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Exploring Equity Issues in Education: A Focus on the Rise Private
Tutoring in Canada

By

Yang Xin

A Major Research Paper

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

through the Faculty of Education

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

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Exploring Equity Issues in Education: A Focus on the Rise Private
Tutoring in Canada

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October 18, 2019

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ABSTRACT

Canada has recently seen an explosion in the tutoring industry, in large part due to four key factors: increased immigration from countries where tutoring is popular, the expansion of tutoring franchises from America, parents' lack of confidence in Canada's public education, and an excess number of teaching professionals who struggle to find work in a crowded education field. Though the tutoring industry has helped to stimulate the economy, improve student outcomes, and support the transition of immigrants, international students, and refugees, many have concerns that it will widen an already problematic education gap. Thus, to understand the nuances of this issue so as to propose direction for future research and policy, the current study conducted a comprehensive literature review. The results suggest that there are inconsistencies with the pedagogical approaches used by tutoring franchises and the qualifications of the tutors themselves, and in turn the effectiveness and efficiency of tutoring in general.

Keywords: private tutoring, parental involvement, socioeconomic status (SES), equity, Canada

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Given that China and America both rely on high stakes examinations—the Gaokao and SAT respectively—to decide on students’ acceptance into post-secondary institutions, it is not surprising that tutoring services are extremely prevalent in both countries. This is especially true of America, where the education sector is highly privatized. However, Canada’s education systems are heavily predicated on publicly funded schools and students can gain entry into most undergraduate programs without completing a high-stakes exam (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Moreover, without an elite Ivy League or historic universities, Canada does not have a steep prestige hierarchy of institutions and thus has a minute national market for undergraduate credentials (Butlin & Calvert, 1996; Lareau, 2000). Thus, Canada lacks the specific institutional conditions that focus educational competition in ways that typically spark a demand for tutoring (Heath, 2014) and provides an unlikely setting for a burgeoning private tutoring sector (Oswald, Baker, & Stevenson, 1988). Despite this, Davies, Aurini, and Quirke (2002) note that the number of tutoring businesses grew between 200–500% in major Canadian cities during the 1990s. This, they argue, was due in large part to parents’ decreasing confidence in increasingly regulated provincial education systems that were streamlined in under the pretense of accountability, which many parents believed meant that schools failed to provide individualized support to address each student’s unique needs (Davies et al., 2002). Further, tutors’ provisions have dramatically expanded, as have the number of

Canadian parents hiring private tutors (Arai, 2000). It is therefore curious that tutoring services are increasingly popular in Canada (Aurini & Davies, 2004).

There are a number of factors that have shaped this trend, including increased immigration from Asian countries (Stats Canada, 2017) that feature tutoring as a prevalent feature of their education system (Loriggio, 2017), American tutoring franchises that create a perceived need for such services through advertising (Stevenson & David, 2016), parental concerns regarding the quality of public education (Hung, 2005; Witte, 2000), and a flooded teaching profession (MacDonald, 2011). Though tutoring can help to augment shortcomings across Canada's publicly funded school systems, notably by helping the increased number of English additional language (EAL) learners arriving through immigration and Canada's refugee initiatives (Stats Canada, 2019a), it also has the potential to create inequities. For instance, some socioeconomically advantaged families are able to invest more into their children's educations (Seth, 2002), which may give their children an advantage over some children whose families hold lower socioeconomic status. This is also not to suggest that all families value tutoring: some do, some do not.

Despite the fact that tutoring is becoming increasingly popular in Canada, there is a scarcity of literature on the subject and no policies in place to address the potential issues that may arise from this trend (Dawson, 2010). Thus, it is vital to explore what literature does exist and identify the gaps and conflicts so as to propose future research that can clarify the impact tutoring has on Canadian education systems. It is likewise

important to use any findings that can be gleaned from current research to propose potential policy considerations.

Definitions and Background

In order to understand the complexities of Canada's growing engagement with private tutoring industries, it is important to first establish the key terms associated with tutoring, as well as the background of the phenomenon.

Definitions

There are several key terms that are often used to frame the discourse on tutoring and overlapping issues.

Tutoring. Sometimes referred to as 'private tutoring,' tutoring can be defined as private and supplementary academic support provided through lessons offered by individuals or institutions (Bray & Silova, 2006). Private tutoring is usually defined as fee-based tutoring provision that supplies remedial and supplementary instructions to students in academic subjects they learn in formal schooling (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

Shadow education. More broadly speaking, private, supplementary tutoring is widely referred to as shadow education and may have wide-ranging impact on the formal education system (Loriggio, 2017). It is referred to as shadow education because it is designed to be supplementary education, not an alternative to public or private education.

Private education. Because the word 'private' is often linked with both tutoring and education more broadly, the two terms are often seen as related. However, they have distinct meanings. Private education refers to alternative forms of education, such as

private schools and home-based schooling (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Policies related to private schools in Canada typically focus on restricting instruction hours to between 9:00 am and 4 pm, limiting the required number of enrolled students (Dawson, 2010). Based on policies issued by Ontario's Ministry of Education, provincial curriculum must be used but can be taