischo and Haag (2002) reported that around 35% of German students had private tuition, yet more recently Klemm and Klemm (2010, as cited in Bray & Kwo, 2013) suggested that only 15% engaged in this form of education regularly. Similarly figures for the UK are also wide ranging, with estimates lying between 10-30% pupils (Jerrim, 2017; Peters, Carpenter, Edwards & Coleman, 2009; Tanner et al., 2009), increasing up to 40% in London (Sutton Trust, 2014; see Bray, 2015, for further details).

Clearly when a field of education expands, this calls for research to also increase; however, it is important to consider the implications of this growth, particularly as my own research will utilise a series of action research cycles. The four areas most pertinent to the current project are:

1. Does private tuition provide an academic advantage?

2. Is the growth of private tuition creating social inequalities in relation to access and family income?

3. Is the growth of private tuition caused by the teaching profession?

4. Does the growth of private tuition suggest educational reform is required?

11.3.8.1 Academic Impact of Private Tuition

Perhaps one of the most significant reasons for investigating private tuition is to understand whether or not it actually provides a benefit to the students participating and paying for it. If it is beneficial, why is it? If it is beneficial, are those who can afford it at an unfair advantage? If private tutoring does not have an effect, then why do families invest in tuition? Why do government schemes support it? Why does its growth continue?

When previously discussing the purpose and function of private tuition, a number of studies were referred to in relation to academic performance and tutoring. Typically, students seek a tutor for improved grades, yet currently research remains inconclusive as to its actual effects. Here, however I wish to consider further literature relating to this topic.

Firstly, Zhan and colleagues (2013) criticised private tutoring for a negative impact upon attitudes to learning. Students begin to believe that success can be achieved through intensive periods of study, and instead of developing resilience, they rely on tutors to prepare them to pass examinations. Moreover, Kirss and Jokic (2013) state pupils view private tuition as “an easier, quicker and more effective path” (p.178); a complacent attitude towards learning, which may become irreparable. Additionally Kirss and Jokic claim that private tutoring may be working in a way, which directly opposes the purpose of education; to develop independent learners. This has made me strongly consider looking at the reasons my students seek tutors and also whether or not they believe their tuition has a positive or negative impact on their performance in school. In connection, investigating whether students are seeking tutors in the hope of being spoon-fed or if are they attempting to develop greater self-awareness and metacognition could be important in further aspects of this research (Gascoine, Higgins & Wall, 2017).

However, improvements in academic performance may not be the only purpose for private tuition. There may be additional elements which are sought through the employment of a tutor. For example, Foorman and Torgesen’s (2001) research emphasised that private tuition does more than provide additional time for the study of a subject; it allows a child to develop both “emotionally and cognitively” (p.209) due to greater opportunities for reciprocal

feedback and structured support. Similarly, De Silva (1994) found that private tuition gives instructors the opportunities to provide individualised support that can allow children to not only improve their academic scores, but their general attitudes towards learning. In a meta-analysis, Cohen, Kulik and Kulik (1982) found academic benefits of private tuition, but also improvements in student mind-set towards the subject studied. It can enable students to build their own self-confidence, control their apprehension regarding formal examinations and develop time management skills (Barrow & Lochan, 2012; Popa & Acedo, 2006; Zhan et al., 2013). In further action research cycles it may be possible to research different learning environments, to see whether students feel reciprocal feedback and support is available within school, or only within private tuition. Also, the concept of individualised guidance will allow comparisons between the two systems of education to be made.

Regarding motivation and private tuition, Kirss and Jokic (2013), found a negative correlation between levels of private tuition and motivation; as motivation in a student decreases, amount of private tuition increased, which supports the view that private tuition may provide students with support in this element of their studies. Tutors were able to develop relationships with students that teachers could not. Similarly, when Mischo and Haag (2002) explored the motivational factors surrounding private tuition, they found that there were statistically significant improvements in academic achievement and motivational variables, for students engaging in private tuition, in comparison to those who did not. This study was however limited in its design, as a matched pairs design was used, (therefore there may have been individual difference causing the change) and as the measure of academic achievement was school marks, rather than a standardised measure. Private tuition provided the opportunity for "individual reference norm orientation" (p.265), meaning that targets and goals were distinct to the individual, rather than as a comparison to other students.

These findings are also influencing decision making for my next action research cycle; it is consolidating my view that qualitative investigations would be most suitable methods to use. This will enable me to explore not only the reasons why my students have tutors, but also look closely at terms of academic achievement and motivation. Are tutors employed so students can access an education specifically tailored to them, or are they seeking academic achievement generally?

11.3.8.2 Social Inequalities

One of the most significant reasons for my interest in private tuition, came from the potential social inequalities tutoring may create - if it is found to have a beneficial effect on student

performance. As private tuition requires payment, divisions may arise between the most and least affluent. A major concern is that tutoring "divides the student population into haves and have-nots" (Sen, 2009, p.14) and reinstates the stratification between social classes, which international legislation seeks to eradicate (Edgerton et al., 2008; Heyneman, 2011; Jerrim, 2017; Tsuneyoshi, 2001).

Safarzynska (2013) considered the socio-economic reasons for private tuition and uncovered, that alongside lower grades, the other predictor of having a tutor was household income. Families in which both parents are educated to a higher level and with a greater level of wealth are more likely to have a tutor (Song, Park & Sang, 2013). Moreover, Ireson & Rushforth, 2005) also suggest there is an element of imitation influencing private tuition - even if the employment of tutors creates a financial burden - parents are more likely to hire extra support if members of the same community are doing so. The idea of cost being implicit in decisions regarding private tuition is further reiterated in research which suggests that one of the major reasons for not having a tutor is the price (Zhang, 2013).

It is therefore important to investigate the typical patterns of socio-economic groups participating in private tuition, to see if it is only available to those families with high incomes. If this is the case, stakeholders may need to introduce policies to prevent these divides, potentially monitoring the practice to a greater extent than currently (Jerrim, 2017). This in turn raises questions as to whether this is possible, or whether the shadow system can be embraced by governments to support the poorest members of society in accessing this additional curriculum. In the current research project, these findings perhaps suggest contrasting students both with and without tutors could provide some insight into social inequalities. I must however, carefully consider the ethical implications of discussing social class and family finances with students attending my own school. Alternatively, researching national statistics on income and tuition could be more ethical, but may not have the impact upon my own practice, that is aimed for within this doctoral research.

Traditionally in education socio-economic status dictated the choice between state and public schooling. However, as the cost of private education has increased, this option may no longer be viable for middle income families (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). For example CEBR (2014) found that fees for UK private schools increased from "£2985 in 1990 to £12700 per year in 2014... equivalent to an annual inflation rate of 6.2%" (p.4), with the fees in 2027 expected to be almost double of those currently. The same research report estimated that in order to fund two children through public school a parent must have "average earnings of £32900 after tax/£44000 before tax, over 16 years" (p.4) and these

figures double when boarding fees are added. Consequently, some parents who are unable to afford the cost of private education instead supplement state-funded education by paying for private tuition (Davies, 2018). Although expensive, tutoring is typically used for short-term intensive support at key transition points, therefore the financial burden may not be as significant as full time private education (Kokkevi et al., 2018; Tabassum, Taherani, Tabassum & Afzal, 2018). Parents may be willing to invest in tuition in hope of returns for their child, but also society (Safarzynska, 2013). Families which have experienced financial hardship and changes in ruling regimes (e.g. Soviet Union and Communism), may emphasise the necessity of education and aspiration in order to succeed (Bray & Silova, 2006; Murawska & Putkiewicz, 2005). Although parents in England may not have experienced significant political reform, they too may employ tutors in the hope of offering their children better future prospects (Hajar, 2018; Pearce, Power, & Taylor, 2018).

As the shadow education system has increased and the global work place has become more and more competitive, "middle-income and low-income families [found]... themselves forced to invest in private tutoring" (Bray & Kwo, 2013, p.487). Therefore in line with Sen's (2009) prediction of a division between those able to pay and those unable, families are almost forced to pay for tuition, even if they are unable to afford it, to ensure that their children are not placed at a disadvantage (Safarzynska, 2013).

Bray (2011) suggests this process in turn may lead to richer households to pay for yet more or high quality private tuition, reopening divisions amongst classes to ensure the best educational outcomes for their own children. The trend of even the poorest members of society paying for extra lessons, has been found worldwide with similar percentages of students receiving private tuition amongst all levels of incomes (Sen, 2009; Smyth, 2009; Sobhy, 2012); thus indicating there is pressure placed not only on students, but also parents to access tuition. Significant expectations are held on its perceived benefits.

What is of concern is that less affluent families may be funding private tuition and causing financial strain, whilst its effects remain unclear (Safarzynska, 2013). Lee and colleagues (2009) highlight that it is often difficult to ascertain whether progress has been made through employment of a tutor, due to the wide range of other variables which could be influencing the student. Most research, (by nature of the fees occurring with tuition), has been conducted on students from wealthy backgrounds, who would already have advantages in comparison to their peers, such as resources and private education. It is difficult to separate these from the impact of the tutor (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Sohn et al., 2010). Therefore low

income families may be stretching themselves financially, when it may not be of benefit (Song, Park & Sang, 2013).

Consequently the ideas relating to social inequality have led to several prospective areas which could be researched within future cycles of this project. Are parents the most pertinent influence on hiring of tutors? Is tuition a financial burden? Does private tuition have a positive impact on performance or other motivational factors that warrants expenditure? Do privately tutored students feel there are social divides created by the shadow education system? Do parents feel pressurised to get their children tutors? As this is a practitioner-researcher enquiry I must consider whether these concepts link to my overall aims of influencing student outcomes, as I design the next action research steps.

11.3.8.3 Impact on Teaching Profession

Another reason why private tuition must be researched is due to the impact it has upon teachers, as well as students. Private tuition can have both positive and negative influences on teachers, therefore this is an important element for me as a practitioner to consider; does private tuition work cohesively with mainstream educational provision? Do teachers support their students having tutors? Does private tutoring benefit student performance in lessons? Are students who attend private tuition sessions at an advantage to their peers who do not? Does private tuition offer something which teachers and schools do not or cannot provide?

In terms of positive impacts, private tutoring can allow teachers can supplement their wages by providing additional services to students (Zhang & Bray, 2018). Jokić, Soldo and Dedić (2013) suggest that "inadequate teacher salaries" (p.15) have led teachers to engage with private tuition, in what Sachs (2001) refers to as a necessary 'entrepreneurial identity'. It is a logical solution for teachers to provide this service, as it is not an additional occupation, but simply additional hours, possibly with less negative side effects (e.g. class size, behaviour management, marking) than in their full time occupation (Kobakhidze, 2014).

The prevalence of teachers engaging in tutoring is well documented, with Kirby (2016), on behalf of the Sutton Trust stating, "nearly half (43%) of [UK] state school teachers have tutored outside of their main teaching role at some point during their lives" (p.4). Similarly, Zhang (2013) discovered that in China, the majority of students, no matter the subject studied, or home location, received tuition from either their own school teachers or from other schools. Rural students were more likely to have their own teacher than other professionals, a trend potentially occurring, according to Zhang, due to lack of choice. Bray and Kwo (2013) highlight that talented teachers may be drawn away from classroom based

instruction, towards private tuition. This may be due to financial incentives, to avoid bureaucracy and the ability to work flexibly (including running online courses).

Although the additional income is viewed as a positive impact on staff, there are ethical and moral implications of this practice; Bray (2013) notes that often partial elements of a curriculum will be delivered in a compulsory classroom setting, yet other key components can only be accessed through paying the same teacher for tuition. This phenomenon was noted in Cambodia as 'tricks of the teacher' (Dawson, 2010). Similarly teachers may support unnecessary elements of the curriculum such as entrance examinations, in order to continue providing private tutoring services (Popa & Acedo, 2006). Teachers may also pressurise parents to pay for additional tuition, by emphasising their poor pay conditions (Sobhy, 2012). Jayachandran (2014) suggests that where teachers receive low salaries, they may put less effort into their formal work in order to account for additional occupations as tutors.

The financial constraints of adhering to the UN regulations regarding free education may mean that governments turn a blind eye to tutoring systems and teachers engaging in such practice (Silova, Budiene & Bray, 2006). Raising salaries would have such a significant impact upon national expenditure that the lesser of two evils appears to be to allow teachers to tutor (Borodchuk, 2011). In order to counter, this South Korea attempted to ban tutoring, although this was not successful (Lee, Lee & Jang, 2010). Similarly, Xu (2009) investigated restrictions placed on teachers providing tuition across China, and although the general rule is that they are not permitted to do so, provinces vary in their administration of these principles, and choose to ignore the practice. Further, private tuition led by a teacher with their own students is banned in Australia, Singapore and Germany (Bray, 2013).

Popa and Acedo (2006) suggest the negative portrayal of teachers in the media, (particularly highlighted cases of ineptitude) undermine the professional status of the majority. This leads to students and parents alike questioning the quality and purpose of mainstream education, when private tutoring session are viewed as much more productive in terms of passing examinations at key transition points in education (Kirss & Jokic, 2013; National Audit Office, 2015; Zhan, Bray, Wang, Lykins & Kwo, 2013). The same study in Romania found that numbers of students employing a tutor have increased due to "a lack of trust by students, their parents and teachers in the official discourse of the education reform" (Popa & Acedo, p.104).

Furthermore, there are negative impacts on lesson delivery; researchers report decreased levels of motivation from students, as they simply rely upon their supplementary instruction

for acquiring skills and knowledge rather than participating fully (Hussein, 1987; Yasmeen, 1999). Silova and Kazimzade (2006) mirrored this finding; motivation in lessons decreased as a result of private tuition. Further to this is the reported exhaustion from attending late night additional tutoring sessions, leaving students tired and ill prepared for their compulsory schooling (Kim, 2007). Interestingly, when Bray and Kobakhidze (2015) investigated relationships between teachers, tutors and students, a preference was from students towards tutors, which the researchers explained may occur due to a range of reasons; less emphasis on discipline, choice of tutor, increased opportunities for communication, but also due the desire to achieve 'value for money'.

Despite this if tutoring is found to be beneficial, this may work in favour of teachers. The National Audit Office (2015) found that one to one interventions are believed to have the most beneficial impact upon student outcomes, according to UK teachers. It can potentially impact class performance, if student outcomes improve; it can reduce teacher workload as there may be less material needed to be delivered and fewer support sessions required; it may also enable teachers to defer accountability of examination results (Kirby, 2016).

Thus although private tuition may be beneficial for individual student performance, on a larger scale, tutoring can negatively impact educational provision. There may be less effort from teachers, gaps in the curriculum, the loss of talented teachers and less effort from students who may hold tutoring hours in greater value (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Bray and Kobakhidze (2015) conclude that the ecosystem of education may be at a disadvantage due to the arising "competition, rather than cooperation, between the microsystems of tutorial centres and schools" (p.18).

Although I am certain within this project that I wish to conduct action research, which will have an impact upon my own practice and that of my students, the factors introduced above relating to teachers have made me consider that perhaps there is scope to interview both staff and students. If possible, ascertaining the views of my colleagues who both teach and tutor, could offer significant value to this project to see if they feel tuition and mainstream classroom based learning align or contradict one another. Ethically, a cycle of this nature may be challenging, as currently there is a ban on tutoring as an additional occupation within my own school, so finding a suitable array of participants may be of concern.

11.3.8.4 Educational Reform

A fourth reason why it is necessary to investigate private tuition relates to the issue, that the shadow has only emerged due to failings of the formal systems of education (Zhan, Bray,

Wang, Lykins & Kwo, 2013). Popa and Acedo (2006) suggest that the rapid increase in the prevalence of private tutoring may indicate problems with mainstream education and perhaps educational reforms need to take place. This idea is supported by an established trend in relation to GNP and school funding; where less money is spent on education, the more private tuition occurs (Silova & Kazimzade, 2006).

Bregvadze and Jokic (2013) investigated the elements of education which may influence participation in private tuition, and discovered that where a curriculum is viewed as ineffective, private tuition is likely to increase. The inefficiency may be caused by a curriculum which is too broad (amount of subjects to be studied) or requires significant depth of understanding (workload). Students and teachers may find these pressures difficult to manage due to the time constraints associated with the delivery of the curriculum within limited hours found in school days; a case of too much in too little time (Jokic, 2013). Teachers may not be able to deliver all the curriculum. Content may either be covered in a rushed manner, perhaps not allowing students to fully grasp concepts; or teachers may elect not to teach certain elements of the course (Bray, 2013). If teaching inefficiency is a factor in students' choice to have private tutors, I feel this is worthy of consideration within this project.

Additionally, Bregvadze and Jokic (2013) refer to "vertical and horizontal inconsistencies" (p.93) in mainstream education, which perhaps needs addressing to reduce the number of students participating in private tutoring. Students cannot seem to link the material studied at one key stage to the next, within the same subject. There are significant disparities between subjects – the skills required differ immensely for students within one academic year. Through the use of an interview or questionnaire, it may be possible to comprehend whether students within my school seek tutoring for examination skills or content delivery; do they feel that there is a lack of consistency from GCSEs to A- Level?

A further argument lies with the previously mentioned notion that private tuition may be the most effective method of educating students. Should it be the most suitable education strategy, then ideally national policies would dictate that one-to-one tuition is delivered in each classroom to every child, preferably by trained teachers (Foorman & Torgesen, 2001; Mischo & Haag, 2002; National Audit Office, 2015). However, this cannot occur in reality (Moody, Vaughn, & Schumm, 1997; Vaughn et al., 2003). Teachers are unable to deliver content on a one a one to ratio, due to the constraints of pupil numbers, timing of lessons and curriculum demands (Kirby, 2016). Governments would be unable to subsidize such a

system, both in terms of staffing numbers and cost (Jerrim, 2017). A potential middle ground could be for schools to encourage personalised learning opportunities. Where one-to-one interactions already occur, they appear to serve simple pragmatic functions, such as homework completion, rather than the specific development of skills, which occurs in a private tuition context (Elbaum, Vaughn, Tejero-Hughes & Watson Moody, 2000, Kirby; Jerrim). The key idea here relates to whether or not private tutoring has a benefit. Do students' perception of benefit match real educational outcomes? Are all students seeking the same types of progress? Is tuition sought to attain 'A' grades, or is it used by students at risk of failing subjects? Is academic progress the aim, or do students wish to develop motivation, confidence or other skills?

Song, Park and Sang (2013) considered student- and school-level reasons for private tuition by analysing TIMSS data. They defined school-level factors related to:

> "school location and school SES... curriculum adjustment, class organisation by ability grouping and the provision of enrichment/remedial classes" (p.130)

as well as regularity of class and homework assessments. However, this study focused only on Mathematics tuition in younger secondary school students (KS3) and used data from TIMSS 2003, so may not relate to current educational contexts. It did show that reasons for participating in private tuition vary across countries. Through studying Korea, Taiwan, Romania and the Philippines, the researchers were unable to account for the variations, particularly in relation to school-level factors and suggested that qualitative analysis is required to uncover the reasons why students opt to use the shadow education system; for instance, educational systems of both a high and low quality led to private tuition. Also whether or not the schools provided support for students in term of remedial sessions had no effects. This study shows that there may not be trends relating to private tuition and educational reform, but does indicate somewhat that educational systems may not be working as they should.

Alternative solutions which could be used by schools wishing to provide free private tuition are programmes led by peers or paraprofessionals. This reduces both monetary and practical problems and ensures private tuition is "open to boys and girls in ordinary classrooms throughout the country" (Cohen, Kulik & Kulik, 1982, p.237). Making private tuition more accessible prevents potential divisions between social classes in terms of educational progression (Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009), as Bray (2006) suggests "pupils' future livelihoods may be significantly shaped by whether or not they have received tutoring" (p.156).

Instead of taking a literal view that if private tuition is beneficial, all students must have access to it, Jokic (2013) and Jerrim (2017) suggest that educational policy makers and stakeholders should reflect on their current systems and identify elements for change. This does not imply that all students should be taught on a one to one basis, but instead assessments of curriculum demands or examination oriented teaching should occur, to avoid social inequalities (Jerrim, 2017). Song, Park and Sang (2013) did find that where schools had the necessary support regimes implemented for both high and low attainers, private tuition diminished. Perhaps this suggests that schools need to consider the services on offer to their student. One of the main areas of educational reform, which is suggested as a key determinant of private tuition is the emphasis placed on examinations (Bray & Kwok, 2003; Tansel & Bircan, 2006). For example, Popa and Acedo (2006) found that in Romania private tutors were employed to ensure students passed entrance examinations at key transition points for secondary school and university. This finding was also reflected in the UK, by Ireson and Rushforth (2011) in Hong Kong by Zhan and colleagues (2013) and Zhang (2013) in China. Thus if the exam-oriented perspective of education can be addressed, then so too might the shadow system change. This element of the academic literature has further strengthen my resolve to uncover both what occurs in the private tuition sessions of my students and why they opt to invest in this aspect of education.

To conclude there are numerous reasons why I believe it is necessary to conduct further research, particularly in an English context, into private tuition. When considering the four areas presented; academic benefits, social inequalities, the impact on teachers and need for educational reform, many questions have arisen that could be addressed in following action research cycles. The aspect which I feel has had most influence upon me, both as a researcher and as a teacher is the concept of educational reform. If there is a fault with the current education system, or if private tuition serves a different purpose, then this impacts me directly as a practitioner. By considering this concept, I will also be able to reflect on social inequalities, benefits and the teaching profession too, without facing potential ethical dilemmas referred to previously.

11.3.9 How has private tuition been researched?

Although I feel action research is the most appropriate method for me and my practice, it is now necessary to consider the ways in which the academic field has approached the study of private tutoring to inform the methods and topics to be investigated in the following cycles. Clearly shadow education research has increased significantly in both breadth and depth; even throughout the time taken to complete this project the number of countries and topics

studied has multiplied. Areas that have been researched include the relationship between socio-economic status and cost of tuition (Bray, 1999; Safarzynska, 2013), the reasons for tuition (Jokic, 2013; Song, Park & Sang, 2013), the impact upon teachers (Popa & Acedo, 2006) and academic benefits (Zhang, 2013). The field has also expanded in terms of geography, with research having initially begun in Asia (de Silva et al., 1991; Marimuthu et al., 1991; Stevenson & Baker, 1992), now occurring globally (Jokic, 2013) and increasing in the UK (Hajar, 2018; Ireson & Rushforth, 2014; Jerrim, 2017; Kirby, 2016; Pearce, Power, & Taylor, 2018).

Methodological issues surrounding private tuition research, as discussed, arise due to ambiguity of definitions (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Definitions have not been objective enough to allow researchers to draw global conclusions, methods have been increasingly varied (Bray, 2010) and cultural influences have such as strong influence on reasons for tuition that it is difficult to make overriding assumptions about the field (Hallak & Poisson, 2007). The differences between countries can prevent adequate comparison being made, not only in terms of economics, but also political, geographical and cultural variables (Bray, 2010; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Jokic, 2013; Manzon, 2007).

Bray (2010, p.6) also identifies concerns with "the ability and willingness of potential respondents" (i.e. participants/students) and "the instruments for securing [the] data" (i.e. the tools and methods used). Typically studies regarding private tuition have used three types of participant – the consumer, the customer and the provider (Bray, 2010; Yung & Bray, 2016; Bray, 2017; Zhang & Bray, 2017). The consumer is usually a school age student, the customer may either be the student or their parents, depending on who pays for the tuition and the provider can be a tutor, a tutoring service or online provision (Doherty & Dooley, 2018). (It must be noted that Jokic, Soldo and Dedic (2013) included a wider range of stakeholders in their research in Eurasia, including policy makers, professionals and academics, alongside the tutors, parents and students.)

Research may be limited as the different participants may fail to provide researchers with adequate response to their data collection. For example, tutors who work for large organisations may not know details about costs; parents may be able to give insights into the finances, but may not know specific details of the activities occurring in tutorial sessions; students may also be unclear about payments or other arrangements (Bray, 1999; 2010; Zhang & Bray, 2017). Any one of these three groups may not wish to divulge information; there may be fear of judgment by a researcher (e.g. if a student is underperforming), legal implications (e.g. teachers tutoring their own students) or cultural biases (e.g. if private

tuition is disapproved of; Jayachandran, 2014). Indeed, Dindyal and Bessondyal (2007, p.8) found that participants in all three of the categories "were not willing to talk about private tuition openly", thereby limiting depth of investigation and consequently, validity.

Further to this, issues arise regarding power-relations; practitioner-researchers, such as myself who conduct research with their own students, may find students are unable to overcome well-established formal relationships, when engaging in research (Wagner, 1997). There may be modifications to their responses, which in turn may impact credibility and validity (Dadds, 2008). The nature of the sampling methods used, for instance volunteer sampling, may yield to problems with participants being overzealous in their contributions (Gordon, 2016).

Another methodological concern relating to participants lies in the types of participant used. Smyth (2008) suggests that there may be a "threshold effect"; students may be unable to show significant gains in their academic achievement, as they are already attaining high grades. Smyth also makes reference to "school effects"; students spend relatively little time with a private tutor in comparison to time in lessons and completing homework, therefore there is more likely to be a stronger influence of the teacher, rather than the tutor. Furthermore it is hard to determine whether or not academic gains are due to improvements in cognitive or motivational factors or vice versa (Mischo & Haag, 2002). Although it is possible to distinguish between teachers, peers and paraprofessionals as tutors, within these categories some may be more effective than others and this cannot be controlled for within the literature (Ireson, 2004; Ireson & Rushforth, 2004; Wasik & Slavin, 1993).

A final research consideration is the age of participants. Within the UK, policies introducing private tuition in 2005 and 2009 (Department for Education & Skills, 2009; Tanner et al., 2009) for KS4 pupils failing in English and Mathematics provide some foundational information for my current research; however, as is found repeatedly in the literature, studies of this specific tuition based intervention have focused on younger students; there has been minimal study of KS5 students, despite research indicating that this age group are the most likely to have personal tuition (Bray, 2006).

In relation to instruments, Bray (2010) notes the variety of methods used to investigate the shadow education system; from large scale quantitative research studies such as TIMSS and PISA (Dang, 2007; Smyth, 2009), to in depth qualitative case studies (Hartmann, 2008; Popa & Acedo, 2006). Each creates specific problems which can arise above and beyond standard research methodology concerns such as wording of questions, sampling methods,

sample size, subjective analysis and data attrition (Bray, 2010). TIMSS began asking about the shadow education system in 1995:

> "During the week, how much time before or after school do you usually spend taking extra lesson/cramming school?" (as cited in Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014)

and used the same question in 1999 to allow comparability. Bray and Kobakhidze analysed the question presented and noted that countries were provided with two options to include in the question; either "extra lessons or cramming school" (IEA, 2013), but it was presented with the prefix "during the week". This creates problems with defining what would constitute a typical week. Additionally the TIMSS questionnaire is presented to 13-year olds, who, in some countries may not be taking compulsory examinations, so may not be participating in private tuition (Bray, 2006). TIMSS questioning was modified for the 2003 version, moving from weekly to annual assessments. Bray and Kobakhidze again note the issues surrounding the phrase "this school year" as students may not have an arbitrary understanding of what a year was; does it include or exclude holidays? The questions also only asked about Mathematics and Science, due to the nature of the survey. TIMSS has since removed the question due to issues with subjective interpretations, in its most recent editions. Despite the problems with terminology, Bray and Kobakhidze praised the TIMSS for the inclusion of this item, as it allowed some insight into the global position of the shadow education system.

Similarly, PISA has always included questions regarding additional provision; in the 2000 issue students were asked about special courses they had attended over three years. In 2003 it asked about weekly participation with a tutor and out of school classes, but did not account for seasonal differences in provision such as examination periods and used an ambiguous definition of the term tutor (Bray and Kobakhidze, 2014). In 2009 it asked about enrichment and remedial activities, as well as study skills students were engaged in 'currently', which replaced 2006's 'typically' and included support offered within school, but outside of normal lessons. Bray and Kobakhidze suggest this phrasing may have been conceptually difficult, especially considering that the sample used was 15 year old students.

More of the unique problems associated with shadow education research is the seasonality of provision. It is difficult to ask participants questions regarding how much tuition they receive during a 'normal' week, as typically there is a negative correlation between number of days until examinations and number of hours of tuition, thus the concept of normal is void (Bray, 2010). Similar factors arise with questions regarding typical expenditure on tuition (Dang, 2007). However, where careful sampling, creation of research instruments and

standardisation are considered, it is possible for these issues to be addressed (Peters, Carpenter, Edwards & Coleman, 2009; Tanner et al., 2009). Within a qualitative study, where the focus is on depth rather than breadth of answers, limitations of seasonality may be avoided, which could be more detrimental in a larger scale quantitative study.

Furthermore, not just the collection, but also interpretation of data in shadow education can be challenging –

> "first because conceptualisation is in its infancy, second because data gaps remain very evident, and third because the field is undergoing rapid change" (Bray, 2010, p.9)

Therefore it will be necessary to be transparent in methods used for analysis and I must ensure that conceptualisation is a priority within all cycles that this project may have. It may be of value to have one cycle relating solely to the definitions of private tuition.

In consideration of these factors, I feel that a qualitative study will have the most significant impact upon my own practice, rather than a large scale investigation; as I wish to directly impact the outcomes of my own students and learn more about the process of private tuition and why it is chosen as an intervention method. The use of a survey, such as PISA or TIMMS may provide breadth of responses, but depth in this action research project takes precedent.

Before conducting my next action research cycle I shall need to address methodological concerns relating to qualitative studies, particularly in relation to student participants in practitioner-research. However, my desire to study post-16 students addresses a gap within the current educational field and as well as enabling me to make some comparisons between schooling and tutoring.

11.4 Reflections

Throughout this cycle, many different elements of private tuition have been explored. As I am conducting this project as both a practitioner and a researcher, I feel it is necessary to reflect on the impact these two role have had in this literature review.

Firstly as a practitioner, I have been reassured that the decision to study the phenomenon of private tuition is a necessary one. The gaps within the literature warrant further investigations, not just to understand my students, but also a more general English context. It will be important to directly consider if there barriers to participation, and as such it may

be necessary to consider varying cohorts of participants; staff, students, parents. However, as I seek educational change for my students prioritising this group initially will be key. It may also be possible to establish if the features of the English education systems proposed, contributed directly to decisions to employ tutors.

As a researcher, I was concerned regarding the number of quantitative and a lack of qualitative studies within the field. Through conducting qualitative research in future cycles, additional depth could be contributed to shadow education literature. Moreover, definitions of the interchangeable terms private tuition and shadow education must be established with participants in future action research cycles. There is significant ambiguity and therefore for this project to have validity, I feel definitions must be established as a priority for the next cycle.

11.5 Conclusions

The aim of this action research cycle was to investigate the literature surrounding private tuition. A global context was explored, reasons for the growth of private tuition in England proposed, justification of why this area requires more research presented and an overview of current methodological approaches discussed.

It has established two factors:

1. A definition for private tuition
2. Areas of the shadow education system that need further investigation, which relate to my own practice as a specialist post-16 teacher.

From this cycle, the definition for private tutoring established was:

> Tuition in academic examination-based subjects that is additional to normative educational provision, is delivered by a paid instructor outside of timetabled school hours, in either a one-to-one or small group setting.

However, it is now important to relate findings from the literature directly to my students. As a significant issue identified within private tutoring research is ambiguity of terminology, I feel that it is necessary to conduct an initial action research cycle to validate this definition and to ensure that my participants and I share the same conceptualisation. This will be the next cycle reported. From this it may then be possible to develop further questions relating to private tuition.

Additionally within this literature review I sought to understand whether it would be possible to develop research questions suitable for action research relating to private tuition. I feel that this has been achieved. Gaps have been identified and therefore the following overarching question, will guide the proceeding cycles of this action research project:

> From a key stage five student's perspective, how does the purpose and function of private tuition differ from mainstream education?

12 Action Research Cycle 2: Definitions of Private Tuition: Diamond Ranking

12.1 Introduction

The first cycle of action research was designed to provide familiarisation with the literature surrounding private tuition, but also to help to identify an area which would enable me to contribute to the academic field.

Although there has been an increase in the literature surrounding shadow education, the predominant focus has been within Asian countries, where private tuition is a well-established educational system (Bray, 2017). There exists minimal research conducted within the UK or England. Moreover, although findings indicate that private tuition takes place at key points of transition (Ireson and Rushforth, 2011), there was a significant absence of research surrounding the transition from GCSEs to A-level (16 – 18 years). This therefore determined the nature of the sample I would utilise within my research.

Much of the current UK research used large scale surveys, collecting quantitative as opposed to qualitative data (Kirby, 2016; Jerrim, 2017); as such I decided that it would be important to understand more about why private tuition is a growing phenomenon, rather simply what private tuition is. However, as I sought to conduct qualitative research to add depth to established quantitative findings, I felt it was important to first comprehend whether the definitions of private tuition uncovered from the literature review, were shared by students within my school setting. This would enable both objectivity and validity to be established; an issue outlined by Bray (2010) in this area of research. Additionally it would aid contrasts with the definition identified within Cycle 1.

12.2 Research Question

Therefore the following research question guided this action research cycle:

> "From a KS5 student's perspective, what is the definition of private tuition?"

12.3 Methods

Having established the focus for the second cycle of action research, it was then necessary to identify the methods through which to conduct the investigations into definitions of private tutoring. As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, where possible I sought to include participatory research tools. The aim of this was to ensure my student-participants were able to contribute in varying forms, to the project.

Within participatory research are many different research methods, including the expanding field of visual methods (Wall, Hall & Woolner, 2012). Visual methods have been used in many disciplines to research a variety of phenomenon (Darbyshire, MacDougall, & Schiller 2005; Croghan, Griffin, Hunter & Phoenix, 2008; Rose, 2001). However, despite the fact that visual methods are used throughout educational practice, they feature less frequently within educational research (Wall et al., 2012). Criticisms of visual methods, mainly focus on the lack of insight employed with their use (Collier, 2001; Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015; Baumfield, Hall, Higgins & Wall, 2009) and Harper (2002, p.20) highlights they are typically used as "an end in themselves" and "beg for greater theoretical and substantive significance".

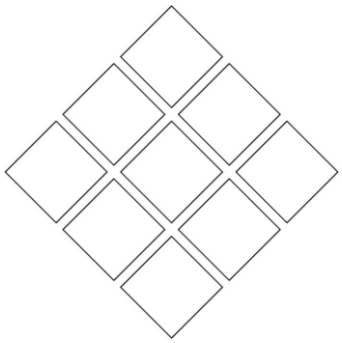


Figure 9: Diamond formation

Despite this Woolner and colleagues (2010) suggest visual methods can offer much more than a description of a unique occurrence and contribute widely to the involvement of children in educational research, despite issues with rigour. Through utilising techniques such as member or expert checking, the credibility and transferability can be ascertained (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). They also remove barriers to participation, such as the need for verbal competence, which children may not possess (Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015; Woolner et al., 2010). It takes a step back from a "sea of words and more words" (Collier, 2001, p.59) and allows participants to be involved in decision making processes (Lodge, 2007; Prosser, 2007).

One visual method adapted from educational practice as a research tool is diamond ranking (Clark, 2012; O'Kane, 2000). A series of brief written statements or pictures are produced for participants to process and rank relatively in terms of importance (Rockett & Percival, 2002). It is classified as a visual method because of the focus upon the positioning of statements in relation to one another. Statements, of which there must be a minimum of nine, are placed in a diamond shape, as illustrated in Figure 9, to indicate preference. The most important/effective statement is placed at the top and the least at the bottom, creating

a total of five rows. The eliciting adjective can differ depending on study aims. It involves both identification and quantification of preferences (Woolner et al., 2010), as following the ranking, the participants (with or without the aid of the researcher) annotate the reasons behind the decision making, which in turn produces qualitative data. The tool can also allow quantitative analysis to occur, through observing the ranked positions of statements of multiple participants (Niemi, Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2015).

Diamond ranking was used by O'Kane (2000) with "Looked After" children and found they engaged with the process with confidence, as the tool, time and location were conducive to participation. Unlike with other methods, the purpose of the research was clear in accounting for the high levels of engagement. Children led discussions about decision making, as they felt they had power. It was they who moved the statements and justified decisions. This contrasts to the passive role held by children in interviews, involving schedules of questions and answers. O'Kane found children seemed to genuinely enjoy participating (p.154) "I'm happy to talk to you another time.... this chart – they don't do stuff like that".

In an educational context Clark (2012) used diamond ranking for two projects – building schools for the future and positive psychology in schools. In both studies pairs of participants were given nine pictures to rank. Diamonds were annotated with reasons behind the decisions. Both studies achieved their desired aim of uncovering both adult and pupil opinions through qualitative reasoning. Again the success was accounted for by active rather than passive participation. Furthermore, Hopkins (2010) used card sorting with 132 pupils, to investigate opinions about effective learning conditions. The strategy acted as an appropriate prompting device, enabling the secondary school children to clearly justify their opinions.

Based on the successful use of diamond ranking as a tool for research within schools and its use with adults (Clark, 2012), it was used as the next cycle of action research – to interpret how KS5 students define private tuition. It was important to ensure that the way in which students interpret private tuition was the same as my own, the researcher, to improve the validity of the study. If students believe, for example, private tuition can be delivered by their teaching staff within a school context, this limits the potential application of findings.

Typically definitions are obtained through survey techniques however, I sought to use a method my participants may be familiar with and one that generated valid, but also succinct amounts of data. It also promotes student voice and avoids passivity as indicated by the research described (Niemi, Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2015). The use of this method and

semi-structured interviews was approved by School of Education Ethics Committee (see Appendix A).

*A pilot study utilising diamond ranking was conducted prior to the completion of this thesis and can be found within Appendix B.

12.3.1 Participants

Ten participants were recruited using a volunteer sample to participate in the diamond ranking activity. The participants were all students aged between 16 – 18 years attending the same school at which I am employed. Approximately 200 students are in Years 12 and 13. When considering Sutton Trust (Jerrim, 2017) estimates of pupils with private tutors in England, this would suggest around 20-30 students would be available for selection. However, a definitive number of students who actually employ a tutor within the school is unknown, therefore recruitment of ten volunteer participants seemed viable number for the current study.

There are numerous issues regarding teachers researching with their students, such as an inability to overcome established relationships, issues with consent and right to withdraw and social desirability (Wilson, 2017). However, the benefits of having previously established relationships with student-participants outweigh these concerns. Quality of responses can be enhanced, due to increased confidence; students are willing to ask questions and engage in a reciprocal conversation (Ridley, 2009). More pragmatically, engaging participants in further aspects of the research beyond data collection can occur with greater success (Mirra, Garcia & Morrell, 2015).

An assembly was conducted outlining the nature of the research to be conducted and any student willing to volunteer was asked to collect an information sheet and consent form (See Appendices). Any student under the age of 18 was asked to obtain written parental permission before participating in the study.

Initially 12 students volunteered for the study, however two of the sample did not have a private tutor at the time of participation; one planned to employ a tutor and the other had had a tutor previously, but not for A-level studies. Ten participants was deemed a suitable number due to the relatively small size of the cohort which could be accessed (Key Stage 5) and due to the pragmatic concerns relating to qualitative data collection and analysis. As this aspect of the action research project was not the method of data collection and due to the introductory nature of the task (definitions of private tuition) the sample size was

appropriate. Saturation was sought, and was evident within the data obtained (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016).

Timing	Takes Place within the School Day	Takes Place Outside of School Hours – e.g. evenings or free periods	
Content	Lessons supplement learning taking place within school	Lessons contain material not covered in school – e.g. a subject not offered	Lessons contain material not covered in school – Topics which should have been covered, but have not
Number	One to One Ratio	Small Group of Students and One Teacher	
Instructor	Qualified Teacher	Individual who has a Degree in the Subject	
Cost	Paid Tuition	Free Tuition provided by Teachers	
Location	Takes Place in School	Takes Place at Home or Tutor's Home	
Presentation	Face to Face	Online Recorded Videos	Online Live Interactions
Nature of Content	Academic Subject Matter	Non-Academic Subject Matter – e.g. Musical instrument	

Table 1: Cards used for Diamond Ranking Activity

12.3.2 Materials

Unlike previous research in which participants are only provided with nine cards (Clark, 2012), in this investigation 18 cards were provided. Each card had a short descriptive statement relating to the definition of private tuition, as based upon the terminology consistently found within Cycle 1's literature review. The statements were associated to other cards (i.e. Timing - "Takes Place within the School Day" and "Takes Place Outside of School Hours – e.g. evenings or free periods"). Table 1 illustrates these relationships. Cards were not presented as pairs, but were shuffled to allow participants to make decisions freely.

12.3.3 Procedure

Research has reported that the location and time of the research may influence the quality and quantity of information provided by participants (O'Kane, 2000), therefore the choice of room was discussed with the participant. The visitors' room in school was selected, which is away from disruptions of the school routine. A time was chosen which was suitable for both the participant and I, so the task would be completed fully without interruption. The task took place at a standard table, to enable the participant to move the statement cards with ease and write annotations.

Following an introduction relating to the nature of the study and the completion of consent forms, participants were instructed to read the 18 cards provided and choose the nine which best defined private tuition. After the initial selection, participants were asked to rank the cards in a diamond formation (see Figure 9), placing those statements most important in defining the term at the top and those of lesser significance towards the bottom. Participants were then asked to explain their choices and annotate these around the cards. Some participants asked for me to notate as they described, whereas others were happy to write and discuss simultaneously.

Initially, verbal discussion of ideas versus written comments were trialled. Although the purely verbal discussion produced more detailed responses, the need to later add these to the visual diamond formation created a lack of fluidity within the research process; I had to transcribe a recorded conversation then annotate the ideas on to the cards. This prevented an immediate validity check by the participant. However, when participants directly added their comment to the ranked cards it was possible to ensure they were confident with both their decision making and justifications. It was thus decided to utilise the immediate annotation technique to promote the participatory nature of the study.

12.3.4 Analysis

The analysis of diamond ranking involved both qualitative and quantitative strategies. Firstly, cards were assigned scores of 9 -1 based on their position in the diamond formation. Cards on the same row of the diamond received the same ranked number (See Figure 10). Those cards which did not feature in the diamond formation received a score of 0. This provided quantitative data to ascertain what elements of private tuition are key to its definition.

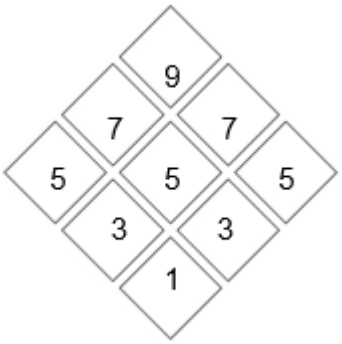


Figure 10: Diamond formation score assignment

In research conducted by Towler and colleagues (2011), rows were assigned descriptors, rather than numerical values. As I sought to rank each card's viewed importance, I believed that assigning a quantity rather than a label would be a more pragmatic approach. It may have been more appropriate to utilise numbers 1-5, but the as the process sought nine answers, this is why the values were assigned.

Qualitative data analysis occurred through assessing reasons for choice of ranked position. This was conducted after the quantitative analysis, where reasons for the highest ranked cards were explored.

12.4 Results – Quantitative Analysis

Below (see Figure 11) is a typical example of a completed diamond complete with the annotations.

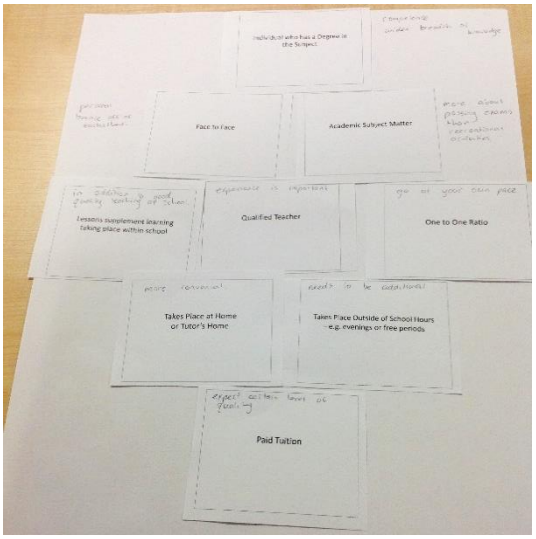


Figure 11: Diamond ranked statements

The results (see Table 2) indicated that the most important aspect of private tuition for students, was that the sessions have a one-to-one ratio. Students wish to have support for their individual learning requirements – something which would be difficult to obtain in a traditional KS5 classroom setting, where class sizes may extend up to 30 students.

Card	Total Ranked Score (10 Participants)
One to One Ratio	61
Lessons supplement learning taking place within school	59
Face to Face	51
Individual who has a Degree in the Subject	42
Qualified Teacher	41
Academic Subject Matter	40
Takes Place Outside of School Hours – e.g. evenings or free periods	37
Takes Place at Home or Tutor's Home	34
Paid Tuition	33
Lessons contain material not covered in school – Topics which should have been covered, but have not	29
Small Group of Students and One Teacher	12
Non-Academic Subject Matter – e.g. Musical instrument	8
Online Live Interactions	3
Takes Place Within School Day	0
Lessons contain material not covered in school – e.g. a subject not offered	0
Free Tuition provided by Teachers	0
Takes Place in School	0
Online Recorded Videos	0

Table 2: Total ranked scores for 18 definition cards relating to private tuition.

The second most distinguishing feature was that material covered in private tuition was not new, but supplementary to topics taught in lessons. This seems a logical response when considering that both methods of learning relate to the delivery of the same examination content. In contrast to research that has taken place into the shadow education systems in Asia (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014), the students interviewed in this study, who all learn at an

English Sixth Form College did not agree that online tutoring would qualify as private tuition. This was shown through face to face interactions being the third ranked statement overall.

Level of qualification was a matter of some interest in these findings, as not all students believed that it was important for their tutor to be a qualified teacher. They did however seem to place significance on the tutor having at least a degree they were tutoring in.

The study of academic subject matter, outside of school hours, which is paid for were other important aspects of student definitions, indicating a clear distinction between the services provided by schools/teachers and those provided by tutors. Indeed, three cards which were not selected by any participants related directly to activities occurring at school; free support provided by teachers, take place within school day and taking place at school. This may indicate that students employ the services of a private tutor for purposes and functions beyond those offered at school. It is this concept which could inform the next cycle of action research.

12.5 Results – Qualitative Analysis

Participants were asked to explain why they selected the nine cards for the ranking activity and how they related to their definitions of private tuition. The top ten ranked cards and their respective annotations are discussed below:

12.5.1 One to One Ratio

This card was selected by nine of the ten participants as a key aspect in defining private tuition. Reasons for selecting this card included:

> "You know what you need – not the whole class"
>
> "Go at your own pace"
>
> "Value for money"
>
> "One to one – better than small groups as more focus on yourself"
>
> "Not like school – ask the questions you need to"
>
> "Ask stuff personal to you – awkward to ask in front of peers"
>
> "Allows more personal revision – no compromise"
>
> "Student and teacher, there's nobody else. No other students."
>
> "More chances to ask questions – important to feel comfortable admitting you don't understand"

These statements indicate that personalised learning is a fundamental element of private tuition, particularly through the use of phrases such as “you”, “own” and “personal”. It will be of interest to pursue these ideas in future cycles, to see if participants sought private tutors for the individualised and differentiated support.

12.5.2 Lessons Supplement Learning Taking Place within School

Similarly this card was chosen nine times and received the top rank from three participants. Annotations relating to this card were:

> “I take it supplementary to my lessons that are in school so it’s not just on its own, obviously I have other lessons as well”
>
> “In addition to good quality teaching at school”
>
> “Important to cover question the school teachers may not have covered clearly”
>
> “Doesn’t replace school, but helps with understanding”
>
> “Tutors expand on knowledge and help with understanding”
>
> “Ask questions [on material] gone over”
>
> “Stuff covered in school – go over it”
>
> “Help with understanding – different way or explanation”
>
> “Lots of revision resources – I got a tutor, to go through ideas more times”

These responses suggest that private tuition is additional to learning with school. It is not necessarily a separate system of learning, but one which does ‘shadow’ mainstream provision. Further to this some answers suggests that participants are not necessarily disappointed in their school provision (i.e. “good quality teaching”) but seek something additional alongside their lessons, whether that is time, materials or varying explanations.

12.5.3 Face to Face

Again nine participants selected this card. The answers below indicate that private tuition needs to involve reciprocal relationships and conversations, which may only be possible face to face. If students have questions and queries, they wish for their tutors to be able to discuss it with them and to improve their knowledge and understanding.

> “Face to face, there’s no way, if you don’t understand it the tutor is going to know straight away, because they can see by your facial expressions”
>
> “Could work on Facetime, but needs to be live”

"Personal – bounce off of each other"

"Ask questions and detailed knowledge"

"Ask questions easily"

"Can get time to go over and over stuff"

"Online not effective"

"Interaction is important – differs from teaching"

"Normal for private tuition"

12.5.4 Qualifications

The two cards (Individual who has a degree in the subject & Qualified teacher) received almost equal overall ranks and were selected 8 and 7 times respectively. Six participants selected both cards and each card was ranked the most important by two separate participants. The mean scores however, did indicate that being a qualified teacher had a slightly higher rank (5.86 points) in comparison to having a degree (5.25 points). Comments relating to both statements included:

Degree

"I don't think it matters, as long as they have a degree in the subject… and a knowledge of the exam boards. I don't think it matters whether they're a qualified teacher, or not, because some private school teachers don't actually have to have a PGCE"

"Don't need to be a teacher, but must have qualifications not just A-level"

Qualified Teacher

"Someone with higher qualifications than you"

Degree & Qualified Teacher

"Degree – competence and a wider breadth of knowledge; Qualified teacher – experience is important"

"Degree – not necessary, but more knowledge; Qualified teacher – has resources and strategies"

"Need degree to teach A-level"

"They need to know what they are talking about and know the spec"

"Further Maths needs specialism"

"Expert advice"

What is clear from all the annotations provided by students, is that there are expectations relating to the person delivering the private tuition sessions. Expertise and a knowledge of subject matter greater than that of the KS5 student are important traits. It may of some interest for future projects to ascertain whether there is variation of quality of tuition relating to the level of qualification of the instructor, however this will not be investigated in this project due to the focus directly on student outcomes rather than tutors.

12.5.5 Academic Subject Matter

This was the only card of the 18 to be selected by all ten students. This indicates that private tuition is something separate and distinct from other types of instruction, such as musical instrument lessons or delivery of subjects not studied at school (e.g. an additional language). Many students provided comments relating to examinations as to why this is an important element of private tuition, as shown below. These answers may also lead to the next steps in this project, as it would be interesting to see whether the reasons why students employ the services of a private tutor relate simply to passing exams.

"Pass exams"
"More about passing exams than recreational activities"
"Understanding complicated subject matter"
"Additional to what already learned"
"Covering exam content"

12.5.6 Timing, Location and Payment

Three cards (Takes place outside of school hours – e.g. evenings or free periods: Takes place at home or tutor's home: Paid tuition) have been grouped together as they were repeatedly selected by participants (8, 9 & 9 times).

Students referred to the fact that these were obvious statements relating to private tuition and its definition. At times students stated that they were not going to annotate the cards, as it seemed too obvious why they were included. The inclusion of these three statements further reiterates the idea that private tuition is separate to the provision of lessons in school, even though it does depend on the mainstream system. Free provision of support from teachers, taking place at school, during the school day were not viewed as part of private tuition and the three cards selected were direct opposites of these ideas.

Interestingly, one student commented that private tuition was “delivered by a teacher – but not own teacher, so couldn’t take place [during school hours]”. This topic too could also lead to further points of interest in future projects – is there a conflict of interest in teachers tutoring their own students? Do teachers feel the need to tutor to supplement their earnings? Are there non-financial benefits to tutoring? Research by Foondun (2002) and Bray and Silova, (2006) explores some of ethical dilemmas surrounding teachers as tutors, such as these.

The element of payment yielded responses relating to “expect [ations] of a certain quality” and “formalisation” of the lessons, as well as payment “not [being] a necessity, but a good inclination of how worthwhile tutoring is – if it is worth it then it’s usually paid for”. However two student did comment individually that “if it wasn’t paid it wouldn’t be private”, whereas another simply stated “would be nice if it was free!”

In reference to location, a student remarked that by having the sessions at home showed that they were “wanting to do it, not having to do it” and another that it is “not just seeing teachers”. Further students mentioned that it would not be allowed to happen at school and that “it doesn’t really matter where it takes place”, as long as it was separate from school, and may even be “more convenient”.

12.5.7 Content

The “lessons contain material not covered in school – topics which should have been covered, but have not” card was included to see whether private tuition is remedial, due to poor quality mainstream instruction. Although this card was selected seven times by the ten participants, comments did not seem to imply negativity towards their classroom based learning.

> “Chemistry – back to basics and presumed content”
> “Extra useful info – gap in knowledge covered”
> “Teachers don’t have time to cover everything”
> “If you have missed a lesson – can go over”
> “Build on prior knowledge – adds to revision”
> “Biology – presumed you knew whole section on global warming so didn’t teach it”
> “All of my teachers cover all the subjects and subject matter, but some might not”

Results that are particularly pertinent are the idea of time constraints felt by mainstream teachers – these are noted too by students. This may be a topic of interest to follow up in the future cycles – is there anything that schools or teachers can do with their time or

timetables so that private tuition is not required? Or does the purpose of private tuition go beyond having extra time?

The definitions not selected appear to align with the findings from the literature review (Takes Place Within School Day; Lessons contain material not covered in school – e.g. a subject not offered; Free Tuition provided by Teachers; Takes Place in School; Online Recorded Videos) and perhaps offer a suggestion as to what students expect within their normal school day.

12.6 Reflections: Cycle 2

Within this cycle, I wanted to ensure my students had the opportunity to have their voice heard in relation to private tuition. Although it could be argued their opinions and perspectives have been limited by focusing upon definitions, the cumulative nature of this project can address this. Future cycles are able to investigate further student views. Additionally, as a teacher I wanted to ensure that my students were exposed to a method that was familiar to them. Diamond ranking is a classroom tool, therefore the decision to use it was rooted in this knowledge.

In regards to my role as a researcher, I felt the use of the diamond ranking activity was effective. Participants were fully engaged in the activity. It allowed both qualitative and quantitative data to be produced and achieved the aim of providing a clear definition of private tuition. The small sample size limits the generalisability of the findings, but as the nature of this study is exploratory, I do not feel that this impacts the value of this cycle. If this was to be used again it may be of use to discuss exclusion criteria alongside inclusion criteria. This would allow a greater exploration of why students separate instruction in school, from that which they pay for.

Furthermore, it may have been more appropriate to allow participants to generate their own nine statements relating to private tuition, rather than providing them with 18 established ideas. This may have improved the validity of the task, as students would have been able to express their own view without constraints. Yet it must be noted that the cards provided were created through reflections upon previous definitions of private tuition from the literature. It may also have been quite a daunting task for students to have to develop their own nine statements to describe private tuition, as they may have not fully reflected on its nature without the use of the cards as prompts.

12.7 Conclusion: Cycle 2

Overall from this cycle of action research, which aimed to gain students' definition of private tuition through the use of visual methods, it would be fair to ascertain that a suitable definition in an English sixth form context would be:

> *"One to one, **face to face**, paid instruction, delivered by a **qualified** instructor, outside of a school context covering academic subject matter, supplementary to that delivered in everyday school lessons."*

When this is compared to the definition from Cycle 1 (see below) it is clear that student participants' opinions predominantly aligned with the established literature.

> *Tuition in academic examination-based subjects that is additional to normative educational provision, is delivered by a paid instructor outside of timetabled school hours, in either a one-to-one or **small group** setting.*

There are however some slight differences, which are indicated through the use of bold font. Students emphasised the need for face to face interactions, whereas some forms of tutoring is conducted online through series of lectures (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). This could suggest that there are cultural differences between the services expected from tutors, when payment is required (Doherty & Dooley, 2018). A further contrast was the emphasis on qualified instructors by students – although there were some discrepancies in relation to the type of qualification (degree vs qualified teacher) the majority of participants felt this was necessary. Again, students as consumers may be seeking the best provision possible and be unwilling to accept tutors without the necessary knowledge and understanding of the subject (Bray & Kwo, 2014).

Finally, a concept that arose in the literature, but was given less value in the findings of this action research cycle, relates to small group settings. One to one support was the most prevalent card, thus suggesting that group instruction was not deemed typical of private tuition, in this context. This may relate to the necessity of a paid service requiring high quality provision – through having face to face, one to one lessons with qualified instructors. Students appear to want value for money and these findings indicate how they believe the best possible outcomes can be achieved.

The qualitative analysis of the diamond ranking activity has highlighted several key areas that have informed the next steps in this action research project. Primarily what has arisen is questions relating to why students have private tutors. The top ranked aspect of private tuition was the idea of a one to one ratio – do students simply wish to have more time with

an expert to discuss their subjects? Or do students require support to fill in gaps in their knowledge and understanding due to content not being delivered appropriately at school? Does private tuition have a similar purpose and function to mainstream education or are they two separate systems of learning? Are students simply paying for tutors to pass exams or are there other reasons why they spend time and money on the services of a qualified individual, who is not their own teacher?

These questions are all of importance in relation to the issues previously highlighted in the literature review of this thesis. If private tuition does serve a different purpose and if it does provide additional benefits to students, there may be social, economic and political implications. Divides may arise between those that can and cannot afford to pay; schools may not be fit for purpose and furthermore governments may need to reflect on the nature of their investments in education. The next steps therefore are to consider views of Key Stage 5 students regarding the purpose and function of private tuition, through a method which will allow these concepts to be explored in depth.

13 Action Research Cycle 3: Tutored Participants

13.1 Introduction

In Cycle 1, a 'gap' within the literature was identified; Key Stage 5 students in English schools. This led to Cycle 2, in which Key Stage 5 students gave definitions of private tuition through use of a diamond ranking activity. By asking the participants what they believed private tuition to be, the internal validity of the study was tested: if their views differed significantly from my own, there may have been issues with answering my research questions. It may have provided a further area to investigate (to uncover how and why they do not align), however, as discussed in Cycle 2, this was not the case. Participants' views of private tuition were similar to that established in the literature review.

Within Cycle 3, I sought to understand in greater depth what occurs within tutoring sessions and why students feel the need for a tutor. This cycle is much longer than the previous and thus to guide this chapter, the findings of Cycle 3 are presented in several subsections as outlined below:

- Definitions of Private Tuition
  - Results – Nature of Private Tuition (Participant Information)
  - Defining Private Tuition
  - Results – Defining Private Tuition
  - Summary – Defining Private Tuition
- Function of Private Tuition
  - Results - Function
  - Summary - Function
- Function - Similarities and Differences
  - Results – Function – Similarities and Differences
  - Summary Function - Similarities and Differences
- Purpose
  - Results – Purpose of Private Tuition
  - Summary – Purpose of Private Tuition
- Purpose – Similarities and Differences
  - Results and Summary

13.2 Research Questions

In Cycle 3 I felt it was necessary to consider what happens within private tuition. This was to uncover whether there is something distinctive happening with a tutor, which does not happen within a school. As a teacher I wanted to understand why the students who had participated in Cycle 2 had tutors, to help me to identify whether it was due to any deficits in school provision (as discussed in Cycle 1) and also to ascertain whether private tuition had a differing function to school. From Cycle 3, I hoped that I would understand whether participants perceived an advantage in terms of academic success, from having a tutor.

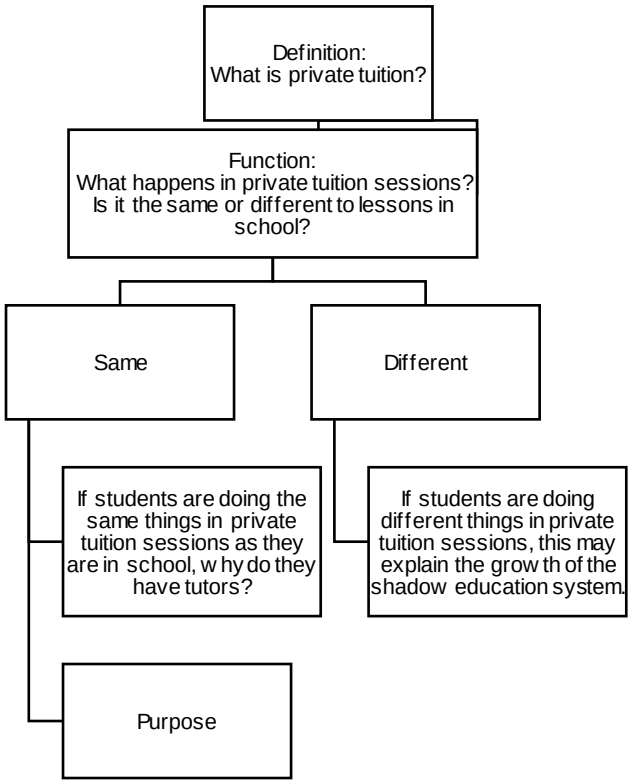


Figure 12: Tutored students: Rationale for interview schedule

Within Cycle 3 students were initially asked about "what happens in" private tuition i.e. its function. The responses relating to the function of private tuition then informed whether or not it was also appropriate to investigate the purpose of private tuition. If the two educational systems have the same function, why then are private tutors employed? What else differs between the two systems? This line of thought is illustrated in Figure 12. Thus Cycle 3 was designed to investigate the relationship or difference between private tuition and classroom-based learning. The research questions for this cycle were:

From a tutored student's perspective, what is the function of private tuition?

Does the function of private tuition differ to that of classroom based learning?

What is the purpose of private tuition?

Does the purpose of private tuition differ from classroom based learning?

Does participation in private tuition imply deficiencies within current systems of education?

13.3 Methods

In order to effectively investigate students' perceptions of private tuition and classroom based learning, I decided to use an interview; a conversation between at least two people, in which the "seeking and supplying" of information occurs (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2006; Kvale, 1996). This method is favoured by many researchers gathering qualitative data due to the possibility of "accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality" (Punch, 2013, p.144).

An interview entails a reciprocal verbal conversation between a researcher and participant in the hope of producing data regarding a topic of shared interest (Kvale, 1996). The purpose of interviews can differ depending on the aims of the research and can include "systematic description, prediction or explanation" (Cannell & Kahn, 1968, p. 527), however all allow the participant to express subjective opinions relating to their own unique experiences (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2006).

There are many reasons why I selected interviews above other alternatives. Firstly, this research method aligns with the constructivist epistemological perspective from which I am working. Constructivism is defined by Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.113) as "realities [which] are local, specific and constructed…and depend on the individuals or groups holding them". As the data in this project has been collected from a small cohort of students from one school, about their own personal experiences of private tuition, any conclusions drawn or ideas established, belong only to that context and at the time conducted. Baker and Johnson (1998, p.230) affirm that interviews allow people to display "knowledge of cultural forms…and how they make sense of their social world" and as such it is a suitable method for identifying views on private tuition. Use of an alternative method such as a written

questionnaire, may not have provided the opportunity for the expansion of contextual information required from this project.

Secondly, as my research was constrained by certain pragmatic issues, such as school timetabling and access to participants, my sample size was relatively small (ten students). As such, I decided that it was necessary to collect detailed and extensive data from this group, thus opting for depth of information rather than breadth of responses. Interviews allow participants to use their own terminology to explain their experiences and elaborate upon contextual information, which may not be possible in alternative methods such as questionnaires (Jones, 1987). Written, rather than verbal questions and answers, tend to gather less detailed answers due to the limitations of literacy (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2006), therefore in this research project participants were able to fully explain their perceptions and expand with sufficient depth. This may not have been possible, had they been requested to write. Moreover, from Cycle 1 it is clear that qualitative data collection in the field of private tuition is limited; further contributing to decisions to use this method.

Thirdly, as the participants in this research were students in my own school, they were unlikely to have engaged in formal academic research before. By conducting an interview it was possible to reassure, clarify and explain as the data collection took place (Warwick & Chaplain, 2013). It also enabled me to ensure the participants were clear in the distinction of my role as a classroom teacher and as an academic researcher. It allowed me to discuss any issues arising from this in the hope of avoiding "strong acquiescence response bias" (Breakwell, 2006), social desirability and demand characteristics. It is well established in the literature that school pupils can feel uncomfortable in delivering their honest opinions in research, when it is conducted by a known authority figure (Warwick & Chaplain), and as such I wanted to be able to outline my specific role in the project. It is important here to note that although several students were taught by myself, there were no participants in the sample, which had tutors for any of the academic subjects I deliver. This was not intentional, but the nature of the opportunity sample used.

13.3.1 Alternative Considerations

Before I began my interviews, I considered alternative research methods which would have enabled me to achieve my aims of contextualised and detailed data collection.

Although both interviews and questionnaires can use open questions, participants are likely to respond in greater detail when providing verbal answers as opposed to written responses. This can improve the validity of findings, as respondents may fail to disclose information if constrained by written answers (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Further to this, the

method is more accessible if participants have communication difficulties. This is important to consider, particularly if the private tuition is serving remedial purposes.

Furthermore, despite the structured nature of questionnaires improving reliability, the use of semi-structured interviews, as used in this study, allows topics of interest to be follow up and expanded upon, whilst maintaining some standardisation. The presence of the interviewer may influence participant responses either implicitly or explicitly, but the benefits of being able to clarify misconceptions or explain the purpose of research in greater depth (Oppenheim, 2000) may outweigh potential issues regarding researcher effects.

An alternative option could have been to use focus groups. This may have eliminated concerns regarding response bias and demand characteristics, as there would not be the same feelings of intensity as in a one to one situation. Furthermore, Barbour and Schostak, (2005, p.43) suggest group situations are "as close as possible to the real-life situation where people discuss, formulate and modify their view" and can create additional time for participants to consider their responses (Lewis, 1992). I decided however, not to use a focus group, as I was concerned about the sensitive nature of the topic. Students may not have wanted to express why they had a tutor in front of their peers. Moreover, in any group situation there will be members who contribute excessively and those who barely contribute (Schmuck, 2006), which may not have led to the in-depth, subjective accounts sought. Additionally anonymity cannot be guaranteed, as with questionnaires (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2006). It is important to note here that the participants involved in the interviews are students from my own school – therefore there may have been an element of reservation in the answers provided due to the lack of anonymity.

Ethnographic research may have been another alternative to interviews. This technique involves the study of a natural phenomenon in the field and will also generate qualitative data (Hammersley, 2016), but does not suit the nature of the current research. It would not be possible to monitor one-to-one tuition to ascertain purpose and function, without having a direct impact upon the validity of the data collected. The presence of a researcher would influence both the tutor and the tutee (Bryman, 2015).

Having decided to conduct an interview, it was important to create a suitable series of questions, which would avoid the problems associated with questionnaires, such as over reliance on closed questions. There are several types of interview, but the resounding idea is that interviews exist on a continuum ranging from highly controlled, restricted structured interviews, through to fluid and subjective unstructured interviews (Punch, 2013). In this research a semi-structured interview was used; an interview schedule was employed, but

question use was determined by the answers provided by participants (Minichiello, Aroni, & Minichiello, 1990). There was flexibility to follow up answers of interest through additional questioning, but key themes kept the focus throughout the conversations (Warwick & Chaplain, 2013). Through utilising a semi-structured interview I sought to ensure I did not succumb to the "asymmetry" of a conversation (Roth, 2005, p.370) which often arises when teachers interview their own students. The use of a schedule prevented me from over contributing and adhere to Roth's suggestion of "taking a back seat" (p.369).

A structured interview is "useful when the researcher is aware of what she does not know and therefore is in a position to frame questions that will supply the knowledge required" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 269) – the purpose of this research cycle was to uncover student perceptions of the purpose and function of private tuition. This was a new area of investigation within the academic field, therefore a structured interview would not serve this purpose. Furthermore, this thesis is exploratory – so standardisation associated with structured interviews was of less significance than validity of responses. Standardisation of comprehension of questions/topics/items is important, however direct replication using the same wording is not as relevant to this research (Mercer, 2007).

Participants were asked to share their views relating to the purpose and function of private tuition and to explain if (and how) this differs from mainstream provision. Interviews were selected as one of the key elements of this action research project. The collection of qualitative data would not only address the outlined research questions, but also inform the next steps of the research, by providing reasons for students having private tutors and the functions tuition sessions have.

Although interviews were selected they too, are not without issues. One of the major issues surrounding the use of interviews by teacher-researchers and their students is the balance of power. Shor and Freire (1987, as cited in Campbell & Groundwater-Smith, 2007) suggest that social perceptions of roles can influence the power dynamics between a teacher-researcher and their students, even before the research takes place. The maintenance of ethical practice, as well as open conversations with student-participants may help to address these underlying concerns (Campbell & Groundwater-Smith). This was obtained by provision of information to the participants regarding supervision of the project, anonymising school/teacher/student details, as well as written and verbal reassurance before the interview commenced.

13.3.2 Participants

As with the approach taken for the diamond ranking tool, ten participants were recruited using a volunteer sample. The participants were all students aged between 16 – 18 years attending the same school at which I am employed. The same students were used in Cycle 3 as Cycle 2, but had the option to withdraw from the second cycle of data collection should they wish. It is important to note that the students interviewed were not necessarily taught by myself, and as such their answers to this section must be considered in light of my role as a teacher-researcher.

An assembly was conducted outlining the nature of the research to be conducted and any students willing to volunteer were asked to collect an information sheet and consent form. Any student under the age of 18 was asked to obtain written parental permission before participating in the study. In order to participate, the students needed to have had tutor during their time in Sixth Form/Key Stage 5, whilst studying A-level subjects, or equivalent. Although some volunteers had had tutors during Key Stage 4, their experiences may have differed, which is why this in/exclusion criteria was used.

Ten was deemed a suitable number due to the relatively small size of the cohort who could be accessed (Key Stage 5/Post-16/Sixth Form) and due to the pragmatic concerns relating to qualitative data collection and analysis; as this aspect of the study is one of several action research cycles, I deduced that this number of participants was suitable to provide me with the level of detail sought (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016).

13.3.3 Materials and Apparatus

A semi-structured interview took place, utilising the questions found in Appendix C. Open questions were used, to allow participants to respond freely and to encourage elaboration of ideas (Bryman, 2007).

Questions were provided as a guide to participants before the interview, to allow the participant the option of preparation. Data was recorded using a Dictaphone app on an iPad.

13.3.4 Procedure

Participants received an information sheet (Appendix D) regarding the nature of the research. They were then provided with a consent form (Appendix E) and told about their explicit right to withdraw at any point during the study. The Dictaphone app was started and the interview recorded.

The participants were asked a series of questions relating to the purpose and function of private tuition and asked to make comparisons to classroom based learning. The interview was semi-structured, thus although there was a schedule of questions, the opportunity to ask additional questions or to follow up on answers of interest was available. Participants were able to view the questions in printed format throughout the session.

The interview was divided into three main sections, as outlined previously:

1. Background Context – Definitions of Private Tuition; Personal Experience of Tuition
2. Function of Private Tuition
3. Purpose of Private Tuition

At the end of the interview participants were fully debriefed and had the opportunity to ask any questions relating to the research. All interviews took place on a one-to-one basis in a meeting room in a quiet area of school at a time convenient to both the participant and I.

A pilot study was conducted to check the clarity of wording and to ensure that the questions yielded data appropriate to the research question.

13.3.5 Transcription

Transcription of the interview was completed within one week of data collection. Answers were recorded verbatim. Microsoft Word was used to record the transcription and to ensure anonymity, names of participants were replaced with numerical values. Any references to names of teachers/tutors/school were edited to ensure confidentiality.

Transcriptions were given to the participants for validation and they were encouraged to edit, clarify or remove any aspect of the data, to ensure it was an accurate reflection of their views on private tuition. Participants were asked to sign a confirmation of their transcription, to ensure their full involvement in the study (Appendix F).

13.3.6 Analysis

Qualitative data analysis was conducted for each of the four sections, looking for trends within and between participant answers. The analysis for each section took place independently, thus before the results are presented, an overview of the methods of analysis will occur.

Transcription I believe, forms an important part in data analysis, which is why this is listed in the analysis below. In addition, as suggested by Strauss (1987), interpretation may lead

and inform the collection of further data. It is important to again reiterate that the conclusions from this section of the study influenced later cycles of research, including additional interviews.

1. Data Transcription – Full Interview
   Each participant's recorded interview was listened to in full, to re-establish the context of the interview. It was not possible to transcribe each recording immediately after the interview had taken place (although all were completed within one week) and therefore this was an important first step.

2. Data Transcription - Line by Line Transcription
   Each interview was recorded verbatim by myself. I wanted to complete the transcriptions personally, rather than use a computerised word to text software programme to maintain an overall perspective of the data (Evans, 2009a) and because I believe transcription is an important foundational step in analysis. Transcription of non-verbal communication did not occur as conversational analysis would not aid in answering the aim of this research study.

3. Data Transcription – Proof Reading/Listening

   Following line by line transcription, the entire interview was listened to and read simultaneously to check for any errors which may have arisen due to mishearing phrases or typing issues. This process was conducted at least three times per interview to ensure a valid recording of the interview data.

4. Data Transcription – Participant Validation
   Participants were provided with a printed copy of the transcription and asked to read through it to check its accuracy. They were asked to edit or modify any sections they felt necessary, to improve the clarity of the answers they had provided in the interview. This strategy was used as the aim of the data collection was to allow student reflections and comments in hindsight to be added, to offer more complete answers. The context/situation of being interviewed could have been influenced by numerous factors such as stress, nervousness, misunderstanding a question etc. Guba and Lincoln (1989) state that "if the evaluator wants to establish that the multiple realities he or she presents are those that stakeholders have provided, the most certain test is verifying those multiple constructions with those who provided them" (p. 239). By giving the students the opportunity to read and amend their comments, the validity of responses was enhanced.

5. Data Transcription – Participant Amendments

   Following the validation by participants, any amendments that they suggested were made to the interview transcriptions. These became the raw data used in the following analysis.

6. First and Second Reading

   The aim of the first reading of the interview transcriptions was familiarisation with the data. Pragmatics of data collection and participant recruitment meant that it was not possible for the analysis to take place immediately after each transcription, for example participants were interviewed over a two month period and a sufficient amount of time was sought to allow immersion in the analysis. Each transcription was read in full and all transcriptions were read together twice, as Evans (2009a, p.125) suggests "the more you read, the more you see".

7. Third Reading

   In the third reading, interview transcriptions were not read in full; instead the three sections of the interviews (introductory questions; function; purpose) were read separately from each of the 10 participants (i.e. the ten function sections were read discretely).

8. Refined Focus – Function Only: Colour Coordinating

   The function sections of each participant's interview transcription were read through. Key ideas were highlighted in three colours, which related to my research questions: what is the function of private tuition? Are there any similarities between the function of private tuition and classroom based learning? Are there any differences between the function of private tuition and classroom based learning?

9. Refined Focus – Function Only: Open Coding

   Coding is defined as "the process by which a text is examined thematically according to certain categories (codes) which are either predetermined or emergent from the data" (Evans, 2009a, p.130).

   Although it may have been possible to establish some codes before analysis (from the established literature), I decided in favour of utilising codes emerging from the data, as I believed that it would contribute further to the validity and transparency of my research. Instead of attempting to make the data fit to codes which may or may not be suitable,

the codes were generated directly from the interview transcriptions, utilising terminology (where possible) from the participants, as the labels. This is a practice referred to by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as 'in-vivo coding' and is favoured to minimise the disparity between the interview transcripts and the analysis of them (Evans, 2009a).

In order to code my data, each line of the transcript (relating to the relevant section being analysed; background, function, purpose) was labelled with an appropriate code. This process is referred to as open coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.101) define this as "the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered". Flick (2002) suggests that the coding need not necessarily have been conducted line by line, but could have also been completed on much larger segments of the transcription. However, as the amount of data collected was relatively small, it was feasible to complete.

Codes were generated after several readings of the data and as such codes were not assigned immediately in all cases and were altered and edited throughout the process. I opted to conduct the coding and subsequent analysis by hand rather than using software programmes such as NVivo, to maintain a clear perspective of the analysis and allow myself the opportunity to visualise a greater range of material at one time (Evans, 2009a). The codes were recorded both on the transcriptions and on a separate coding framework/code notes (Flick, 2002) in order to ensure transparency and thus reliability of the coding strategy. Examples of coding frameworks can be found later in this chapter.

10. Refined Focus – Function Only: Categorisation of Codes

    Following the generation of codes through open coding, it is important to then categorise them in relation to the research question and to make connections between the codes (Flick, 2002) to refine the potentially large numbers of codes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

11. Refined Focus – Function Only: Reliability Checking

    Reliability refers to the consistency of findings; if a study was to be replicated or results re-analysed would the same outcomes be found? (Evans, 2009b). It is often easier to ascertain reliability in quantitative studies because of the nature of analysis and the typically objective stance of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Guba (1981) instead substitutes reliability for the term 'dependability' when referring to qualitative studies. However, as a researcher with a quantitative background and as a teacher of

Psychology, I do not feel the use of dependability offers my project any further advantage (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson & Spiers, 2002) and as such I have opted to make reference to reliability; a term with which I am familiar with and which conveys key messages about the research.

This research project however, utilises qualitative data collection. Furthermore, as has been acknowledged throughout, the participants are students, from the school in which I work, with data collected at a specific point in their secondary education. It is therefore problematic to utilise the standard methods of testing both internal and external reliability. It would be impossible for the study to be replicated, mainly due to issues with participant maturation and other uncontrollable variables i.e. students leaving education (Marshall & Rossman, 1999), but also due to the need to remove all implications of the context, including my role as a teacher-researcher (Flick, 2002). Notwithstanding, transparency of methods of data collection and analysis are paramount, to permit "hypothetical replication" (Evans, 2009b, p.117), which is why I have sought to document the steps in the analysis of my interview transcriptions in perhaps more detail than would be expected.

12. Refined Focus – Function Only: Validity Checking

Validity is defined by Coe (2012, p.41) as "whether an instrument measures what it is intended to measure", alongside the caveat that such a statement poses problems for qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1989) instead suggest that the term credibility rather than validity maybe more appropriate for qualitative studies and list a range of strategies suitable for achieving this including "prolonged engagement, persistent observation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, member checks" (Coe, 2012, p.44).

In regards to "prolonged engagement and persistent observation", I believe that throughout the many stages of both the transcription and analysis of the interviews these two criteria were achieved. The codes presented, and the overall themes deduced are exemplified through the use of direct quotations from participants. Peer debriefing and member checks were sought through the sharing of data with participants and "disinterested researchers" (Arthur et al., 2012, p.44) in the form of the supervisors of this project. Finally, negative case analysis was used, in which data or codes which did not align with the overall themes are presented.

Stages 7 -12 were conducted with each of the components of the interview separately, in order to make the analysis of the large amounts of data more manageable.

Table 5 is an example of a coding framework developed within this cycle, relating to the functions of private tuition (i.e. what happens within private tutoring sessions?)

13.4 Results

As mentioned above, the interview schedule consisted of three main sections:

1. Background Context – Definitions of Private Tuition; Personal Experience of Tuition
2. Function of Private Tuition
3. Purpose of Private Tuition

Comparisons between private tuition and classroom based learning were also made in relation to purpose and function.

13.4.1 Definition of Private Tuition

In order to analyse contextual information, all interviews were read through in full several times. A table was then created with headings relating to each of the questions, with additional columns available for any further questions that were used in the interviews. Each participant's responses were entered into the table and any irrelevant material, which did not need reporting was excluded. For example, participants were asked "Do you have a tutor?" – Answers to this were removed, as a criteria for participation was that they did. It was then possible to examine the ten responses to each question to uncover emerging patterns and begin a process of coding.

13.4.2 Results: Nature of Private Tuition

Several questions were asked regarding the nature of the private tuition experienced by the participants. While this information is both useful and interesting it is not the intended purpose of this research project to look at demographics relating to private tuition, nor is there the scope to discuss this in detail with a finite word count. Thus a brief summary of the data can be found in Table 3, but will not be developed further in this report. The results support findings from Ireson and Rushforth (2005), who found the majority of post-16 students had tutors in Maths, English or Science. However, their study did not differentiate between when tutoring had taken place i.e. had it occurred before starting KS5? Bray (2009) additionally indicates that having a tutor once a week equates to normal provision.

Therefore these results suggest that although a small sample of participants were used in this research, their experiences mirror those 'typically' experienced by other students.

Subjects for which Tutor was Employed (Number of students*)	How Often Tuition Occurred (Number of students)	Length of Sessions	Cost of Sessions Per Hour**
Chemistry (5)	Twice a Week (1)	1 Hour (8)	£25 (1)
Biology (4)	Once a Week (6)	1.5 Hours (2)	£30 (4)
Maths (2)	Fortnightly (2)		Did not mention (5)
Economics (1)	Blocked Period e.g. School Holiday (1)		

*Some students had more than one tutor
** Semi-Structured interview – some participants added additional information to their responses

Table 3: Background information from tutored participants

After context had been established, by way of an introduction to the process, the next question presented was "how would you define private tuition?" This was included to again check the validity of responses. If the participant's definition was significantly different to that of the researcher, there would be implications for the internal validity of the study.

13.4.3 Results: Defining Private Tuition

From the data five codes emerged relating to the definition of private tuition, which are found in Table 4.

13.4.3.1 Help

Of these codes the most prominent feature in participants' definitions of private tuition was the concept of it being used to "help". Nine of the ten participants made reference to this term in some way in their definitions. Comments from participants included:

> "Help you with anything you don't fully understand"

This suggests that private tuition is not used to learn new material, but is sought to support students in their comprehension of topics already delivered at school, which links to the idea of private tutoring being remedial in nature (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

Code	Definition	Examples from Data
Help	Support provided to students with their specific study need	*"Help you with absolutely any questions you have relating to the subject, and provide you with extra help and extra materials"*
Personal – Expansion + Follows Learning at School	Sessions tailored to the needs of the student, building on topics covered within school	*"It's between you and another person, you pay for it and you go through anything you want to go through"*
External - Paid	Students pay for the services of an instructor, unrelated to their studies in school	*"Somebody who is external from school that I have to pay for per hour"*
Expertise	Tutors have qualifications to a higher level in the subject students are studying	*"Someone who has a degree in the subject, someone who knows what they are talking about"*
Face to Face	Interactions take place in real life rather than online	*"One on one so you can ask them questions about subject matter"*

Table 4: Coding Framework – Tutored Participants' definitions of tutoring

13.4.3.2 Personal

"Personal" was another key concept in participant definitions, with 7 participants referring to this idea within their answers. Reference to the terms "you", "me" and "I" further emphasised the idea that participants believe private tuition is tailored specifically to their needs. This relates strongly to the concept of help outlined above. The idea of personalised learning can be seen in some of the selected comments below. I have used bold font to indicate where students used terms relating to themselves and/or their studies, to show how often personalisation occurred within the answers provided.

> "One on one, just **me** and them somewhere quiet and we would go through the stuff covered in school but that **I'm** not as strong on and often give **me** different methods"

> "Looking at stuff **you** have learned or working on areas where **you** are not as good or strong on"

> "One on one so **you** can ask them questions about subject matter that **you** might not want to ask **your teacher** in big groups and stuff"

These findings suggest that students are seeking support or guidance, which would not be available in a classroom based setting. Similarly, students referred to the idea of private tuition either expanding or following the delivery of materials within school. This may indicate that the two systems support one another, but may also imply that classroom based learning does not provide optimal support for students in its current format. It also indicates that in an English context, tuition in groups or through the use of online lectures, commonly found in Asian educational systems, is not viewed as private tuition (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014).

13.4.3.3 External

Another firmly established feature of private tuition in the definitions provided by participants is that it is something external to school provision. Six students made some reference to this concept, with external referring both to the location of the tuition, but also the individual delivering the sessions (i.e. a tutor is not a member of staff found within the school setting). This idea also relates strongly to the concept of payment being a requirement of private tutoring, as shown in two of the statements below:

> "Tuition or teaching from someone external to your usual academic lecturing, I guess you could say, which you pay for"

> "They come to your house or you go to theirs or you meet in place which isn't a school like a library"

> "Somebody who is external from school that I have to pay for per hour, for example £30 an hour and they would usually come to my house or whenever it suited me"

Students would not pay for support from teaching staff and therefore these definitions distinguish between the support teachers offer within the school context and suggests that private tuition is a discrete feature of the English education system (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

13.4.3.4 Expertise and Face-to-Face

Two further concepts which emerged from the data were the participants' emphasis on the expertise of the tutor and the physical proximity of delivery. Participants differed in the level of expertise they expect from a private tutor, but did not refer to peers in their definitions. It may be that the willingness to pay for a service is dependent upon expectations regarding quality of the delivery. Two indicators of level of expertise can be seen below:

> "Someone who has a degree in the subject, someone who knows what they are talking about"

> "A qualified teacher who you see outside of school"

Although personal has been discussed previously, the two concepts were kept separate deliberately. I felt face-to-face differed, as 'personal' refers to the nature of materials being delivered – they are being tailored specifically towards each student, whereas 'face-to-face' is considering how the sessions take place i.e. one to one in real life rather than through online or telephone interactions.

13.4.4 Summary – Defining of Private Tuition

Participants defined private tuition as:

> *Personalised help that follows and expands upon school lessons, which is delivered externally, face to face by an expert, who is paid for their services.*

When compared to the conclusion from the diamond ranking activity (see below), which was completed by the same set of 10 participants, it is clear that there is consistency between the two definitions.

> *"One to one, face to face, paid instruction, delivered by a qualified individual, outside of a school context covering academic subject matter, supplementary to that delivered in everyday school lessons"*

Through establishing these definitions, the applicability of the following aspects of the interviews was confirmed.

13.4.5 Function

The definition used for the term function in this research is "what happens in private tuition sessions and school?", whereas purpose refers to "why do students have private tutors?" Function was investigated first, as the results of this influenced whether or not it would be appropriate to research purpose. Analysis took place, as stipulated previously in the methods section, utilising open coding.

13.4.5.1 Results: Function of Private Tuition

After initially discussing who was involved and where the sessions took place (in the majority of cases 1:1 and at the students' homes), participants were asked describe a typical private tuition session. When focusing specifically on these answers, codes were generated and refined into the nine listed below. These were then subsequently divided into three categories (see Table 5).

13.4.5.1.1 Category 1: How topics to be studied, are chosen

Each of the tutored participants stated (unprompted) how the content of the sessions was directed; all said that they, rather than the tutor, chose the topics to be covered. It appears that this approach was promoted by the tutors, with students outlining how this occurred:

> "He gave me the list of the specification and I picked out the stuff I was struggling with the most"

> "He'd ask me if I had done anything that week at school and then I'd tell him if I was struggling with anything"

Students often prepared lists of questions, which they specifically wanted to cover with the tutors. Others based their tutoring sessions on what was covered in their weekly lessons in school, in order to gain extra clarification or to practice examination skills. Tutors, it appears would adapt to the demands of their students based on the topics presented to them at the start of each lesson, for example:

> "At the moment in Biology I am struggling with maths, so we find maths questions and go through some of those and mark them"

Code	Definition	Example of Code
Category 1: How topics to be studied, are chosen		
Student Led Learning	Student determines specific areas they wish to study with the tutor	*"He gave me the list of the specification and I picked out the stuff I was struggling with the most"*
Tutor Led Learning	Tutor determines specific areas they wish to cover with the student	*"He will start from the start of each exam spec[ification] and work through it"*
Category 2: Delivery of lesson topic		
Verbal Explanations	Tutor explaining material through verbal question and answer sessions	*"He would explain it to me in a different way"*
Traditional Exercises	Students completing worksheet exercises relating to content	*"She'll ask me questions out of the textbook and things like that"*
Alternative Exercises	Students completing exercises not usually used in their* school lessons (*subjective definition)	*"We would find a video on YouTube, usually an animation and we would turn off the sound and the teacher would commentate the video and then after that she would ask me to commentate it"*
Provision of Notes	Students writing or reading notes provided by tutors on content	*"We always write notes. Always file them at the end of every session so that I can use them when it comes to revision"*
Examination Technique	Discussing general strategies required by examination boards	*"Having your examiner as a tutor can help you with like how you answer the questions"*
Category 3: Assessment of understanding		
Examination Questions	Answering past examination paper questions, including marking of papers together	*"She's happy to provide material for me to go through with her so exam questions, exam papers"*
Homework Tasks	Completion of tasks after private tuition sessions to discuss in following lessons	*"When he goes he will be like right here's your homework I want you to go through all that"*

Table 5: Coding Framework – Tutored Participants: Function

Before considering the implications of this trend, an exception must be noted: one participant (who had two tutors for two different subjects; Biology and Chemistry) suggested that one tutor simply taught him the entire examination specification from start to finish (Tutor Led Learning), while the other was more student centred.

"He will start from the start of each exam [specification] and work through it"

This means there was some variation which could be accounted for by different tutors' style, although student led approaches dominated in this sample. The selection of topics by the student and outlining what they wished to cover in lessons is interesting and represents quite a departure from what might be expected in the school context. It may indicate that the tutored students are aware of their own academic strengths and weaknesses in their A-level subjects and as such were able to identify these when asked to do so by their private tutors. This reflective and strategic thinking about learning is known as metacognition (Moseley et al., 2005). Metacognitive awareness for has repeatedly been correlated in the literature to successful educational outcomes (Broadbent & Poon, 2015; Dent & Koenka, 2016; Smith, Black & Hooper, 2017).

Yet, it is difficult to ascertain whether it is students who are metacognitive who seek private tutors or whether this metacognition is developed from private tuition sessions; this tendency towards student-driven content appears to promote a metacognitive approach that gives added value to the tutoring process (Smith, 2003). Perhaps students are encouraged by their tutors to highlight their own capabilities, which may lead to tutored students developing advantageous skills that are potentially not promoted as explicitly within mainstream education?

Additionally, the selection of materials by students shows that they are willing to engage actively with subject content outside of the classroom, rather than being passive learners (Mariya, 2012). This may indicate that students are striving to achieve their own potential, instead of relying upon the quality of teaching to determine this. However, only when discussing purpose will it be possible to understand whether private tutors are sought due to concerns regarding quality of classroom teaching.

Contrastingly, it may be argued that perhaps students who seek private tutors have less metacognitive skills, as they are relying upon an external locus of control (the tutor) to help them in their academic studies. Research shows that those students with external loci of control are less likely to utilise metacognitive skills (Arslan & Akin, 2014) and as such there becomes a reliance upon a more educated other. Although they may be selecting topics to study, they are not demonstrating autonomy or self-regulation by learning academic material themselves; instead they (or their families) are paying for additional lessons to achieve their academic aims.

Despite the discussion regarding whether tutored participants are more or are less metacognitively aware, what was apparent in the interview transcriptions was that students led their own learning in the private tuition sessions. They wanted the flexibility to focus on their own specific needs.

13.4.5.1.2 Category 2: Delivery of lesson topic

As well as describing how topics were chosen, students also referred to how their private tuition sessions were delivered (i.e. the activities which took place). In the majority of cases, students referenced the fact that they engaged in conversations that explained subject specific content. The reciprocity of the exchanges between the student and the tutor differs distinctly between what students may experience in school, where the norm is for teachers to be the dominant figure providing the information required by the students (Cullen, 1998; Pehmer, Gröschner & Seidel, 2015; Walsh, 2011). It may be possible that tutored students are being provided with opportunities unavailable to those without; these conversations may not only aid their understanding of examination specific materials and skills, but also encourage the development of students' internal dialogue of learning (Machaal, 2015).

Tutors typically provide additional or alternative explanations of concepts already delivered in the students' school lessons, for example:

> "I would tell him how my teachers had explained it to me and why I didn't understand it and then he would explain it to me in a different way"

Students perhaps required more than one account or explanation of a topic; although there may be limited ways to do so in some subjects (for instance in Mathematics, completion of formulas may be restricted to a few strategies). Teachers in school may not have sufficient time in order to present alternative methods, or may be following prescribed strategies from examination specifications/curricula. This finding mirrors the research of Bray and Kobakhidze (2015) in Hong Kong, who reported that students used their tutors to gain further explanations about topics covered in school, although it must be noted their research focuses on the use of tutoring centres, which may somewhat differ to the context in which this project was conducted.

Examination technique was also mentioned. Students explained that although this is discussed in school, it is perhaps not as in depth or as specific to their own needs as they experience with their tutors.

> "You do exam questions in school, but you don't have time to talk through them"

Again, the lack of time available for students and teachers to discuss examination content is reiterated in previous research (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015), in which participants stated "teachers seldom review past examination papers", whereas "tutors commonly review past examination papers" (p.472). However, when considering pragmatic constraints, it would be unlikely that teachers delivering material to a class of up to 30 A-level students would be able to consistently present varying alternative explanations or examination strategies to suit each individual. This may, therefore, suggest that the private tuition's function is to utilise different methods to help students' individual progress. Tutoring could complement a student's studies within school, but also indicate that the functions of the two educational systems differ.

However, despite this, students regularly indicated that there were significant similarities in the function of their school lessons and private tuition sessions. Many referred to the fact that their tutors used worksheets and written exercises like those used in school, for instance one student stated:

> "[we] do similar things… the teacher explains something, then [there's] filling out sheets, making notes, doing questions, stuff like that. The process is similar, it's just about the way you learn it, the explanations"

This was also supported by the fact few participants (2/10) made reference to their tutors using novel methods in their private tuition sessions. One student discussed the use of diagrams to help them understand processes in Biology, whereas another found commentating over animations favourable. Where students did mention the use of alternative strategies, they were sure to explain the benefits they felt it had on their understanding, namely the ability to visualise abstract concepts. Several students stated that they were given notes by their tutors to help with revision, but it was not clear as to whether this was similar to what they received at school. The notes provided may be something specifically produced by the tutors, to validate the cost of their services and

students may value these if their own materials are too complex, too sparse or are unclear (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015).

Therefore in terms of lesson delivery, students indicated that the function of private tuition sessions is somewhat similar to their classroom based learning. Tutors utilise the same strategies that teachers do, however the provision of multiple explanations seems to be in contrast to the students' experiences of school.

13.4.5.1.3 Category 3: Assessment of Understanding

The third aspect of the private tuition sessions, which became apparent in the interview data was the methods used by tutors to assess student understanding. For instance one student commented:

> "She gives us packs of printed out sheets that are exam questions, just one after another that are all based on one subject"

Tutors used the same strategies as the students' teachers, including setting homework tasks and examination papers to complete; reaffirming the assumption that the function of private tuition is somewhat similar to classroom based learning (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015). However, as indicated above, perhaps the function differs in the nature of the homework set and the amount of examination questions discussed, as there is perhaps a more distinctive purpose of the tutoring; to pass exams. (See later section on purpose.)

13.4.5.2 Summary: Function of Private Tuition

Overall, in relation to function tutored participants did not highlight any significant differences between private tuition sessions and classroom based learning. There are some differences in terms who selects the topics to be studied, but strategies of delivery and methods of assessment, (by the nature of the fact the same examination syllabus was being covered by both tutor and teacher), were the same.

However, what became increasingly apparent during the analysis of the responses relating to function was that there was a blurred division between purpose and function. There was no clear distinction in participants' answers to what happens with their tutors, with their response repeatedly referring to why they had tutors too. This contrasts with the definitions introduced in this thesis in Chapter 1 (Bass, 1968; Bergmann, 1962). When asking about

function, which I initially defined as “what happens in the session”, many of the answers also related to why the students had them as well. Therefore I felt it necessary to consider the reasons why students had tutors, to ascertain the purpose of tuition and to contrast it with classroom based learning.

13.4.6 Function: Similarities and Differences

After participants had described their typical private tuitions session, they were then asked directly if there were any similarities or differences between these and their lessons in school. This was to allow students to make contrasts if they felt it was appropriate.

13.4.6.1 Results: Function Similarities and Differences

Overall, from the data, the activities and content of private tuition sessions do not appear to differ from classroom based learning. Students complete examination questions, make notes and fill out worksheets with both their teachers and their tutors, and the same topics were studied. However, all the participants emphasised that it is in their lessons in school where they are exposed to new content. Private tutors do not introduce new material, but instead explain and expand upon the topics covered by classroom teachers. There were several differences indicated and these are discussed below. Primarily the differences mentioned were linked to time. The time available to cover a topic in detail, the amount of time spent discussing a topic and the time available to adapt to the specific, subjective requirements of the individual pupils and allow them to ask questions pertinent to their own understanding.

13.4.6.1.1 Similarity of Methods of Delivery

The results indicated that private tuition is viewed as a replication of school. All the participants referred to the similarity between the two systems of education; typically examination questions are completed, worksheets are filled out and notes are made on key points relating to the topic being discussed. For example one participant stated:

> “So obviously they are similar and [we] do similar things in each one. So like the teacher [/tutor] explains something, then [there’s] filling out sheets, making notes, doing questions, stuff like that”

This suggests that private tuition is not providing anything additional to the education of tutored students, when compared to those students without additional lessons. This could indicate that there is no advantage to having a private tutor, regarding the material required to pass an examination. Private tuition, therefore, may not be worth the significant financial investment made by both students and their parents (Lee, Park & Lee, 2009; Song, Park & Sang, 2013).

Moreover, these findings may imply that the growth in the shadow education system is unrelated to teacher quality or school provision; the activities they complete with their cohorts of students are effective, as indicated by the fact students did not seek out tutors for varying teaching styles. It does however, suggest that it is important to uncover why students have tutors, for if it is not for differing structure/functions then why? This topic was covered later in the interview, for this reason.

13.4.6.1.2 Delivery of Content

Discovering that teachers and tutors use similar teaching strategies, led to the consideration of whether there was a difference in content delivered, which influenced the participants' decisions to hire a private tutor. If tutors were providing additional information, or are having to deliver content not provided by teachers (that is required for the examination), this could explain why the shadow education system remains a prominent feature of global education (Bray, 2013; Dawson, 2010).

However, with this group of participants, this speculation was not justified. Students repeatedly referred to classroom based learning as the primary source of new learning. Tutors did not teach the students content for their examinations, but rather revised and revisited materials from the students' lessons. For example a participant stated:

> "…at school you come to like learn new material and your teacher just sort of teaches you new stuff, whereas in the tutor session it's more about something I have already learned"

Therefore this further supports the idea that teachers are equipping students with the resources they require to succeed in their examinations and as such non-tutored participants may not be disadvantaged. Perhaps it is possible that private tuition may be sought to further develop skills, as opposed to knowledge?

However, the findings above, relating to similarities in provision do not accurately portray the full picture of the function of private tuition. Although participants highlighted two areas of similarity, the participants did not just comment upon the content of lessons and activities used to deliver materials in their private tuition sessions. There was also repeated reference to several differences between classroom based learning and private tuition, which counteract these preliminary suggestions and may give some indication as to why private tuition is sought.

Presumably differences account for the number of students having a tutor. Maybe tutors do not 'teach' new material, but instead are able to revise with students the content already delivered in school? Something which perhaps teachers are unable to do when considering the lengths of school terms, the number of lessons available and the increased amount of content in Key Stage 5 examination specifications (Butler, 2014).

13.4.6.2 Differences between CBL and PT

The defining difference between the structure/function of private tuition and classroom based learning can be summarised into one word: time. Time available in private tuition sessions, to spend 1:1 with a tutor appeared to allow students three key advantages, as displayed in Figure 13.

1. The time for personalised learning
2. The time to ask more questions
3. The time to cover topics in greater detail

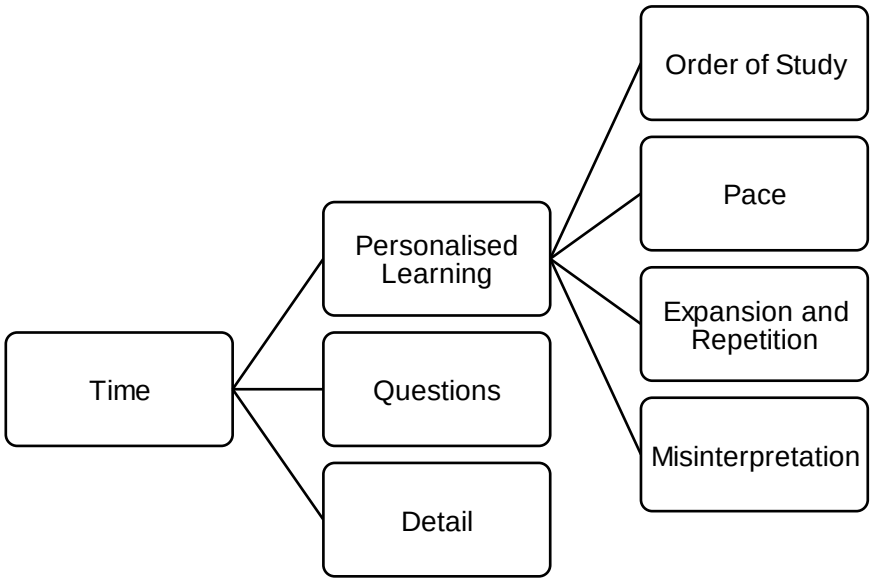


Figure 13: Differences between CBL and PT

These were repeated themes emerging from the interview data and are discussed in greater detail below.

13.4.6.2.1 Personalised Learning

A significant theme was that private tuition sessions are personalised specifically to the needs of the individual, rather than a whole class of students. The participants experience some 1:1 interaction with their teachers, but this is limited due to class sizes. As the private tuition sessions are typically 1:1, all the time in the lesson is directed to the individual requirements of the one student. There were 4 elements of personalisation emphasised by students: order of study, pace of study, expansion and repetition of material, and misinterpretation.

13.4.6.2.1.1 Order of Study

Firstly, the time students have to work with their tutors enabled them to move backwards and forwards between course materials as necessary. One student stated:

> "in school we are always moving ahead with everything – it gets harder and harder and sometimes there are things I don't understand, but being in a class makes it hard to keep going over that same thing, so with my tutor, I kind of keep going over and over the same thing until I understand"

Whereas in contrast, a high attaining student mentioned:

> "I can jump from subject to subject and ensure that I understand everything, rather than just little bits that we are doing in class at the time; so it's a mix rather than doing one subject each week, which is different from what we do in class"

Students could direct their tutor to the specific areas they wish to cover in more detail, develop a holistic perception of the course or alternatively even skim over aspects they feel confident in, as exemplified below:

> "Well I go at the pace I want, so if I find something pretty easy erm, then I'd find it a waste of time if we stay on it a while, and if we quickly go over something I don't really understand then I'm sort of at a loss, so we just make sure we work on the bits I need to and I can work at my own pace rather than the pace of the class"

These findings suggest that in schools, classroom based teaching is linear. The lessons start at Point A (beginning of the examination specification) and finish at Point B* (student sits examination) as illustrated in Figure 14. (*This does not mean that there is not revision of topics, but typically this occurs at the end of course delivery, rather than intermittently).

Figure 14: Linear delivery of content in schools

Private tuition however, has teaching which is repetitive and moves forwards and backwards intermittently, depending on the specific requirements of the student. There may be overlap between topics, revision and revisiting, as indicated by Figure 15 below. It does not, however typically begin at Point A. Students start private tuition with some knowledge of the examination specification, obtained from school, as referred to previously.

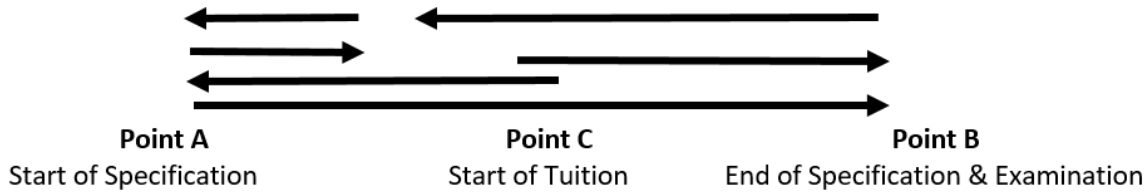


Figure 15: Delivery of Content in Private Tuition

Although it is possible to use such a strategy in a 1:1 environment, this would be extremely difficult to replicate in a classroom situation. There would be multiple requirements from each individual student, with numbers in a class ranging up to 30 at KS5, making this task impractical, if not impossible. Additionally, teachers need to ensure all content is delivered and not simply revisited; private tuition is supplementing the delivery in lessons and therefore the two education systems cannot be compared in this sense. This links to the idea stated by students that the same material is covered in both educational contexts and school is for “learning” and tuition is for “revisiting”.

13.4.6.2.1.2 Pace

Many of the participants, when discussing their private tuition sessions stated that they were able to go at a speed suited to their own needs. A clear example of this is one student remarking;

> "I can ask hundreds of questions about the same topic and there's time to answer them, instead of having to ask one and feeling like you are stopping everyone else from learning"

They felt that in a classroom setting there was limited opportunity and time to cover material until they had a secure understanding of it. There was also one participant who referred to the need for a faster pace to their learning, which was possible in their tuition session, but not at school. They said:

> "if in [a school] lesson I find something pretty easy and then we stay on it for a while then it almost feels like a waste of time… I can work at my own pace rather than the pace of the class."

As such, it may be fair to state the function of private tuition differs to classroom based learning in regards to speed of learning and ability to progress through topics. This may however, be due to the nature of individual instruction and the students determining the topics they wish to study.

13.4.6.2.1.3 Expansion and Repetition

In cohesion with the idea of pace, a significant proportion of students stated that in their private tuition sessions they were able to attain greater expansion of topics, for example;

> "…in the tutor sessions it is more about something I have learned but don't understand, so it is about expanding upon that knowledge and understanding the stuff I don't get already"

Students that referred to this were asked how they determined that they were struggling, and most referred to results in tests or mock examinations or the grades required for university places. (The idea of why students have tutors is discussed in the following purpose sections of this chapter).

Other students said that their private tuition sessions functioned in order to allow them to repeat topics over and over again to develop their understanding. When discussing her Biology tuition, one student remarked:

> "…in school, like, we are always moving ahead with everything – it gets harder and harder and sometimes there are things I don't understand, but being in a class it's hard to keep going over that same thing, so with my tutor I kind of keep going over the same thing until I understand it"

All students stipulated that their lessons in school were where they gained knowledge of content and were taught new material, but at times suggested that private tuition sessions enabled them the opportunity to discuss the topics they had been exposed to, but not necessarily understood.

> "It's almost like a backup to my school lessons… it supplements what I learn…"

Tutors in contrast to teachers, it appears are able to designate time to the individual requirements of their students within the private tuition sessions. The idea of supplementary learning is prominent in the shadow education literature (Bray, 1999) with students across international contexts.

13.4.6.2.1.4 Misinterpretation

Another concept of difference emerging from the interviews in regards to personalisation, was the idea that private tutors were able to better spot students' misinterpretation of content. An example of this is:

> "Yea she [the tutor] can just tell by looking at me that 'hmm, I don't think he is understanding that' "

Although the participants referred to the idea of their teachers addressing some of the issues they faced, the teaching staff were unable to do this as effectively, as the private tutors on a one to one ratio. The opportunity for dialogue is much more accessible when teacher to pupil numbers are reduced. The data does not suggest that teachers are failing to address misconceptions, but rather highlighted it is of greater ease with their tutors.

13.4.6.2.2 Questions

A further issue relating to time, is the fact that private tuition sessions provide greater opportunities to ask questions. Students all mentioned that they could ask their teachers questions, but the ability to do so in lessons was limited due to time constraints. Often teachers would ask students to return during their free periods or lunchtimes to follow up on topics covered in class, so support appears to be available; this further implies that students without tutors may not be at a disadvantage. Verbal feedback was often limited and therefore students had to rely upon written comments on assessed pieces of work to develop their comprehension of a topic:

> "…you get it back with all the purple pen [marking] on it and go away… you don't have time to talk about your problems with your actual teacher, unless you organise a time in your frees"

In private tuition sessions, there is time for the students to ask many questions, often more than once and to discuss the answer provided, to ensure clarification. Some examples from the participants include:

> "well, it's [PT] a lot longer and it's one to one, I feel able to ask her anything without annoying everyone else in the class and being the only one to have the attention"

> "PT is a lot more personable, so there's a lot more of me asking 'what does this mean?' and like stopping him halfway through…I don't really want to do that in a class of 30 people"

Interestingly, many participants referred to concerns about the impact of their lack of understanding on other members of the class. They were worried that their need for further clarification and wanting to ask lots of questions, was stopping their classmates from learning and progressing. One notable statement was:

> "I can ask hundreds of questions about the same topic and feel like there's time to answer them, instead of having to ask one question and feeling like you are

> stopping everyone else from learning and feeling like you are the only one who doesn't know it"

Clearly there are significant differences between private tuition and classroom based learning when considering time available to ask questions. This is not a situation which would be simple to rectify in classroom teaching. Whilst most teachers would wish to have the opportunities to speak 1:1 with individual students, this is not pragmatic. Staff timetables are increasingly filled, due to reductions in school budgets and staff shortages, which hinders the possibility of activities such as tutorials that would enable students to ask the questions they require (Lupton & Thomson, 2015).

13.4.6.2.3 Detail

The third aspect of difference related to time, which emerged from the data was detail. Although students made it clear that content was initially delivered in schools, often students sought the support of a private tutor to further develop their understanding of topics covered in lessons. One student reflects on the similarities between private tuition and classroom based learning:

> "the process of [learning] is similar, it's just really the way you learn it [in PT], the explanations…it's about expanding upon knowledge and understanding the stuff I don't already get"

Schools and private tuition differ in the amount of detail provided to students. Tutors are potentially able to supplement the knowledge students have gained from their teachers, yet teachers have to start with foundational understanding when delivering high level concepts (This will be discussed further in the later section on purpose). Time constraints may prevent teachers in schools from providing the depth, which some students seek. As previously referred to, timetabling constraints, class size and increased content on linear examination specifications may all impact teachers' ability to teach in sufficient depth (Butler, 2014). Students perhaps seek the support of private tutors in order to help address this potential concern. This is a clear difference between private tuition and classroom based learning in terms of function – the function of private tuition is to provide opportunities to expand upon basic knowledge of topics, to improve understanding.

13.4.6.3 Summary: Function Similarities and Differences

From this aspect of the study it is possible to suggest that private tuition and classroom based learning do share some similarities. Both utilise the same teaching aids and resources, they also both provide explanations of topics and assess student understanding. There are however, some differences. Private tutors are able to adapt the delivery of their sessions to fit the needs of the pupil directly, whether that is pace, depth or necessity for assessment.

When contrasting private tuition and classroom based learning, to see whether the two systems are serving similar roles, it is important to consider that this strategy of one to one support would be difficult for teachers to implement with a class of students. As this project is action research, and therefore will have implications for practice, this is important to consider. In turn this suggests that private tuition has a discrete function when compared to classroom based learning. There may be a deficiency in schools and those students who are unable to access private tuition may be at a disadvantage compared to their contemporaries who do. A further action research cycle could consider the views of non-tutored students, to see if they believe there are any social inequalities arising from the shadow education system. Although it would be unfeasible to encourage the timetabling of 1:1 sessions with individual students, schools could consider these findings relating to students desire for personalisation, to promote the use of seminars or group tutorials (as used in university settings) to create some element of individualised learning beyond the classroom.

Initially I suggested that purpose may only need to be investigated if the two systems shared the same function. Yet, having collected and analysed the data, it was important to interview students regarding the purpose of their tuition, to see if this aligned with the comments regarding function. Did students choose to have tutors for a slower pace of learning and to direct their own studies, or did they have private tuition for other reasons as well?

13.4.7 Purpose

Bass' (1968, p.26) definition of purpose is "intention for which a thing exists", whereas function is "the normal, natural actions". In the following section the response of the tutored participants, in relation to why they have a private tutor, are considered. Additional discussion of the similarities and differences between the purpose of private tuition and classroom based learning are presented.

13.4.7.1 Results: Purpose of Private Tuition

From the interviews conducted with the tutored participants three primary themes emerged:

1. Improve performance
2. Improve understanding
3. Improve confidence

The coding framework for these results can be seen in Table 6. Each of the themes is then explained, following a discussion of the potential relationships between them.

Code	Definition	Examples of Code
Performance	Students sought private tuition to improve their academic outcomes in their A-levels subjects	*"I thought I wasn't going to get a very good grade, I just wanted to boost it up a little bit"* *"I got a tutor in Chemistry because I wasn't doing very well"*
Understanding	Students sought private tuition to comprehend content and/or examination technique for their A-levels subjects	*"I need extra help in understanding most of Biology"* *"I learn quite slowly in Chemistry, so I like need someone to go back to basics with me"*
Confidence	Students sought private tuition to feel more reassured in their A-levels subjects	*"I didn't feel like I could go to my teacher for help so I got a tutor to give me confidence"* *"It sort of boosts my confidence erm with like the basics of Chemistry, so I can kind of feel better about myself"*

Table 6: Coding Framework – Tutored Participants: Purpose

The primary themes were not isolated, but rather interrelated with one another. Initially it appeared as though the themes were of equal value, as shown in Figure 16.

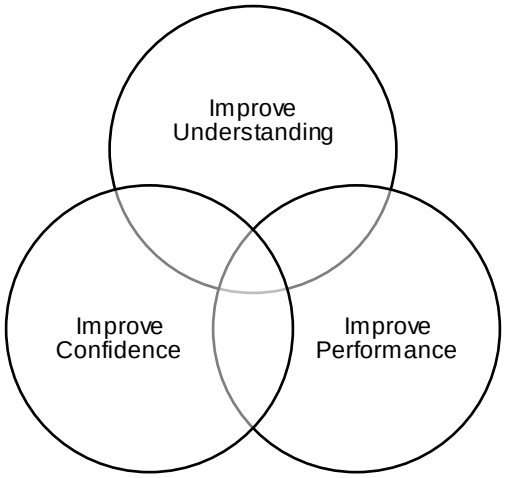


Figure 16: The interrelationship between the 3 themes relating to purpose of PT

This diagram could be explained as: when understanding is improved, the impact upon performance in the subject will also be improved and so too will confidence. Similarly, when a student feels confident in a subject, they are more likely to want to engage with materials, in turn improving their understanding and performance. When performance improves, confidence in one's ability within a subject is also be encouraged and understanding of perhaps what makes a good examination answer or the skills required for particular subjects.

However, upon closer consideration of the data, I felt that perhaps Figure 17, was a more accurate representation of how the themes related:

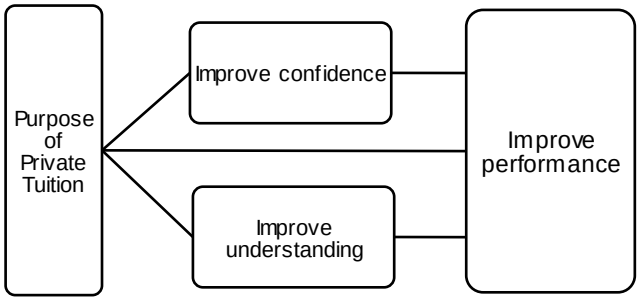


Figure 17: A representation of why students have private tutors

When students stated why they had private tutors, although they discussed improving their understanding of concepts and improving their confidence, their aim in doing these things was to improve their overall performance. Some students did not refer to any additional reasons, but simply stated that they sought private tuition to improve their grades; thus the overriding purpose of private tuition for the participants in this research was improved performance. A discussion of the three themes which emerged follows.

13.4.7.1.1 Improving Performance

Tutored participants repeatedly referred to their engagement with the services of a private tutor to improve their performance in their A-level subjects. Despite the variation in subjects studied (although predominantly Mathematics and Sciences), participants made reference to the expectation of better grades following their one to one tuition.

> "I didn't think I'd get a good grade from just doing things on my own…I started year 12 and like six weeks in I think it was, like I decided to get a tutor because I wasn't learning anything… we had like little tests at the end of the week…and I'd just get like nothing on it and I didn't kind of understand why…"

Further to this, most if not all students, referred to the grades they would require to get in to university to study their chosen discipline. Some students indicated that improving their understanding of their academic subject and improving their confidence were the reasons for having a private tutor, but believed this in turn would also impact their performance in examinations. For example, a student with a Biology tutor, when asked why they had a tutor said:

> "erm just to improve my grade, so because I thought I wasn't going to get a very good grade, I just wanted to boost it up a little bit…. I did a mock at Christmas time and I got a D, where as in the exam I was one UMS [mark] off an A, so my grade did improve a lot"

Another student mentioned when asked why they had a tutor:

> "I got my report back and it said I wasn't going to get the grades I needed to get to uni – I was on a C, and I need a B"

Improvements in self-confidence and the implications for performance are noted in the literature, with a positive correlation found between the two concepts (Barrow & Lochan, 2012; Chong & Kong, 2012), suggesting students' perceptions are correct.

Although some tutored participants hoped that they would improve their performance, there were several who commented that they were aware that private tuition may not guarantee success. Previous studies have indeed found varying effects of private tuition, for example Smyth (2008)'s research with upper-secondary students in Ireland, found that when socio-economic factors were controlled for, there were no apparent academic gains for those with tutors, compared those without. Similarly, Guill and Bos (2014) found that although both parents and students perceived private tutoring to be beneficial, there was no actual impact on academic performance, which suggests there may be false perceptions surrounding the benefits of private tuition.

The extent to which students' performance actually improved as a result of private tuition cannot be ascertained from the data collected in this study. However, a follow-up question within the interview asked students if they felt having a tutor had lived up to their expectations; this allows consideration of whether or not students perceived their performance to have improved following their private tuition. One student stated:

> "…yeah, because my grades improved greatly and I think that's massively down to the tutor. Erm, so yeah it definitely has fulfilled it and I'm getting top grades, which is good"

This shows that the student believed that private tuition had a positive effect upon her performance, an idea was reiterated by other participants. Throughout all participant responses, improved academic performance was a significant reason for participants seeking a private tutor.

However, several students in this research project support the findings relating to a disparity between performance and expectations; despite their tutor, the outcomes for some students were not necessarily as expected, for example:

> "Yea, it helped me get better [grades] than what I would have got, but didn't help me get the grades I needed, but still helped me improve a lot"

Further indication of this came from a student who remarked:

> "…because I have never had a tutor before, there was always going to be almost the ignorance of 'oh, I'm going to get an A in that, I've got a tutor', or 'oh, I'm fine, I've got a tutor', but really it's more of just a helping hand…he has helped me a lot, but not necessarily as much as my probably exaggerated initial expectations"

These findings support research by Ryu and Kang (2013) who found minimal gains for South Korean students in test results, even with significant expenditure on private tuition and Ireson and Rushforth (2005) who concluded the only significant improvement made with private tuition was with males in mathematics, but not in other subjects or with female participants.

It may be interesting in further research to consider if private tuition can improve student performance. If so to what extent? Research by Dongre and Tewary (2015) indicated a positive impact of private tuition, but could not account for the reasons why. Suggestions provided included length of time in study, incentives for the tutor as well as clearer identification of student needs. Therefore any future investigation would be a complex study to undertake, to ensure confounding variables are controlled and the specific component of private tuition could be isolated. This does present an option for a fourth cycle of action research.

A further point which must be made is, although students were clear to acknowledge why they had tutors, there was no indication of where the focus on performance was emerging from. Ireson and Rushforth (2014), Smyth (2009) and more recently Pearce, Power and Taylor, (2018), consider the role parents have in determining whether tutors are employed; the perception of improved academic performance may come from them, rather than the student directly. Yet, this was not found in this study, which may be accounted for by two factors: firstly the age of the participants in this study. The students involved were all Key Stage 5 students (aged 16-18 years), which research has shown is when autonomy has developed (Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors, 2003). In later adolescence, students are able to understand the goals they are aiming to achieve (i.e. university place) and also comprehend how to achieve them (i.e. through the employment of a private tutor, due to the perceived benefit on academic performance; Noom, Deković & Meeus, 2001). Secondly, this research study only conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants themselves, whereas previous research has surveyed both parent and child cohorts. By asking students for their perceptions of private tuition, they may have not felt it

necessary to discuss the views of their parents, school or other influences. Investigation of parental perception could again be a further action research cycle of this project, to see if expectations regarding improved academic outcomes stems from students or external influences, such as family members.

Therefore, students suggested that the main reason why they sought private tuition, was a hope of improved academic performance. The extent to which this occurred in practice is variable and an area requiring investigation, potentially beyond the scope of this current qualitative research project.

13.4.7.1.2 Improving Understanding

An additional reason why students sought the support of private tutors was to improve their understanding of their academic subjects and/or specific examination techniques. This linked also to the participants wanting to improve their academic grades. A clear example was:

> "Biology is my hardest subject and it's not easy when there is so much content… I think I need extra help in understanding most of Biology and going through exam technique… we have practicals as well, which are very hard if you don't grasp the content early on"

Other students referred to the fact that they were struggling in lessons and therefore sought private tutors to help with this:

> "Six weeks in I think it was, like I decided to get a tutor because I wasn't learning anything from writing stuff down…we had little tests at the end of the week and I'd just get nothing on it and I kinda didn't understand why, because I had a really good set of notes but just didn't know anything"

This finding aligns with the research of Bray and Kobakhidze (2015), who found that students attending tutorial centres engaged in much more examination technique, rather than extensive note taking experienced at school. Perhaps this indicates a deficit in provision of mainstream schools; a reflection on teaching styles and strategies may be able to address this. It also may suggest that students who do not have access to private tutors are at a disadvantage, if the strategies used by tutors have a positive impact.

In contrast, another participant expressed that they were doing well in lessons, therefore their tutor was not used for remedial purposes, but rather for supplementary ones. They had sought additional clarification from their tutor:

> "it's not so much having him because I am failing, it's because it helps keep on top of the work and explaining anything I don't really understand"

The above quotation may also imply that the student is using their tutor to aid them with completing homework and other skills such as organisation, which may be taught generically within school, but not necessarily on a one to one basis. Zhan, Bray, Wang, Lykins and Kwo (2013) criticized private tutoring for having a negative impact upon learning; as students begin to believe that success can be achieved through an intensive period of study, and instead of developing resilience, they rely on tutors to prepare and coach them to achieve.

As the tutored participants stated that they have private tuition to improve understanding, it was interesting to see how they felt this developed. Some of the recurring concepts included:

> "spending extra time going over the small things"

> "extra time to go through tiny details that I just want to know more about"

> "actually getting it [information] down in a way that will help you"

These results align with Dongre and Tewary (2015) who suggested students in India with private tutors could experience up to an extra day and a half in schooling, per week. Clearly the cultural variation in hours of study must be accounted for, but the concept of time being a significant factor remains valid. Interestingly, the findings relating to time to develop understanding mirror the data collected in regards to function. Students stated time was the main difference between tuition and classroom based learning.

In regards to understanding, Ireson and Rushforth (2014) suggest that use of a tutor for this reason could link directly to their motivation to study the subject and their pleasure in studying. Those who are motivated study more and enjoy their learning more. However, the

participants seemed to imply that improved understanding is necessary for their performance to increase, rather than indicating a passion or love of a subject. One of the participants, as an exception, it must be noted, did somewhat agree with Ireson and Rushforth (2014):

> "I was on about a C, and my friends who had a tutor said it was really helpful, so I thought I might as well have a go… but now it's almost become, for Chemistry, a bit of fun, because I really enjoy it and you know when you are really passionate about something?"

When the ideas relating to understanding are compared to the responses recounted in the similarities and differences between classroom based learning and private tuition, it is clear that there is crossover. This suggests that students are reliable in the answers that they provided during the interview. They answered two separate questions about the same topic, in the same way. It is important to also further stress how the divisions between purpose and function are not as distinct as initially proposed. Students have tutors to improve their performance and understanding, but how this occurs links directly to what they identify as happening in (the function of) their private tuition sessions.

13.4.7.1.3 Improve Confidence

Alongside improving both understanding and performance, several of the participants referred to the fact that they had a private tutor help them with their confidence in their academic subjects. The types of confidence that the students sought differed; some needed to study at a slower pace to improve their confidence, whereas others needed to go over the foundational principles to improve their self-belief, as seen below:

> "I learn quite slowly in Chemistry, so like I need someone to go back to basics with me because I find it really hard…and that's what we do. I kinda know everything he teaches me, but it's like my confidence"

Whereas others lacked the confidence to seek support from their teachers. Rather than self-belief, they lack self-assurance to ask teachers for answers:

> "I was just struggling a lot in lessons and like I didn't feel like I could go to my teacher for help so I got a tutor to give me confidence"

When asked if this desired outcome of improved confidence had been achieved, the same participant said:

> "Well, I am a bit more confident, but I'm not like very confident at all, but I am a little bit more"

This perhaps suggest that tuition can help with some elements of confidence building, but there may be a range of factors contributing to a lack of self-belief. Possibly, where students have strong relationships with their classroom teachers, prevalence of private tuition may decrease (Kirss & Jokic, 2013). Indeed, Ireson and Rushforth (2011) found that reasons why students stated they did not have tutors included the fact students felt they could seek help from their teachers and felt that they "learn enough at school" (p.13). Perhaps constraints on KS5 teachers (i.e. teaching timetables and examination specifications) are hindering the reciprocal relationships between teachers and students, and as such students seek these from their private tutors?

It may also be important to consider in future research if the reasons for having tutors differs between academic subjects. Is the issue of confidence one relating directly to certain subjects e.g. those with mathematical elements? Or are participant variables having a stronger influence?

Although several students specified that they had a tutor, to help improve their confidence, what was surprising was that one of the participants stated that her confidence had not improved through having a tutor and had had a mixed experience:

> "erm, it helped, but I didn't look forward to the sessions at all. I think it's just 'cause my tutor was like just so clever and he was a bit intimidating…he kinda boosted my confidence, but also shot me down at the same time"

This suggests that private tuition is a subjective phenomenon; dependent upon the student, the tutor, the classroom based teacher and the academic subject (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015). Some students have tutors, but do not appear enjoy the experience. It may be necessary to compare this to reasons why students do not have tutors – to see if the one to one situations are a barrier to participation.

Another participant remarked that they had a tutor, so that they would feel more confident within their classroom lessons:

> "I was struggling quite a bit in lessons and with my motivation to revise, like subjects I didn't really understand, so I thought that if I got a tutor, it would motivate me to revise more and help with my understanding and participation in lessons"

This tutored individual was therefore looking for a way to improve not only his confidence and understanding, but his ability to access his classroom based learning. He further added:

> "After I have been through it with my tutor, it means I can contribute to lessons more and take part in activities. It has made lessons a lot more useful to me, because before…I wouldn't know where to start, but now I can do it"

A different type of relationship between classroom based learning and private tuition is emphasised here, with tuition enabling better understanding of what is occurring in school, as opposed to tuition consolidating ideas already covered in the classroom. This is interesting as many students suggest that private tuition is to build on foundational learning from school, but did not suggest that their improved knowledge from private tuition then feeds back into school learning. Moreover these findings contradict Silova and Kazimzade (2006), who found that tutoring had negative impact upon participation in classroom-based learning in Azerbaijan.

13.4.7.2 Summary – Purpose of Private Tuition

Through considering the ideas presented by the tutored students, three key concepts emerged as to why private tuition is sought; improved performance, understanding and confidence. The latter two ideas of understanding and confidence, although referred to distinctly, were also accompanied by the belief that improvements in these two areas, would have a positive impact on overall performance.

These results support previous research (Davies, 2004; Smyth, 2009*)*, particularly the UK study by Ireson and Rushforth, who interviewed tutored students (2011) and parents (2014). Although the top three responses as to why parents employ tutors were to improve performance, understanding and confidence; understanding was the main reason provided. It is interesting to note the fact that researchers separated improved performance and entry

to university in their initial analysis, but when later combined, this was, like in the current project, the most popular reason presented. Responses of the students in Ireson and Rushforth's (2011) research, suggested that Year 13 students claimed improved examination performance was the main reason behind having a tutor.

When discussing purpose of private tuition there was little reference to teaching standards as contributing factors. Students discussed not having the confidence to approach staff, but did not imply anything further. This was surprising, as one of the predominant reasons why I wished to conduct a practitioner-enquiry, was to understand whether or not schools and/or teacher performance contribute to the growth of the shadow education system.
Overall, students reflected that it was their own performance which required support, potentially indicating that students who sought tutors have strong metacognitive awareness; they know their own strengths and weaknesses and seek the support of a more informed other. Yet, if a more critical approach is taken, instead of metacognitive awareness, perhaps students are becoming increasingly dependent on 'more informed others' instead of their own autonomy when it comes to education. It was interesting to contrast the perceived differences between private tuition and classroom based learning latterly within the interviews, to see if this could provide insight into these two opposing propositions, relating to metacognition.

13.4.8 Purpose: Similarities and Differences

Within the interview participants were asked whether private tuition and classroom based learning served the same purpose, having already outlined reasons why they had a tutor.

13.4.8.1 Results and Summary

Of the ten participants interviewed only one indicated that they served the same purpose. This participant agreed that both private tuition and classroom based learning serve the same purpose, which was to ensure students obtain their best examination results to enable them to go to the university of their choice.

> "I think they do the same thing. You come to school to learn and to get the qualifications to go to uni, and then tutors do the same thing"

As only one participant agreed that private tuition and classroom based learning serve the same purpose, this may suggest that overall the two systems are distinct from one another. This has several implications; firstly if the systems are serving different roles, private tuition may not be the result of a deficiency within mainstream education. Schools may be designed for different role to private tutors, which may not necessarily be linked. Secondly, if private tuition and classroom based learning have different purposes, they may be able to 'co-exist', as the mainstream and the shadow education systems, with neither having a detrimental effect on the other. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, if the purposes are different, and the purpose of private tuition is to provide an advantage to students, social inequalities may arise between those who can and cannot afford to pay. This is why it may be important to interview non-tutored participants to uncover if they feel at a disadvantage.

When considering the implications outlined above, it is interesting to note that the participant who agreed that they do have the same purpose, also outlined that there are differences as well:

> "They are both trying to help me towards the grade that I need, but private tuition helps you get there…because without private tuition I wouldn't get there, because it gives you the time to ask all the questions you need."

This aligns with the views of the majority of the participants (9/10), who stated that private tuition and classroom based learning serve different purposes. Within the data three themes emerged in regards to the differences; understanding, confidence and extension.

Primarily students believe that private tuition's purpose is to ensure 'understanding', whereas school provides the foundation knowledge. Teachers deliver the content and "the important things you need to know", but students believe that it is with tuition that consolidation and clarification occurs. Several strategies were emphasised by the participants as to how understanding is improved within private tuition. This included the opportunities to ask questions, the provision of individualised/bespoke strategies for learning, focus on examination technique and through reinforcement of material; linking to results found in relation to function.

Other differences in the purpose of private tuition included improving confidence, which too may relate to improved understanding. One comment from a participant was

> "I come to school so I can get A-levels and go to university, and I have a tutor to boost my confidence with getting the grades I want in Chemistry"

Previously within the interview this student stated that she learns "quite slowly" and so needed to go back to basics, so she felt reassured in the processes and content covered. Interestingly, the student also stated that she "didn't look forward to the sessions at all" and found her tutor "intimidating". Thus although the reason why a tutor was sought was to improve confidence, this was not necessarily achieved.

A final difference presented relating to the purpose of private tuition was extension beyond the examination specification, whereby students claimed their tutors taught them:

> "just a little bit above what I've already done"

This may suggest students are seeking private tuition for supplementary rather than remedial support (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). Perhaps, as already discussed lessons in school are constrained due to time and numbers of students, so opportunities to stretch and challenge the most able students may be limited. It would be interesting in future research to consider the attainment levels of students accessing private tuition – is it a full range of abilities? Do students seek tutors to obtain the highest possible grades or to simply pass? Do the effects of private tuition outweigh the impact of school?

Therefore, students predominantly feel that private tuition and classroom based learning differ. The purpose of school is to provide students with foundational information, upon which private tutoring develops. Improved understanding, development of confidence, as well as being extended in terms of content are the three identified differences in the purposes of private tuition. These ideas supports results relating to purpose previously discussed. By asking the two variations of the same question, triangulation has occurred, contributing to both reliability and validity of this project. Interestingly, during one interview a student remarked that although they felt private tuition was beneficial, school serves purpose beyond academic outcomes:

> "maybe if I had private tuition for everything and didn't go to school then I would probably do better, but it's not ideal. You go to school for more reasons than just that… it's more sociable and yea you do more than just sit in lessons"

It appears therefore, despite the view that the two systems are separate, private tuition would not be able to ultimately replace school altogether.

13.5 Reflections: Cycle 3

As this is an action research project, conducted from a practitioner-researcher stance, it is important to consider how the results of this chapter inform the next steps in the research. The findings discussed led me to have many questions.

Firstly, as students stated that the main reason why they had tutors was to improve their academic performance, this made me consider whether in a following cycles, I could investigate the extent to which it did have an impact. Upon reflection this would be an extremely complex matter to research; the number of extraneous variables which can impact students' achievement is infinite. Thus I decided that having enquired as to the perceived benefit from the tutored participants, perhaps this aspect was not best suited to this small scale research project.

A further idea was to study whether it was the child or their parents who sought private tuition. This would allow me to compare my own findings with other research in the field, such as Ireson and Rushforth (2014) and Peters, Carpenter, Edwards and Coleman (2009). This idea was excluded for two reasons – pragmatic and research concerns.

Parental involvement in Key Stage 5 education is significantly lower than in younger years of education, therefore actually gaining access to parents may be difficult. There was little, if any mention of parents in the interviews conducted, which may have indicated a lesser role in decision making relating to private tuition. The sample size may have been too small to offer anything more meaningful than a single, subjective account. Secondly, I decided against interviewing parents as the reason why I chose to complete a Doctorate in Education was to uncover the views and actions of my students. My formal interactions with parents are limited to no more than two times each academic year, therefore I felt there were more meaningful ways of informing my practice than discussing with parents whether or not the decision to employ a tutor was made by themselves or their child. It may have been interesting to consider whether there was cohesion between parent-child about the extent to which they believe tuition would work, but I found myself having a stronger inclination to interview a second group of students instead.

As a teacher, I did consider interviewing other staff members to see if they could provide an insight into why they believe the shadow education system is increasing; I could have asked them for their perceptions on the purpose and function of private tuition, but felt there may have been a lack of knowledge in this area from teachers, which could lead to guesswork. It may have been possible to consider the views of tutors, but there may have also been issues with validity of responses, as private tutors may have felt the need to justify their employment and as such only offer positive insights. A compromise could have been to interview teachers who also tutor – do they utilise different strategies when tutoring compared to teaching, or do they simply have the opportunity to do more activities due to the smaller staff to student ratios? The issue with recruiting a sample of teacher-tutors is that staff at my school are not permitted to engage with private tuition, and those that do so, do it discreetly. Finding a sufficient number of teacher-tutors willing to participate in research, with the potential risk of disclosure (e.g. when discussing the subjects taught), made me reject this as a further action research cycle on the basis of these ethical considerations.

13.6 Conclusions: Cycle 3

Overall from Action Research Cycle 3, in which ten tutored participants were interviewed, key background information and definitions were established. Results from Cycle 3 mirror the results from Cycle 2, with participants' answers relating to the nature of private tuition aligning significantly with the definitions established in the diamond ranking activity. Students perceive the function of private tuition and classroom based learning to be the same; there are some differences, but typically what occurs in terms of "activities" within private tuition sessions is similar to that of their experiences in school. Time is a clear distinction between the two systems of education and there are numerous advantages that students believe arise from this additional support. Students stated that there are three reasons why they have tutors, with the main reason relating to improved performance. The data indicated that students believe the purpose of school and tuition differs, with school providing foundational understanding and private tuition enabling either elaboration or consolidation of the topics covered.

It may be somewhat concerning to think that the students interviewed do not believe their schooling enables them to understand content, feel confident or be stretched and challenged, and as such believe private tuition necessary for this to occur. This leads to several important questions: Are schools not fostering high expectations in their students?

Do those students aiming for top grades need to seek the guidance of a private tutor in order to help them access A's and A*'s? Or are schools deliberately leaving extension opportunities open to their students, to enable them to develop the independent learning skills required by universities?

Are schools failing to differentiate learning for the needs of the individuals? If students believe that the only way to truly 'understand' content is to seek the support of a private tutor, this may suggest that personalised learning is not occurring within the classroom. Similarly, if students believe that only through private tuition can they really 'know' a subject, could this imply that schools are not monitoring progress effectively? It questions whether assessment for learning is occurring, or if assessment of learning is prioritised.

However, we must consider if students' perceptions of 'failing to understand' are true. It may be possible that students are under-estimating their own abilities, which in turn may pose the question of the suitability of assessments. If assessments are not reaffirming students' understanding and belief in their capabilities, then perhaps they may not be appropriate? Students refer to lack of confidence, which may relate to this idea.

When considering all of these factors, it is important to note the opportunities teachers have in order to address them. Do teachers have the time to personalise learning? Are class sizes suitably small enough within Key Stage 5, for rigorous assessment for learning to occur? Have timetabling, and ultimately budget constraints impacted student outcomes? If staff have less free time to design effective interventions and assessments, then it may not be possible to address misconceptions in student understanding. It may be that students feel obliged to seek external provision, in the form of private tuition to address these concerns, potentially beyond the control of individual staff members and school leaders.

Thus, from the findings of this cycle it was proposed to consider the views of non-tutored participants to see if the perceived deficiencies outlined by tutored students were shared. Through interviewing non-tutored participants it would be possible to identify potentially contrasting views on the benefits and issues with having, or not having a tutor.

In the following action research cycle the same procedure of data collection and analysis was used, to enable comparisons to be made between the two cohorts of students. I felt that the use of interviews provided participants with a range of opportunities to express their

own opinions, and unlike previous research, such as that of Ireson and Rushforth (2011, 2014) were not constrained by the limitations of questionnaires.

Having excluded a range of alternative options for the next research cycle, I decided on two key ideas I wished to investigate; is the increased prevalence of private tuition due to deficits with mainstream education? Are students who engage in private tuition at an advantage to those who do not? In order to effectively investigate these questions I felt it necessary to interview a further cohort of students; those who do not have private tutors. By considering reasons why tutors are/are not employed, this would provide insight into whether there is an issue with classroom based delivery and/or teaching staff. The concept of advantage could be considered through looking at barriers to participation and personal views of students as to whether they felt disadvantaged.

I felt the choice of using a second sample of student participants was appropriate to this enquiry; I am a teacher and I am conducting this project to better inform my own and the practice of my colleagues. Student voice is vital in evaluating effectiveness of teaching and a growing tool in quality assurance programmes; I wanted to speak to my students, in own my school to ascertain their opinions. What do they think to school provision? Do students employ tutors due to deficiencies? Do they feel sufficiently supported within school, to not need private tuition? Are teachers available to those with the confidence to ask for help? Do non-tutored participants demonstrate greater motivation by not relying on the support of a more informed other? Do they feel that there is not enough focus on examination technique? Do they require more time than is currently available in their timetabled lessons? This plethora of questions may not be entirely answerable in the next action research cycle, but I hoped through the selection of a second cohort of students, I may be able to draw both comparisons and conclusions in relation to private tuition and classroom based learning.

14 Action Research Cycle 4: Non Tutored Participants

14.1 Introduction

In Cycle 3, the aim was to uncover what tutored participants believed the purpose and function of the shadow education system to be, by relating to their own experiences. Students tended state that the purpose was to improve their performance, potentially through development of their confidence and understanding as well. The function of private tuition and classroom based learning did not differ dramatically in terms of the activities undertaken, but participants were clear that they felt these were tailored to their specific needs during tutoring. This cycle also added to the findings from Cycles 1 and 2, where definitions of private tuition were established.

The aim of Cycle 4, therefore was to compare the views of tutored participants, to non-tutored participants, to see whether or not perceptions align. Society as whole has many different perceptions of private tuition – what it is and what it is for. Contrasting the views of the two groups allows an assessment of whether what we 'think' is happening, is really occurring. Indeed, my own views (as a teacher) of private tuition and my desire to understand why my students may have tutors, was one of the reasons why this research project was undertaken. It was also the intention to uncover the reasons why students did not engage in private tuition, and to identify if there were any barriers to participation. By comparing responses from Cycles 3 and 4, it may allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the nature of the shadow education system (Bray, 1999).

14.2 Research Questions

How do non-tutored students' perceptions compare to the experiences of tutored participants?

Do students choose not to have a private tutor or are there barriers preventing access? To what extent are the reasons presented related to social disadvantage?

14.3 Methods

In order to effectively investigate these research questions, I felt it would be necessary to minimise the differences between the methods used. The use of the same number of participants allowed comparisons to be drawn and to reduce potential bias arising from having a larger non-tutored sample size. Participants were obtained via an opportunity

sample, and were all members of the school at which I teach. As in Cycle 3, a semi-structured interview was used, but Cycle 4 included questions relating to decisions not to have a tutor were included (see Appendix G).

Similarly to the previous analysis, the transcriptions of the non-tutored participants were read, coded and then categorised, following the method described in Cycle 3. It is interesting, although perhaps not surprising, to note that the answers provided by this group of participants were significantly shorter than the tutored group; when asking about perceptions of a topic, it may be harder to discuss and elaborate, than describing something which is actually experienced.

14.4 Results

In the following chapter the results are presented in a similar format to Cycle 3, however, where appropriate direct comparisons between the two groups of students are made. Definitions of private tuition, function and purpose, as well as a self-reflection and conclusions follow.

14.5 Definition of Private Tuition

The tutored participants completed a diamond ranking activity, as discussed in Cycle 2, before completing a semi-structured interview relating to their experiences of private tuition (see Cycle 3). The results of the diamond ranking activity enabled me to ensure that the types of tuition they were discussing aligned with the definitions emerging from the literature (Cycle 1) and also operated as a method of validity-checking.

As Cycle 2 had been effective in achieving this aim, I also used the diamond ranking activity with the sample of non-tutored participants. The 18 cards provided were the same and participants received the same instructions and opportunity to annotate their ideas. Analysis mirrored Cycle 2, with top ranked cards receiving 9 points and each subsequent row of the diamond assigned 2 points fewer. Any card not selected scored zero.

The key findings from the non-tutored participants were that they believe private tuition to involve the payment of a qualified teacher, to engage in one to one support, face to face outside of school hours. The purpose of the sessions was slightly ambiguous, with non-tutored participants suggesting private tuition may be used for both supplementary and

remedial reasons (Kim, 2007). It can include both academic and non-academic subject matter. Similarly to Cycle 2, the definitions that I and my non-tutored participants hold are largely the same; thus implying that their further contributions to the semi-structured interviews would have validity. Beyond comprehending my participants' definitions, I also thought it would be beneficial to compare the two groups of students, to see if there were any noticeable difference between those with and those without tutors. The data is presented in Table 7.

Card	Total Ranked Score (10 Non-Tutored Participants)	Total Ranked Score (10 Tutored Participants)
Paid Tuition	61	33
Qualified Teacher	55	41
Takes Place Outside of School Hours – e.g. evenings or free periods	53	37
Face to Face	49	51
One to One Ratio	46	61
Takes Place at Home or Tutor's Home	39	34
Lessons supplement learning taking place within school	30	59
Lessons contain material not covered in school – Topics which should have been covered, but have not	27	29
Individual who has a Degree in the Subject	23	42
Academic Subject Matter	19	40
Lessons contain material not covered in school – e.g. a subject not offered	16	0
Small Group of Students and One Teacher	11	12
Online Live Interactions	11	3
Non-Academic Subject Matter – e.g. Musical instrument	9	8
Takes Place Within School Day	0	0
Free Tuition provided by Teachers	0	0
Takes Place in School	0	0
Online Recorded Videos	0	0

Table 7: Comparisons of Tutored and Non-tutored participant definitions

Both groups agree that private tuition should be face to face. It can include small groups of students rather than just 1:1 situations. Also non-academic content can be delivered, and both samples align in thoughts relating to the location of the tutoring sessions. There was a clear distinction from both groups about what does not constitute private tuition – namely support received in school, guidance provided by teachers and online recorded videos, with each card failing to be selected by any of the 20 participants. Further elements of agreement lay in the idea that private tuition may be used by students to "fill in gaps" from lessons in school; topics that should have been taught, have not. Interestingly however, when tutored participants were asked why they had tutors in Cycle 3, a deficit in school provision was not referred to. Participants referred to their own areas of weakness, rather than attributing blame to teachers or schools.

In terms of the differences, it is apparent that non-tutored participants placed a greater emphasis on the concept of payment, when asked to define private tuition (non-tutored participants 61: tutored participants 33). Non-tutored participants may have highlighted this idea as it is the first thing they think of relating to tutoring. This may be due to simple factors, such as the way private tuition is portrayed in society and the media, or it may be due to it being a potential barrier to accessing private tuition, which is at the forefront of participants' minds when discussing the topic. It will be interesting to see whether or not cost is referred to in the interview data, when participants are asked why some students do not have private tutors (Ireson & Rushforth, 2014).

A second difference in the data was that non-tutored participants referred to the time at which tuition takes place more than tutored participants (non-tutored participants 53: tutored participants 37). The tutored participants may not have given as much weight to this idea, under the presumption that this is a fundamental aspect of private tuition. Alternatively, the non-tutored participants may have stressed this element, as it could be a factor which stops them from seeking private tutors. Perhaps the non-tutored participants have a greater breadth of extra-curricular activities that they attend, or they may have a part-time job? Research indicates that as household income increases, so does ability to access private tuition (Foondun, 2002); the non-tutored participants' families may not have disposable incomes and as such the students may need to work to contribute to the household (Johnson & Lino, 2000). This could be indicative of both financial and pragmatic issues with access to tuition. These ideas are speculative – there may be no barriers preventing this cohort of students from accessing tuition; it may be that they do not feel tuition is necessary for them.

In contrast to the non-tutored participants, the tutored sample stated that the most important aspect of private tuition was a one to one ratio. Although it scored highly for both groups, the tutored participants also referred to the desire for personalised learning throughout their semi-structured interviews, particularly time for tailored support. Similarly, the idea of school providing foundational knowledge and private tuition supplementing this, was found in the tutored participants' interviews and in the diamond ranking activity. Non-tutored participants still rated this as an important feature as well, but to a lesser extent than their tutored peers (TP 59: non-tutored participants 30).

Non-tutored participants felt that private tuition involves the employment of a qualified teacher, whereas tutored participants also included anyone with appropriate qualifications, rather than those who are teachers. This may be an indication that non-tutored participants do not have tutor as they do not feel that the quality of tuition available, is to the standards they expect (qualified teacher status). Again, it will be important to ascertain the credibility of this statement through conducting interviews with the non-tutored sample.

A final point of interest is that the non-tutored participants stated that studying additional subjects also counts as private tuition, whereas tutored participants did not. This links to the findings of Cycle 3, where tutored students stated that private tuition builds on what has been taught and learned at school, rather than new subjects. For the purpose of this research project, I sought to exclude "new learning opportunities" i.e. private lessons to learn a new subject, as this would not link to the relationship between classroom based learning and private tuition, as there is no element of school within this type of tuition.

Having analysed the diamond ranks quantitative scores, I then compared these to the non-tutored students' descriptions of private tuition collected from the semi-structured interviews. The key aspects of tuition mentioned were that the sessions take place outside of school, by a professional/qualified instructor. Students also commented that private tuition is designed to help those who are experiencing difficulties with learning, for example:

> "…helps with a subject, with which you are struggling"

Additionally, the payment for the service was reiterated and the one to one ratio. An interesting concept presented by the participants was the idea of the extra effort required to recruit a tutor, with two students stating similar ideas:

> “going out of your way to get taught by someone else, who is an expert in a certain field”

> “a qualified instructor outside of school hours that you have hired off your own back”

The phrases “going out of your way” and “hired off your own back”, almost imply an inconvenience associated with having private tuition. Again, it will be of interest to see if this concept emerges in the later elements of the semi-structured interview, in which students were asked why some students do and do not have tutors.

When the qualitative definitions are compared to tutored participants, from Cycle 3 there is agreement between the two cohorts. Both indicated help, payment and expertise are fundamental to private tuition. Interestingly tutored participants also suggested face to face interactions and personal expansion were important, yet these were not mentioned by the non-tutored group. This difference may have arisen due to the tutored students having a greater comprehension of tuition from their participation in it, or if the non-tutored participants feeling there were more important elements of the definition, which needed to be referred to.

14.5.1.1 Summary: Definitions of Private Tuition

Overall the definitions of private tuition presented by non-tutored participants align with those found in the literature (Cycle 1) and tutored participants (Cycle 2 & 3). There is however, stronger emphasis on two ideas, particularly within the diamond ranking task; payment and when the tuition takes place. As previously discussed, this may be incidental, or may be indicative of barriers to participation. It is important to assess whether these ideas are referred to further in the data relating to purpose and function of private tuition.

14.5.2 Function

As with the tutored participants, the sample of non-tutored students undertook a semi-structured interview, which had a series of questions relating to the function of private tuition. The term function, for the purpose of this research study, relates to the activities taking place within the tutoring sessions. Themes which arose from the analysis, were similar to those generated by the tutored participants.

In the table following are additional codes which were either absent, in addition or different to those from the previous analysis (see Table 8). Discussion of the codes are found in this section.

Code	Definition	Example of Code
Category 1: How topics to be studied, are chosen		
Student Led Learning	Student determines specific areas they wish to study with the tutor	*"The actual learner picking what to learn"*
Tutor Led Learning	Tutor determines specific areas they wish to cover with the student	*"It depends on how the tutor likes teaches""*
Collaborative Learning*	**Student and tutor work together to decide content to be covered**	**"…they'd work together to see what they are struggling with"**
Category 2: Delivery of lesson topic		
Verbal Explanations	Tutor explaining material through verbal question and answer sessions	*"The tutor would talk through parts of the topic the student doesn't understand"*
Traditional Exercises	Students completing worksheet exercise relating to content	*"Like similar to the ones you do in school"*
Alternative Exercises	**Students completing exercise not usually used in their* school lessons (*subjective definition)**	***"the student might talk about their way of learning and they might have a specific way they like to learn"***
Provision of Notes	Students writing or reading notes provided by tutors on content	*"I'm guessing like just sort of like note taking and sort of going through notes in extra depth"*
Examination Technique	Discussing general strategies required by examination boards	*"Curriculum stuff, exam skills and like activities to hone the skills of the subject"*
Category 3: Assessment of understanding		
Examination Questions	Answering past examination paper questions, including marking of papers together	*"Questions on the topics you are going to be assessed on"*
Homework Tasks	Completion of tasks after private tuition sessions to discuss in following lessons	*"They will go through it and then give you a bit of homework and feedback after that"*
Verbal Questions	**Answering questions proposed by the tutor, relating to examination papers**	*"There might be like a big question and answers thing"*

Table 8: Coding Framework: Non-tutored participants - Function

14.5.2.1 Category 1: How topics to be studied, are chosen

The non-tutored participants repeatedly referred to students leading private tuition sessions; deciding upon the topics to study and directing the learning. Examples of this include:

> "…the actual learner picking what to learn and [the tutor] being quite sort of lenient in what they are teaching"

> "…you'd [the student] go to the tutor already having what you want to go over, prepared"

This suggests that the non-tutored participants' perceptions of private tuition's function align with that of their tutored peers; tuition is about personalised learning, directed by the student. It is implied that participants take their issues and misconceptions to their tutors to rectify them.

However, if this is the case, how do the non-tutored participants address their own misconceptions? If tutored participants seek external support and non-tutored participants are independently identifying their learning concerns, does this suggest a disadvantage to those without tutors? Do non-tutored participants wish to have a tutor to support them? Are they unable to do so due to barriers to participation? Alternatively, perhaps non-tutored participants are more metacognitively aware, so do not require the support of a more informed other? Has learned helplessness led to the growth of private tuition, with Key Stage 5 students being unable to independently address their educational needs?

Although the majority of participants stated that private tutoring is typically student-led, two of the participants did refer to Tutor-Led Learning, whereby the choice of topic is predetermined by the instructor. For instance:

> "it depends on how the tutor likes teaches"

> "probably involves the tutor asking the student where he is in the course"

These comments suggest that the student is not in charge of their learning, and instead have a similar relationship with their tutors as they do with their teachers. However, it is necessary to remember that this data was collected from the non-tutored participants. As such these statements are inferences, as these participants do not have tutors. When

considering the quotations above, neither directly imply that the students' opinions will not be accounted for, but that the tutor will be involved in decision making, which may be in consultation with the student. If we reflect on the tutored participants' responses, only one referred to their tutor delivering the session; as such this may imply that the views held on private tuition do potentially match tutored participant experiences, as the majority of both participant cohorts stated that student-led learning was more prevalent.

Interestingly, compared to the tutored participants, a third category arose which suggested a collaborative style in deciding the topics to be studied and how the sessions would take place. For example, a participant stated:

> "…they'd work together to see what they are struggling with"

Whilst some of the tutored participants did imply there could be collaboration, this was not as explicit as the non-tutored participants. This suggests that the non-tutored participants may hope that private tuition sessions have greater reciprocity between tutor and student and there may be an expectation of private tutoring offering relationships between the teacher/tutor and the student, which differ to those found in schools (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015).

14.5.2.2 Category 2: Delivery of lesson topic

The second category which emerged from the data was how the lesson actually took place – what activities were used to either develop skills or understanding of the subject. With the tutored participants, the majority referred to conversations taking place between student and tutor; this theme was also found with the non-tutored participants:

> "… the tutor would talk through parts of the topic the student doesn't understand and then give the students activities"

However, unlike the tutored participants, there was ambiguity about what actual activities may take place in the tuition sessions. Many of the non-tutored participants did not specify the actual types of activity, but instead referred to the presumption that it would mirror what was occurring in their everyday lessons at school:

> "…similar to the ones you do in school, but just more focused on what you struggle with"

> "…just kind of similar to what a teacher would do"

This is perhaps unsurprising, as the task of describing something, of which you have no or minimal experience, is difficult. Upon reflection, the value in asking these questions relating to function, to non-tutored participants, may not be as beneficial as first thought. There may be greater value in their answers relating to purpose. Nevertheless, the idea that private tuition sessions do not provide different types of tasks supports the tutored participants, who also suggested the presence of novel teaching strategies was minimal.

It is important to note exceptions, and one of the non-tutored participants referred to specific strategies, including:

> "note taking and sort of going through notes in extra depth and like doing DIRT [dedicated improvement and reflection time] on exam questions and answering exam questions"

It may be that this was an informed guess, or that the participant felt obliged to answer with specific examples. An additional category which also arose with the non-tutored participants was the idea of depth and detail. Although the non-tutored participants were not specific in stating *which* strategies were used, they did specify *what* happened when a strategy was selected. For example:

> "going over information, but in a great depth"

> "stuff to help with what you struggle with, not like what the class struggles with"

These two quotes also indicate the significant overlap between students' answers with regards to function and purpose. Often answers relating to the questions "describe the function of private tuition", including reference to ideas, which would perhaps have also been suitable to the question "describe the purpose of private tuition". This further reiterates the suggestion in Cycle 3 that the two terms are not discrete and are interchangeable.

14.5.2.3 Category 3: Assessment of understanding

The final category established in the tutored participants' answers related to the assessment of understanding. Tutored participants were able to suggest the ways in which their comprehension of both a task and content were assessed by their tutors. This however, was a not a theme found within the interview data collected from non-tutored participants. Only one student made reference to the concept of knowledge/skills being checked:

> "…questions on the topics you are going to be assessed on so you understand it"

This student did not stipulate whether or not the questions were examination related, but this may be inferred from the quotation "topics you are going to be assessed on". The lack of reference to assessment may be a simple oversight by non-tutored participants, or may be indicative of a belief that tutors do not need to assess the work of students, but rather are there to impart knowledge to the tutees.

14.5.3 Function: Similarities and Differences

Following the coding relating to the function of private tuition, the similarities and differences between private tuition and classroom based learning were considered.

14.5.3.1 Similarities

Firstly, the non-tutored participants suggested that both private tuition and classroom based learning are probably alike in that they deliver the same content (subject material) and utilise the same types of activities (examination questions, worksheets etc.). Examples from the interviews include:

> "I think they could be similar in what they get taught, so if I went to a tutor…it would probably be content based from school, erm so like what I'd be learning would probably be the same"

> "[the activities are] similar to the ones you do in school, but just more focused on what you struggle with"

This may show that the function of the two education systems are alike; content for examinations remains the same whether it is delivered by a tutor or a teacher. Therefore this leads to further questions regarding why students seek the support of private tutors – perhaps it could be the way in which activities are implemented, which differs.

14.5.3.2 Differences

The main difference indicated between private tuition and classroom based learning was the idea that school was where initial knowledge of a subject is gained. The non-tutored participants support the findings of the tutored participant, as there was an emphasis on the tuition sessions being used to go over what had already been delivered in school. For example:

> "…in school you are learning things for the first time, private tuition is probably more reinforcing"

The non-tutored participants believe that students do not seek private tutors in order to learn new material, but rather instead use it to consolidate their understanding of what they are learning in school. This could indicate that students are pleased with the lessons they receive, yet require more time to focus on the content delivered. Questions arise from this – should school offer greater time to revise with students? Or should students be encouraged to develop their own independence with their learning – should they be revising the material themselves? Are students utilising private tuition to satisfy their dependence on teacher-led learning?

A further difference was that private tuition involves greater attention and focus on the individual learner, compared to classroom based learning. Although this may be viewed as an obvious observation, it is an important idea to note. A significant majority of the non-tutored participants made reference to individualised learning that they expected to occur in private tuition sessions. Some of their comments included:

> "…in private tuition the student might talk about their way of learning and they might have a specific way they like to learn"

> "rather than teaching the curriculum, it's more like refining the pupil's ability and kinda cementing their skills rather than like giving them general knowledge"

These quotations suggest that perhaps schools are not providing enough individualised learning opportunities to their students. This leads to the questions as to whether or not it is right to expect all students to learn in the same way, and whether or not teachers should be promoting personalised learning more. Are the non-tutored participants disadvantaged if they are not accessing this type of instruction? Further to this, is the economic question – if personalised learning has an impact – is it fair that only students who can afford private tuition get these opportunities?

However, in contrast to the idea of schools needing to think about adapting teaching strategies to the needs of the individual, is the concern that personalising learning may prevent students from developing independence. If classroom based learning, as suggested in the transcripts, is where subject content is delivered, then perhaps the "reinforcement" and "cementing" needs to come from the individual practising and revisiting the material themselves? Are students potentially becoming reliant upon establishing depth and detail required for examinations from 'a more informed other'? An interesting statement from one of the non-tutored participants was:

> "I'd be the centre of attention."

This may aptly indicate that private tuition is fuelling students' reliance upon teacher-centric education (Lam & Lawrence, 2002). Teachers of Key Stage 5 students must therefore consider whether or not the students whose next steps may include university are appropriately resilient enough to take responsibility for their own learning.

When discussing the function of classroom based learning, one student commented that their teachers do the following:

> "…they teach you content and you get through the qualification"

Whilst this may not be a comprehensive account of what a student believes to happen in their school classrooms, it may highlight a narrow perspective of the education system. Students may not believe that classroom based learning or perhaps education as a whole is anything other than an 'exam factory' (Laws, 2013, as cited in Long, 2017). A-level studies may just be viewed as the next step in getting the grades to go to university, rather than a way of developing the skills and attributes required for both university and working life.

There is no reference to teachers creating holistic learners, and therefore it is perhaps worthwhile reflecting on this before the consideration of the purpose of private tuition.

The final difference indicated by the non-tutored participants, but not from the tutored participants, in relation to function was the idea of a conversation occurring between the student and the tutor. Participants believe that within private tuition there may be some opportunities to discuss learning, which may not be extended in classroom situations. For example, some students stated:

> "err they're usually more conversation based. If in school you don't understand something you would put up your hand and ask questions and it would be answered, whereas in tuition you would be kinda able to have a conversation about why and how, and how you are going to improve"

> "…. [school is] very structured and in private tuition maybe the student might talk about their way of learning… they could discuss that with their tutor and have a way of learning that they are most suited to"

This may imply that private tuition and classroom based learning have different 'flows' of information. Similarly to the diagram in the previous chapter relating to how subject content is delivered and revisited, perhaps teachers and tutors do not have the same types of conversations with students.

This may suggest that there is a difference between the relationships students and teachers have in a formal learning environment, and the relationships between students and tutors (Kirss & Jokic, 2013). A discursive dialogue between student and teacher may not be possible due to teacher reluctance to compromise the power/authority, or alternatively due to students being unwilling to approach staff (Turman & Schrodt, 2006). Private tuition involves a different type of relationship, possibly due to the tutee paying for their services, and as such discussions and conversations about learning may be more forthcoming.

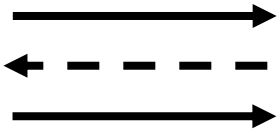
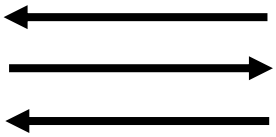


Figure 18: Teacher- student relationships

Figure 18 illustrates the potential conversations between teachers and students. The solid line represents the power or primary flow of information. This comes from the teacher to the student. The dotted line represents the secondary flow of information; from the student the teacher. The information they are providing to the teacher may not have impact of the flow of the information coming back to them.



Tutor Student

Figure 19: Tutor-student relationships

Whereas Figure 19 suggests the possible relationship between tutor and student. The student is the primary flow of information. They are asking direct questions, before the tutor provides input to the conversation. The response of the tutor is of equal importance and worth as the student. There is potential balance of power between the two individuals, which allows a discussion to take place. It is important however, to be mindful of the research questions of this thesis; the aim is to explore the purpose and function of private tuition. As such perhaps the discussion relating to the balance of power and conversational analysis has value in future research.

Furthermore the conversations may not be perceived to occur in classroom based learning due to time related pressures. Schools, in particular Key Stage 5 teachers, are faced with an overhaul of examination processes and changes to school budgets (Hubble, Mackley, & Bolton, 2017). As such class sizes of 20-30 students are increasingly common in the post-16 age group; teachers, despite their best intentions may not have the capacity to engage one to one with each member of their class (Long, 2017). Hodgson and Spours (2016) further reiterate the number of hours assigned for delivery of post-16 lessons in England, is significantly less than other international education systems.

An additional idea presented by the participants was a reflection on the way in which private tuition sessions are delivered. Several of the participants hinted at the idea that private tuition uses an informal approach to teaching, for example:

> "Well, it's one on one and it's more informal"

> "…like I said, it's more lenient. I think the person will decide like what they want to focus on"

The informality may be in a contrast to the linear delivery experienced in most classrooms, which may link to the relationships between the students and the tutor/teachers. These comments may indicate that classroom lessons still take a formal teacher led approach, when perhaps students in Key Stage 5 are seeking a greater level of autonomy, than that which is afforded to them (Whitehead, Raffan & Deaney, 2006).

Also, adaptability of private tuition, may lead non-tutored participants to believe that private tuition has greater impact than classroom based learning. Indeed a concept which arose from the data was the suggestion that perhaps private tuition involves teaching of a higher standard. When probed about what this meant, the participants further elaborated to say that there was greater consideration of the student:

> "I guess like data, the information and the content is obviously taught well [in school], but not to the same standard as a tutor, I don't think. Because it's one to one, it's a lot easier…to teach one person and concentrate on them"

This may suggest that the non-tutored participants believe that private tuition is of benefit; if they believe this, it is necessary to then further investigate why they do not have tutors.

14.5.4 Summary: Function

The aim of interviewing the non-tutored participants was to answer the question - Are the perceptions of private tuition's function the same as tutored participants' experiences?

It does appear that perceptions of private tuition reflect the real experiences of tutored participants. The majority of non-tutored participants believed that private tutoring would involve students leading their own learning; few suggested it would be led by the tutor. This was found to be the case with the tutored participants, with only one referencing their tutor determining the topics to be covered in the lesson. Non-tutored participants did however expect some form of collaboration, which could also be inferred from the tutored

participants' responses, whereby tutors adapt their strategies/delivery based on the individual students' requirements.

Furthermore, tutored participants suggested that the strategies used by their tutors were similar to those used in their school lessons. Non-tutored participants repeatedly referred to this concept, and did not indicate that they would expect novel teaching methods. This idea is poignant, and is interesting when discussed in relation to *why* students seek private tutors (see later sections in this chapter relating to purpose).

Finally, non-tutored participants (unlike tutored participants), did not refer to how they expected assessment to occur in private tuition sessions. This may simply be an omission from their interview responses and could potentially have been a further question to have added to the semi-structured interviews. It may be an indication that they did not feel private tuition included or requires assessment of either knowledge or skills.

Overall, the findings relating to function have been mixed. Non-tutored participants perceptions of private tuition appear to align with their peers who actually have tutors. Although it has been interesting to see if beliefs and experience match, upon reflection, asking non-tutored participants about the perceived function of private tuition has had limited success. Non-tutored participants, by definition, do not have a tutor – therefore this element of the semi-structured interview has effectively asked students to guess what might happen in tuition sessions. It has been interesting to compare perceptions to experiences – what students think happens, typically does. Yet, the extent to which this aspect of the research project has contributed to the overall aim of comparing private tuition and classroom based learning, and the relationship between the two systems, is minimal. An exploration of why non-tutored participants do not have tutors, which follows, offered evidence of greater value to the research.

14.5.5 Purpose

The ten students who did not have private tutors were asked 'why do you think people have tutors?' (Although exact phrasing may have differed, due to the interview being semi-structured in nature and not having a prescribed list of questions). Interestingly, more reasons were presented by the non-tutored participants compared to those participants with tutors. Four key themes appeared and three additional ideas of note were found during the analysis; see Table 9.

Code	Definition	Examples of Code
Performance	Students seek private tuition to improve their academic outcomes in their A-levels subjects	*"Some people get tutors because they want higher grades erm or they might be failing a subject"* *"If they are struggling with a subject"*
Understanding	Students seek private tuition to comprehend content and/or examination technique for their A-levels subjects	*"I think maybe because they don't understand things"* *"If they didn't understand something in school"*
Confidence	Students seek private tuition to feel more reassured in their A-levels subjects	*"If you're not very confident with something"* *"Maybe to like build their confidence in the subject they are doing"*
Lack of Confidence in Teaching Staff	Students seek private tuition due to deficits in school provision of teaching and learning opportunities	*"Maybe they don't think their teacher is very good at school"* *"Maybe if they think like their teacher isn't as good"*

Table 9: Coding Framework - Tutored Participants: Purpose

The 4 main themes were:

1. Improve understanding
2. Lack of confidence in teaching staff
3. Improve performance
4. Improve confidence

Three of the four key themes were the same as presented by the tutored participants (see Cycle 3), although improving performance was given less significance by the non-tutored cohort. The most popular reason why the non-tutored participants believed people employ tutors, is to improve their understanding of examination topics.

14.5.5.1 Improve Understanding

The main reason why non-tutored participants stated that they believe people employ tutors is to aid understanding of either subject content, examination technique or both. Of the ten participants, eight referred to improved understanding, for example:

> "to help them with their learning, if they don't understand things"

> "…if they didn't understand something in school…improve on what they don't know"

The non-tutored participants often offered suggestions as to why a lack of understanding may have occurred, yet this justification was not apparent from the sample of tutored participants. Reasons suggested for the lack of understanding mainly focused on something beyond the students' control and included absences from school, teacher quality and large class sizes, as suggested in the evidence below:

> "If they are struggling with a subject or the teacher they've already got isn't helping them in the way they probably need, or the class sizes are too big"

> "I think it is 'cause they like struggle and if there have been circumstances where they have missed lessons they might need one."

The use of the word 'need' was notable; this suggests that having a tutor is a necessity rather than just an option if a student has had absences. There is no suggestion that a student would be able to catch-up on work themselves. The use of tutors for supplementary teaching due to illness, may be a suitable area for future investigations. However, what is clear is that the non-tutored participants are attributing external factors as to why private tutors are sought, whereas the tutored participants did not make this reference; rather, tutored participants talked about their own personal issues, rather than those relating to school or staff. A study by the Sutton Trust (Jerrim, 2017) also found that help was the main reason for having a tutor, presented by students in the UK. Although it must be noted that this review used secondary, rather than post-16 students.

14.5.5.2 Lack of Confidence in Teaching Staff

Interestingly four of the non-tutored participants made reference to teaching quality, when asked why people employ tutors. This did not appear in the reasons presented by the tutored participants, who instead specified ideas relating to their own needs, rather than deficits in their classroom-based learning. For example, participants said:

> “maybe they don’t think their teacher is very good at school”

> “the teacher they’ve already got isn’t helping them in the way they probably need”

There are two different ideas to consider here; the first participant suggests that the teacher is not performing as expected and the second suggests that perhaps the teacher is not able to meet the needs of the individual student. If teaching quality is poor – then this is an issue that needs to be addressed, as this implies that only students receiving tuition are rectifying this problem, through their additional instruction (Jayachandran, 2014). However, when considering the idea of ‘helping them in the way the probably need’, this implies a lack of personalised learning, something which may be possible to address. If teachers are provided with a greater amount of time, or perhaps (as suggested above) smaller class sizes, then the dependence on paid private tuition to perform this purpose may be reduced (Dang & King, 2016).

The concept of teacher quality and its influence on private tuition would be one of difficulty to investigate; the expectations of students, Heads of Departments, Senior Leaders and even OFSTED may not necessarily align with what makes a good teacher (Doherty & Dooley, 2018). As non-tutored participants have made reference to teaching staff this is poignant; these are pupils who do not have tutors; their tutored peers in the same school are taught by the same staff. This may be suggesting that there are differences in the teaching styles which suit students, but again could be indicating that perhaps non-tutored participants are concerned about school provision, yet are unable to access alternatives.

14.5.5.3 Improve Performance

Only three of the ten participants made the direct suggestion that private tutors may be employed to improve students’ performance in their academic subjects. This contrasts with a majority of the tutored participants referring to it as the reason why they have a tutor. The results should perhaps be considered with some caution; students without tutors may not wish to think that their tutored peers are at an advantage through their additional support (Ireson & Rushforth, 2014).

The non-tutored participants may feel that performance is a reason why students have private tuition, due to the perceived positive impact of one to one support, additional time for a subject and expert knowledge upon performance. They may have, however put greater

emphasis upon the role of improved understanding due to uncertainty surrounding whether or not performance is altered through tuition (Hof, 2014).

Interestingly, the tutored participants had a broad spectrum of target grades (D-A*), yet some of the non-tutored participants believed that reason for having tuition was typically for students seeking the top grades, for instance:

> "Some people get tutors because they want higher grades, err or they might be failing a subject, but usually it's more people on the A/A* route and they want to push themselves to get more help with it"

This idea was also found in the tutored participants, who initially felt that having a tutor would guarantee them an A, whereas in experience, although their grades may have improved, it was not necessarily to those levels (see Cycle 3). As discussed in Cycle 3, a consideration of the extent to which private tuition does indeed improve performance would be a suitable area for future investigation. Pragmatically, however, to both operationalise and control variables to determine the impact of private tuition, may be somewhat of a challenge (Dongre & Tewary, 2015).

14.5.5.4 Improve Confidence

Similar to the tutored participants, some non-tutored participants believe that students have private tutors to improve their confidence in their academic subjects. The reasons for this may not just be the academic support offered, but also the absence of peers and the positive social interactions with an adult one-to-one. The simple opportunity to have the undivided attention of a more knowledgeable other may help increase the confidence of an individual student, as there may be less issues surrounding incorrect answers etc. Opportunities to ask a plethora of questions, as mentioned in Cycle 3, was an important feature of private tuition for tutored participants. This too may contribute to the non-tutored participants' belief that improving confidence is a reason why students employ tutors.

It is important to recall that one tutored participant remarked that they had actually lost confidence through employing a tutor. The idea of tuition having a negative impact was also referred to by a non-tutored participant:

> "…the one to one aspect can be a bit like, erm, unnerving, so if you're not very confident with something then you're not going to gain from having a private tutor, because if it is one to one they will be able to tell if you really don't understand something"

This comment almost seems to imply that private tuition may have a negative impact on a students' confidence because the tutor may identify their weaknesses, which is surprising when considered in light of the tutored participant's responses; many mentioned that a tutor picking up on misconceptions in learning was a key feature/function of private tuition.

In connection to other reasons proposed, confidence would require specific additional investigation, to ascertain what element of the tuition leads to improvements in confidence. Is it key features such as time to ask questions or engage in academic conversation? The one to one relationship with an adult? Or is it dependent upon the tutor's personality, skills or knowledge? Confidence may too be influenced by an atypical balance of power. Students and their school teachers typically have an adult and child relationship, with the teacher providing the information to the student (Kirss & Jokic, 2013). As the student, or their immediate family has paid for the tutor's direct services, the power balance may shift, with the student feeling perhaps less intimidated and more willing to ask for help with complex issues relating to their studies (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015). The tutor's behaviour towards the student may differ to that of the teacher and student, also perhaps due to their employment by the family (Francis & Hutchings, 2013). When someone is paid to provide a service, they may be more receptive to the needs and requirements of the employer than in a situation where they in a position of authority (e.g. teacher in school; Dongre & Tewary, 2015). It is interesting to note also, that when discussing why students do not have tutors, some non-tutored participants stated that they would feel uncomfortable in a one to one situation (see later section).

14.5.5.5 Other Ideas of Interest

Other notable concepts found within the data, but were only referred to by individual participants were:

Students may have private tuition due to large class sizes
Students feel like they should have tutors (societal expectation)
Students may have extra income and be able to afford to pay for tuition

The reference to class size reflects some of the comments from the tutored participants. They stated that they used their private tuition sessions to ask a range of questions, which they often felt unable to do so in lessons, in fear of holding back the rest of the group, as well as commenting about the lack of individual support. This idea was proposed by a non-tutored participants, who suggested:

> "… there's like 20 or so people in the class, so it's rare that there's like me one to one with the teacher"

It was important to not exclude the reference to expectation, as although this concept was only mentioned by one of the non-tutored participants, it may hint at a potential issue with the sample of students used within this research. The school which all the participants attend is in an affluent area of North Yorkshire; although the school is a comprehensive academy, many of the students who attend come from middle class families. The majority of other secondary schools within the town are high performing state or independent schools. It is therefore possible that the idea of extra income and the normalisation of having a tutor is exclusive to this cohort of participants. It would be appropriate to consider repeating this research in a school with a different socio-economic status, to see if these similar opinions arise, or if they are prominent with a larger sample size.

Affordability was also pertinent comment, as a follow up question to participants was what barriers may exist in accessing private tuition (see later sections).

14.5.6 Purpose: Similarities and Differences

When non-tutored participants were asked about the similarities and differences between private tuition and classroom based learning, there was only one student who said that the two had the same purpose. They remarked simply:

> "The purpose is the same… just to sort of come out with the best grades"

Of the 20 participants interviewed (ten tutored, ten non-tutored), only two in total indicated that they served the same purpose. The tutored participant agreed with the example above, that shared purpose is to ensure students obtain their best examination results, to allow them to access the next steps in their education. Nine of the ten participants indicated that they believed that private tuition differed in terms of purpose. They tended to state that the

purpose of school/classroom based learning is to deliver content and impart initial knowledge, for instance:

> "You go to school to learn a certain amount of content"

Whereas private tuition's purpose was to offer specific help with targeted issues, whether that was additional content, filling in gaps in understanding, consolidation or refining knowledge. It appears, as with the tutored participants, that private tuition's purpose is to build on learning within school, rather than introduce new topics etc. Some of the variations in assistance that non-tutored participants suggested were:

> "…doing stuff you don't understand"

> "…consolidate what the teacher might or might not have taught you"

> "filling in any gap you may have missed in school and improving knowledge you already know"

The latter two examples also illustrate the emphasis placed by non-tutored participants on external influences on behaviour, rather than internal issues of the student. Another interesting comment implied that the purpose of private tuition is to ensure students' develop their confidence in a subject, which aligned with findings from purpose from both groups of participants.

> "if I was 1:1 to I could learn a lot better [help], so like if I didn't know an answer to a question and you'd pick on me in a lesson, I might feel embarrassed, but with a tutor there's like nobody there to laugh at me"

Within the data from this section, the phrase "reactive aid" was used by a participant to describe tuition. Although only used by a single participant I felt was important to not overlook, as it suggests that private tuition is something that is only used when necessary and not an inbuilt expectation, as is found in a wider international context (Bray, 2005).

14.5.7 Why might students not have tutors?

To link to the concept of purpose, non-tutored participants were asked an additional question, relating to why tutors may not be employed. In a pilot study, the question asked was "Why don't you have tutor?" Upon reflection, the phrasing of the question was altered to "Why might students not have tutors?" to avoid potentially making the participant feel uncomfortable. It may have led to disclosure of personal factors, which they may not have wished to discuss with a member of teaching staff, such as parental income. When non-tutored participants were asked why students may not have private tutors, five reasons were presented, as can be seen in Table 10:

1. Affordability
2. Necessity
3. Accessibility
4. Time
5. Fear

Code	Definition	Examples of Code
Affordability	Students do not seek tutors as there are financial barriers	*"Money, maybe it costs too much for them"* *"if a tutor costs too much per session then you might not like be able to afford it"*
Necessity	Students do not seek tutors as they do not feel they need one	*"They might feel they don't need one or they understand stuff"* *"They might not think they need one"*
Accessibility	Students do not know where to source a tutor	*"You don't really know where to go for one"* *"There may not be like a tutor that's that local"*
Time	Students do not have the time available for a private tutor	*"If you have got a busy schedule then you obviously won't be able to have time"* *"If you want the money for private tuition you need to get a job …so you don't have much after school time"*
Fear	Students do not seek tutors as they are worried about the situation	*"Maybe they don't like one to one"* *"Maybe they feel uncomfortable just one to one"*

Table 10: Coding framework – NTP reasons for not having tutors

14.5.7.1 Affordability

Of the five themes uncovered, nine of the ten participants referred to affordability as a reason why people may not have tutors. Ideas varied in the description of the cost, with some participants saying it was "quite expensive", whereas others said it was "too expensive" or "very, very expensive". The terms presented here may show some variance in the attitudes towards the cost of private tuition, with "quite" implying it may be accessible, whereas "too" may suggest it is not.

Another non-tutored participant suggested that the price of the tuition would need to be weighed up against whether or not it was truly needed – a pragmatic cost-benefit analysis:

> "…sometimes it can be quite a lot of money, so it's that balance of whether you need it or not. If it does cost a lot of money, people, even if they might need it, might have to miss out because of the finances of it"

When comparing this to the tutored participants, the average price of their hour long tuition sessions was approximately £30. Perhaps the cost of the private tuition allows access to those able to afford it, but hinders those who cannot? However, when comparing the findings of this small scale qualitative study to Jerrim's (2017) sample of over 5000 English pupils, cost of tuition was not proposed as significant reason for not having a tutor. Reasons such as necessity and availability were ranked much higher by Year 11 students in the PISA sample. Therefore, although cost was mentioned by this cohort of non-tutored participants, it is not the only barrier to participation.

If the issue of cost and the potential benefits of private tuition exist, the resulting social divides are concerning. Strategies to address this therefore would need to be suggested. One example is the UK government's trial of free provision of one to one tuition ("Making Good Progress") with disadvantaged students in Key Stage 2 & 3, to raise attainment in Mathematics and English (Brown, Ireson, Shepherd, Bassett, & Rushforth, 2010). The study found positive effects for student attainment, but participants also reported (through a questionnaire) improvements in their motivation, confidence and lesson participation. Similarly, the Australian government also used two different voucher schemes, to enable students with low prior attainment to access tutors (Doherty & Dooley, 2018; Kirby, 2016), and found positive effects (Axford, 2007; Bishop, 2007; Watson, 2008). Both of these

examples highlight an awareness of divides the shadow education system may create and suggest potential ways these could be addressed.

14.5.7.2 Necessity

The second most frequently mentioned reason for not having tutors was necessity. Non-tutored participants suggested that people do not have tutors because they feel that they do not need one; they believe that they are achieving well academically without one, or alternatively feel that they are gaining enough support from school. In future research investigating the idea of "if a student felt that they did need a tutor, what may stop them from having one?" could add further to this topic, but may in turn force an answer.

Within the theme of necessity, students appear to have implied that students are not typically expected to have a tutor; there must be a valid reasons for having one, i.e. tutors are not employed for the sake of it. This differs significantly to some countries where the shadow education system is of greater prominence and it is a societal norm for all students to have private tuition, no matter what their level of academic performance is e.g. South Korea, Japan and Hong Kong (Bray, 2006; Francis & Hutchings, 2013; Jerrim, 2017), where up 80% of students have at least one tutor. This division however, may relate to cultural beliefs about performance; some cultures believe that effort (i.e. additional tuition) can guarantee improvement in school, whereas others believe that educational outcomes are predetermined by a fixed level of ability i.e. no tuition – no matter what I do, I'll get the marks I ought to get, it will make no difference (Bray, 2003; Dweck, 2008; Salili, 1999; Silova & Bray, 2006). This is perhaps illustrated by one participant stating:

> "…it's a balance of whether or not you need it"

14.5.7.3 Accessibility

The third reason presented by participants for not having tutors was accessibility. This term was used to account for the non-tutored participants' statements relating to not knowing how to find a tutor and the lack of services in their area. For example:

> "I dunno, if I wanted a tutor, I don't know where I would go for one"

> "…the tutor may not be local"

These ideas suggest that there is an investment in terms of locating a tutor. Participants implied that availability of tutors is not widely known, an idea further supported by Jerrim (2017), where 21% of student participants who did not receive additional instruction said this was either due to tuition not being available where they live or what was available was not was required. This could be a barrier that may relate to socio-economic status; perhaps students of a higher social class have a greater number of "connections" that are aware of tuition services, if private tuition is associated more with families of higher incomes. Indeed, Francis and Hutchings (2013), in their report for the Sutton Trust, highlight that working-class families "may be less aware or concerned" (p.10) about educational options available to their children, in comparison to middle class families. It must be noted however, that social class was not investigated within this report and as such it is wrong to presume that the cohort of students in this study were not accessing tuition due to family background. There may have been other reasons for their decisions not to have a tutor, as evident from the variety of responses proposed.

The concept of social class and also accessibility of tutors may be interesting to pursue further – comparisons to other countries could be made, as well as review of the number of registered tutoring agencies in the UK, which is rapidly increasing (Kirby, 2016). The concerns about accessibility may be worthy of note for private tutors themselves, who may not be accessing a full market place of consumers. From the perspective of a teacher, the lack of accessibility may be one which they could assist with; if they wished to promote private tuition they could display tutor details and also there by exerting some level of control over the types of tutors students are exposed to. Teachers may feel some sort of obligation as a gatekeeper, towards their students. If their students want a tutor, teachers may be able to suggest tutors of a suitable quality. An alternative suggestion made by the Sutton Trust (Jerrim, 2017) is the further establishment of homework clubs, where students can be supported in school. Although it seems that this provision, within the school where this research was conducted, is already available.

14.5.7.4 Time

A similar idea to availability, presented as a barrier to tuition, was the concept of time. This refers to the time available for individuals to attend private tuition sessions. Participants suggested that people may not have tutors as they simply did not have the time for one, for example:

> "if you have got a busy schedule then you obviously won't have the time"

Cultural difference are important to consider here, as it is reported that in some countries, students can spend 27 hours a week in tuition, after they have finished school (Bray, 2010; Jerrim, 2017). Yet other students suggested

> "if like you have got other commitments, like a sport or something it's going to be harder to fit in a tutor as well as your school day"

This in turn implies that students may not solely focus on academic achievement and school work, but also try to balance this with other interests. Other participants suggested that it was not just about the time involved in attending the private tuition sessions, but the time and effort in getting to the tutor and completing the additional work they have set:

> "…if you need to travel there, they take up a lot of time – a lot of the time it is an hour session every week, or may be even more"

> "why would you do the extra work if your teachers are giving it – if you have a tutor – they [also] give you homework and stuff"

Other imply that financial and time barriers to private tuition are a vicious cycle, which stop people from accessing it:

> "if you want the money for private tuition, you need to get a job, and if you have a job, it tends to mean you don't have much after school time"

This suggests that ownership/payment of tuition may come from the students themselves, rather than their parents, which potentially highlights a socio-economic division between accessing and not accessing private tuition. If a student's parents are able to pay for tuition, this frees up time for a student to attend private lessons; however if they cannot, they may have to pay for it themselves, through means of a part-time job, which reduces the time available to attend (Francis & Hutchings, 2013).

14.5.7.5 Fear

The final and probably the least predictable reason for not having a private tutor, was the idea of fear. The non-tutored participants suggested that people may not have private tutors because they do not want to learn/be taught in a 1:1 situation. This is surprising when

considering that tutored participants believed the one to one aspect of private tuition was the most beneficial part of the service. Students made quite poignant remarks regarding the anxiety potentially attributable to having a tutor:

> "It is quite intimidating having someone come to your house, or going to someone's house initially…if you are in a classroom and you fail, you can kinda shrug it off and blend in, but if you are really not 'getting it', you might come across as quite thick if you are 1:1"

> "The one to one aspect of it can be a bit unnerving, so if you are not very confident with something, then you are not going to gain from having a private tutor, because if it is one to one they will be able to tell if you really don't understand something. So a lack of confidence or self-esteem will make it harder"

There seems to be a worry about perceptions made by the tutor, which contrast with the tutored participants who sought private tuition to avoid negative perceptions of their peers. Although in reference to confidence, one tutored participant did state that the one to one situation had made her lose confidence, due to an intimidating tutor. It may be interesting to consider here that there may be differences between the two samples; perhaps the non-tutored participants had more positive experiences within the classroom than those tutored participants?

14.5.8 Summary: Purpose

To conclude the section relating to purpose, the answers provided by non-tutored participants were similar to tutored students. They believed that the purpose of private tuition is to improve understanding, performance and confidence. Although tutored participants placed greater emphasis on performance, this was still viewed as significant by the non-tutored participants. An additional concept that was not found in Cycle 3 related to a lack of confidence in teaching staff/school provision. This is interesting as if teaching quality was a concern of non-tutored participants, why were they not seeking tutors themselves? My role as a practitioner-researcher could have influenced these findings. Perhaps tutored participants felt unable to disclose such information?

The non-tutored participants did not have external tutors, and therefore any comments made relating to quality of instruction may have had less perceived negative connotations.

An additional aim of this action research cycle was to comprehend why some students do not have tutors: Five reasons were presented – affordability, necessity, accessibility, time and fear. Cost of private tuition is a well-established barrier to participation, as evidenced by both the UK and Australian governments offering financial support to disadvantaged students (Kirby, 2016), as are necessity and accessibility (Jerrim, 2017). The concept of time is of interest, as this was the overriding concept of function, provided by the tutored students. Non-tutored participants do not believe that they have the time to participate in private tutoring, whereas tutored participants seek private tutors to spend more time studying. Similarly, fear as a reasons for not having a private tutor is thought-provoking, especially when we consider that both groups of participants stated improving confidence is a main reason for having a tutor.

Further, the similarities and differences between private tuition and classroom based learning, in terms of function were the same for the two groups of participants. Both acknowledge that the same content and examination specifications will be covered, but the purpose of school is to deliver content, whereas private tuition has multiple purposes, relevant to the individual needs of the student. This may be extension activities, consolidation or identification of misconceptions; factors that as I teacher I would hope also occur in lessons, but were specifically mentioned in relation to private rather than classroom-based learning.

14.5.9 Separate Systems

In the following section findings are presented relating to the distinctiveness of private tuition and classroom based learning. This was a question asked to both groups of students, in the hope of discussing the concept of an inevitable shadow system. I felt it was important to discuss whether or not participants believed the systems to be separate or supportive of one another. Presented here are the findings of both the tutored and non-tutored cohorts, as organising this element into Cycle 3 and 4 separately would not allow the links to be as clear.

The overriding decision made by participants was that tutoring and school exist distinctively. All ten tutored participants believed that private tuition was a separate system, but fully dependent upon mainstream education. Similarly, the majority of non-tutored participants stated that private tuition supports lessons in school. These participants said that private tuition supported classroom based learning, but did not see a reciprocal relationship;

indicating that they felt private tuition was indeed the shadow of their schooling. The overall theme which emerged was that school teaches a topic or subject, but the role of private tuition is to expand, repeat or consolidate this information with the student.

A pertinent example is:

> "I think they are two separate systems, but they do support each other… if you haven't learnt it at school already, you can't expand on it, you can't understand it…so if you haven't learnt it and your tutor was just sort of teaching you it, that would be just like paying for school and that's not what it's about… you have already learnt something. You want to understand it. You want to be better at it, you have the potential to do it, but you just need that little bit of a boost to reach your potential"

A further point made was:

> "I do think that they support each other… I think because it's Maths, I think the more you practice the better you get"

Those students who did not believe that the two systems support one another were keen to indicate that a lack of communication between teachers and tutors can lead to issues. For instance, tutors may teach a skill utilising a different method to the one students experienced in school, which can be confusing. Also, tutors may not necessarily have experience of teaching the examination specification that the student is following (Brown, Ireson, Shepherd, Bassett & Rushforth, 2010). This can lead to issues with examination technique guidance and also caveats specific to the examination boards. Further to this schools may not be supportive of private tuition, as there may be an implied threat to the expertise of the teacher, by the employment of an additional 'knowledgeable other'.

One student was keen to highlight that even though the systems are separate, and they do use their tutor for help and assistance, this does not mean this is due to a deficiency with school provision, by stating:

> "in the classroom you just keep firing through the course and kinda not stop…if you need the extra help it is not in the lesson you can get it. You go at lunch and you get the help, whereas in private tuition you just do what you need to do"

Clearly, teachers are willing to give their time to students who need it, as proposed by the Sutton Trust Report (Jerrim, 2017), but what students are looking for is specific, tailored support which may not be able to be provided by school staff.

14.6 Improvements to Educational Systems

The penultimate question that participants were asked was whether there were parts of either educational system, which the other could include. Again, a summary of both tutored participants and non-tutored participants responses are presented together for greater clarity. The purpose of this question was to ascertain whether or not there were elements of private tuition, which schools could incorporate to address students' reliance upon private tuition or if there were aspects of classroom based learning, which tutored participants felt were missing from their tuition.

There were several different suggestions presented, all of which, unsurprisingly, related to potential strategies teachers could use within school. Students seemed pleased with the nature of their private tuition, for example

> "I don't think I can improve the tuition sessions"

The most frequently referred to suggestion for schools, was to consider a reduction in class size or more opportunities for 1:1 lessons. The main reason for this was to allow students to check their understanding of their subject directly with their teachers and overall improve their educational outcomes.

> "For me personally, I'd definitely benefit from a one to one session. I just think it would be easier and lenient and you can sort of pick out what you want to study rather than the group"

Interestingly, even one student who attended a Mathematics class of just 6 students felt there should be more individualisation:

> "I know it is really difficult, but there should be more focus on individuals… sometimes if like you're the average in the middle, the teachers are focused on the high achiever and they are focused on the low achievers… if you are getting a B

> instead of an A, I didn't feel like the teachers care as much as someone who was on a D rather than a C, or an A instead of an A*"

Students, although making these suggestions, were aware of the pragmatic barriers to the idea of greater 1:1 time, for example:

> "In school you can't sit down one to one with someone and give infinite resources for a subject you only talked about for half an hour in lesson"

> "I think more one on one for school…even though it is very expensive, [perhaps] reduce classroom sizes…maybe five to one would be nicer, so you could spend more time"

> "I think teachers get it quite hard in terms of you have 12 classes to teach this week – organise 300 lessons – it's ridiculous"

> "One to one learning does have its advantages… it might be useful but it's not very viable…it's still going to take half an hour per pupil and if you've got 30 or 40 pupils that's a lot of time and I don't think schools can really facilitate that"

What students did not suggest was that all lessons were a 1:1 ratio, or that private tuition should replace schooling altogether. Instead more opportunities for 1:1 support should be made available, where possible. Despite most students declaring that the purpose of school is to get the grades to go to university, they imply there are other purposes or roles school has for them:

> "If I didn't go to my Chemistry lesson, if I just had 5 hours a week of a tutor, I think it would have a negative impact socially, because I wouldn't go to school and obviously that's the social aspect of learning"

Moreover, students were keen to acknowledge that staff were giving of their time for one to one support, both during lunchtimes and afterschool, but this was perhaps unfair on either party. For instance:

> "I did actually say to one of my teachers that I don't understand this and I approached him to get some one on one sessions at lunchtime and that did really help"

> "I know many of my teachers do ridiculous amounts of work, it's more [school] making their time freer, as opposed to them making their time freer, like external factors are really the things that are going to help"

> "I think schools are quite good… they offer one to one lunchtime sessions and afterschool, but they don't really do one to one unless you really need it, but I don't think many students would own up to that"

It would be worthy of note that this appreciation of teachers may have been influenced by the fact that the research was conducted within the school I currently teach; participants may have modified their answers in order to promote the staff.

Instead of proposing that teachers engage in one to one lessons, some participants suggested that schools could employ tutors, who would have the sole purpose of supporting students directly. This would also enable teaching staff to monitor the strategies and content that tutors were utilising. A further proposition from another student was for schools to recommend tutors, should they wish to have one. This second idea, however pragmatic, did not necessarily address the concerns relating to paid educational services (Jerrim, 2017).

Further to the concept of individual attention, was the necessity for schools to have more time available for students. This was proposed not only to allow students to ask more questions about topics they do not fully understand, but also to provide opportunities to revisit material. This idea of revision will perhaps be much more of a necessity with the change to linear A-level examinations.

> "Schools should have more time to go through the questions you need to ask"

> "School could probably go back in lessons, go back to things people don't understand, but there's no time for that because there's so much to learn and not much time"

> "I think school teachers could sometimes just ask the class if they understand things a little bit more"

> "I would understand topics that are harder [much] easier, because it's alright spending two lessons going over a topic and then being sent away with homework, but if you still don't understand it at the end of the two lessons, then the homework is not going to help you understand it more….Instead of us having all of the frees and study periods in Sixth Form, maybe have an extra lesson, even if it was as a class"

It appears that students are happy with the education they receive at school, but often feel rushed or unable to access their teachers due to time constraints. Offering greater opportunities for personalised support, or more lesson time, could overcome these issues.

Another popular suggestion was a greater variety of teaching strategies and styles that students experience in private tuition. Interestingly this was not highlighted as a function of private tuition:

> "[it would be] better for some teachers to have different ways of teaching, because everyone learns in a different way…some teachers are so focused on 'this is how I am going to teach you' that it just doesn't work for everyone…school could be a little bit more diverse in the way that it teaches students"

This could be adopted by school CPD programmes, through the promotion of variations in teaching and learning strategies. One A* tutored participant also said:

> "there should be more expansion in small areas… it would be really helpful if they looked at small details and expanded on them a little bit more…you could get the bigger picture and greater understanding of how things link to one another"

This idea may too, relates to the concept of time. Teachers may feel pressurised to ensure that all the content of an examination specification is covered, and as such not have time to revisit key material as a tutor in a 1:1 situation might.

Overall from the qualitative analysis it would be appropriate to propose that students believe schools should offer one to one tuition, but acknowledge that they are unable to do so. Therefore, private tuition provides a service which schools cannot. Private tuition is a separate system to school, with separate purpose and functions. It is, however, true to the term shadow education system, dependent upon mainstream education; without schools it

would not exist. It is important to consider in future research whether private tuition has actual or perceived benefit, to establish if it's existence could create social division between those who can and cannot afford to pay.

14.7 Reflections: Cycle 4

In this cycle I had hoped to ensure that non-tutored participants had the opportunity for their voice to be heard, alongside their tutored contemporaries. There were limitations in asking non-tutored participants what they think happens in private tuition sessions – if this study were to be repeated, maintaining the series of questions relating to function may be questionable. Inference about what "may be", cannot offer as much value as the tutored participants' responses in relation to what actually happens.

The aim of this project was to see whether tuition and classroom based learning are similar or different, to see if the shadow system is or is not inevitable. I do not feel asking non-tutored participants about what happens in tutoring sessions aided this aim. I decided to include this element of the research in the final project, even though it may not have been as beneficial as others, as it is important to learn both as a practitioner and a researcher from less successful outcomes.

Contrasting perceptions to experience was achieved, but the overriding links to private tuition and classroom based learning were not. In contrast I feel that asking the non-tutored participants for reasons why tutors were not employed was productive and gave an interesting perspective of a variety of factors, of which some have not been reported in the established literature. When considering this element, it may have also been beneficial to have asked the tutored participants what barriers they think exist to tuition. This would have then allowed a reciprocal comparison of perceptions and experience, between the two groups.

As a researcher I also feel the desire for standardisation (i.e. using the same questions) limited this cycle. Perhaps there should have been further consideration of the interview schedule to account for the distinctions between the participant groups.

14.8 Conclusions: Cycle 4

In conclusion, the views of non-tutored participants largely aligned with those of their tutored peers. The function of private tuition is believed to be student-led or in some cases collaborative. Strategies were viewed to be the same as those used in school and there was little reference to assessment of learning, unlike tutored participants. The purpose of tuition was largely for the development of understanding, performance and knowledge, but in contrast to tutored participants, also to address issues within school. Barriers to participation were identified as affordability, necessity, accessibility, time and fear.

Overall, the choice to investigate non-tutored participants, over other options, as outlined in Cycle 3, has been a positive one. The data obtained has provided a valid qualitative perspective on the purpose of private tuition and its inevitability. A sample of only ten students will always be limited in terms of generalisability, yet it has been valuable to contrast the views of both tutored and non-tutored participants.

15 Discussion

The overarching aims of this study were to uncover greater information regarding private tuition in England through action research. As a secondary school teacher, this methodology aligned significantly with my own pedagogical approach. It enabled me to conduct the project as both a practitioner and a researcher. I was able to consider the experiences of students within my school in relation to reasons for having tutors, barriers to participation and also the nature of private tutoring lessons. As with all action research studies, the purpose of the project was to consider if and how outcomes for my students could be improved. The potential role of teachers and schools in contributing to the growth of private tutoring, including possible deficits in provision, were also influential on the decisions within this project.

Overall, I feel that the contributions this doctoral project makes to the academic field are threefold; firstly, theoretically: it has explored the understanding and definitions of the shadow education system, both through a literature review and primary data collection. Secondly, empirically: private tuition from the perspectives of both tutored and non-tutored participants has been investigated. Thirdly, methodologically: the reconceptualisation of action research has occurred, with consideration of the role of action and research, as well as the stance of a practitioner and a researcher. Theoretical and empirical contributions relate predominantly to the field of shadow education and as such are discussed under this heading.

What follows in this discussion chapter is a synopsis of the results from the four action research cycles, as well as a reflection upon the relative merits and areas for improvement within each one. A discussion of the contributions this project makes to the methodology of action research is also presented.

15.1 Contributions to the Field of Shadow Education

This project's contributions to the field of shadow education can arguably divided into two sections; theoretical and empirical. Overall the study consisted of four cycles of action research, which cumulatively add to an understanding of the shadow education system in the context of an English post-16 comprehensive setting. The first two cycles relate to the theoretical conceptualisation of private tuition, whereas the latter two empirically explored students' perceptions of what tutoring is and why it is used. To allow the reader a concise

overview of the four cycles, each is reported alongside a summary table. These illustrate the connections between the cycles and provide clarity surrounding the decision making processes involved in this action research enquiry. The term advancements is used to indicate those elements from each cycle which were carried forward to the next.

15.1.1 Cycle 1: Literature Review (Theoretical)

An initial action research cycle involved a comprehensive literature review. It established the theoretical context of the shadow education system, but also identified a suitable gap within the academic field, to which the current project could contribute (see Table 11).

The most significant finding from Cycle 1 was that there exists many forms of private tuition. A lack of clarity and objectivity surrounding the definitions used, has the potential to hinder comparability of research studies (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015). Thus an aim for this cycle was to identify an appropriate definition of private tuition and ensure that this aligned with participants in any future cycles. The definition established was:

> Tuition in academic examination-based subjects that is additional to normative educational provision, is delivered by a paid instructor outside of timetabled school hours, in either a one-to-one or small group setting.

What was also apparent in the literature was that although there is some private tuition research occurring within the UK (Pearce, Power & Taylor, 2018), this is either large scale surveys (Kirby, 2016; Jerrim, 2017) or does not focus on post-16 students (Hajar, 2018). This is despite evidence that this demographic is a key consumer of tuition (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). Therefore from Cycle 1, I deemed it appropriate to design proceeding cycles to utilise post-16 students to initially identify their definitions of private tuition, but to also understand what happens in tutoring sessions and why tutors are sought.

Although I initiated this project due to an observation of post-16 students within my school, it is important to note, that had such a gap in the literature not arisen, other participant samples would have to have been considered.

The successes of Cycle 1 were that my aims were achieved; an analysis of the available research was thorough, including the identification of five possible influences on tutoring within England. Engagement not only with the content of private tuition studies, but also the

Overview	Cycle 1
Aims	Develop research questions suitable for practitioner enquiry Comprehensive overview of established literature Definitions of private tuition
Outcomes	Research question – UK; post-16; qualitative Literature – global, predominantly Asia Definition – academic examination-based subjects; additional; paid instructor; outside school hours; one-to-one or small group
Limitations	Ambiguity of private tuition terminology Minimal UK and post-16 literature Updates to literature after Cycle 2 commences
Advancements	Qualitative study Validation of private tuition definition UK (England), post-16 students

Table 11: Cycle 1 Summary

methodological strategies used, enabled me to balance both pragmatic decisions relating to the design of the project, with my understanding of the shadow education system.

Limitations of the cycle related to the availability and applicability of sources; shadow education is growing in prevalence within England, yet the data available currently is limited. The majority of studies that relate to private tuition stem from Asia (Bray, 2017). Whilst the findings have had importance for this project, factors such as cultural expectations, school programmes and examination systems have often made the data lack applicability for an English context. Furthermore, it is necessary to note that this thesis was conducted on a part time basis, and as such took six years to complete. Maintaining a consistent overview of forthcoming literature throughout this extended period of time meant that this cycle was adjusted and adapted to ensure breadth and depth for this final report, which is not typical of action research cycles. Cycle 2 was, however not impacted by the modification process. The emerging UK scholastic field (e.g. Hajar, 2018; Jerrim, 2017; Pearce, Power & Taylor, 2018) had varying aims in relation to the study of private tuition. Therefore decisions relating to Cycle 1 remained appropriate.

15.1.2 Cycle 2: Establishing Definitions (Theoretical)

The results of Cycle 1 affected my choices within Cycle 2 to implement a diamond ranking technique to uncover student definitions of private tutoring. I sought to avoid a traditional questionnaire in the hope of eliciting greater discussion from my participants (Woolner et al., 2010). Through using the diamond ranking, I was able to use terminology uncovered within the Cycle 1 literature review and also create a standardised procedure suitable for replication with the ten participants. Students ranked nine selected cards and were then asked to explain the decisions made in relation to their selections and orders.

Overall, the definition developed from this process was:

> One to one, face to face, paid instruction, delivered by a qualified instructor, outside of a school context covering academic subject matter, supplementary to that delivered in everyday school lessons.

When comparing the definitions from my literature review to that of my students, it was clear that there was significant similarity between the two. There were however, three aspects which I felt were important to note. Students required their tuition to be face to face, rather than online; they placed weight on instructors having known qualifications and they also prioritised one to one support over the possibility of small group instruction. The differences related to students as consumers, seeking value for money (Bray, 2017). Private tuition is a growing phenomenon in the UK (Jerrim, 2017), but as this cycle considered the views of post-16 students (rather than parental expectation) it offers an alternative insight into the tutoring market. Students decided to have a tutor, but the expectations they hold are incredibly high (Smyth, 2009); this suggests that they are unwilling to invest financially (whether it is their own or their parents' money) if they do not believe the service they will receive is of the best quality (See Table 12).

In relation to the research method used, engagement from participants was positive, with some suggesting that the use of an activity also found in their school lessons made the participation in an academic study much more accessible and less daunting. The opportunity sample of ten volunteers, although suitable for a qualitative study, may be considered too small for generalisation, by researchers holding a positivist stance. However, generalisation on a theoretical scale is possible (Larsson, 2009). The findings presented are a valid example of students' definitions of tutoring, and as such could be utilised in other research contexts. This idea is explored further within the Discussion chapter.

Overview	Cycle 2
Aims	Qualitative study – visual methods (elicit discussion) Validation of private tuition definition UK (England), post-16 students
Outcomes	Definition – one-to-one; supplementary; face to face; qualified instructor; academic examination-based subjects; outside school hours; paid Contrasts with Cycle 1 – face to face; qualified; not small groups Students as consumers Deficit in normative provision not found
Limitations	Small sample size – 10 participants Inclusion criteria only Predetermined statements
Advancements	Tutored UK post-16 students Comparison of classroom based learning and private tuition Functions of tutoring Purpose of tutoring

Table 12: Cycle 2 Summary

Although the 18 cards were generated from the academic studies discussed in Cycle 1, I feel that perhaps the inclusion of several blank cards may have been appropriate for future studies. This would have allowed students greater freedom and could have alleviated pressure to select the specified number of cards, especially if they were not deemed appropriate. Moreover, students only described those cards included in their diamonds, whereas additional conversations could have materialised from considering those excluded. The use of both qualitative and quantitative analysis I believe contributed to a holistic understanding of student perceptions of private tuition; indeed the responses of the participants influenced the decision to study purpose and function of tutoring further, as reasons for having tutors began to emerge as definitions were discussed.

15.1.3 Cycle 3: Tutored Participants (Empirical)

In Cycle 3, a semi-structured interview was used to further consider the function and purpose of tutoring. Ten participants, who had all had a tutor at some stage in their post-16 studies were interviewed one to one. Although some questions were prepared, the schedule was used for guidance rather than direction; this ensured that where students provided answers of interest there was flexibility to investigate further (Wilson, 2017). This method allowed a reciprocal conversation to develop (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2006) - as the participants had not engaged in formal academic research before, opportunities for questions to be asked *to* the researcher, not just *from* the researcher were available (Warwick & Chaplain, 2013). Issues relating to replicability which may arise with semi-structured interviews were acknowledged, but as the project was constructivist - seeking personalised accounts of student experiences - greater value was placed on ensuring depth of responses and internal validity, through methods such as validation of transcripts (See Table 13).

Results relating to function, which was defined as 'what happens in private tutoring?' showed little difference between what happens in school and what happens during tuition. Although tutored students had greater autonomy in relation to choice of topics to study, there were minimal contrasts in the way in which the sessions and subject were delivered. Due to this I felt it was of importance to consider why tutors are sought. If there is no difference relating to activities, why do students and their parents invest significantly in it? (Ireson & Rushforth, 2014).

Bray and Kobakhidze (2015) suggested that tutors provided materials of greater value and teaching staff relied heavily on textbooks, yet this was not found within this context. What emerged from further discussion relating to function was that new material was rarely introduced by the tutors. Students sought further explanations of what they had learnt at school, supporting the idea of tuition being the shadow of mainstream provision (Bray & Kwo, 2013).

However, there were three major differences highlighted between tuition and school, all of which related directly to time. Students stated that what happened in their tutoring sessions, was that there was more time for personalised learning, asking questions and covering topics in detail. This may indicate, as implied by Popa and Acedo (2006) that there is a deficit within school provision. As a practitioner, this finding is particularly pertinent, as it

implies that the teaching, and consequently the learning occurring within school is not enough for some students - leading me to question whether this is a view held by all pupils and whether those with tutors are accessing an unfair advantage? Students, although keen to acknowledge the differences between classroom based learning and private tuition, also referred to the barriers faced within school that prevent assimilation of the two education systems, for example class size prevents individualised provision.

When discussing the purpose of tuition, participants considered improvement in performance as the most significant factor. Although findings in the literature are mixed, there is a substantial societal belief that one to one interventions are the most beneficial strategy in increasing academic attainment (Jerrim, 2017). Students also highlighted that initially they held unrealistic expectations of tutoring; presuming that it would necessitate achieving the very top grades. Yet, once tuition had commenced, they noted that this perception changed. Confidence and motivation were also themes that arose, mirroring Mischo and Haag (2002) and Zhan and colleagues (2013), who found that tutor-student relationships can have benefits beyond academic outcomes.

Unlike function, tutored participants (9/10) felt that the purpose of the two education systems were distinct from one another – with school providing the foundations, upon which tuition builds. This therefore led me to question school provision; if students feel it necessary to have supplementary support – what then happens to those students who cannot afford it or access it? Are the perceptions of school being deficient held by those without tutors? Do they wish to have a tutor but cannot access one? These questions and others enabled me to refine my final cycle to the study of non-tutored participants; to make contrasts and comparisons of their views to that of the tutored group.

What was particularly notable in Cycle 3 was the blurred boundaries between participants' comprehension of function and purpose. Initially I felt that the two concepts were distinctive enough to warrant separate consideration, however, the following example illustrates the blurring of the connotations by the student participants:

> What happens in your tutoring sessions? "We spend more time on material"
> Why do you have a tutor? "To spend more time on material"

This suggests the use of these terms in further research needs greater reflection, and also that vocabulary can have a true impact upon outcomes of studies.

Overview	Cycle 3
Aims	Qualitative study – comparisons between private tuition and school
	Functions of private tuition
	Purpose of private tuition
	UK (England), post-16 students
Outcomes	Definition
	Consistent with Cycles 1& 2
	Function
	Topic selection
	Content delivery
	Assessment
	Similarities
	Delivery of material
	Assessment
	Differences
	Topic selection
	Time – Personalised learning, questioning, detail
	Purpose
	Improve performance
	Improve understanding
	Improve confidence
	Similarities
	Content covered
	Differences
	Develop understanding
	Improve confidence
	Extend learning
	Deficit in normative provision not found
Limitations	Small sample size – 10 participants
	Semi-structured interview – replicability
	Practitioner-research – ethics/pragmatics
	Distinction between function and purpose terminology
Advancements	Non-tutored UK post-16 students
	Comparison of classroom based learning and private tuition
	Functions of tutoring
	Purpose of tutoring

Table 13: Cycle 3 Summary

Within Cycle 3, the sample size remained at ten. It used the same tutored participants as Cycle 2. This was due to the limited population from which to draw the sample; there were only a select number of students with tutors at the school. Additionally, a limitation lies in the interview process. Although a schedule guided questioning, answers of interest were

followed up with additional enquiries. This therefore impacts the proposed standardisation and reliability of the method. However, as previously discussed, validity was seen as a precedent to replication.

When considering the practitioner research aspect of this cycle, issues regarding pragmatics must be considered. There were conflicts between my two roles, particularly in regards to the ability to code transcripts in a timely manner and ethical dilemmas relating to the balance of power.

To address the former, a deadline of one week for transcription was set to allow some flexibility for both the participant and me as the researcher. My everyday role as a teacher had to be prioritised on several occasions, so this adaptation help to accommodate this. For the latter, a full introduction to the interview process was included in the methods. An outline of the procedure was explained and additional points of contact identified for students. Confidentiality during and after data collection was maintained by anonymising participant details through numerical assignment. Students were also reassured that any identifying elements of content, be that teacher names or subjects, would be removed.

15.1.4 Cycle 4: Non-Tutored Participants (Empirical)

In the final action research cycle, non-tutored participants were recruited in order to uncover their perceptions of private tutoring. Did they view private tuition and classroom-based learning as serving the same function? Do they expect tutors to deliver sessions differently to teachers? Why do students have tutors? Why do not all students have tutors? To make comparisons between tutored participants and non-tutored participants, I opted to maintain the same style of questioning, including definitions, function and purpose (See Table 14).

The definitions presented contained the same ideas as uncovered in previous cycles, however there was stronger emphasis on payment and time, which could have been indicative of barriers to participation. Function of private tuition was viewed in the same manner as the tutored participants, with a belief that activities are student led (with some tutor input) and used the same assessments and teaching methods. A key difference between private tuition and classroom based learning was that school is where the initial learning takes place, but tutoring is used for consolidation and personalisation, linking to the views of the tutored participants. Moreover, non-tutored participants identified reciprocal relationships as a feature of tutoring, but not of school. Despite these finding, the data

Overview	Cycle 4
Aims	Qualitative study – comparisons between tutored and non-tutored Functions of private tuition Purpose of private tuition (including reasons for not having a tutor) UK (England), post-16 students
Outcomes	Definition Consistent with Cycles 1-3. Payment and time more prominent features Function Topic selection – student led learning Content delivery Assessment Similar findings to tutored participants Similarities Delivery of material Assessment Differences School – initial learning Tuition – consolidation, individualised, reciprocal Purpose Improve performance Improve understanding Improve confidence Lack of confidence in teaching staff Similarities Best educational outcomes Differences Targeted support Improve confidence Reason for not having tutors Affordability Necessity Accessibility Time Fear
Limitations	Small sample size – 10 participants Semi-structured interview – replicability Practitioner-research – ethics/pragmatics Distinction between function and purpose terminology Speculation
Advancements	Identification of changes for schools Addressing barriers to access Regulation of private tuition

Table 14: Cycle 4 Summary

relating to function I felt was not as successful as I had envisioned. By asking non-tutored participants what they thought happens in tuition, speculation would have been involved. Although it was interesting to note that perceptions matched tutored participants descriptions of their experiences, the value of this information is somewhat limited. It may

perhaps indicate that non-tutored participants have a rational comprehension of tutoring and what to expect if they did have a tutor, but the value in the answers provided is limited in comparison to the data obtained within other aspects of the interview.

Similarly to the tutored participants, the purpose of tuition was identified as being to improve understanding, performance and confidence. However, non-tutored participants also attributed a lack of confidence in teaching staff as a reason for tutors being employed. Throughout the varying cycles of this project deficiencies in schools have not appeared – it is therefore interesting to consider that this issue was raised by students without tutors. Could it be indicative of their concerns about schooling? If so, are they at a disadvantage by not having tutors?

Obtaining the best educational outcomes was identified as a similarity between the purposes of the two systems; school and tutoring, and the differences presented were the same as tutored participants. Tuition provides the opportunities for targeted support and development of student confidence. However, the most valuable data, which I believe was gathered from this cycle were the five reasons why tutors were not employed. Barriers identified in the established literature were found– necessity, time and accessibility (Jerrim, 2017), as well as novel concepts of time and fear; some students felt that the prospect of one to one support would be daunting. Also in comparison to other cultures there was a strong belief that there would not be sufficient time to have a tutor when considering other commitments students had (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). Through identifying these barriers from this research, reflections upon my own practice and that of my colleagues can occur.

15.2 Overall Shadow Education Results Summary

Reflecting upon the action research cycles and their findings, there was success in obtaining the views of my students in relation to shadow education. Table 15 is an overview of the results from the project categorised under the topic areas, to indicate the doctoral contributions this study has made to the academic field of shadow education.

Topic Area	Findings
Definitions	Definitions of private tuition align with current literature Face to face, qualifications and one to one were key
Function (What)	Student-led learning Activities and assessments reflect school provision Greater time available - Individualised instruction; questions; depth
Purpose (Why)	Performance Understanding Confidence (Teaching quality*)
Barriers*	Affordability Necessity Accessibility Time Fear
* non-tutored participants	

Table 15: Overall Results Summary

15.3 Conclusions: Theoretical and Empirical Contributions

This thesis explored the views of tutored and non-tutored participants regarding private tuition, through an action research enquiry. Overall, it is clear that students believe that private tuition is a shadow of mainstream provision. As Bray (1999, p.17) states

> "private supplementary tuition only exists because mainstream education exists"

Students utilise tutors in addition to their learning in school; key concepts are taught by teachers and tutors are used in order to clarify or consolidate this previous learning. Private tuition is not seen as a replacement of mainstream school, but something additional, called upon to help improve performance, where necessary.

15.3.1 Nature of Tuition

The use of private tuition at key points in educational transition was highlighted by Ireson and Rushforth (2011, 2014) and was reiterated in this study. Post-16 students repeatedly referred to passing external A-level examinations in order to access university, in their reasons for having tuition. Private tutors do not appear to be used throughout students' studies, but rather as an intensive intervention in preparation for examinations. In line with previous research (Ireson & Rushforth, 2014), improvement in performance was the overriding purpose of tuition, with additional reasons such as increasing confidence and understanding also linking to this concept (Barrow & Lochan, 2012; Popa & Acedo, 2006; Zhan et al., 2013).

15.3.2 Definitions of Tuition

Throughout Cycle 1 (literature review), a key aim was to establish a definition of private tuition to ensure the validity of this project. From the data gathered in all the latter cycles it is clear that students' perceptions of private tuition align with the established literature (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). It is personalised, supplementary support beyond that offered at school, for academic subjects. However, unlike the findings of other studies there was greater emphasis by tutored participants on the need for face to face interactions, for tutors to be qualified and a rejection of small group activities (Silova, Budiene & Bray, 2006). Additionally non-tutored participants stressed payment as a key feature of tuition (Bray & Kwok, 2003).

Both groups discussed location, with either the student's or the tutor's home being used, rather than a tuition centre (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014; Liu, 2012; Ventura & Jang, 2010). These subtle but important difference perhaps indicate the expectations of post-16 English students; a cost-benefit analysis appears to take place. The undivided attention of someone with appropriate levels of qualifications, is sought by pupils if there is to be considerable financial investment (Bray & Kwo, 2014).

Students appear to be using their rights as a consumer (Smyth, 2008). If the shadow education system continues to grow in the UK (Jerrim, 2017) and if it becomes more of a societal norm, (as in other countries; Bray & Silova, 2006) then perhaps changes will emerge in what is reasonably expected of tutors. Should tutoring become more prevalent, there may be an increased demand for tutors and the possibility of each being qualified may decrease? Alternatively if the market of tutors requires qualifications, there may have to be

a greater acceptance of small groups of students being tutored together to cope with demand, rather than students' preference for one to one.

15.3.3 Function and Purpose of Tuition

Consideration of what happens in tutoring sessions was important, as if it was fundamentally different to that of the classroom, perhaps teaching strategies would require change. The function of private tuition, which was defined as 'what occurs in tutoring sessions', did not appear to differ dramatically from classroom based learning; students complete similar exercises to those they do with their teachers and are assessed in the same ways.

Students do not appear to want something different, but rather want more of the education available to them at school. Popa and Acedo (2006) and Bray and Kwo (2013) suggested that issues with mainstream provision contributes to the prevalence of private tutoring, yet within the findings relating to function this does not appear to be the case. Students did not identify a separate function of private tuition indicative of gaps in curriculum or issues with teaching strategies, as had been identified within other countries (Jayachandran, 2014). This may suggest that teaching standards and strategies are not contributing to the growth of the shadow education system in England.

These findings have implications. Firstly, it may act somewhat as a reassurance that this sample of students (as the limits to generalisability must not be overlooked) did not use tutors as they felt the education received in school was insufficient in relation to information or activities; tutorial lessons replicated classroom based learning. Indeed, the sample of non-tutored participants did highlight necessity was a key concept which stopped them seeking private tuition; they did not feel that tutoring was required, in turn implying that what is available at school is enough. This result also aligns with the findings relating to purpose – tutored students did not propose teaching quality as a reason for tutors. Kirby (2016) found that one fifth of students sought a tutor due to poor quality instruction, suggesting the functionality of tutoring may need to be considered further and that these results provide a contrasting perspective.

Whilst the student, rather than the tutor chose the topics to be studied, this does not seem surprising. As a consumer, the student or their parents, are paying for the tutor's services, thus the student's direction of the course to their specific needs seems appropriate

(Shernoff, Csikszentmihalyi, Schneider & Shernoff, 2014; Smyth, 2008). Increasingly students, particularly post-16 cohorts looking at higher education are required to invest more and more financially, thus somewhat inevitably they are going to exert greater demands or criteria to obtain value for money (Molesworth, Scullion, & Nixon, 2010). Students directing their studies may not be indicative of issues within mainstream practice, but rather a necessary prerequisite of tuition. To integrate this level of autonomy within main school provision would be problematic, simply due to the nature of class sizes and specification requirements, as acknowledged by a participant:

> "I think so teachers could be more one to one and I know that's hard like in terms of a class of however many people. You can't spend an hour with each student individually"

Yet, perhaps a greater awareness of the students' individual voices needs to be considered within school provision (Higham & Yeomans, 2007; Shernoff et al., 2014). Looking at higher education examples may help to address this issue, whilst also further equipping post-16 students with transferrable skills (see later section: Schools). The participants in the study, however suggest far more simplistic strategies which could be used:

> "…there could be more of teachers walking around checking you understand, speaking to you individually [asking] 'do you get this?'…I can say no whilst everyone else is working"

Reflection on teaching practices is needed, when fundamentals such as talking one to one with students does not necessarily feature. Moreover, the implications relating to time need attention. Private tuition offers students the opportunity to address their specific study concerns. Thus, although tutors may use the same techniques as teacher contemporaries, the value of them is reduced due to time pressures. For example, if students believe that there is not enough time to ask questions, experience personalised learning or if teachers are not providing sufficient detail, then are those students without tutors at a disadvantage? What is more, Foorman and Torgesen's (2001) research emphasised that private tuition does more than provide additional time for the study of a subject; it allows a child to both "emotionally and cognitively" (p.209) develop due to greater opportunities for reciprocal feedback and structured support. Thus this must also influence teaching practice.

Teachers highlight time pressures placed upon themselves and the delivery of the curriculum (Davies & Hughes, 2018), but this should not hinder the ability to personalise learning. The Teacher Standards (DfE, 2011, p.1), which define the expectations of teachers practising in England, state that teachers must:

> "impart knowledge and develop understanding through effective use of lesson time"
>
> "…have a secure understanding of how a range of factors can inhibit pupils' ability to learn, and how best to overcome these"

Students are seeking additional support from tutors to develop their understanding and time is a factor inhibiting the ability to learn. Therefore it is questionable, whether these standards are being upheld to an acceptable level, based upon the analysis conducted. There exists a level of responsibility on behalf of the teacher, school and the government to address the issues raised by participants. The nature of this project as an action research enquiry, necessitates actions be developed from research. Consequently proposed latterly in this chapter are the actions, which could be implemented on four levels of educational hierarchy.

What is clear from this project is that tuition is not, as found in other countries (Wolf, 2002), likely to challenge mainstream schooling. It remains definitively as a shadow system. Students talked directly about gaining the foundational knowledge from school and then using their tuition sessions in order to develop and consolidate their understanding. Interestingly students placed greater emphasis on tutoring supplementing their learning rather than acting in a remedial fashion; the tutored students were not at risk of failing subjects, but used their tutors to help guide them towards higher grades. Significant emphasis has been placed on purpose of tuition within the academic field, with minimal consideration of the processes in tutoring (Ireson, 2004). The data collected from this report helps to build a greater picture of the many facets of the shadow education system (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011).

15.3.4 Actions

The main reason why action research was selected as the over-riding methodology for this thesis was to ensure that any research findings could be translated into actions, which would have a positive impact upon my students. These are discussed below and displayed in Table 16.

Stakeholder			
Teacher	School	Government	International Legislation
Timing of support sessions so all student can access Opportunities for personalised learning Assessment for Learning Approachable persona Self-reflection on teaching Embedding effective teaching and learning strategies	Review of teacher timetables Post-16 teaching structure e.g. lectures & tutorials Supporting disadvantaged students in accessing PT Rigorous quality assurance of teaching standards Promoting research led teaching and learning strategies Student voice	Regulation of private tutors Funded research into advantages/ disadvantages of PT Curriculum reviews – quantity vs quality Teacher training – expectations of teachers and upholding standards Funded private tuition schemes – extended into post-16 education	Right to an education OR Right to a high quality education? Funded research into advantages/ disadvantages of PT

Table 16: Strategies to address issues raised by participants

15.3.4.1 Teachers

Firstly it is important to consider the pragmatic strategies, which I as a teacher of post-16 students may implement. Change *could* occur at school, government level or international level, but change to my own practice can be *guaranteed*.

It appears as those simple ideas such as careful consideration of the timings of support sessions could be beneficial; instead of offering additional guidance after school, when students may have part time jobs or other commitments (as identified by non-tutored participants), lunchtimes could be used (Hall, 2010; Payne, 2003b). Students will already be on site, so accessibility is not an issue and times can also be addressed as all students are free during the lunch hour. Perhaps there needs to be greater advertisement of the opportunities available to students, so that they are aware that if needed, one to one support can be given.

Additionally, in regards to opportunities for personalised learning using "on task" time, (when students are working independently), to engage individuals in conversation to ascertain specific need should be used more often (Brookfield, 2015). An emphasis upon tailored feedback during key assessments could also be prioritised, rather than the use of comment banks or generic group commentaries, as suggested by the findings of the Education Endowment Foundation (Higgins et al., 2016). Assessment for learning is also valuable in ensuring students feel that their understanding, performance and thus confidence is developing. The positive impacts of assessment for learning are well documented in the literature (Wiliam, 2011; Wiliam, Lee, Harrison & Black, 2004; Wiliam & Thompson, 2007). Consideration of teaching and learning strategies, founded upon evidence, must be utilised to support student outcomes. However, as participants primarily did not seek novel strategies, perhaps this is indicative of this being less of a priority.

Persona of teaching staff must not be over looked. Coe and colleagues (2014) indicate that key characteristics of teaching staff may impact outcomes. One tutored participant stated she was unable to address her teachers for support. Therefore staff must ensure that their students feel able to confidently seek them out, should additional instruction be required. Staff not only reflecting upon their approachability, but allocation of timings to discuss key concepts would appear to be beneficial for students.

15.3.4.2 Schools

Beyond the role of the teacher, some accountability for the issues raised by the students in this project, must lie with schools. Senior leaders may or may not have the capacity to reduce school timetables and class sizes, but the introduction of designated academic tutorial sessions could help both staff and students to develop individualised support (Gammon & Morgan-Samuel, 2005).

Moreover, if one to one tuition is proven scientifically to have an impact (EEF, 2018), perhaps schools should consider their disadvantaged students and ensure that they too can access private tuition without financial barriers? Schools could recruit tutors or voucher schemes, as proposed by the Sutton Trust, could be made available (Jerrim, 2017). Both strategies, clearly have financial implications, which is why these ideas may need to be a national idea rather than specific to each school. Should school funding be used to make this service available to all students, regardless of parental income? Is it appropriate to reallocate funding assigned to Disadvantaged Students (formerly Pupil Premium) to assist

with cost of private tuition? Perhaps collectively there needs to be greater support available for post-16 students, to supplement what is taught in lessons? If staff modified their practice to emulate tuition, would we be effectively preparing students for university studies?

In line with the challenges of timetabling and student numbers, perhaps adopting a university style system of lectures, seminars and tutorials to cater for the needs of all? Universities successfully balance large numbers of enrolled students through the use of lectures, with supplementary tutorials and seminars (Neumann, 2001). Whilst a school must ensure a curriculum is delivered in its entirety, the option of students being able to direct the course of study within a specific tutorial, could be beneficial (Golightly, 2016; Porter & Bartholomew, 2016). This idea is made more pragmatic, when considering that post-16 students' next steps may be to attend university. At undergraduate level do lecturers really provide more than foundational concepts – should our 16, 17 and 18 year old students be being trained for this? Or are school finances leading to increased class sizes that are at detriment to the progress of students?

Student voice and the contribution it can make to understanding not only private tuition, but also other educational concerns of post-16 students should be given additional emphasis (Ecclestone, 2005). The results of this project show the depth of thought students give to their studies, so it is valuable that not only researchers, but teachers continue to take their views into account.

Another aspect relating to the issue of time, which schools may wish to address falls within the remit of quality assurance. As a Head of Department I conduct an annual analysis of the examination performance of all students studying either Psychology or Sociology. This report in turn informs annual reviews and actions plans for the teaching team and whole school development plans. With the growing number of students employing private tutors several questions continue to arise, which have yet to be answered within this project: Should I be assessing whether or not students have had tutors? Is this information pertinent when assessing examination results? Have students who have had additional tutoring performed better than students who did not? Should this be accounted for when calculating Value Added scores? If a student seeks tutors because the teaching is not of a sufficient standard, as implied by the non-tutored participants, should this inform Performance Management of staff? Should schools be reducing class sizes or offering one to one mentoring, if students are seeking individual support? Does a tutor provide students

something, other than time, which a classroom teacher cannot? Is there are different relationship between students and teachers, and students and tutors?

There exists no easy answer to these questions for schools and there remains many strands of research within this project that are due necessary reflection and consideration in the future. Some of the proposals listed go beyond the decisions available to schools to make, and in turn rely on national or international legislation.

15.3.4.3 Government and International Legislation

One element which governments may have influence is upon the nature of curricula and examination specifications (Bray, 2011). As students indicated that time was the clear difference between tutoring and classroom based learning, perhaps curriculum reviews could assess the quantity of material required to be delivered by teachers? By reducing or condensing the amount of topics or length of subjects, without having an impact upon standards, perhaps teachers would be afforded with greater opportunities to offer one to one guidance, which students in this project sought? This is a complex matter as many facets contribute to the design of qualifications and curriculum. If the shadow system continues to grow, and financial barriers cannot be overcome, this may be worthy of note (Aurini, Davies, & Dierkes, 2013).

Governmental guidance on teacher training may also need some reflection. It was concerning to identify that at least one participant in the study felt unable to approach staff for help, and another indicated that teachers did not communicate one to one with students. Therefore the expectations of teachers and upholding of standards, as referred to earlier seem to be failing. Perhaps these elements of the teachers' standards should have greater emphasis during school inspections etc., particularly if students feel the need to supplement their own learning with use of a tutor.

A proposal to address private tuition is the regulation of services (Bray & Kwo, 2013; Zhang & Bray, 2018). This does not tackle the underlying problems identified by participants, (such as time available within school for personalised learning), but may ensure that private tutors are subjected to expectations of service or basic disclosure and barring standards.

Additionally, with improved regulation of private tuition services, (in the UK this currently does not occur; Kirby, 2016), taxation of services could occur. This could be used to support

the identified issues in teaching provision, although feasibly this may be difficult. Alternatively, access to private tuition for lower socio-economic students could be supported. This particularly pertinent in light of the most significant barrier to participation raised by the non-tutored participants being affordability. Kirby (2016, p.4) proposes three strategies which could be used in support of this:

> "Means tested vouchers: State tuition programmes and best practice guidance for tuition service"

State tuition has already been trialled, such as "Making Good Progress" pilot, where disadvantaged students in Key Stage 2 & 3, were offered tutoring to raise attainment in Mathematics and English (Brown, Ireson, Shepherd, Bassett, & Rushforth, 2010). The study found positive effects for student attainment, but participants also reported (through a questionnaire) improvements in their motivation, confidence and lesson participation. The use of such strategies with post-16 students could help to address potential disparities between socio-economic groups.

Similarly, the Australian government also used two different voucher schemes, to enable students with low prior attainment to access tutors (Doherty & Dooley, 2018; Kirby, 2016), and found positive effects (Axford, 2007; Bishop, 2007; Watson, 2008). Both of these examples highlight the increasing awareness of divides the shadow education system may create, but also support the need for ways in which participation can be accessible to all.

As alluded to in the earlier stages of this thesis, the field of shadow education is growing rapidly, and so too are the numbers researchers actively investigating it (Bray, 2003). There is an argument that further research could be supported by governments or international organisations, to develop a clearer understanding of its implications for all involved (Bray, 2017), particularly post-16 students.

Finally, this project may continue to question the basic rights extended to world citizens, as proposed by Bray and Kwo (2013). The UN (1959) stated that the right to an education must be free, yet this is not occurring with the growth of private tuition. Although some non-tutored participants stated that they simply did not have tutors as there was no need, there were some who indicated that the financial aspect of tutoring limited their options. If tutoring is found to have a beneficial impact on educational outcomes, then the right to education no longer remains free nor equal (Bray, 2011).

15.3.5 Reasons for the Growth of Private Tuition in England

In Cycle 1, five contributing factors were proposed for the growth of the shadow education system in England. I felt it necessary at the conclusion of this project to assess the extent to which my propositions were correct.

Of the five (politics, parenting styles, university tuition fees, school leavers' age and examination systems) only two were referred to within the data collected; university fees and examination systems. There was no indication that students sought private tuition due to parental influence, as has been found by Foster and Higson (2008), Haywood and Scullion (2017) and Tsiplakides (2018). One participant discussed his parents in relation to deciding to have a tutor, but placed emphasis himself as the decision maker:

> "I thought well, I just need one that's that so I spoke to my parents and got one"

The same student further referred to his parents when discussing the cost of tuition:

> "I couldn't expect my parents to pay hundreds of pounds per week on top of all the other things they already pay for"

But again this does not imply that parents influenced decisions relating to tuition. Rushforth and Ireson (2009) note the varying influence of parents throughout the three transition points in English education, with younger students experiencing higher levels of guidance from family members. The use of post-16 students, who may make more autonomous decisions could account for this. However, the increasing presence of parental influence in higher education suggests that this finding may change over time (Haywood & Scullion, 2017) and is an aspect of the shadow education system which could be researched further.

Another idea proposed for the prevalence in private tuition in England was an increase in the school leavers' age from 16 to 18 years (Parliament, 2008). An assumption was made that students who may have traditionally left school at 16 years, were faced with academic studies unsuited to their attainment and as such sought private tuition as a remedial measure (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). Although there was reference to students seeking tutors to improve their grades, they did not imply that this was due to failing a subject; indeed most students made reference to their decisions to attend university after A-levels, somewhat contradicting the presumptions made relating to school leavers age.

One student did, however, make reference to school leavers' age in his interview. When discussing how to address issues within school such as lack of time, he stated:

> "Policies in place, like raising the participation age of schools means we need to get more people qualified in teaching… more teachers…more one to one sessions with students… then we have more time. More teachers…less classes…more chance to go through one on one with each student"

Instead of seeing the rise in participation age as causing a problem for students' unable to access further education, he implies the school leavers' age has left schools with a deficit in staff and time due to increased student numbers. Thus teachers with more students, have less time available to support one to one and as such students seek tutors to address this concern (see Figure 20). These findings may suggest that the proposal to interview teaching staff in relation to private tuition, made during Cycle 3, would be worthy of consideration for additional action research cycles. Understanding the real term changes to practice, following an increase in school leavers age, may help with further comprehension of how the change in government policy has influenced the shadow education system in England.

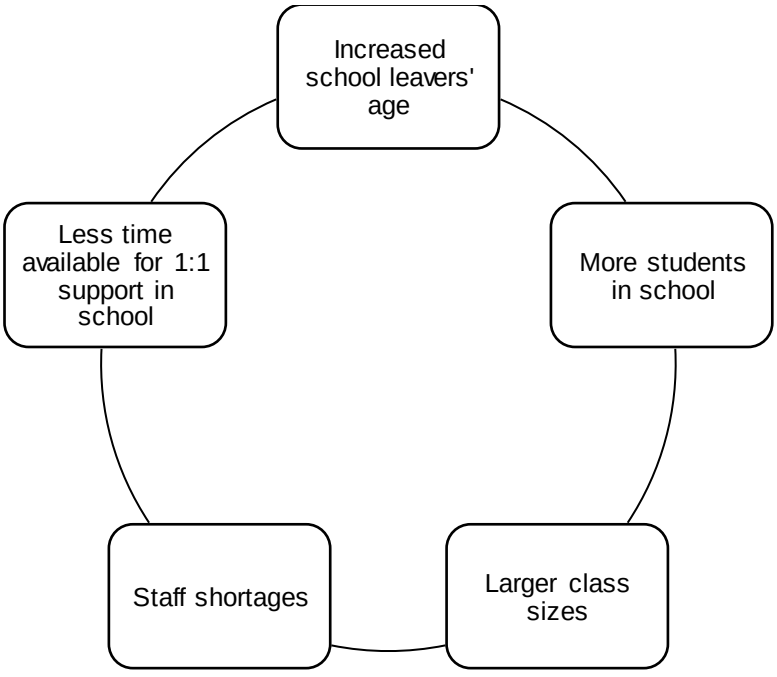


Figure 20: Influence of school leavers' age on private tuition

A further proposition for why student have tutors was political influence upon education, including privatisation and increased rights of parents as consumers (Whitty, 2008). This

was not referred to by students in their interviews, however this may have been a topic difficult for student to discuss explicitly.

Within the results from tutored participants there were no implications that schooling was not sufficient or that private tuition offered higher quality provision. Students were overall pleased with the education received, but sought tutors for more time for individualised learning opportunities, thus implying divisions between private and mainstream schools was not a factor in their decision making. It is important to note that the non-tutored participants in this study did however, imply that teacher quality may be a reason for seeking tutors. Yet, as the specific political policies (such as the increased school leavers' age) may have had an impact on teaching and staff, this could consequently have had implications on the rise of private tuition.

Moreover, the comparisons between state and private schooling may not have arisen as all participants in this study had been at the school since Year 7. Perhaps in a younger cohort, where decisions relating to secondary school choices are relevant, this influence may be greater; students may have tutors to pass 11+ examinations (a grammar school still operates within the locality where this study took place) or to gain access to private schools.

The two factors identified in Cycle 1, which did appear in the data related to university fees and examination systems, with the most prominent being the latter. Students within this study will have taken examinations at age 11 and 16 and were in the process of completing A-levels. Whilst the necessity of testing for "ascertaining achievement, accountability and quality assurance" (Parliament: House of Commons, 2008, p.17) is widely supported, (see Cycle 1), there is a worry that:

> "if the system is geared to constantly monitoring progress... it is hardly surprising that the focus is one ensuring students produce the best results" (p.44).

This was found within the study. Students repeatedly referred to monitoring of their progress and their results in examinations. The examination process has had an impact on private tuition, with the main purpose of tutoring being to improve performance. Where confidence and understanding were also referred to, it was implied that through improving these two aspects, one could in turn change academic outcomes too. In previous research, Ireson and Rushforth (2011) suggest that A-levels are viewed as "the gateway to higher education and future careers" (p.28), thus students seek the best possible results by employing tutors.

Whilst the benefits of private tuition were not directly researched in this study, literature surrounding the positive impact of one to one support is well established, with the Education Endowment Foundation (2018) suggesting it can provide up to five months of progress in some cases (p.1), albeit in studies relating to 5-16 year olds. Questions which arise from this aspect of the findings relate to whether or not students are seeking tutors are more or less metacognitively aware. Metacognitive awareness has repeatedly been correlated in the literature to successful educational outcomes (Broadbent & Poon, 2015; Dent & Koenka, 2016; Smith, Black & Hooper, 2017). Are students who seek tutors clearer in their educational outcomes? Do they possess greater levels of metacognition, as they seek the support of other to address their self-identified areas of weakness? Are they, as the House of Commons publication states "taking responsibility for their own learning"? (Parliament: House of Commons, 2008, p.53) Does private tuition enable students to develop their metacognition, if there is a necessity to direct their own learning, as found in relation to function of tuition? Or alternatively, are they demonstrating less autonomy and self-direction by employing a tutor to guide them in their studies?

It may be argued that the reliance upon an external locus of control (the tutor) to help, indicates lower levels of metacognition (Arslan & Akin, 2014). Although they may be selecting topics to study, they are not demonstrating autonomy or self-regulation by learning academic material themselves; instead they (or their families) are paying for additional lessons to achieve their academic aims. Private tuition may thus be having both simultaneous positive and negative implications on academic outcomes.

Although in Cycle 1 university fees were specifically stipulated as a potential contributing cause for the rise in private tuition, perhaps university more generally, rather than the financial implications of it, are impacting private tuition. While there was reference to the cost implications of private tutoring, there were no comments relating to fees, or indeed the process of university selection (e.g. choosing a Russell Group institution). Students in this study wished to have tutors to improve their academic performance, to guarantee progress to their chosen courses. For example:

> "I got my report back and it said I wasn't going to get the grades I needed to get in to uni… I was on/predicted a C and I need a B"

There was a strong awareness of university entry requirements; participants employed tutors to help improve examination grades, with the intention of getting into university.

Through accessing university, students too would likely increase their human capital, via a graduate premium (Pericles Rospigliosi, Greener, Bourner & Sheehan, 2014), which as suggested in Cycle 1 enables further investment in provision of mainstream education.

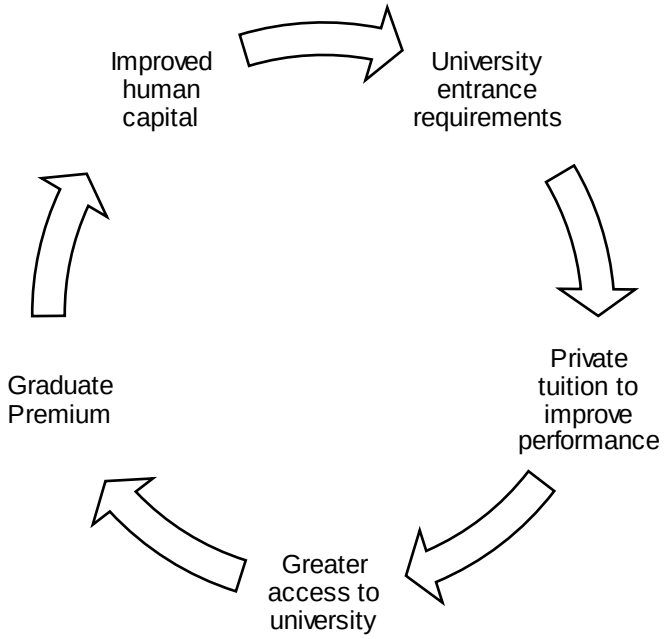


Figure 21: Influence of university on private tuition

The shadow education system therefore, may have benefits not only for the individual students being tutored, but the wider population too. If there is a perceived deficit in education; not in terms of the quality of provision, (as established through the fact participants stated the function of private tutoring and classroom based learning was the same), but in relation to the amount of time available for additional individualised support; private tuition can address this (see Figure 21). Outcomes therefore improve, enabling students to access higher education opportunities. If successful this can lead to a graduate premium, whereby overall salaries of an individual holding a degree are greater than those without (Walker & Zhu, 2017). An increased number of high level earners within a national economy, enables the overall human capital to also rise (Pericles Rospigliosi, Greener, Bourner & Sheehan, 2014), which in turn impacts national economies. When the finances and economic stability of a country are greater, then there can be more investment in institutions such as education and health (Cherkesova, Breusova, Savchishkina, & Demidova, 2016). With further investment in education, the issues relating to time discussed by participants in this study could be addressed; through the training and subsequent employment of more teachers, reduced class sizes or timetable reform. This in turn may

eliminate the need for a shadow education system, due to the positive influences it could have upon attainment of students.

What is most apparent from this study is that the shadow system is reliant upon mainstream provision. The sample in this research made it clear that private tutoring supplements what is learnt in school, and thus cannot exist without it. Where the growth has materialised from remains questionable – is the reduced economic focus on education by the government to blame? Are helicopter parents attempting to make up for a shortfall in education? Is the emphasis on university being the next step for all students and the need for good grades to gain access to elite institutions having an effect? Could teacher's performance related pay lead to them suggesting private tuition to their cohorts?

If teachers' pay is dependent upon achieving levels of value added for their students – they may sacrifice the emphasis on independent learning for more 'spoon-feeding' strategies to guarantee their next salary increment. Maybe the English education system has led to the growth of the shadow education system, with its aspirations to meet the standards set globally in measures such as PISA? The answers to these speculations for now remain unanswered, but as the shadow education system continues to grow, so must the research field that is active in understanding both the benefits and implications of private tuition.

15.4 Conclusions: Contribution to Methodology

Having reviewed and evaluated the theoretical and empirical findings, what are presented now are concluding reflections on the methodologies used throughout this thesis, rather than those specific to each individual cycle; action research, practitioner enquiry and participatory research.

15.4.1 Action Research

Action research is a method of research which aims to change outcomes for those involved; both the researcher and the participant (Wilson, 2017). There are many different models presented of action research, although they all share the common stages of: identification of a problem, planning, action and observation, reflection, and the planning the next stages based on the outcomes of the previous (Schmuck, 2006; Wilson, 2017; see Figure 22).

Overall this project successfully used action research to investigate an issue within my own practice; the number of students within my school with private tutors appeared to be increasing, and as such I sought to uncover the reasons for this (Wilson, 2017). The project was cumulative with Cycle 1 identifying a suitable research question; Cycle 2 validating definitions obtained; Cycle 3 providing detailed accounts of private tutoring and Cycle 4 ensuring the contrasting views of non-tutored participants were accounted for.

The action research used in this project may perhaps not have adhered to the traditional concepts of the methodology – in that the outcomes of each cycle influenced the design and development of next, rather than the specific practice I engage with as a teacher (Altrichter, Posch, Somekh & Feldman, 2005). Yet through this style of research I believe that I have established factors raised by my students, both with and without tutors, which will impact my own teaching and that of my colleagues (see Table 16).

The following diagram (Figure 23) illustrates how the overall project consisted of both macro and micro level action research cycles. In terms of micro level cycles, this relate to the four cycles of practitioner research investigating the four elements of the shadow education system. Each of these adhered to the principles of action research outlined in Figure 22 (Identify, Plan, Conduct, Review, Action). However, the actions did not necessarily lead to change in my practice, but rather informed the action of further research in relation to my professional interest (see later discussion of the relationship of action and research – Figures 25 and 26).

The project in its entirety, did contribute cumulatively to change in practice; this is demonstrated in Figure 23. The macro level action research was a professional cycle of change. Micro level cycles collectively informed the overall actions for professional practice and the suggestions made in Table 16 for further national and international reform. It was only at the conclusion of this doctoral project that these actions were investigated further. This therefore differ from the established view of action research, whereby each cycle individually directly leads to action within the educational setting. Each cycle did, however lead to professional change and set in train a series of events which were to lead to changes at school level.

Wilson (2017) stated that by definition action research must lead to changed outcomes for those involved and this has been established within this thesis, albeit holistically rather than at a micro level. Examples of actions proposed in Table 16, which have since been implemented in the school where the research took place include: a review of teaching

timetables, allowing for a ninth hour of lessons per fortnight to be added to the post-16 timetable and a directive for interventions, where possible to take place within the school day, rather than after school. Although these changes are small-scale, they are positive steps in considering the views of both tutored and non-tutored participants and their reflections on both classroom-based learning and private tuition. This suggests that a further level of professional action research can be conceptualised where the outcomes of a cycle do not directly affect immediate practice, but influence professional beliefs, which subsequently lead to educational change in the school setting.

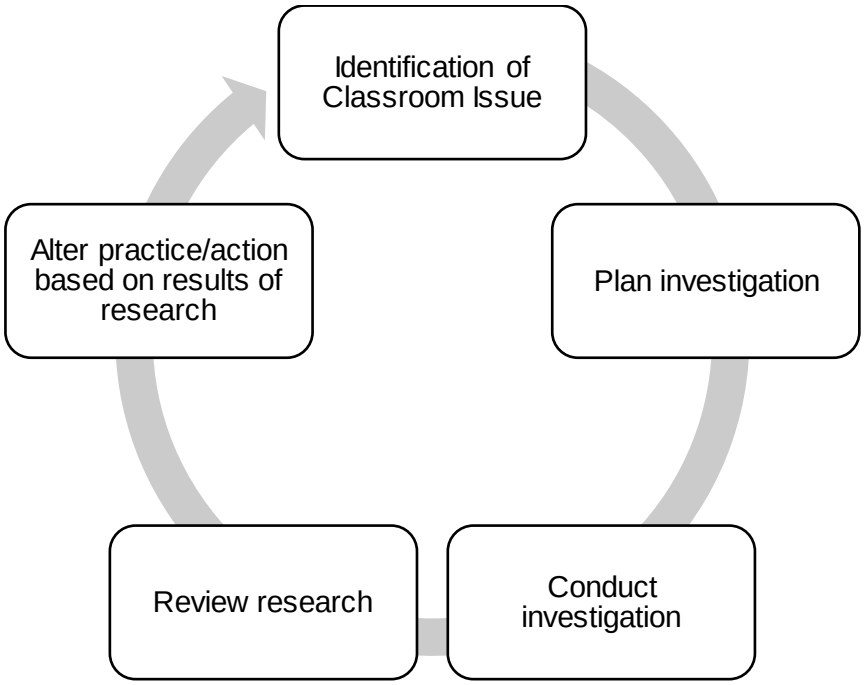


Figure 22: Illustration of typical action research cycles

Action research by definition follows logical chains of progression, and this has been a strength of this project (Schmuck, 2006; see Figure 22). Assessment of the literature enabled the formulation of research questions to guide further cycles and highlighted the necessity of objective and valid definitions of private tuition (See Figure 24). Through considering the findings of the previous cycles, justifications of decisions could be made and alternative options excluded e.g. instead of interviewing non-tutored participants in Cycle 4, teacher participants could have been used. Moreover, selection of suitable research methods to use within this approach was not constrained, allowing the use of visual methods and interviewing techniques.

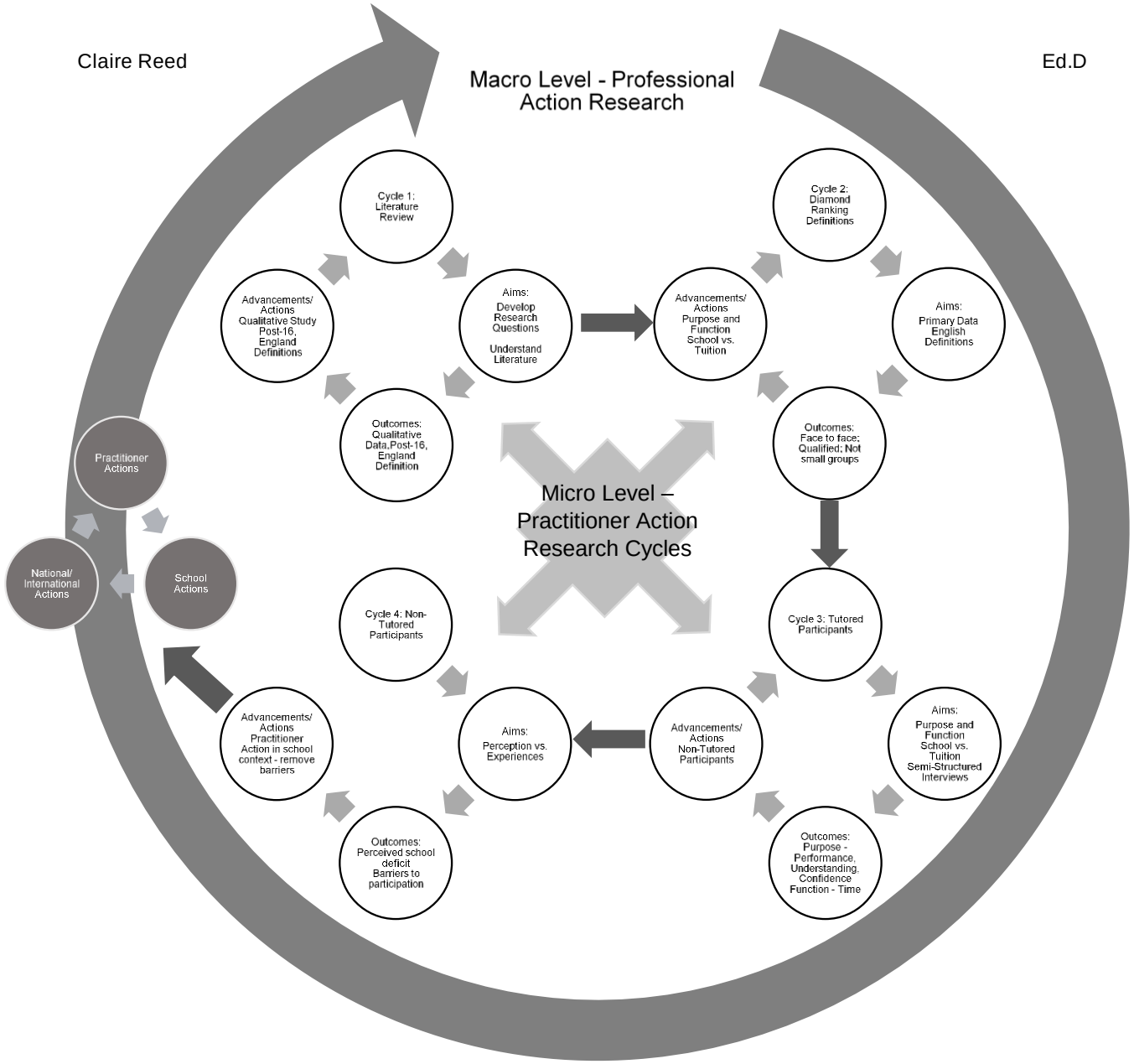


Figure 23: Identification of Micro and Macro Action Research Cycles

However, there were limitations of the use of action research within this project, both pragmatically and theoretically. The traditional depiction of action research is of several research cycles which lead to the direct change in one's own practice (Bradbury-Huang, 2010). Conceptually, action research poses issues for researchers such as Hammersley (2004), when differentiating between action and research. In the most simplistic terms, research would be an enquiry into an aspect of (teaching) practice, and action would be the resulting changes produced as a result of the research (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011). Yet from this project, I feel it is appropriate to question whether the distinction between action and research is as clear as has been presumed in the literature.

Research guided research, as evidenced with Cycle 1; the aim was not to directly impact my actions as a practitioner, but rather to address how other stages of the project could be investigated (Gibbs, 2014). Researching the field of private tuition guided the following steps of the project, by establishing appropriate research questions and topic areas. Therefore research has become a form of action within itself; a concept overlooked by Hammersley's (2004) review of terminologies within action research.

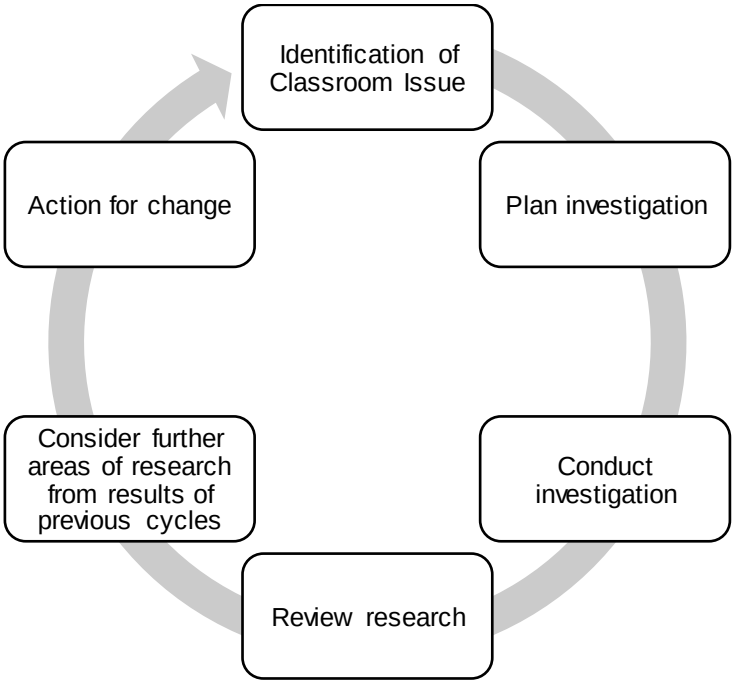


Figure 24: Action research cycles within current project

Moreover, between Cycle 2 and 3, results of the diamond ranking activity informed research decisions in relation to participants and interview schedules, rather than actions within the classroom. Collectively the four cycles and the outcomes they holistically present, do and will contribute to action and practice with students. Whilst this was the overarching purpose

of the study, unlike traditional conceptions of action research, the extent to which this was possible within each of the separate cycles was limited. Instead the cycles influenced the design and implementation of the following aspect of the study. Overall requirements for change were considered summatively, rather than at each stage (see Table 16).

Portraying action and research as separate methodological concepts must be reconsidered, as seen in the following figures. In Figure 25, the traditional stance of action leading to research and research leading to action is shown. A social issue is researched and the necessary actions to remedy it, are implemented. However, in Figure 26, the more complex relationship is shown. Research may lead to more research (as was found within this project). It may also lead to actions. Action may lead to research or action. Yet the terms action and research are interchangeable, as action can be a form of research and research can be a form of action.

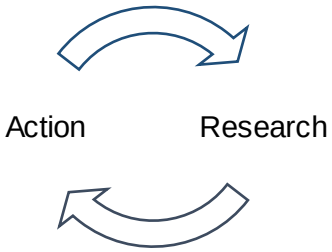


Figure 25: Traditional relationship of action and research

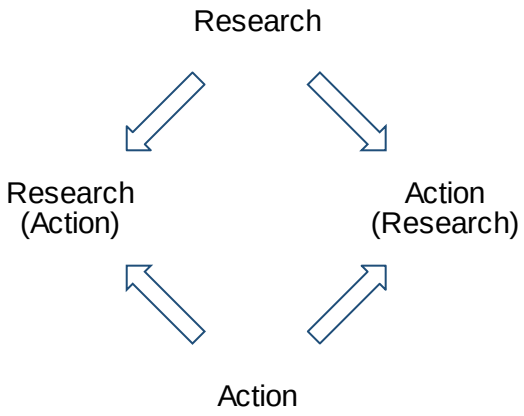


Figure 26: Revised interpretation of the relationship of action and research

A further pragmatic concern is that as this thesis took place over an extended period of time, additional literature was published, which led to the update and modifications of the literature review in Cycle 1. Typically action research cycles move forwards with action and research, but in order to ensure a comprehensive view of the shadow education system

was formulated, I felt it was important to add this to the cycle. It did not impact the course of action for Cycle 2, but ensured that the academic field was reported in its truest representation.

15.4.2 Practitioner Enquiry

The concept of educational practitioner research is widely promoted (Mohr, 2001; Wilson, 2017) - this perhaps results from some of the similarities between the role of teachers and action research. Teachers are constantly readjusting and redesigning lessons based on student progress. They research and act contingently, albeit informally rather than consciously adopting an action research approach. Mohr claims that encouraging teachers to engage in formal research benefits teaching strategies and educational policy, alongside providing important data for the academic field.

Uncovering significant detail about my students' perspectives on private tuition was achieved. This project was conducted from a constructivist epistemological perspective; Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.113) define this as "realities [which] are local, specific and constructed…and depend on the individuals or groups holding them". The data was collected from a small cohort of students; the conclusions drawn or ideas established belong only that context and at the time conducted. It has however, offered valuable insight into not only what happens during private tuition sessions, but also the reasons for and against having a tutor. It offers a foundation, upon which future qualitative studies into the shadow education system, can build; for example relationships between metacognition and rates of tuition.

However, concerns can be raised over the use of practitioner research. Mercer (2007, p.10) suggests four areas of evaluation when considering the advantages and disadvantages of this method "access, intrusiveness, familiarity, and rapport". These aspects are used to reflect upon my work as a practitioner-researcher in light of the four completed cycles of action research.

Firstly, practitioners have access to their participants; within this study I was able to recruit two samples of students, both efficiently and with relative ease. We were able to allocate times for data collection and validation to suit both of us. There were no additional issues with location or transport, as all participants were 'on site'. However, Mercer also indicates that this access can be problematic, as the boundaries between research and practice can be hard to define; interestingly Mercer suggests that knowing "where research stops and the rest of life begins" (p.10) is the prime difficulty. Yet in this project I felt at times it was

hard to know where life (as a teacher) stopped and the research began. Ensuring some distinction was necessary, but fundamentally both of my roles were intertwined within this work. Later in this section is a reflection upon how my practitioner and my research stances operated within the cycles of research.

The second element Mercer (2007) discusses is intrusiveness; the extent to which the researcher influences the situation that they are gathering data from. Clearly there remains an uncertainty as to whether the students in this project would have provided the same responses if the interviews were conducted by an 'outsider'. However this criticism is limited, due to the project's aim of investigating the perceptions of *my* students. An external researcher would not have the same relationships nor understand the experiences of *our* school. Therefore the answers provided would differ, but would not be contributing to the overall aim of researching an issue within *my* practice. In line with this, Hockey (1993) states that a practitioner may not have an impact upon the research, as they are known to participants. This is particularly pertinent, as in my role I manage whole school quality assurance. Students are regularly requested to attend focus groups to discuss teaching and learning, therefore meeting with "Miss Reed" may be part of the school's norms.

Familiarity - a practitioner's knowledge of context and the participants - is criticised due to positivist commentaries regarding objectivity (Mercer, 2007). Where a researcher knows too much about a situation there may be presumptions made about participants, the topics investigated or details missed that would have contributed to the study's findings (Fraser, 1997). Whilst to some extent this must be acknowledge as a weakness of this study, I hoped through the use of a semi-structured interview with both participant groups would counter these concerns. The provision of an interview schedule made sure key topics were discussed and data relevant to the research questions gathered. Moreover, Hannabus (2000) argues that the practitioner's insider knowledge provides nothing but a positive contribution to the research process. A researcher attempting to understand the nuances of *our* school, or the specific experiences of Key Stage 5 students, would not be able to offer the same level of description or the implications of the findings (such as a knowledge of the staff or departments students discussed). More pragmatically, knowing *when* to conduct the research to avoid factors such internal and external examinations or *how* to conduct them, can only be achieved by those teachers working with these students.

The final aspect of Mercer's four (2007) is rapport, which fundamentally reflects familiarity. The rapport that I have with the students in my school could not be replicated by another researcher. These relationships have led to the data found in the reported cycles; this may

have put students at ease and in turn, as seen from some of the qualitative statements, allowed them to be open, honest and frank in their responses.

Conversely the issues with power, referred to in the introductory chapter, may have countered these benefits. If teacher-researchers, (as in the current research project) are utilising their own students as participants, can power related boundaries be overcome to ensure reliable and valid data is collected? (Mohr, 2001). Roth (2005, p.370) highlights that "asymmetry" could arise, particularly when teacher-researchers utilise qualitative data collection methods such as interviews, because students expect certain behaviours from staff, and staff automatically take on formal and commanding role.

Also, perhaps students' preconceptions of me as a teacher, changed the way in which they viewed me as a researcher? Drever (1995, p.31) summarises this as "what people say to you is influenced by who they think you are". Some of the participants were members of my form group, others were taught by me (but did not have tutors in my subject areas), and others simply knew me through my role in Sixth Form. Therefore it is important to acknowledge these influences upon this research. Throughout this project I have aimed for used a variety of strategies to demonstrate validity, including the display of coding frameworks and detailed qualitative evidence, to help to address these potential concerns. Additionally, students were informed that although the findings of the research may be shared with the school, all information would be anonymised. Participants were also provided with contact details for the supervisor of the project (see Appendices C and D), should they wish to make further comments regarding their participation. Throughout the varying stages of the project, participants were repeatedly reassured that, although connected to my work within the school, the research was conducted as part of a doctoral thesis, rather than a school funded project.

Before reflecting upon the participatory elements of this project, I felt it appropriate to briefly discuss the varying stances involved whilst completing the cycles. I hope this allows the reader an appreciation of how throughout the thesis my roles as a practitioner and as a researcher were divided. Table 17 provides an overview. However, commentary is kept minimal, as some of these elements have been discussed in preceding chapters.

At the outset of this thesis, issues relating to private tuition arose from my role as a teacher, yet predominantly this project was researcher-led. Decisions were made in relation to the next action research cycle based on the results of the previous, rather than in relation to direct outcomes for students, as would be typically expected in a study using this methodology.

An initial conflict arose for me as a researcher and a teacher wanting to investigate an issue in my own practice. With my background in and teaching of Psychology, all previous methodologies and subsequent methods have been positivist and quantitative in nature. Before even initiating the project, developing a new epistemological stance and prioritising my desire for emancipatory action for my students needed to occur. Considering the benefits of qualitative data and seeking a study that could develop and transition, were fundamental in my epistemological shift.

The literature review in Cycle 1 again posed conflicts between my roles. As a teacher I wanted to know about the growth of tuition, to see if it was unique to my students and if there was a particular issue within my school. However, a realisation that this in itself was a research cycle was challenging. The literature review had to have exploratory questions, to address my teacher/practitioner concerns, but this made directing the research process a challenge.

Participant recruitment was a conflict which arose within Cycles 2, 3 and 4. This thesis was designed to consider the perceptions of my students in relation to private tuition, in order to understand why it is increasing. There was an issue in ensuring the numbers were sufficient for me as a researcher to draw meaningful conclusions, but also provide the subjective accounts of tuition sought, from a limited population.

Additionally, selection of methods proved difficult. As a researcher I wanted to use tools that would enable comparisons, through replication, but also permitted the necessary flexibility for a qualitative study. However, as a teacher I sought to make the participants, (who had not been involved in formal research before) feel as comfortable as possible, through use of methods they are exposed to in the school setting. Moreover, I wished for opportunities for reciprocal questioning to occur.

The final conflict to discuss was transcription and analysis. Previously mentioned, I had hoped to complete transcription immediately after the interviews, but this was not pragmatic. Therefore this had to be extended to a week deadline. Throughout the thesis, I worked full time as teacher and thus prioritisation of tasks beyond the remit of my research project had to occur.

Research Stage	Stance		Conflicts
	Researcher	Teacher	
Project Proposal	Methodology to bring about change Methodology relevant to my students Adaptable research methods	Issue in my practice Why has private tuition increased in our school? Is there an issue in our school contributing to private tuition increase?	Previous research stance = positivist Qualitative data collection
Cycle 1	Need to know context before methods can be planned Can literature review be a cycle of action research?	What is private tuition? Is growth occurring nationally? Globally? What factors lead to growth?	No formal research questions Exploratory questions to guide later research process
Cycle 2	Collection of qualitative and quantitative data Objective definitions Elicit discussion Based on research findings	Establish a definition of private tuition Tools used within the classroom? Tutored participants	Participant recruitment Methods to mirror practice – for students and me as a researcher
Cycle 3	Both standardisation and flexibility within data collection tool Analysis and Validation Structure of interview schedule	What happens in tuition? Why do tutored participants have tutors?	Participant recruitment Transcription and timings Validation of transcripts
Cycle 4	Both standardisation and flexibility within data collection tool Comparability between participant groups Structure of interview schedule	How do views contrast with tutored participants? Why do non-tutored participants not have tutors? What can be done to address divisions, if there are any?	Comparability of findings Participant recruitment Transcription and timings Validation of transcripts

Table 17: Indicators of the stances taken throughout the project cycles

15.4.3 Participatory Research

Participatory research involves participants, rather than just researchers, throughout the many stages involved in a research project (Coad & Evans, 2008). It is a "process of dialogue, action, analysis and change" (Pretty, 1995, p. 1254), whereby participants can inform the design and implementation of the study, rather than simply contributing their data in the form of results. Whilst some researchers utilise their participants to inform all decision making, my own use of participants was not as extensive. Student-participants were interviewed and ideas presented, but to ensure the dialogue proposed by Pretty (1995) and to contribute to the validity of the project, they were also involved in the analysis of their interview transcripts.

Once the interviews had been recorded and transcribed, participants were asked to listen the audio whilst reading the typed information. They indicated on the scripts any part of the interview that had not been accurately recorded and also were asked to contribute any further ideas to the questions posed (see Appendix F - Validation Record). The reasons for this was to ensure that participants had the opportunity to give their most comprehensive answer with chance for reflection, rather than under the more formalised interview setting.

Student participants were also given the opportunity to read through the analysis chapters of the research and contribute feedback. At this stage in the research very few participants were available to do so, as many were in their final year of Key Stage 5 study when the data was collected, and as such had left the school to start university/apprenticeships. If future studies were conducted, I would hope to increase the extent to which participants were involved in all elements of the study. The project is about students and how outcomes can be changed for them, so their involvement is vital for validity.

15.5 Future Directions for Conceptualising and Researching Shadow Education

As the current project was both small scale and focused around my role as a practitioner-researcher, the findings produced are necessarily context-bound to the setting and situations within which the data was collected. However, the presented conclusions have offered a range of future directions for both the research and conceptualisation of the shadow education system.

Firstly, as discussed Cycle 3, it may be interesting to consider the links between metacognition and private tuition. Does the employment of a more experienced other (i.e.

the tutor) imply that post-16 students are more or are less metacognitively aware? Do tutored students show a greater insight in to their educational strengths and weaknesses? Or, is it indicative of an awareness of one's own weaknesses, but a lack of self-directed cognitive tools in order to address them? Currently there is minimal research in this area (Wong, 2013) and as such a focus on this could be a useful contribution to understanding the factors leading to the growth of the shadow education system. It may highlight the aspects of mainstream provision that either require reviewing or prioritising, considering the well-established links between academic achievement and metacognition (Hacker, Dunlosky & Graesser, 2009).

A second area (which has had greater recognition than metacognition) for future research is the nature of private tuition both between and within academic subjects. In this thesis, as in previous research (for example, Bray & Kwo, 2013, Ireson & Rushforth, 2011) a measure of the subjects students had tutors in was obtained. Yet, for ethical reasons (i.e. identification of students/subject teachers) this line of enquiry was not pursued, other than to establish whether the subjects students had tutors in were 'typical' of the academic field (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005). The most prevalent subjects were both Science and Mathematics (Jerrim, 2017). However, upon reflection, with a larger sample size, without the ethical and practical constraints of practitioner-research, a future aspect to consider may be the reasons why some subjects have a greater number of tutored participants than others. Is it the nature of the subjects? Are some subjects simply more academically complex than others? Are the skills assessed in different qualifications comparable? Or are there common themes amongst particular examination boards? These could all be factors leading to the growth of the shadow education system and could contribute further to our understanding of the field. Indeed, research by Ghosh and Bray (2018) has already begun to consider what roles external examination boards play in private tutoring. As such, this aspect of the shadow system could be an area of focus.

A third and final proposed part of shadow education system, which I feel may be worthy of additional research, relates to both national and international aspects of education: the weight placed on examination results and league tables. Throughout this thesis, participants repeatedly referred to the purpose of their tuition being to improve their performance. Has the competition over university places led to this drive for tutors? Or has pressure arisen from within schools? Is this perceived or experienced? With schools increasingly judged on their performance in league tables – has a focus on student target and predicted grades led to students feeling coerced into employing tutors? Additionally, the introduction in some

school of performance-related pay, whereby teachers' incremental pay rises are dependent on student outcomes may also have contributed. Governmental drives to improve results in international league tables such as TIMMS and PISA may too have led to an outcomes-driven commodification of education. Is a focus on global success measures having an influence on private tutoring? Is it leading to governments ignoring the growth of the shadow education system, in hope of its perceived benefits? Is this why legislation and restrictions for private tutors are not forthcoming (Jerrim, 2017)? Has the overall purpose of education become too focussed on teaching students to pass tests? Have global education systems changed, so that no longer is the aim of education to equip students with the skills and attributes for life, but rather to achieve grades in examinations? Clearly the conceptualisation of education as a commodity goes far beyond the potential implications for the shadow education system, but the questions posed here may further add to the in-depth understanding of this field.

There are undoubtedly many other aspects of private tutoring that require further exploration, yet I hope within this aspect of the thesis I have outlined some key factors which have emerged specifically from the explorations of the primary data obtained. The shadow education system is extensive and varied, and as such continued investigations are needed to uncover its complexity.

15.6 Final Project Conclusion

Private tuition is increasing in prevalence across the world, with the academic field gradually responding to the necessity of its investigation (Bray, 2017). Bray (2011) claims researching private tutoring is like the "assembly of a jigsaw puzzle with most of the pieces missing" (p. 17). This thesis therefore, aimed to contribute further to the overall picture of the shadow education system. It considered the perceptions of an English student population under-represented in the literature, within qualitative action research cycles.

The study was initiated from *my* concerns about the growing number of students within my school seeking private tutors and the potential consequences this could have. Through four cumulative cycles of enquiry, the academic literature surrounding private tuition was explored; visual methods were employed to identify key definitions and semi-structured interviews contributed to the understanding of the purpose and function of tuition.

Data analyses regarding purpose showed apprehensions relating to societal inequality to be correct. Those students without tutors *are* concerned about the affordability and accessibility of private tuition. Moreover, tutored students predominantly stated that they have tutors to improve their performance, which may imply classroom based learning is not sufficient.

The exploration of the function of private tuition however, appeared to contradict reservations regarding classroom practice. Tuition did not differ in its activities or actions; students are not looking for alternatives to school instruction, but rather seek more time for the personalised support of an experienced other. The extent to which this can occur and if teachers could provide the additional education students desire, is debatable.

As a teacher and as a researcher, this process has been one which has enabled me to develop an understanding of a real issue impacting my students. It is necessary now to focus upon my practice and ensure the messages delivered by the participants in this study are acted upon. All students, to whom I have a responsibility must be equipped to achieve their true potential. Teachers, schools and governments must consider what can be done to address private tuition and perceived deficits in practice, both pragmatically and strategically. Could teachers adapt their practice to address the issues regarding personalisation and time? Would national schemes for private tutoring support disadvantaged students, or undermine teaching staff? Can tuition be regulated?

There are limitations with this study, particularly in regards to methods, which must be acknowledged. This is one of few qualitative studies into private tutoring, and perhaps one of the first to consider post-16 students specifically. Yet, as the sample consisted of only ten students, generalisability remains debatable. Larsson (2009) proposes that within qualitative research there can be five approaches taken to generalisation, including the idea of generalisability being inappropriate in idiographic studies or requiring reconceptualisation. Of the five concepts, it would be easy to argue that as the current study is focused upon a specific research context and my role as a practitioner-research within it. As an idiographic project, it provides conclusions directly related to the environment in which the data was gathered. However, I believe that the findings are generalisable in a theoretical manner, through Larsson's idea of "context similarity" (p.28).

Here Larsson, amongst others (Lincoln & Guba, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) suggests that if a research study presents sufficient detail regarding the context, other researchers

will be able to ascertain whether or not they can apply the results to their own data collection. Emphasis is placed not upon the "original investigator" (Larsson, p.32), but the "audience" in establishing generalisability.

Within this project I have sought to provide detailed information regarding the experiences of tutored and non-tutored participants in mainstream education. Thus this should enable researchers to consider their own contexts, to see if the findings would apply. Lincoln and Guba (1999, p.404) suggest that "transferability" is key in this approach to generalisation and I believe that this would be achievable considering both the sample and the methods used.

Issues may also relate to the practitioner-researcher stance through which this project was conducted. Would other researchers be able to elicit the same responses from the cohort? Despite aims to ensure transparency throughout all cycles, to what extent my relationship with the participants impacted outcomes, remains unclear. Yet, this project offers a further 'piece' to the established literature through the qualitative approach taken. The limited number of studies which have utilised qualitative methods tend to focus on only tutored, rather than non-tutored participants (Hajar, 2018), therefore the direct comparisons made between Cycles 3 and 4 offer opportunity for contrasts.

Despite the contributions of this project, further research is still needed in the field of shadow education. Questions remain over the true effect of private tuition and its impact on educational outcomes. Studies must consider whether there is an academic advantage to employing a tutor and if so, why it arises. If tutoring is found to have positive impact upon attainment, which could lead to returns in regards to human capital, then surely it should be promoted rather than remain as a shadow? Yet, if it is only available to certain groups within society, due to financial or access related constraints, this could maintain the divisions which education seeks to remove.

Research should continue to understand the specific factors relating to private tuition in England (Doherty & Dooley, 2018; Hajar, 2018), as investigations across the globe are succeeding in doing (Jokic, 2013). Post-16 populations require further focus; they are a primary consumer of tuition and offer a pivotal insight between school and undergraduate related factors (Pearce, Power & Taylor, 2018). There must be a greater acknowledgement of shadow education across both academic and educational fields, in order for research in this domain to increase. Bray's (2011) jigsaw remains incomplete. Only through sustained,

supported and varied approaches to research, will the true picture of private tuition be established.

16 References

Ahlburg, D. A. (2017). Is going to university in Britain a wise investment? *The Political Quarterly*, *88*(4), 660-666.

Alderman, M. K. (2013). *Motivation for achievement: Possibilities for teaching and learning*. London: Routledge.

Altrichter, H., Posch, P., Somekh, B., & Feldman, A. (2005). *Teachers investigate their work: An introduction to action research across the professions*. London: Routledge.

Arslan, S., & Akin, A. (2014). Metacognition: As a predictor of one's academic locus of control. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, *14*(1), 33-39.

Aslam, M., & Atherton, P. (2012). The shadow education sector in India and Pakistan: The determinants, benefits and equity effects of private tutoring. *Education Support Programme Working Paper Series, 38,* Budapest: Education Support Program, Open Society Foundations.

Aurini, J., Davies, S., & Dierkes, J. (2013). *Out of the shadows: The global intensification of supplementary education.* Bingley: Emerald.

Axford, B. (2007). Parents and their children working together: A scaffolding literacy case study. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy, 30*(1), 21-39.

Baker, C. D., & Johnson, G. (1998). Interview talk as professional practice. *Language and Education*, *12*(4), 229-242.

Baker, D. P., Akiba, M., LeTendre, G. K., & Wiseman, A. W. (2001). Worldwide shadow education: Outside-school learning, institutional quality of schooling, and cross-national mathematics achievement. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *23*(1), 1-17.

Baker, D. P., & LeTendre, G. K. (2005). *National differences, global similarities: World culture and the future of schooling.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ball, S. J. (2013). *The Education Debate.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Ban, T. (1995). The characteristic features of moral socialization: A comparison of Japanese and Australian children. *International Review of Education*, *41*(1-2), 73-96.

Banks, M., & Zeitlyn, D. (2015). *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage.

Barbour, R. S., & Schostak, J. (2005). Interviewing and focus groups. *Research methods in the social sciences*, *1*, 41-48.

Barnett, H. J., & Morse, C. (1963). *Scarcity and Growth: the economics of natural resources availability.* London: Routledge.

Barnett, H. J., & Morse, C. (2013). *Scarcity and growth: The economics of natural resource availability* (Vol. 3). London: Routledge.

Barrow, D. A., & Lochan, S. N. (2012). Supplementary tutoring in Trinidad and Tobago: Some implications for policy making. *International Review of Education*, *58*(3), 405-422.

Bass, J. C. (1968). Function versus Purpose. *Bios*, 39(1), 26-30.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1997). Writing narrative literature reviews. *Review of General Psychology*, *1*(3), 311-324.

Baumfield, V., Hall, E., Higgins, S., & Wall, K. (2009). Catalytic tools: Understanding the interaction of enquiry and feedback in teachers' learning. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 32*(4), 423-435.

Baumfield, V., Hall, E., & Wall, K. (2012). *Action research in education: Learning through practitioner enquiry*. London: Sage.

Beaton, A., Mullis, I., Martin, M., Gonzalez, E., Kelly, D., & Smith, T. (1996). *Mathematics achievement in the middle school years: IEA's third international mathematics and science study.* Chestnut Hill, MA: Center for the Study of Testing, Evaluation and Educational Policy, Boston College.

Bergmann, G. (1962). Purpose, function, scientific explanation. *Acta Sociologica*, *5*(1), 225-238.

Beyers, W., Goossens, L., Vansant, I., & Moors, E. (2003). A structural model of autonomy in middle and late adolescence: Connectedness, separation, detachment, and agency. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, *32*(5), 351-365.

Bishop, J. (2007). *Realising Our Potential – ensuring quality in our school system. Budget media release by the Hon Julie Bishop MP, Minister for Education, Science and Training.* Retrieved May 28, 2018 from http://www.dest.gov.au/ministers/bishop/budget07/bud19_07.ht

Black, A. (2010). Gen Y: Who they are and how they learn. *Educational Horizons, 88*(2), 92-101.

Bloomer, M. (1997). *Curriculum Making in Post-16 Education: The Social Conditions of Studentship*. Oxford: Oxford Psychology Press.

Boaler, J. (2013). Ability and mathematics: The mindset revolution that is reshaping education. *Forum, 55*(1), 143-152.

Bolton, P. (2014). *Education Spending in the UK.* London: House of Commons Library.

Bolton, P. (2017). *Tuition fee statistics. Briefing paper Number 917, 18 December 2017*. London: House of Commons Library.

Boote, D. N., & Beile, P. (2005). Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educational Researcher*, *34*(6), 3-15.

Booth, A., Sutton, A., & Papaioannou, D. (2016). *Systematic approaches to a successful literature review.* London: Sage.

Borodchuk, N. (2011). Shadow education: Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the impact of educational reform on private tutoring in Ukraine. *Working Paper Series 11-117.* London: LSE.

Bradbury-Huang, H. (2010). What is good action research? Why the resurgent interest? *Action Research*, *8*(1), 93-109.

Bradley-Geist, J. C., & Olson-Buchanan, J. B. (2014). Helicopter parents: an examination of the correlates of over-parenting of college students. *Education and Training, 56*(4), 314-328.

Bray, M. (1999). *The shadow education system: Private tutoring and its implications for planners.* Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

Bray, M. (2003). *Adverse Effects of Private Supplementary Tutoring: Dimensions, Implications and Government Responses.* Paris: United Nations Education,

Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Institute for Educational Planning.

Bray, M. (2005). Comparative education in the era of globalisation: evolution, missions and roles. In J. Zajda, (Ed.). *International handbook on globalisation, education and policy research: Global pedagogies and policies* (pp. 35-48). Dordrecht: Springer.

Bray, M. (2006). Private supplementary tutoring: Comparative perspectives on patterns and implications. *Compare*, *36*(4), 515-530.

Bray, M. (2009). *Confronting the shadow education system: What government policies for private tutoring?* Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

Bray, M. (2010). Researching shadow education: Methodological challenges and directions. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *11*(1), 3-13.

Bray, M. (2011). *The Challenge of Shadow Education: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Policy Makers in the European Union.* Brussels: European Commission.

Bray, M. (2013). Benefits and tensions of shadow education: Comparative perspectives on the roles and impact of private supplementary tutoring in the lives of Hong Kong student. *Journal of International and Comparative Education, 2*(1), 18-30.

Bray, M. (2015). *What is private tuition really doing to – or for education? Working Paper No. 12/2015.* Singapore: The Head Foundation.

Bray, M. (2017). Schooling and its supplements: Changing global patterns and implications for comparative education. *Comparative Education Review*, *61*(3), 469-491.

Bray, M., & Kobakhidze, M. N. (2014). Measurement issues in research on shadow education: Challenges and pitfalls encountered in TIMSS and PISA. *Comparative Education Review, 58*(4), 590-620.

Bray, M., & Kobakhidze, M. N. (2015). Evolving ecosystems in education: The nature and implications of private supplementary tutoring in Hong Kong. *Prospects*, *45*(4), 465-481.

Bray, M., & Kwo, O. (2013). Behind the façade of fee-free education: shadow education and its implications for social justice. *Oxford Review of Education, 39*(4), 480-497.

Bray, M., & Kwo, O. (2014). Regulating private tutoring for public good. Policy Options for Supplementary Education in Asia. *CERC Monograph Series in Comparative and International Education and Development, 10*, 1-78.

Bray, M., & Kwok, P. (2003). Demand for private supplementary tutoring: conceptual considerations, and socio-economic patterns in Hong Kong. *Economics of Education Review*, *22*(6), 611-620.

Bray, M., & Silova, I. (2006). The private tutoring phenomena: international patterns and perspectives. In I. Silova, V. Budiene, & M. Bray (Eds.) *Education in a Hidden Marketplace: Monitoring of private Tutoring*, (pp. 27-40). Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Breakwell, G. M. (2006). Interviewing methods. *Research methods in psychology*, *3*, 232-253.

Bregvadze, T., & Jokić, B. (2013). Characteristics of formal education systems and the decision concerning the use of private tutoring services. In B. Jokić, (Ed.), *Emerging from the shadow: A comparative qualitative exploration of private tutoring in Eurasia* (pp.71-114). Zagreb: Network of Education Policy Centres (NEPC).

Broadbent, J., & Poon, W. L. (2015). Self-regulated learning strategies & academic achievement in online higher education learning environments: A systematic review. *The Internet and Higher Education*, *27*, 1-13.

Brookfield, S. D. (2015). *The skilful teacher: On technique, trust, and responsiveness in the classroom*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Brown, P., Ireson, J., Shepherd, D. L., Bassett, P., & Rushforth, K. (2010). *One-to-One Tuition Pilot Course Evaluation Final Report.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Brunello, G., Fort, M., & Weber, G. (2007). *'For one more year with you': Changes in compulsory schooling, education and distribution of wages in Europe.* Florence: European University Institute.

Bryman, A. (2007). Barriers to integrating quantitative and qualitative research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(1), 8-22.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2015). *Business Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Budd, R. (2017). Undergraduate orientations towards higher education in Germany and England: problematizing the notion of 'student as customer'. *Higher Education*, *73*(1), 23-37.

Butler, D. (2014). A-level Reforms. *Teaching Business and Economics, 18*(1), 14-21.

Byun, S. Y. (2014). Shadow education and academic success in Republic of Korea. In H. Park & K. K. Kim (Eds.), *Korean education in changing economic and demographic contexts* (pp. 39-58). Singapore: Springer.

Campbell, A., & Groundwater-Smith, S. (Eds.). (2007). *An ethical approach to practitioner research: Dealing with issues and dilemmas in action research*. London: Routledge.

Cannell, C. F., & Kahn, R. L. (1968). Interviewing. In G. Lindzey & A. Aronson (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp.526-595). New York: Addison Wesley.

CEBR (Centre for Economics and Business Research). (2014). *Killik Private Education Index: A CEBR report – July 2014.* London: CEBR.

Cherkesova, E. Y., Breusova, E. A., Savchishkina, E. P., & Demidova, N. E. (2016). Competitiveness of the human capital as strategic resource of innovational economy functioning. *Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics*, *7*(21), 1662-1667.

Chong, W. H., & Kong, C. A. (2012). Teacher collaborative learning and teacher self-efficacy: The case of lesson study. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, *80*(3), 263-283.

Clark, J. (2012). Using diamond ranking as visual cues to engage young people in the research process. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *12*(2), 222-237.

Coad, J., & Evans, R. (2008). Reflections on practical approaches to involving children and young people in the data analysis process. *Children & Society*, *22*(1), 41-52.

Coburn, K. L. (2006). Organising a ground crew for today's helicopter parents. *About Campus, 11*(3), 9-16.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research for the next generation*. London: Teachers College Press.

Coe, R., Aloisi, C., Higgins, S. & Major, L.E. (2014). *'What makes great teaching? Review of the underpinning research.', Project Report.* London: Sutton Trust.

Coe, R. J. (2012). Conducting your research. In J. Arthur, M. Waring, R. J. Coe, & L.V. Hedges (Eds.) *Research Methods and Methodologies in Education* (pp.41-52). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Coffield, F. (2007). *Running ever faster down the wrong road: an alternative future for education and skills.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2006). *Research methods in education.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Cohen, P. A., Kulik, J. A., & Kulik, C. L. C. (1982). Educational outcomes of tutoring: A meta-analysis of findings. *American Educational Research Journal*, *19*(2), 237-248.

Collier, M. (2001). Approaches to analysis in visual anthropology. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (pp. 35–60). London: Sage.

Cook, S., Watson, D., & Webb, R. (2018). 'It's just not worth a damn!' Investigating perceptions of the value in attending university. *Studies in Higher Education 43(1)*, 1-12.

Cooper, H., Lindsay, J. J., & Nye, B. (2000). Homework in the home: How student, family and parenting-style differences relate to the homework process. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 25*, 464–487.

Cooper, H. M. (1988). Organizing knowledge synthesis: A taxonomy of literature reviews. *Knowledge in Society, 1,* 104-126.

Courtney, S. J. (2015). Mapping school types in England. *Oxford Review of Education*, *41*(6), 799-818.

Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J., & Phoenix, A. (2008). Young people's constructions of self: Notes on the use and analysis of photo-elicitation methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology 11*(4) 345–356.

Croll, P. (2009). Educational participation post-16: A longitudinal analysis of intentions and outcomes. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 57*(4), 400-416.

Crossley, M., & Watson, K. (2003). *Comparative and international research in education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Cullen, R. (1998). Teacher talk and the classroom context. *ELT Journal*, *52*(3), 179-187.

Dadds, M. (2008). Empathetic validity in practitioner research. *Educational Action Research*, *16*(2), 279-290.

Dang, H. A. (2007). The determinants and impact of private tutoring classes in Vietnam. *Economics of Education Review*, *26*(6), 683-698.

Dang, H. A. (2011). *Private tutoring in Vietnam: A review of current issues and its major correlates.* Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Dang, H. A., & King, E. M. (2016). Incentives and teacher effort. *Economics of Transition*, *24*(4), 621-660.

Dang, H. A., & Rogers, F. H. (2008). The growing phenomenon of private tutoring: Does it deepen human capital, widen inequalities, or waste resources? *The World Bank Research Observer*, *23*(2), 161-200.

Darbyshire, P., MacDougall, C. & Schiller, W. (2005). Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more? *Qualitative Research* 5(4), 417–36.

Davies, P. (2018). *Paying for Education: Debating the Price of Progress*. London: Routledge.

Davies, S. (2004). School choice by default? Understanding the demand for private tutoring in Canada. *American Journal of Education*, *110*(3), 233-255.

Davies, S., & Aurini, J. (2006). The franchising of private tutoring: a view from Canada. *Phi Delta Kappan, 88,* 123-128.

Davies, S., & Guppy, N. (2010). *The schooled society: An introduction to the sociology of education.* Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Davies, G., & Hughes, S. (2018). Why I chose to become a teacher and why I might choose not to become one: a survey of student teachers' perceptions of teaching as a career. *Teacher Education Advancement Network Journal*, *10*(1), 10-19.

Dawson, W. (2010). Private tutoring and mass schooling in East Asia: Reflections of inequality in Japan, South Korea and Cambodia. *Asia Pacific Review, 11*, 14-24.

De Silva, W. A. (1994). *Extra-school Tutoring in the Asian Context with Special Reference to Sri Lanka.* Maharagama: Department of Educational Research, National Institute of Education.

De Silva, W. A., Gunawardena, C., Jayaweera, S., Perera, L., Rupasinghe, S., & Wijetunge, S. (1991). *Extra school instruction, social equity and educational equality.* Singapore: International Development Research Centre.

Dearden, L., Fitzsimons, E., & Wyness, G. (2011). *The impact of tuition fees and support on university participation in the UK* (No. W11/17*). IFS Working Papers.* London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Dent, A. L., & Koenka, A. C. (2016). The relation between self-regulated learning and academic achievement across childhood and adolescence: a meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, *28*(3), 425-474.

Department for Education (DfE). (2011). *Teachers' Standards: Overview.* Retrieved September 14, 2018 from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teachers-standards.

Department for Education (DfE). (2018). *Types of School.* Retrieved January 14, 2018 from https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school.

Department for Education and Skills. (2003a). *14-19: Opportunity and excellence.* London: HMSO.

Department for Education and Skills. (2003b). *The Future of Higher Education*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education and Skills. (2005b). *14-19 Education and Skills.* London: HMSO.

Department for Education & Skills. (2005a). *Higher standards, better schools for all* (UK Government White Paper). London: HMSO.

Department for Education and Skills. (2007). *Raising Expectations: staying in education and training post-16.* London: HMSO.

Dewey, J. (2004). *Democracy and Education*. MA: Courier Corporation.

Dindyal, J., & Besoondyal, H. (2007). Private tutoring in mathematics: the Mauritian experience. *Proceedings of the 2007 Redesigning Pedagogy: Culture, Knowledge and Understanding Conference, Singapore, 1, 1-17.*

Dixon, H. (2013, August 30). Helicopter parents creating a generation incapable of accepting failure. *The Telegraph.* Retrieved August 25 2015, from https://www.telegraph.co.uk

Doherty, C., & Dooley, K. (2018). Responsibilising parents: the nudge towards shadow tutoring. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *39*(4), 551-566.

Dongre, A., & Tewary, V. (2015). Impact of private tutoring on learning levels. *Economic & political weekly*, *50*(41), 73.

Doolittle, P. E., & Camp, W. G. (1999). Constructivism: The career and technical education perspective. *Journal of vocational and technical education*, *16*(1), 23-46.

Drever, E. (1995). *Using semi-structured interviews in small-scale research*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Council for Research in Education.

Dweck, C. S. (2008). *Mindset: The new psychology of success.* New York: Ballantyne Books.

Ecclestone, K. (2005). *Learning autonomy in post-16 education: The policy and practice of formative assessment*. London: Routledge.

Edgerton, J. D., Peter, T., & Roberts, L. W. (2008). Back to the basics: Socio-economic, gender, and regional disparities in Canada's educational system. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, *31*(4), 861-888.

Education Endowment Foundation. (2018). *One to one tuition.* London: Education Endowment Foundation.

Education Support Program. (2006). *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*. Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Edwards, T., Fitz, J. & Whitty, G. (1989). *The state and private education: An evaluation of the assisted places scheme.* London: Falmer Press.

Elbaum, B., Vaughn, S., Tejero Hughes, M., & Watson Moody, S. (2000). How effective are one-to-one tutoring programs in reading for elementary students at risk for reading failure? A meta-analysis of the intervention research. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *92*(4), 605-619.

Ellson, D. G. (1976). Tutoring. In N. Gage (Ed.). *The Psychology of Teaching Methods* (pp. 130–163). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

European Union. (2007). *Treaty of Lisbon - Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community*. Retrieved July 25, 2018 from http://www.refworld.org/docid/476258d32.html.

Evans, M. (2009a). Analysing Qualitative Data. In E. Wilson (Ed.). *School Based Research: A guide for education students*, (pp.125-136). Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Evans, M. (2009b). Reliability and validity in qualitative research by teacher researchers. In E. Wilson (Ed.). *School Based Research: A guide for education students*, (pp.112-122). Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Fender, V. (2013). *Human Capital Estimates 2012.* London: Office of National Statistics.

Fender, V., & Calver, J. (2014). *Human Capital Estimates 2012.* London: Office of National Statistics.

Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y. P., Wesselmann, E. D., Zarit, S., Furstenberg, F., & Birditt, K. S. (2012). Helicopter parents and landing pad kids: Intense parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74*(4), 880-896.

Flick, U. (2002). *An introduction to qualitative research (2nd Ed.).* London: Sage Publications.

Foondun, A. R. (2002). The issue of private tuition: an analysis of the practice in Mauritius and selected South-East Asian countries. *International Review of Education*, *48*(6), 485-515.

Foorman, B. R., & Torgesen, J. (2001). Critical elements of classroom and small-group instruction promote reading success in all children. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice*, *16*(4), 203-212.

Foster, C., & Higson, H. (2008). Involving the family in higher education: do they really matter? *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning*, *10*(2), 30-40.

Foster, D. (2018). *16-19 education funding in England since 2010: Briefing paper: Number 7019, 13 June 2018.* London: House of Commons Library.

Francis, B., & Hutchings, M. (2013). *Parent power? Using money and information to boost children's chances of educational success.* London: Sutton Trust.

Fraser, D. M. (1997). Ethical dilemmas and practical problems for the practitioner researcher. *Educational Action Research*, *5*(1), 161-171.

Frey, T. K., & Tatum, N. T. (2016). Instructional communication and millennial students: hoverboards and" hovermoms": Helicopter parents and their influence on millennial students' rapport with instructors. *Communication Education*, *65*(3), 359-361.

Gammon, J., & Morgan-Samuel, H. (2005). A study to ascertain the effect of structured student tutorial support on student stress, self-esteem and coping. *Nurse Education in Practice*, *5*(3), 161-171.

Gascoine, L., Higgins, S., & Wall, K. (2017). Context and Implications Document for: The assessment of metacognition in children aged 4–16 years: a systematic review. *Review of Education*, *5*(1), 58-59.

George, C. (1992, April 4). *Time to come out of the shadows*. Singapore: Straits Times.

Ghosh, P., & Bray, M. (2018). Credentialism and demand for private supplementary tutoring: A comparative study of students following two examination boards in India. *International Journal of Comparative Education and Development*, *20*(1), 33-50.

Gibbs, P. (2014). Deliberation, capability and action research: Knowledge and becoming. *Educational Action Research*, *22*(3), 428-440.

Gipps, C., & Tunstall, P. (1998). Effort, ability and the teacher: Young children's explanations for success and failure. *Oxford Review of Education*, *24*(2), 149-165.

Glaeser, E. L., Ponzetto, G. A., & Shleifer, A. (2007). Why does democracy need education? *Journal of Economic Growth, 12*(2), 77-99.

Golightly, A. (2016). Geography student tutors' perceptions and experiences in problem-based learning tutorial sessions. *Journal of Communication*, *7*(1), 20-33.

Gordon, S. P. (2016). Expanding our horizons: Alternative approaches to practitioner research. *Journal of Practitioner Research*, *1*(1), 2.

Graesser, A. C., D'Mello. S. & Cade, W. (2011). Instruction based on tutoring. In R.E. Mayer and P.A. Alexander (Eds.) *Handbook of Research on Learning and Instruction.* (pp. 408-427). London: Routledge.

Gray, J., McPherson, A., & Raffe, D. (2012). *Reconstructions of secondary education: Theory, myth and practice since the Second World War.* London: Routledge.

Grek, S. (2012). What PISA knows and can do: studying the role of national actors in the making of PISA. *European Educational Research Journal, 11*(2), 243-254.

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *ECTJ*, *29*(2), 75-91.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. London: Sage.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). London: Sage.

Guill, K., & Bos, W. (2014). Effectiveness of private tutoring in mathematics with regard to subjective and objective indicators of academic achievement: Evidence from a

German secondary school sample. *Journal for Educational Research Online*, *6*(1), 34-67.

Guill, K., & Spinath, B. (2014). Special Issue Editorial: Effects of private tutoring. *Journal for Educational Research Online/Journal für Bildungsforschung Online*, *6*(1), 7-11.

Gylfason, T. (2001). Natural resources, education and economic development. *European Economic Review, 45*(4), 847-859.

Gylfason, T., & Zoega, G. (2003). Education, social equality and economic growth: a view of the landscape. *CESifo Economic Studies, 49*(4), 557-579.

Gylfason, T., & Zoega, G. (2004). *From Education to Equality and Growth: Theory and Evidence.* University of Iceland: Mimeo.

Hacker, D. J., Dunlosky, J., & Graesser, A. C. (Eds.) (2009). *Handbook of metacognition in Education.* London: Routledge.

Hajar, A. (2018). Exploring Year 6 pupils' perceptions of private tutoring: evidence from three mainstream schools in England. *Oxford Review of Education*, *44*(4), 514-531.

Hall, R. (2010). The work–study relationship: experiences of full-time university students undertaking part-time employment. *Journal of Education and Work*, *23*(5), 439-449.

Hallak, J., & Poisson, M. (2007). *Corrupt schools, corrupt universities: What can be done?* Paris: International Institute for Education Planning.

Hammersley, M. (2004). Action research: a contradiction in terms? *Oxford Review of Education*, *30*(2), 165-181.

Hammersley, M. (2016). *Reading ethnographic research*. London: Routledge.

Hannabus, S. (2000). Being there: ethnographic research and autobiography. *Library Management, 21*(2), 99-106.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual studies*, *17*(1), 13-26.

Hart, C. (2018). *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Research Imagination*. London: Sage.

Hartmann, S. (2008). “At school we don't pay attention anyway”–The informal market of education in Egypt and its implications. *Sociologus*, *58*(1), 27-48.

Hartmann, S. (2013). Education ‘home delivery’ in Egypt. In M. Bray, A. E. Mazawi, & R. G. Sultana, (Eds.). *Private tutoring across the Mediterranean* (pp. 57-75). Rotterdam: SensePublishers.

Haydn, T. (2004). The strange death of the comprehensive school in England and Wales, 1965–2002. *Research Papers in Education*, *19*(4), 415-432.

Haywood, H., & Scullion, R. (2017). ‘It’s quite difficult letting them go, isn’t it?’ UK parents’ experiences of their child’s higher education choice process. *Studies in Higher Education*, *2*, 1-15.

Heyneman, S. P. (2011). Private tutoring and social cohesion. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *86*(2), 183-188.

Higgins, S., Katsipataki, M., Villanueva-Aguilera, A.B., Coleman, R., Henderson, P., Major, L.E. et al. (2016). *The Sutton Trust-Education Endowment Foundation Teaching and Learning Toolkit.* London: Education Endowment Foundation.

Higham, J., & Yeomans, D. (2007). Curriculum choice, flexibility and differentiation 14–19: the way forward or flawed prospectus? *London Review of Education*, *5*(3), 281-297.

Ho, S. C., Kwong, W. L., & Yeung, W. N. (2008). *Shadow Education and Related Services in Macao: The Phenomenon and its Impact.* Macao: Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

Hockey, J. (1993) Research methods – researching peers and familiar settings. *Research Papers in Education, 8*(2), 199-225.

Hodgson, A., & Spours, K. (2017). *Tuition time in upper secondary education (16-19): Comparing six national education systems. Costing the sixth form curriculum*. London: UCL.

Hof, S. (2014). Does private tutoring work? The effectiveness of private tutoring: A nonparametric bounds analysis. *Education Economics*, *22*(4), 347-366.

Holdsworth, C. (2009). 'Going away to uni': mobility, modernity, and independence of English higher education students. *Environment and Planning, 41*, 1849-1864.

Hopkins, E. (2010). Classroom conditions for effective learning: hearing the voice of key stage 3 pupils. *Improving Schools, 13,* 39-53.

Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (2007). *Millennials got to college.* Great Falls, VA: LifeCourse Associates.

Hubble, S., Mackley, A., & Bolton, P. (2017). *House of Commons: Debate pack: Number CDP-2017-0156, 06 September 2017: 16 to 19 Education Funding.* London; HMSO.

Hunt, J. (2008). Make room for Daddy... and Mommy: Helicopter parents are here! *The Journal of Academic Administration in Higher Education, 4*(1), 9-11.

Hussein, M.G.A. (1987). Private tutoring: A hidden educational problem. *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, 18(1), 91–96.

IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement). (2013). *Completed Studies.* Amsterdam: IEA.

Institute for Fiscal Studies. (2017). *Long-Run Comparisons of Spending per Pupil across Different Stages of Education.* London: IFS.

Institute for Fiscal Studies. (2018). *Evidence to Education Committee Inquiry on School and College Funding*. London: IFS.

Ireson, J. (2004). Private tutoring: how prevalent and effective is it? *London Review of Education*, *2*(2), 109-122.

Ireson, J., & Rushforth, K. (2004, September). *Mapping the nature and extent of private tutoring at transition points in education.* Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association. Retrieved August 1, 2014, from http://tuitionproject.ioe.ac.uk/report/doc/mapping_tutoring_bera.pdf.

Ireson, J., & Rushforth, K. (2005). *Mapping and evaluating shadow education* (Final Report to the Economic and Social Research Council). London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Ireson, J., & Rushforth, K. (2011). Private tutoring at transition points in the English education system: its nature, extent and purpose. *Research Papers in Education*, *26*(1), 1-19.

Ireson, J., & Rushforth, K. (2014). Why do parents employ private tutors for their children? Exploring psychological factors that influence demand in England. *Journal for Educational Research Online*, *6*(1), 12-33.

Jayachandran, S. (2014). Incentives to teach badly: After-school tutoring in developing countries. *Journal of Development Economics*, *108*, 190-205.

Jerrim, J. (2017). *Extra time: Private tuition and out-of-school study, new international evidence*. London: Institute of Education.

Jeruto, T. B., & Chemwei, B. (2014). Effects of ban on private tuition in primary schools on academic performance in private primary schools in Rongai District. *International Journal of Education and Research,* 2(3), 1-10.

Johnson, D. S., & Lino, M. (2000). Teenagers: Employment and contributions to family spending. *Monthly Labor Review*, *123*(9), 15-25.

Jokić, B. (2013). *Emerging from the shadow: A comparative qualitative exploration of private tutoring in Eurasia* (No. 2). Zagreb: Network of Education Policy Centres (NEPC).

Jokić, B., Soldo, A., & Dedić, Z. R. (2013). Private tutoring and social equity in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. In M. Bray, A. E. Mazawi & R. G. Sultana (Eds.) *Private tutoring across the Mediterranean* (pp. 11-27). Rotterdam: SensePublishers.

Jones, S. (1987). The analysis of depth interviews. In R. Murphy & H. Torrance (Eds.) *Evaluating education: Issues and methods* (pp.263-277). London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Jorgenson, D., & Fraumeni, B. M. (1989). The accumulation of human and non-human capital, 1984. In R. E. Lipsey & H. Stone Tice (Eds.). *The measurement of saving, investment and wealth.* (pp. 227-286). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kaplan, A. (1964). *The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioral science*. San Francisco: Chandler.

Kaye, L. K., & Bates, E. A. (2017). The impact of higher fees on psychology students' reasons for attending university. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *41*(3), 379-392.

Kidd, M. P., O'Leary, N., & Sloane, P. (2017). The impact of mobility on early career earnings: A quantile regression approach for UK graduates. *Economic Modelling*, *62*, 90-102.

Kim, M. (2007). *School choice and private supplementary education in South Korea.* Paris: UNESCO.

Kirby, P. (2016). *Shadow Schooling: private tuition and social mobility in the UK*. London: Sutton Trust.

Kirss, L., & Jokić, B. (2013). Individual pupil characteristics and the decisions concerning private tutoring use. In B. Jokic (Ed.) *Emerging from the Shadow: A Comparative Qualitative Exploration of Private Tutoring in Eurasia.* (pp.163-209). *Zagreb: NEPC.*

Kobakhidze, M. N. (2014). Corruption risks of private tutoring: case of Georgia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *34*(4), 455-475.

Kokkevi, A., Stavrou, M., Kanavou, E., Fotiou, A., & Richardson, C. (2018). Adolescents in Greece in time of economic crisis. *Child Indicators Research*, *11*(3), 945-962.

Kubanova, M. (2006). Slovakia: An education support program. In I. Silova, V. Budiene, & M. Bray (Eds.). *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*. (pp. 2576-279). Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews.* London: Sage.

Kwo, O., & Bray, M. (2011). Facing the shadow education system in Hong Kong. *International Institute for Asian Studies' Newsletter, 56*(20), 22-28.

Kwok, P. (2004). Examination-oriented knowledge and value transformation in East Asian cram schools. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 5*(1), 64-75.

Lam, Y., & Lawrence, G. (2002). Teacher-student role redefinition during a computer-based second language project: Are computers catalysts for empowering change? *Computer Assisted Language Learning, 15*(3), 295-315.

Larsson, S. (2009). A pluralist view of generalization in qualitative research. *International journal of research & method in education*, *32*(1), 25-38.

Lee, C. J., Lee, H., & Jang, H. M. (2010). The history of policy response to shadow education in South Korea: Implications for the next cycle of policy response. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 11*, 97-108.

Lee, C. J., Park, H. J., & Lee, H. S. (2009). Shadow education systems. In G. Sykes, B. Schneider, & D. N. Plank (Eds.), *Handbook of education policy research* (pp. 901–919). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lee, W. (2014, October 9). Have helicopter parents landed in the UK? *The Guardian.* Retrieved August 25, 2015, from http://www.theguardian.com.

Leitch, S. (2006). *Prosperity for All in the Global Economy – World Class Skill. Final Report of the Leitch Review of Skills*. London: HM Treasury.

Lewis, A. (1992). Group child interviews as a research tool. *British Educational Research Journal*, *18*(4), 413-421.

Lichtman, M. (2011). *Understanding and evaluating qualitative educational research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1999). Establishing trustworthiness. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative Research (Vol. 3),* (pp.397-444). London: Sage.

Lipka, S. (2007). Helicopter parents help students, survey finds. *Chronicle of Higher Education, 54*(11), 135-140.

Liu, J. (2012). Does cram schooling matter? Who goes to cram schools? Evidence from Taiwan. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *32*(1), 46-52.

Locke, J., Campbell, M. A. & Kavanagh, D. J. (2012). Can a parent do too much for their child? An examination by parenting professionals of the concept of overparenting. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 22*(2), 249-265.

Lodge, C. (2007). Regarding learning: Children's drawings of learning in the classroom. *Learning Environments Research, 10,* 145–156.

Long, R. (2017). *House of Commons Library: Briefing paper: Number 6962, 31 March 2017: GCSE, AS and A-level reform (England).* London: HMSO.

Lorsbach, A., & Tobin, K. (1992). Constructivism as a referent for science teaching. *NARST Newsletter*, *30*, 5-7.

Lupton, R., & Thomson, S. (2015). The coalition's record on schools: Policy, spending and outcomes 2010-2015.*Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper*, *13,* 5-68.

MacBeath, J., & Turner, M. (1990). *Learning out of school: Homework policy and practice. A research study commissioned by the Scottish Education Department*. Glasgow: Jordanhill College.

Machaal, B. (2015). Could explicit training in metacognition improve learners' autonomy and responsibility? *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ), 6(1),* 267- 279.

Machabeli, G., Bregvadze, T., & Apkhazava, R. (2011). *Examining private tutoring phenomenon in Georgia.* Tbilisi: International Institute for Education Policy, Planning & Management.

Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D., & Guassora, A. D. (2016). Sample size in qualitative interview studies: guided by information power. *Qualitative Health Research*, *26*(13), 1753-1760.

Manzon, M. (2007). Comparing places. In M. Bray, B. Adamson, & M. Mason (Eds.), *Comparative education research: Approaches and methods* (pp. 85–121). Hong Kong: Springer.

Manzon, M., & Areepattamannil, S. (2014). Shadow education: mapping the global discourse. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *34*(4), 389-402.

Marimuthu, T., Singh, J. S., Ahmad, K., Lim, H. K., Mukerhee, H., Oman, S., Chelliah, T. et al. (1991). *Extra-school instruction, social equity and educational quality.* Singapore: International Development Research Centre.

Mariya, M. (2012). *'I don't learn at school, so I take tuition'. An ethnographic study of classroom practices and private tuition settings in the Maldives.* PhD dissertation, Massey University.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G.B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research (3rd Ed.).* Newbury Park: Sage.

McNiff, J. (2013). *Action Research: Principles and Practice (3rd Ed.).* London: Routledge.

McNiff, J. & Whitehead, J. (2010). *You and Your Action Research Project*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Medway, F.J. (1995). Tutoring. In L.W. Anderson (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of teaching and teacher education* (pp. 271-274). Cambridge: Pergamon.

Menter, I., Mahoney, P. & Hextall, I. (2004). Ne're the twain shall meet? Modernising the teaching profession in Scotland and England. *Journal of Education Policy, 19*(2), 195-214.

Mercer, J. (2007). The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: Wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas. *Oxford Review of Education*, *33*(1), 1-17.

Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., & Minichiello, V. (1990). *In-depth interviewing: Researching people*. London: Longman Cheshire.

Mirra, N., Garcia, A., & Morrell, E. (2015). *Doing youth participatory action research: Transforming inquiry with researchers, educators, and students*. London: Routledge.

Mischo, C., & Haag, L. (2002). Expansion and effectiveness of private tutoring. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, *17*(3), 263-273.

Mohr, M. (2001). Drafting ethical guidelines for teacher research in schools. In J. Zeni (Ed.) *Ethical issues in practitioner research* (pp.3-12). Columbia University: Teachers College Press.

Molesworth, M., Scullion, R., & Nixon, E. (2010). *The marketisation of higher education*. London: Routledge.

Moody, S. W., Vaughn, S., & Schumm, J. S. (1997). Instructional grouping for reading: Teachers' views. *Remedial and Special Education*, *18*(6), 347-355.

Mori, I., & Baker, D. (2010). The origin of universal shadow education: What the supplemental education phenomenon tells us about the postmodern institution of education. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 11*(1), 36-48.

Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *1*(2), 13-22.

Moseley, D., Baumfield, V., Elliott, J., Higgins, S., Miller, J. & Newton D. P. (2005). *Frameworks for thinking: a handbook for teachers and learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muenks, K., & Miele, D. B. (2017). Students' thinking about effort and ability: The role of developmental, contextual, and individual difference factors. *Review of Educational Research*, *87*(4), 707-735.

Mullis, I. V. S., & Martin, M. O. (2008). *TIMSS 2007 technical report.* Boston: TIMSS and PIRLS International Study Center, Boston College Press.

Murawska, B., & Putkiewicz, E. (2006). Poland: An Education Support Program, In I. Silova, V. Budiene, & M. Bray (Eds.) *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*. (pp. 279-305). Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Mwania, J. K., & Moronge, M. (2018). An analysis of shadow education on academic performance of mainstream education. *African Journal of Education and Practice*, *3*(1), 1-12.

National Audit Office (NAO). (2015). *Funding for disadvantaged students: Survey evidence from pupils, parents and school leaders.* London: National Audit Office.

Neumann, R. (2001). Disciplinary differences and university teaching. *Studies in Higher Education*, *26*(2), 135-146.

Niemi, R., Kumpulainen, K., & Lipponen, L. (2015). Pupils as active participants: Diamond ranking as a tool to investigate pupils' experiences of classroom practices. *European Educational Research Journal*, *14*(2), 138-150.

Noffke, S. E. (1997). Professional, personal, and political dimensions of action research. *Review of research in education*, *22*(1), 305-343.

Noom, M. J., Deković, M., & Meeus, W. (2001). Conceptual analysis and measurement of adolescent autonomy. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *30*(5), 577-595.

O'Kane, C. (2000). The development of participatory techniques: facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them. In P. Christensen, & A. James, (Eds.), *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices*, (pp. 136-159). London: Falmer Press.

Olaniyan, D. A., & Okemakinde, T. (2008). Human capital theory: Implications for educational development. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, *5*(5), 479-483.

O'Mahony, M., & de Boer, W. (2002). *Britain's relative productivity performance: Update to 1999.* London: National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

Oppenheim, A. N. (2000). *Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2001a). *The well-being of nations – The role of human and social capital.* Paris: OECD Publishing.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2001b). *Knowledge and skills for life: First results from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.* Paris: OECD.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014). *Education at a Glance 2014.* Paris: OECD Publishing.

Ozatac, N., Taspinar, N., El Rifai, O., & Eren, B. (2018). The relationship between government expenditure on education and economic growth: The case of France. In D. Procházka (Ed.) *The Impact of Globalization on International Finance and Accounting* (pp. 61-70). NYC: Springer.

Ozga, J., Baxter, J., Clarke, J., Grek, S., & Lawn, M. (2013). The politics of educational change: governance and school inspection in England and Scotland. *Swiss Journal of Sociology, 39*(2), 205-224.

Padilla-Walker, L. M., & Nelson, L. J. (2012). Black hawk down? Establishing helicopter parenting as a distinct construct from other forms of parental control during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*, 1177-1190.

Palincsar, A. S. (1998). Social constructivist perspectives on teaching & learning. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*(1), 345-375.

Parliament. (1997). *Education Act 1997.* London: HMSO.

Parliament. (2005). *14-19 Education and Skills Act.* London: HMSO.

Parliament. (2008). *Education and Skills Act 2008.* London: HMSO.

Parliament. House of Commons. (2008). *Children, Schools and Families Committee: Testing and Assessment. Third Report of Session 2007–08 (Volume I).* London: The Stationery Office.

Payne, J. (2003). *Choice at the end of compulsory schooling: a research review.* London: Department for Education and Skills.

Payne, J. (2003b). The impact of part-time jobs in years 12 and 13 on qualification achievement. *British Educational Research Journal*, *29*(4), 599-611.

Payne, J. (2004). *Participation, retention and qualification achievement in education and training from 16 to 19.* Oxford: Nuffield Review.

Pearce, S., Power, S., & Taylor, C. (2018). Private tutoring in Wales: patterns of private investment and public provision. *Research Papers in Education*, *33*(1), 113-126.

Pehmer, A. K., Gröschner, A., & Seidel, T. (2015). How teacher professional development regarding classroom dialogue affects students' higher-order learning. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *47*, 108-119.

Pericles Rospigliosi, A., Greener, S., Bourner, T., & Sheehan, M. (2014). Human capital or signalling, unpacking the graduate premium. *International Journal of Social Economics*, *41*(5), 420-432.

Peters, M., Carpenter, H., Edwards, G., & Coleman, N. (2009). *Private tuition: survey of parents and carers. Research brief DCSF-RBX-09-01.* London: Department for Schools and Families.

PISA (2006). *Assessing scientific, reading and mathematical literacy: A framework for PISA 2006*. Paris: OECD.

Popa, S., & Acedo, C. (2006). Redefining professionalism: Romanian secondary education teachers and the private tutoring system. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *26*(1), 98-110.

Porter, R., & Bartholomew, H. (2016). When will I ever use that? Giving students opportunity to see the direct application of modelling techniques in the real world. *MSOR Connections*, *14*(3), 45-49.

Prawat, R. S. (1992). Teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning: A constructivist perspective. *American Journal of Education*, *100*(3), 354-395.

Pretty, J. N. (1995). Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture. *World Development*, *23*(8), 1247-1263.

Prosser, J. (2007). Visual methods and the visual culture of schools. *Visual Studies, 22*(1), 13–30.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1994). Returns to investment in education: A global update. *World Development, 22*(9), 1325-1343.

Psacharopoulos, G., & Papakonstantinou, G. (2005). The real university cost in a ‘‘free’’ higher education country. *Economics of Education Review, 24,* 103–108.

Punch, K. F. (2013). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London: Sage.

Rainey, A. (2006). Survey provides further evidence of high parental involvement with college students. *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* 39-43.

Randolph, J. J. (2009). A guide to writing the dissertation literature review. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, *14*(13), 1-13.

Reay, D. (1998). *Class work: Mothers' involvement in their children's primary schooling.* London, UK: UCL Press.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., & Clayton, J. (2009). ‘Strangers in paradise’? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology*, *43*(6), 1103-1121.

Ridley, R. T. (2009). Assuring ethical treatment of students as research participants. *Journal of Nursing Education*, *48*(10), 537-541.

Roberts, N., & Bolton, P. (2015). *School funding in England: current system and proposals for 'fairer school funding'. (Briefing Paper Number 06702*). London: House of Commons Library.

Rockett, M., & Percival, S. (2002). *Thinking for learning*. Stafford, UK: Network Educational Press.

Rose, G. (2001). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials.* London: Sage.

Roth, W. M. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research: Praxis of Method.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Rushforth, K., & Ireson, J. (2009). The quality and effectiveness of private tuition. *British Educational Research Association Annual Conference Papers, 2,* 22-35.

Ryu, D., & Kang, C. (2013). Do private tutoring expenditures raise academic performance? Evidence from middle school students in South Korea. *Asian Economic Journal*, *27*(1), 59-83.

Sachs, J. (2001). Teacher professional identity: Competing discourses, competing outcomes. *Journal of Education Policy*, *16*(2), 149-161.

Safarzyńska, K. (2013) Socio-economic determinants of demand for private tutoring, *European Sociological Review, 29*(2), 139-154.

Salili, F. (1999). Accepting personal responsibility for learning. In D. A. Watkins, & J. B. Biggs (Eds.), *The Chinese learner: cultural, psychological and contextual influences* (pp. 85–105). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Savani, K., Rattan, A., & Dweck, C. S. (2017). Is education a fundamental right? People's lay theories about intellectual potential drive their positions on education. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *43*(9), 1284-1295.

Schmuck, R. A. (2006). *Practical action research for change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Schultz, T. W. (1961). Investment in human capital. *The American Economic Review, 51*(1), 1-17.

Schwandt, T.A. (2001). *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry (2nd Ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sen, A. (2009). Introduction: Primary schooling in West Bengal. In K. Rana (Ed.) *The Pratichi education report II: Primary education in West Bengal – changes and challenges.* New Delhi: Pratichi Trust.

Shanahan, T. (1998). On the effectiveness and limitations of tutoring in reading. *Review of Research in Education*, *23*, 217-234.

Shernoff, D. J., Csikszentmihalyi, M., Schneider, B., & Shernoff, E. S. (2014). Student engagement in high school classrooms from the perspective of flow theory. In M. Csikszentmihalyi (Ed.). *Applications of flow in human development and education* (pp. 475-494). Dordrecht: Springer.

Shoup, R., Gonyea, R. M., & Kuh, G. D. (2009). Helicopter parents: Examining the impact of highly involved parents on student engagement and educational outcomes. *49th Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research, 202009. Retrieved June 20 2018, from http://cpr. iub. edu/uploads/AIR.*

Silova, I., & Bray, M. (2006). The hidden marketplace: Private tutoring in former socialist countries. In I. Silova, V. Budiene & M. Bray (Eds.) *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*. (pp. 71-99). Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Silova, I., Budiene, V., & Bray, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring.* Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Silova, I. & Kazimzade, E. (2006). Private tutoring in Azerbaijan. In I. Silova, V. Budiene, & M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring* (pp. 113–142). Budapest: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.

Simpson, R. D., Toman, M. A., & Ayres, R. U. (2005). *Scarcity and growth revisited: natural resources and the environment in the new millennium.* Washington: Resources for the Future.

Smith, A. K., Black, S., & Hooper, L. M. (2017). Metacognitive knowledge, skills, and awareness: A possible solution to enhancing academic achievement in African American adolescents. *Urban Education*, 4, 85-95.

Smith, I. D. (2003). Homework and coaching. In J. P. Keeves & R. Watanbe (Eds.). *The International Handbook of Educational Research in the Asia-Pacific Region.* (pp. 755-766). Dordrecht: Springer.

Smith, V. K., (1979). *Scarcity and Growth reconsidered.* London: Routledge.

Smyth, E. (2008). The more, the better? Intensity of involvement in private tuition and examination performance. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *14*(5), 465-476.

Smyth, E. (2009). Buying your way in to college? Private tuition and the transition to higher education in Ireland. *Oxford Review of Education, 35*, 1-22.

Sobhy, H. (2012). The de-facto privatization of secondary education in Egypt: A study of private tutoring in technical and general schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 42,* 47-67.

Sohn, H., Lee, D., Jang, S., & Kim, T. K. (2010). Longitudinal relationship among private tutoring, student-parent conversation, and student achievement. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, *7*(1), 23-41.

Song, K. O., Park, H. J., & Sang, K. A. (2013). A cross-national analysis of the student- and school-level factors affecting the demand for private tutoring. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *14*(2), 125-139.

Spring, J. (2015). *Economization of education: Human capital, global corporations, skills-based schooling*. New York: Routledge.

Stevenson, D. L., & Baker, D. P. (1992). Shadow education and allocation in formal schooling: Transition to university in Japan. *American Journal of Sociology*, *97*(6), 1639-1657.

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. L. & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A. L. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sutton Trust. (2010). *Responding to the new landscape for university access.* London: Sutton Trust.

Sutton Trust. (2014). *Londoners most likely to pay for extra tuition.* Retrieved June 15 2015, http://www.suttontrust.com/news/news/londoners-most-likely-to-pay-for-extra-tuition-as-demand/

Tabassum, N., Taherani, A., Tabassum, H., & Afzal, T. (2018). Social and Psychological Impacts of Private Tuition on Students and Their Families in Pakistan. *Grassroots*, *48*(1), 17-28.

Tan, C. (2017). Private supplementary tutoring and parentocracy in Singapore. *Interchange*, *48*(4), 315-329.

Tanner, E., Ireson, J., Day, N., Rushforth, K., Tennant, R., Turcuk O., et al. (2009). *Private tuition in England (Research Report DCSF-RR081).* London: Department for Children, Schools and Families.

Tansel, A., & Bircan, F. (2006). Demand for education in Turkey: A Tobit analysis of private tutoring expenditures. *Economics of Education Review*, *25*(3), 303-313.

Tansel, A., & Bircan, F. (2008). *Private supplementary tutoring in Turkey: recent evidence on its various aspects* (No. 3471). IZA Discussion Papers. Retrieved August 17, 2014 from http://nbnresolving.de/urn:nbn:de:101:1-2008043016

Towler, C., Woolner, P., & Wall, K. (2011). Exploring teachers' and students' conceptions of learning in two further education colleges. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *35*(4), 501-520.

Tsiplakides, I. (2018). Shadow education and social class inequalities in secondary education in Greece: the case of teaching English as a foreign language. *RISE*, *7*(1), 71-93.

Tsuneyoshi, R. (2001). *The Japanese model of schooling: Comparisons with the United States.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Turman, P. D., & Schrodt, P. (2006). Student perceptions of teacher power as a function of perceived teacher confirmation. *Communication Education, 55*(3), 265-279.

UCAS. (2017). Undergraduate applicant releases 2017. Retrieved July 19, 2018 from https://www.ucas.com/corporate/data-and-analysis/ucas-undergraduate-releases/ucas-undergraduate-applicant-releases-2017-cycle

UNESCO. (2000). The EFA 2000 Assessment: Country Reports: Romania. Retrieved March 14, 2017 from http://www2.unesco.org/wef/countryreports/romania/rapport_1.html.

UNESCO. (2007). *Education for all by 2015 – will we make it? EFA global monitoring report 2005.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO Institute for Statistics. (2011). *Financing education in sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges of expansion, equity and quality.* Montreal: UNESCO Institute of Statistics.

United Nations. (1948, reprinted 2007). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (1959). *Declaration of the rights of the child.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (1966). *International covenant on economic, social and cultural rights.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (1989). *Convention on the rights of the child.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2000). *Millennium development goals.* New York: United Nations.

Van Ingen, D.J., Freiheit, S.R., Steinfeldt, J.A., Moore, L.L., Wimer, D.J., Knutt, A.D., et al. (2015). Helicopter parenting: The effect of an overbearing caregiving style on peer attachment and self-efficacy. *Journal of College Counselling*, *18*(1), 7-20.

Vaughn, S., Linan-Thompson, S., Kouzekanani, K., Bryant, D. P., Dickson, S., & Blozis, S. A. (2003). Reading instruction grouping for students with reading difficulties. *Remedial and Special Education*, *24*(5), 301-315.

Ventura, A., & Jang, S. (2010). Private tutoring through the internet: Globalisation and offshoring. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 11,* 59-68.

Wagner, J. (1997). The unavoidable intervention of educational research: A framework for reconsidering researcher-practitioner cooperation. *Educational Researcher*, *26*(7), 13-22.

Walker, I., & Zhu, Y. (2017). *University Selectivity and the Graduate Wage Premium: Evidence from the UK* (No. 10536). *IZA Discussion Papers.* Bonn: Institute of Labour Economics.

Wall, K. (in press). Building a Bridge between Pedagogy and Methodology: Emergent thinking on notions of quality in practitioner enquiry. *Scottish Education Review Journal.*

Wall, K., Hall, E., & Woolner, P. (2012). Visual methodology: previously, now and in the future. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *35*(3), 223-226.

Walsh, S. (2011). *Exploring classroom discourse: Language in action*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Warwick, P., & Chaplain, R. (2013). Research with younger children: Issues and approaches. In E. Wilson (Ed.), *School-based research: A guide for education students* (pp. 59-76). London: Sage.

Wasik, B. A., & Slavin, R. E. (1993). Preventing early reading failure with one-to-one tutoring: A review of five programs. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *28*, 179-200.

Watson, L. (2008). *Private expectations and public schooling: the growth of private tutoring in Australia*. Brisbane: Australian Association for Research in Education.

WCEFA. (1990). *World conference on education for all: Final report.* New York: Inter-Agency Commission, WCFEA.

Whitehead, J. (2009). Generating living theory and understanding in action research studies. *Action Research*, *7*(1), 85-99.

Whitehead, J. M., Raffan, J., & Deaney, R. (2006). University choice: what influences the decisions of academically successful post-16 students? *Higher Education Quarterly, 60*(1), 4-26.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *11*(4), 522-537.

Whitty, G. (2008). Twenty years of progress? English education policy 1988 to the present. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *36*(2), 165-184.

Wiliam, D. (2011). What is assessment for learning? *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, *37*(1), 3-14.

Wiliam, D., Lee, C., Harrison, C., & Black, P. (2004). Teachers developing assessment for learning: Impact on student achievement. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, *11*(1), 49-65.

Wiliam, D., & Thompson, M. (2007). Integrating assessment with instruction: what will it take to make it work? In C. A. Dwyer (Ed.) The future of assessment: shaping teaching and learning (pp. 53-82). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wilson, E. (Ed.). (2017). *School-based research: a guide for education students*. London: Sage.

Wolf, R. M. (2002). Extra-school instruction in mathematics and science. In D. F. Robitaille & A. E. Beaton (Eds.), Secondary analysis of the TIMSS data (pp. 331–341). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Womack, S. (2007, December 26). Helicopter parents hinder children's learning. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved August 25, 2015 from https://www.telegraph.co.uk

Wong, E. D. (1995). Challenges confronting the researcher/teacher: Conflicts of purpose and conduct. *Educational Researcher, 24*(3), 22-28.

Wong, K. Y. (2013). Metacognitive reflections at secondary level. In B. Kaur, (Ed.), *Nurturing Reflective Learners in Mathematics: Yearbook 2013, Association of Mathematics Educators* (pp.81-101). Singapore: World Scientific.

Woolner, P., Clark, J., Hall, E., Tiplady, L., Thomas, U., & Wall, K. (2010). Pictures are necessary but not sufficient: Using a range of visual methods to engage users about school design. *Learning Environments Research*, *13*(1), 1-22.

Wright, T. (2013). *British politics: A very short introduction.* Oxford University Press.

Xu, Z. (2009). Overview and prospect of domestic study on private tutoring. *Research in Teaching*, *32*(1), 56-59.

Yasmeen, S. (1999). The spreading private tuitions epidemic. *School: Journal of Educational Excellence*, May, 21–25.

Yung, K. W. H., & Bray, M. (2016). Shadow education: Features, expansion and implications. In T. K. C. Tse, & M. H. Lee (Eds.) *Making sense of education in post-handover Hong Kong: Achievements and challenges*. (pp. 107-123). London: Taylor & Francis.

Zeni, J. (2001). *Ethical Issues in Practitioner Research. Practitioner Inquiry Series*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Zhan, S., Bray, M., Wang, D., Lykins, C., & Kwo, O. (2013). The effectiveness of private tutoring: Students' perceptions in comparison with mainstream schooling in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *14*(4), 495-509.

Zhang, W., & Bray, M. (2017). Micro-neoliberalism in China: public-private interactions at the confluence of mainstream and shadow education. *Journal of Education Policy*, *32*(1), 63-81.

Zhang, W., & Bray, M. (2018). Equalising schooling, unequalising private supplementary tutoring: access and tracking through shadow education in China. *Oxford Review of Education*, *44*(2), 221-238.

Zhang, Y. (2013). Does private tutoring improve students' National College Entrance Exam performance?—A case study from Jinan, China. *Economics of Education Review*, *32*, 1-28.

17 Appendices

List of Appendices

17.1 Appendix A: Ethical Approval

Durham University
School of Education

Shaped by the past, creating the future

17 November 2015

Claire Reed
EdD

c.l.m.reed@durham.ac.uk

Dear Claire

From a student's perspective, how do the purpose and function of private tuition, differ from classroom based learning?

I am pleased to inform you that your application for ethical approval for the above research has been approved by the School of Education Ethics Committee. May we take this opportunity to wish you good luck with your research.

P. M. Holmes

Dr. P. Holmes
Chair of School of Education Ethics Committee

17.2 Appendix B: Pilot Study – Diamond Ranking

Assignment Title: Piloting a Qualitative Research Tool: A Critical Reflective Essay

Woolner and colleagues (2010) suggest visual methods can offer much more than a description of a unique occurrence and contribute widely to the involvement of children in educational research, despite issues with rigour. Through utilising techniques such as member or expert checking the credibility and transferability can be ascertained (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). They also remove barriers to participation, such as the need for verbal competence, which children may not possess (Woolner, Clark, Hall, Tiplady, Thomas & Wall, 2010; Banks, 2001). It takes a step back from a "sea of words and more words" (Collier, 2001, p.59) and allows participants to be involved in decision making processes (Lodge, 2007; Prosser, 2007).

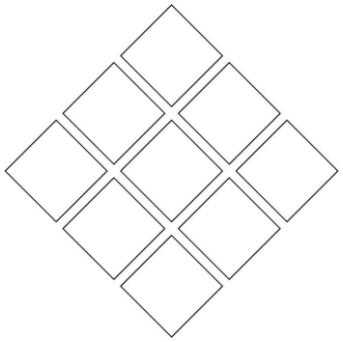


Figure 1: Diamond Formation

One visual method adapted from educational practice as a research tool is diamond ranking (Clark, 2012; O'Kane, 2000). A series of brief written statements or pictures are produced for participants to process and rank relatively in terms of importance (Rockett & Percival, 2002). It is classified as a visual method because of the focus upon the positioning of statements in relation to one another. Statements, of which there must be a minimum of nine, are placed in a diamond shape, as illustrated in Figure 1, to indicate preference. The most important/effective statement placed at the top and the least at the bottom, creating a total of five rows. The eliciting adjective can differ depending on study aims. It involves both identification and quantification of preferences (Woolner et al., 2010), as following the ranking participants annotate the reasons behind their decisions, which in turn produces qualitative data. The tool can allow quantitative analysis to occur, through observing the ranked positions of statements of multiple participants.

Diamond ranking was used by O'Kane (2000) with "Looked After" children and found they engaged with the process with confidence, as the tool, time and location were conducive to participation. Unlike with other methods, the purpose of the research was clear accounting for the high levels of engagement. Children led discussions about decision making, as they felt they had power. It was they who moved the statements and justified decisions. This contrasts to the passive role held by children in interviews, involving schedules of questions and answers. O'Kane found children seemed to genuinely enjoy participating (p.154) "I'm happy to talk to you another time.... this chart – they don't do stuff like that".

In an educational context Clark (2012) utilised diamond ranking for two projects – building schools for the future and positive psychology in schools. In both studies pairs of participants were given nine pictures to rank. Diamonds were annotated with reasons behind the decisions. Both studies achieved their desired aim of uncovering pupil opinions through qualitative reasoning. Again the success was accounted for by active rather than passive participation. Hopkins (2010) used card sorting with 132 pupils, to investigate opinions about effective learning conditions. The strategy acted as an appropriate prompting device, enabling the KS3 children to clearly justify their opinions.

This method has also provided a voice to children with disabilities. Loader (2009) used diamond ranking to investigate spirituality. Children were invited to create and rank their own statements. This was a successful tool as the children were able to change their minds and reorder the statements as many times as required. The method was easily understood by the children. However, Loader did conclude overall that diamond ranking was probably not the best method to investigate abstract concepts, such as spirituality.

Lewis (et al., 2005, 2007) found that diamond ranking was very successful in enabling children with severe learning difficulties and/or speech and language difficulties to express opinions on the less abstract concept of choices available at school. At times it was necessary to have a researcher facilitating, as the question the children were asked to rank opinions on needed to be altered according to their cognitive abilities. Generally the activity was child led. Muthukrishna (2006) also successfully utilised diamond ranking to enable children with ADHD to actively participate in discussions about their experiences of inclusion. However, both Lewis et al., (2007) and Loader (2009) note that children with autism found this task difficult, focusing upon the spatial position of the physical cards, rather than the content upon them, which suggests further refinement of this method is required.

Based on these successful uses of diamond ranking as a tool for research with children, it shall be piloted in this study. Furthermore as the study shall take place in a mainstream environment and does not use abstract terms, problems encountered in previous research (Loader, 2009) should not arise in the current investigation.

Method

"What approaches or techniques employed by schools do students feel best promote pupil voice?"

As aforementioned, epistemologically an interpretivist stance will be adopted, as this pilot study does not seek to generalise answers beyond the situation from which the data shall be gathered. A qualitative method will be most appropriate for this research, as ranking of opportunities is not of key interest, but the reasons behind the decisions made as these can then in turn influence practice. Discussion will not be elicited whilst the diamond ranking takes place, but after the task has been completed, to add to, but not influence the annotations surrounding the diamond shape. Therefore this tool, as well as being a visual method may be viewed as an aided interview, taking a semi-structured format (Harper, 2002).

Although the diamond ranking tool has been discussed in terms of its use with children, due to the nature of ethical clearance provided for this pilot study, the task was completed by a student above the age of eighteen, but still in attendance at a secondary school. This ensured that the study was both ethical and provided insight into pupil voice in a school context.

Due to issues surrounding the age of the participant, purposive sampling was required. All pupils within the school matching the criteria were approached; the first of the ten potential participants to respond was selected – convenience sampling. The participant, who volunteered, may have felt obliged to participate as they were the only pupil approached, taught directly by myself (Pyer & Campbell, 2013). They were however reassured that they did not have to. Clearly this type of sampling lacks credibility (Marshall, 1996), but was necessary for this assignment. Further research utilising this tool with a larger sample would require random sampling to avoid potential bias.

The pilot study began by explaining the aims of the study, creating transparency and avoiding deception (Hammersley &Traianou, 2012). A consent form was provided to the student, (and for information rather than due to doubts about the participant's capabilities) – the parents and gatekeepers within the school (namely the Principal and Head of Sixth Form). The school was informed that a sixth form pupil would be utilised, but were not told who to ensure confidentiality (Mauthner, 1997; Barker & Weller, 2003; Scott, 2000). All were happy for the study to take place. However, should this research have taken place with much younger children, the extent to which two levels of consent (child/gatekeepers) would be required would be determined by the individual's capacity to comprehend the research (Alderson & Morrow, 2004; Bogolub & Thomas, 2005; Cocks, 2006; Cree, 2002). The participant was given the explicit right to withdraw at any point during the study. They were reassured of confidentiality and that results of the pilot would have no implications within school.

Many researchers have reported that the location and time of the research may influence the quality and quantity of information provided by children (Hill, 2006; O'Kane; 2000; Scott, 2000), therefore the choice of room was discussed with the participant. The visitors' room was selected which is away from disruptions of the school routine. A time was chosen which was suitable for both the participant and myself so the task would be completed fully without interruption. The task took place at a standard table, to enable the participant to move the statement cards with ease and write annotations.

Twelve cards were presented on white A4 paper. There were three blank cards available for the participant to produce their own suggestions and nine with the following statements:

- Student council
- Form representatives
- Form tutors
- Heads of year/ deputy heads

- Prefect team
- Head Girl
- Directly emailing staff
- Pastoral support e.g. School Chaplain or Boarding Housemistress
- Parents contacting school

It was decided to provide statements rather than pictures (used in studies such as Woolner et al., 2010), as this would give a clear indication of what was being suggested as a mode of pupil voice. For example, both the student council and prefect team meet weekly in the Library; therefore providing a picture of this location would not be sufficient. Furthermore utilising pictures of certain key figures in the school, e.g. the Head Girl, may have led to emotional responses influencing the objectivity of decision. Harper (2002) suggests indeed that photographs may not always relate to the participants in desired ways, preferring the use of written statements.

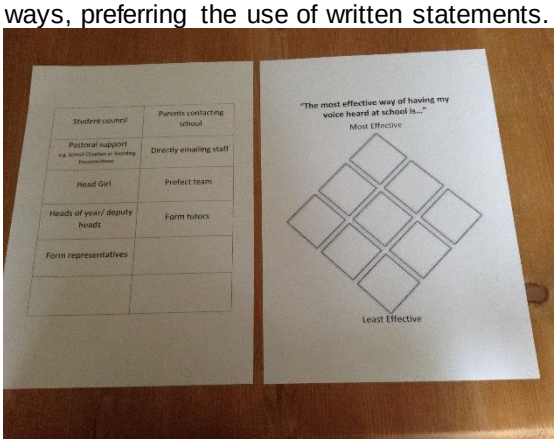


Figure 2: Materials provided to participant to complete diamond ranking activity.

It was a conscious decision to allow the participant to cut out the statements, rather than provide them pre-cut, as Clark, (2012) found that allowing the participants to cut before ranking engaged them fully in the task and provided opportunities for greater familiarisation with the stimuli. A grid was provided on which to place the statements. It contained the title "The most effective way of having my voice heard at school is…" and contained five rows, as illustrated in Figure 2. The top row was labelled most effective and the last row least effective.

The instructions for the task were given and all cards were read out loud to the participant. The purpose of the blank cards was also explained. The participant commented that they had completed similar tasks in lesson situations, so was familiar with what was required. This was not surprising as diamond ranking or "Diamond Nines" are a well-established classroom tool (Brown, 2009; Brown & Fairbrass, 2009; Clark, 2012; Clough & Holden, 2002; Dabel, 2006; Rockett and Percival, 2002).

Annotation was completed in pencil, to allow for adjustments of decisions. The participant was not interrupted during the decision making process. The diamond nine which was created can be seen in Figure 3. When they stated that they had finished, a conversation took place to clarify justifications made. It was left to the participant to add any further comments resulting from this informal discussion. Questions utilised were consciously open and leading questions avoided. For example instead of asking "Why did you put X at the top?" which may have been interpreted as critical, "Please could you explain the ranks you have given to each card?". The participant was asked to add extra notation to diamond ranking sheet following the conversation, if what they were saying did not appear in written form already. Figure 4 shows an example of where this occurred.

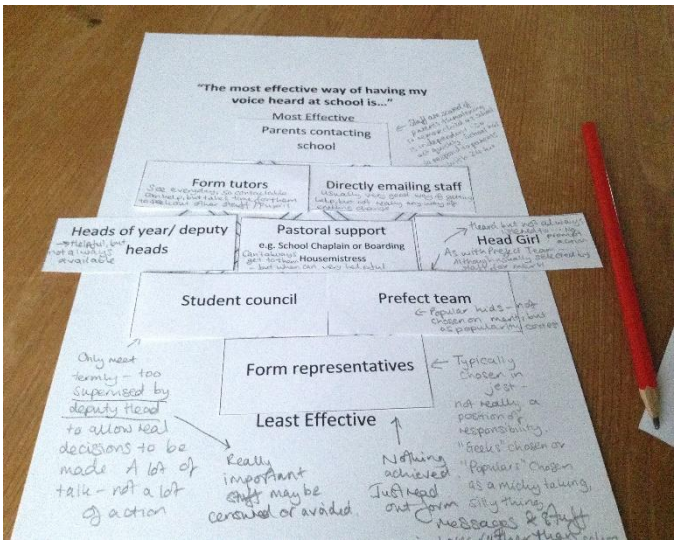


Figure 3: Completed diamond ranking activity

Following the completion of the task the participant was debriefed. The purpose of the study was outlined, as at the beginning of the study when informed consent was obtained. In addition the participant was given the explicit right to withdraw their data from the study. They were also given the opportunity to ask questions and provide feedback about their experiences in the study. Permission was sought at this point to record the participant's verbal comments, in written form for use in this assignment only. This was granted by the participant, who was given the opportunity to look at the notes made by the researcher and confirm that they were a true and accurate reflection. The conversation was an unstructured interview. There was no schedule of questions, as found in a structured or semi-structured interview. The aim was simply to uncover the participant's views about the experience, positive or negative and any suggested improvements. The results are discussed later.

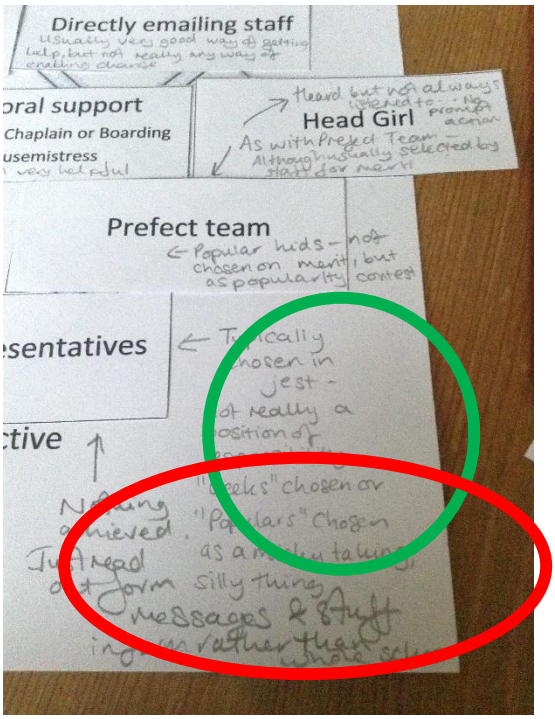


Figure 4: Participant annotation, following discussion of decisions made. Original ideas are shown in green, additional ideas are shown in red.

Data Analysis

There is no one agreed way to analyse qualitative data (Bryman, 2008; Gray, 2009). In this pilot study the approach taken was that the annotations should be left untouched to avoid issues with trustworthiness and credibility, caused by subjective interpretation by the researcher

The first stage of analysis of visual methods is to look at the shape e.g. the diamond formation as a whole. All of the nine spaces on the diagram had been filled with typed statements and none of the additional blank cards. Each card had annotation either on it or next to it. Arrows had been utilised to match comments to cards.

The space available for writing comments was not sufficient as the ranking page was printed on A4 paper, resulting in the participant writing briefer comments than desired. For example in Figure 5 shows the card placed in the centre of the diagram. The length of comment is much shorter (10 words) than for other cards, with more space around them. (See Figure 6 [24 words], which was the top ranked card and Figure 7 [31 words], which featured on the fourth row of the diamond). Brief justifications may have been forced. In future it is acknowledged that the ranking page should be printed on larger paper to ensure participants are not limited in the annotation they can add.

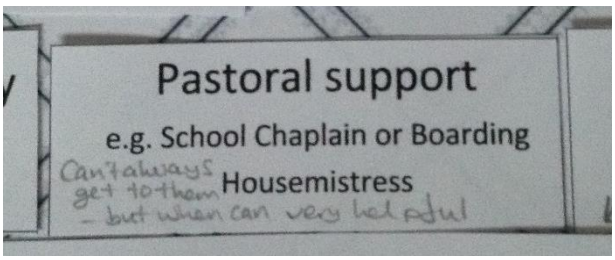


Figure 5: Brief comments on Middle Card

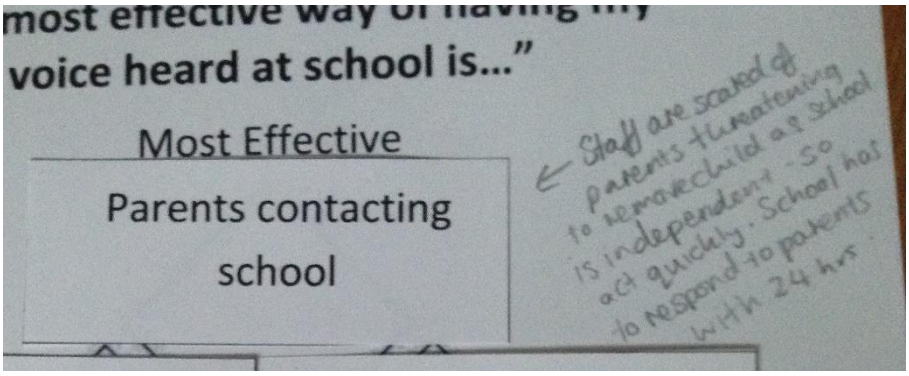


Figure 6: Evidence of longer justifications (Top of diamond)

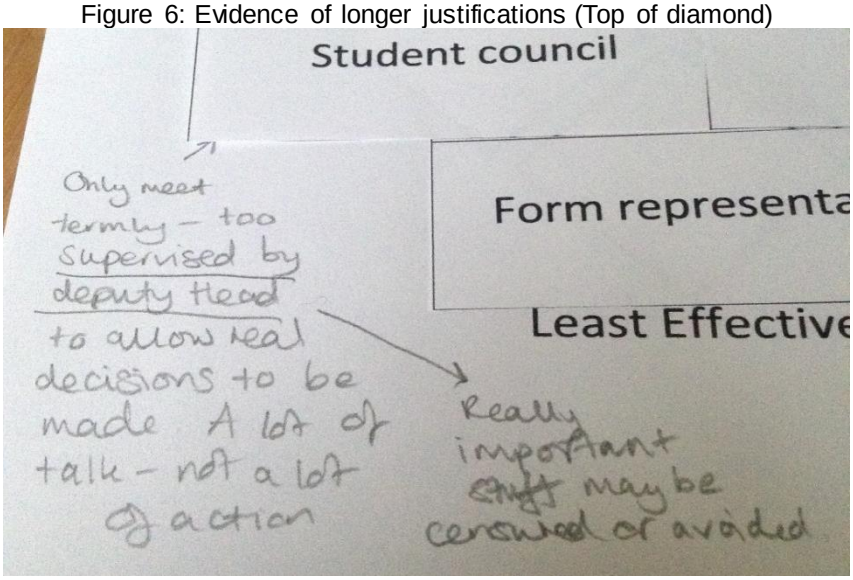


Figure 7: Evidence of longer justifications (Bottom of diamond)

The next stage in the analysis should be to look at the rankings of the diamond in a quantitative manner, to count the frequency of placement at either the top or the bottom of the diamond. However, as this was a pilot study involving one participant this was not possible. Also, as this study is concerned with qualitative, rather than quantitative data the comments provided for each statement needed to be read. Each comment could be entered into a table as shown in Table 1, allowing data from each participant to be collated.

The comments would be written in the appropriate column, dictated by its overall position on the diamond formation. If this were to be completed for a wide range of participants it would enable trends to be observed – for instance if "Parents contacting school" always featured on Row 1 (Most Effective), all comments would feature in column C in the table. It would then be possible to conduct thematic analysis to see which if any trends occurred for the statements. The use of computer packages such as NVIVO may be suitable to aid analysis (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). In order to fully adhere to the participatory methodology, participants should be consulted on the analysis. They could be directed to conduct thematic analysis – looking for trends between participants.

From briefly analysing the data from this pilot study, it appears that the task was useful in providing an insight into the most effective modes of pupil voice. It indicates that the school has significant work to do to improve this important area, if it is to adhere to legislation such as the Children's Act (2004) and UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989). There must be changes so that children are viewed as in high regard as their parents; there must be greater accessibility to senior staff and change to the prefect system and form representatives is required.

Table 1: An exemplar table which could be utilised to aid thematic analysis of justifications for ranks of statement cards. Information in italics is data from the participant of the pilot study and is used to illustrate how the table could function.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Participant Number	Statement	Row 1 (Most Effective)	Row 2	Row 3	Row 4	Row 5 (Least Effective)
1 (Pilot)	*Parents Contacting School*	*"Staff are scared of parents threatening to remove child as school is independent – so acts quickly. School has to respond to parents within 24hrs"*				
	Form Representative					*"Typically chosen in jest – not really a position of responsibility. 'Geeks' chosen or 'Populars' chosen as micky taking, silly thing"* *[Additional comment] "Nothing achieved. Just read out form messages and stuff in form rather than whole school"*

Conclusion

Following the completion of the diamond ranking, it was important to receive feedback from the participant about their experiences, to inform future developments. This adheres to the principles of participatory research – including participants at all stages of research (Coad & Evans, 2008). The findings of the follow-up interview are as follows.

One of the first comments made was

> "That was surprisingly fun – I thought this would be really dry. I'd be up for doing more research stuff like this again"

This suggests that the tool is suitable for use with young people and corresponds with the findings of previous research. Fun is repeatedly referred to in the literature – taking the emphasis off a continual pattern of questions and answers can enable children to engage more in the research (Fargas-Malet et al, 2010; Kay, Cree, Tisdall & Wallace, 2003; Punch, 2002b; Sanders & Munford, 2005; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Kefyalew, (1996) utilised participatory research methods and participants found them enjoyable and fun and similarly Barker and Weller (2003) discovered that that the key aspect of participation children sought was exciting research methods. However Punch, (2002a, p.330) notes with caution that the element of fun should not detract from the need to "generate useful and relevant data". During this pilot study it seems that the data gathered was not impaired by the enjoyment the participant experienced.

One of the main reasons why diamond ranking was selected for this assignment is due the potential use with young children, as it does not necessarily require competence in terms of literacy and oracy (Clark, 2005, 2012; O'Kane, 2000). James (2007) states that often utilising methods which do not require verbal skills elicit better results in children. As the participant was 19 years old (due to aforementioned issues with ethical clearance) this theoretical strength could not be clarified in practice. It was thus decided to ask the participant in the final debriefing discussion whether they thought this research method could be used throughout the school. Their response was

> "I think that the U3s [Year 7] through to U6 [Year 13] could do this – they might'n write as much stuff, but even primary kids could do the moving task, even if you [researcher] had to write stuff for them".

Indeed, despite aiming to find a research method which did not require participants to have well developed reading or writing skills it appears, as demonstrated in Figure 1, that this was not achieved. As the participant was competent enough to write their own justifications, this was permitted. However, if this task was utilised with younger children or children with learning difficulties this would need to be addressed. Diamond ranking will be limited to certain contexts, as despite claiming to be a visual method, there is still a need of a certain level of literacy and conceptual skills, if written statements and annotations are used. Decision-making may also be more difficult for younger children (O'Kane, 2000). It may be useful to discuss with younger participants the decisions they made and video-record the session, to allow annotation to be added later. This may be more time-consuming, but will indeed allow a greater diversity of participants to engage in the research process. This comment from the participant also highlights the important role of the facilitator. The facilitator may be required to guide the participant, if they do not possess the conceptual skills to complete the task independently (Freeman, 2000).

When asked about working alone, the participant's response was:

> "I liked that – but others might like to chat about it, 'cos sometimes it is easier to make decisions"

Previous research conducted by Woolner and colleagues (2010) allowed participants to work in pairs to complete the diamond ranking. This allowed the participants to discuss decisions, without the influence of a researcher. It will have inevitably led to compromises in terms of decision making. As pointed out in much research surrounding pupil voice, it can often be those who can communicate the most effectively who have their voice heard, whilst those who cannot do not (Wall & Higgins, 2006; Hill, 2006; McIntyre, Pedder & Rudduck, 2005; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004). This may be the same in this participatory research if participants work in groups; strong characters may dominate, therefore if this tool were to be developed it would remain as a task to be completed individually.

In response to the question, 'Did you find anything difficult about the task?' the participant said

> "It's the whole idea that you have to put something everywhere…Like putting the Head Girl card down – she's part of the Prefect team, who aren't that helpful, but there was no other space for her card so it needed to go above. It kinda makes you have to put the cards down. What if I didn't want to put all 9 in the diamond?"

Participants have to utilise nine cards to make the full diamond; this is one of the major criticisms of diamond ranking as a research method it leads to states "forced sacrifices and prioritisations" (Hopkins, 2010, p.48). Clark (2012, p.228) found that items placed in the middle of the diamond were put there because there was "simply nowhere else to put them". Loader (2009) did not put constraints on ranking, instead she allowed the children to put as many or as few statements in rank order as they desired. This may be an alteration to consider with the development of this research tool.

However, despite this aspect of the research method being viewed critically, it can in fact be of benefit to researchers. It ensures that all aspects of a topic are covered; in focus groups or semi-structured interviews answers may go off on tangents, and time constraints may prevent everything from being discussed. In this pilot study statement cards all had to be considered in order to be ranked accordingly; opinions were provided for each element. Clark (2012) agrees that this unambiguous element of the tool is advantageous.

A further comment was:

> "Nine suggestion were good, but I guess for other topics, like the blank ones would be helpful – like if you asked which staff were most effective [laughs]"

This highlights a strength identified by Hood and colleagues (1996), who believed that it is important when working with children and young people that they should have the opportunity to set their own agenda. If a different research question, one not concerned with pupil voice was to be answered it may not be appropriate to provide pre-determined statements. O'Kane (2000) collected the statements for the diamond ranking exercise by having consultations with children prior to the research and this could be a step to consider in the development of this diamond ranking tool. The nine statements were pre-selected; however the potential issues with these predetermined choices were countered by providing three blank cards.

It also indicates the potential influence of a researcher-facilitator. Their presence may have an impact upon the child's decisions, leading to demand characteristics or social desirability (Pyer & Campbell, 2013). Furthermore, using a teacher as a researcher may present a further confounding variable; the issue of power. Children may not be able to distinguish between the two roles and feel obliged to participate (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Goodenough, Williamson, Kent & Ashcroft, 2003; Hill, 2006; Punch, 2002a; Clark, 2005). In this pilot study, the participant was reassured that they had the right to withdraw and they were left to complete the ranking task alone, undisturbed. Only once they had made their decisions, was a conversation initiated to clarify the annotation they had created. Open, non-leading questions were used to prevent external influences upon the participant's decisions.

Beyond the assessment from the participant it is clear that the diamond ranking tool demonstrated rigour – in that the results it produced were credible; they supported the findings of the school's inspection report that pupil voice needs to be developed. It may not have shown rigour in terms of transferability, but as it is utilising an interpretivist stance this was not its aim. To improve its rigour and trustworthiness beyond the self-reflection already mentioned, when utilise further the tool could engage with expert-checking, or in order to adhere fully to the principles of participatory research member-checking (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). Alternatively it may be wise to utilise diamond ranking tools alongside other contrasting methods such as questionnaires to triangulate results (Bucknall, 2012).

Overall the aim of this assignment was to pilot a qualitative research method. Diamond ranking was successfully used to investigate the opinions of one participant in relation to pupil voice within their school. It was limited due to ethical clearance to a participant above the age of eighteen, so does not give a true reflection of how the tool might be used with younger children. It does however provide evidence relating to one school. The tool functioned as hoped providing enjoyment for the participant, creating qualitative justifications and allowed participation in tool creation (blank statement cards), data collection (diamond ranking) and analysis. The diamond ranking tool fulfils

the aims of actively involving children in all areas of research, and successfully answered the research question. It would however need to be trialled on a larger, more representative sample in order to draw conclusions on its overall success in investigating pupil voice.

References

Alderson, P. (2000). Children as researchers. The effects of participatory rights on research methodology. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.) *Research with Children.Perspectives and Practices*, (pp. 241–257). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Atkinson, P. & Hammersley, M. (1995). *Ethnography*, (2nd ed.), London: Routledge.

Banks, M. (2001). *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage.

Barker, J. & Weller, S. (2003). "Is it fun?" Developing children centred research methods. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 23*(1), 33–58.

Baumfield, V. M., Hall, E., Higgins, S., & Wall, K. (2009). Catalytic tools: Understanding the interaction of enquiry and feedback in teachers' learning. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 32*(4), 423-435.

Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (Eds.). (2013). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*. London: Sage Publications Limited.

Bogolub, E.B. & Thomas, N. (2005). Parental consent and the ethics of research with foster children: beginning a cross-cultural dialogue. *Qualitative Social Work* 4(3), 271–292.

Brown, K. (2009). *Classroom Starters and Plenaries: Creative Ideas for Use across the Curriculum*. London: Continuum.

Brown, K. & Fairbrass, S. (2009), *The Citizenship Teacher's Handbook*. London: Continuum.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. & Burgess, R.G. (Eds.) (2002). *Analysing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge.

Bucknall, S. (2012). *Children as researchers in primary schools: Choice, voice and participation*. London: Routledge.

Burton, D., & Bartlett, S. (2009). *Key issues for education researchers*. London: Sage.

Children's Act (2004). London: Stationery Office (April).

Coad, J. & Evans, R. (2008). Reflections on practical approaches to involving children and young people in the data analysis process. *Children and Society* 22(1): 41–52.

Cocks, A.J. (2006). The ethical maze: finding and inclusive path towards gaining children's agreement to research participation. *Childhood* 13(2): 247–66.

Clark, A. (2005).Listening to and involving young children: a review of research and practice. *Early Child Development and Care 175*(6): 489–505.

Clark, J. (2012). Using diamond ranking as visual cues to engage young people in the research process. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *12*(2), 222-237.

Clough, N. & Holden, C. (2002). *Education for Citizenship: Ideas into Action*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Collier, M. (2001). Approaches to analysis in visual anthropology. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 35–60). London: Sage.

Cree, V.E., Kay, H. & Tisdall, K. (2002). Research with children: sharing the dilemmas. *Child and Family Social Work,* 7, 47–56.

Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J., & Phoenix, A. (2008). Young people's constructions of self: Notes on the use and analysis of photo-elicitation methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology 11*(4) 345–356.

Dabel, J. (2006). Diamond 9s. *5 to 7 Educator, 5*(9), ix-x.

Darbyshire, P., MacDougall, C. & Schiller, W. (2005). Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more? *Qualitative Research* 5(4): 417–36.

Fargas-Malet, M., McSherry, D., Larkin, E., & Robinson, C. (2010). Research with children: methodological issues and innovative techniques. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *8*(2), 175-192.

Fielding, M. (2004). Transformative approaches to student voice: Theoretical underpinnings, recalcitrant realities. *British Educational Research Journal*, *30*(2), 295-311.

Flutter, J. (2007). Teacher development and pupil voice. *The Curriculum Journal*, *18*(3), 343-354.

Freeman, M. (2000). The future of children's rights. *Children & Society*, *14*(4), 277-293.

Goodenough, T., Williamson, E., Kent, J. & Ashcroft, R. (2003). "What did you think about that?" Researching children's perceptions of participation in a longitudinal genetic epidemiological study. *Children and Society 17*, 113–25.

Goulding, C. (2005). Grounded theory, ethnography and phenomenology: A comparative analysis of three qualitative strategies for marketing research. *European journal of Marketing*, *39*(3), 294-308.

Gray, J. (2009). *Doing Research in the Real World*. London: Sage.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*, 163-194.

Hammersley, M. & Traianou, A. (2012). *Ethics and Educational Research, British Educational Research Association on-line resource*. Retrieved April 1, 2014 from www.bera.ac.uk.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies, 17*(1), 13–26.

Hill, M. (2006). Children's voices on ways of having a voice: children's and young people's perspectives on methods used in research and consultation. *Childhood,* 13(1), 69–89.

Hood, S., Kelley, P., & Mayall, B. (1996). Children as research subjects: A risky enterprise. *Children & Society*, *10*(2), 117-128.

Hopkins, E. (2010). Classroom conditions for effective learning: hearing the voice of key stage 3 pupils. *Improving Schools, 13*, 39-53.

James, A. (2007). Giving voice to children's voices: practices and problems, pitfalls and potentials. *American anthropologist*, *109*(2), 261-272.

Kay, H., Cree, V., Tisdall, K. & Wallace, J. (2003). At the edge: negotiating boundaries in research with children and young people. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 4(2), 33.

Kefyalew, F. (1996). The Reality of Child Participation in Research Experience from a Capacity-building Programme. *Childhood*, *3*(2), 203-213.

Kellett, M. & Ding, S. (2004). Middle childhood. In S. Fraser, V. Lewis, S. Ding, M. Kellet & C. Robinson (Eds,) *Doing Research with Children and Young People*, (pp. 161–174). London: The Open University.

Lansdown, G., Waterston, T. & Baum, D. (1996). Implementing the UN convention on the rights of the child. *British Medical Journal, 313*, 21-28.

Lewis, A., Davison, I., Ellins, J., Niblett, L., Parsons, S., Robertson, C., & Sharpe, J. (2007). The experiences of disabled pupils and their families. *British Journal of Special Education*, *34*(4), 189-195.

Lewis, A., Robertson, C. & Parsons, S. (2005). *DRC Research Report – Experiences of Disabled Students and Their Families: Phase 1.* London. Disability Rights Commission,

Loader, B. (2010). *A research study investigating methods of obtaining the views and opinions of disabled children about spirituality* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham). Retrieved April 4, 2014 from etheses.bham.ac.uk.

Lodge, C. (2007). Regarding learning: Children's drawings of learning in the classroom. *Learning Environments Research*, *10*, 145–156.

Lundy, L. (2007). 'Voice' is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *British Educational Research Journal*, *33*(6), 927-942.

Marshall. M. N. (1996). Sampling for Qualitative Research. *Family Practice 13, 522 – 525.*

Martin, R. (1995). *Oral History in Social Work: Research, Assessment and Intervention,* CA: Sage.

Mauthner, M. (1997). Methodological aspects of collecting data from children: lessons from three research projects. *Children & Society* 11: 16–28.

Mayall, B. (2000). Conversations with children. Working with generational issues. In P. Christensen and A. James (Eds.) *Research with Children. Perspectives and Practices*, pp. 120–35. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

McIntyre, D., Pedder, D., & Rudduck, J. (2005). Pupil voice: comfortable and uncomfortable learnings for teachers. *Research Papers in Education*, *20*(2), 149-168.

Muthukrishna, N. (2006). Inclusion and exclusion in school: experiences of children labelled 'ADHD'in South Africa. In G. Lloyd, J. Stead & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Critical New Perspectives on ADHD (*pp.96-114). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Neuman, W. L. (2005). *Social research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London: Allyn and Bacon.

Novak, J. D. (2010). *Learning, creating, and using knowledge: Concept maps as facilitative tools in schools and corporations*. London: Routledge.

O'Kane, C. (2000). The development of participatory techniques. Facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them. In P. Christensen and A. James (Eds.) *Research with Children. Perspectives and Practices*, (pp. 136–159). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Oxford English Dictionary. (1989). Volume. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. London: Sage Publications.

Pretty, J. N. (1995). Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture. *World development*, *23*(8), 1247-1263.

Prosser, J. (1998). *Image based research.* London: Routledge Falmer.

Prosser, J. (2007). Visual methods and the visual culture of schools. *Visual Studies, 22(*1), 13–30.

Punch, K. (2005). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* London: Sage.
Punch, S. (2002a). Research with children: the same or different from research with adults?. *Childhood* 9(3): 321–41.
Punch, S. (2002b). Interviewing strategies with young people: the ''secret box'', stimulus material and task-based activities. *Children and Society* 16: 45–56.
Pyer, M., & Campbell, J. (2013). The 'other participant' in the room: The effect of significant adults in research with children. *Research Ethics, 9*(4), 153-165.
Robinson-Pat, A. (1996). Using PRA in academic research: Reflections after fieldwork in Nepal. *IDS PRA Topic Pack on Participatory Research*. Brighton: IDS.
Rockett, M., & Percival, S. (2002). *Thinking for learning.* Stafford: Network Educational Press.
Rose, G. (2001). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials.* London: Sage.
Rudduck, J. (2007). *International handbook of student experience in elementary and secondary school*. Netherlands: Springer.
Rudduck, J., & Fielding, M. (2006). Student voice and the perils of popularity. *Educational Review*, *58*(2), 219-231.
Sanders, J. & Munford, R. (2005). Activity and reflection: research and change with diverse groups of young people. *Qualitative Social Work* 4(2): 197–209.
Saunders, L. & Broad, R. (1997). *The Health Needs of Young People Leaving Care, Centre for Social Action.* Leicester: De Montford University.
Saunders, M. N., Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2011). *Research methods for business students*. India: Pearson Education
Scott, J. (2000).Children as respondents. The challenge for quantitative methods. In P. Christensen and A. James (Eds) *Research with Children. Perspectives and Practices*, (pp. 98–119). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
Sinclair, R. (1998). Involving children in planning their care. *Child & Family Social Work*, *3*(2), 137-142.
Thomas, N., & O'Kane, C. (1998). The ethics of participatory research with children. *Children & society*, *12*(5), 336-348.
Thomson, P., & Gunter, H. (2006). From 'consulting pupils' to 'pupils as researchers': a situated case narrative. *British educational research journal*, *32*(6), 839-856.
United Nations (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Geneva: UN.
Wall, K., Hall, E., & Woolner, P. (2012). Visual methodology: previously, now and in the future. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *35*(3), 223-226.
Wall, K., & Higgins, S. (2006). Facilitating metacognitive talk: A research and learning tool. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *29*(1), 39-53.
Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative health research*, *11*(4), 522-537.
Woolner, P., Clark, J., Hall, E., Tiplady, L., Thomas, U., & Wall, K. (2010). Pictures are necessary but not sufficient: Using a range of visual methods to engage users about school design. *Learning Environments Research*, *13*(1), 1-22.

17.3 Appendix C: Interview Schedule – Tutored Participants

Introductory Questions - background context

How would you define private tuition? (**Ensures definition is same as intent of researcher**)

Do you have a tutor?

For which subjects do you have a tutor?

How often do you have tuition?

Questions to identify functions of private tuition and classroom based learning

Describe a typical private tuition session.

PROMPTS:

- Who is involved?
- Where does it take place?
- What activities do you usually complete?
- How do your private tuition sessions differ from your lessons in school in terms of function? Are there any similarities between your private tuition and your lessons in school?

Questions regarding purpose

Why do you have a tutor?

PROMPTS:

- Does the private tuition serve a different purpose to your lessons in school? In what way?
- Has having a tutor fulfilled the expectations you had before starting the sessions?

Comparative questions to infer similarities and differences of purpose and function

Do your think that private tuition and your lessons in school support one another, or are they two separate systems of learning?

PROMPTS:

- Are there any parts of either system of learning (school or private tutor), which you think the other should include? If so, what?
- Why should they include it? What result would this have?

17.4 Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Durham University
School of Education

Shaped by the past, creating the future

Participant Information Sheet

Title: From a student's perspective, how do the purpose and function of private tuition, differ from classroom based learning?

You are invited to take part in a research study of student perceptions of private tuition. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is conducted by Claire Reed as part of her postgraduate studies at Durham University. This research project is supervised by Dr. Kate Wall (kate.wall@durham.ac.uk) from the School of Education at Durham University.

The purpose of this study is investigate the perceived differences between private tuition and classroom based learning.

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in a short interview relating to your own experiences of private tuition. Your answers will be recorded using a Dictaphone. Your participation in this study will take approximately 20 minutes.

You are free to decide whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences for you.

All responses you give or other data collected will be kept confidential. The records of this study will be kept secure and private. All files containing any information you give are password protected. In any research report that may be published, no information will be included that will make it possible to identify you individually. There will be no way to connect your name to your responses at any time during or after the study.

If you have any questions, requests or concerns regarding this research, please contact me via email at Claire Reed (c.l.m.reed@dur.ac.uk).

This study has been reviewed and approved by the School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee at Durham University (date of approval 12/12/15)

17.5 Appendix E: Consent Form

Durham University
School of Education

Shaped by the past, creating the future

Declaration of Informed Consent

- I agree to participate in this study, the purpose of which is to investigate perceptions of private tuition.
- I have read the participant information sheet and understand the information provided.
- I have been informed that I may decline to answer any questions or withdraw from the study without penalty of any kind.
- I have been informed that data collection will involve the use of recording devices.
- I have been informed that all of my responses will be kept confidential and secure, and that I will not be identified in any report or other publication resulting from this research.
- I have been informed that the investigator will answer any questions regarding the study and its procedures. Claire Reed, School of Education, Durham University can be contacted via email: c.l.m.reed@dur.ac.uk.
- I will be provided with a copy of this form for my records.

Participant Consent

Any concerns about this study should be addressed to the School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee, Durham University via email to ed.ethics@durham.ac.uk.

Date Participant Name (please print) Participant Signature

Parental Consent

I am happy for my son/daughter _____ to take part in this project.

I understand that:

- the interview will be recorded
- the interview will be confidential
- my son/daughter can stop the interview at any time, with no negative consequence

---

Date Parent/Guardian (please print) Parent/Guardian Signature

Researcher Declaration

I certify that I have presented the above information to the participant and secured his or her consent.

Date Signature of Investigator

17.6 Appendix F: Participant Validation

Durham University
School of Education

Shaped by the past, creating the future

Dear

Transcription Validation

Many thanks for your participation in the doctoral research project, regarding the function and purpose of private tuition.

Following the interview, your data has been transcribed. Attached is a copy of the transcription for your information.

In order to increase the validity of the findings, I would appreciate if you could read the script, editing any elements which you deem necessary by writing on the copy provided.

You may wish to:

- Add an additional piece of information, to clarify a point made
- Rephrase a section
- Remove an aspect you feel is unnecessary.

Once you have read the document, please return the edited version and sign below if you approve the transcription inclusive of any changes you have made.

Thank you once again for your contribution to this research.

With Kind Regards,

Miss C Reed.
Durham University

Confirmation of Transcript Editing/Validation

I, _____ certify that the enclosed document is a true and accurate reflection of the interview which took place in relation to doctoral research, on behalf of Durham University.

17.7 Appendix G: Interview Schedule – Non-Tutored Participants

Introductory Questions - background context
How would you define private tuition? (**Ensures definition is same as intent of researcher**)
Do you have a tutor?
Have you ever had a tutor?

Questions to identify functions of private tuition and classroom based learning
Describe in your opinion what a typical private tuition session would involve.
PROMPTS:

- Who would be involved?
- Where does it take place?
- What activities would be completed?
- How would private tuition sessions differ from lessons in school in terms of function? Are there any similarities between private tuition and lessons in school?

Questions regarding purpose
Why do people have a tutor?
Why do you not have a tutor?
Why may people not have tutors?
PROMPTS:

- Does the private tuition serve a different purpose to lessons in school? In what way?

Comparative questions to infer similarities and differences of purpose and function
Do your think that private tuition and lessons in school support one another, or are they two separate systems of learning?
PROMPTS:

- Are there any parts of either system of learning (school or private tutor), which you think the other should include? If so, what? Why should they include it? What result would this have?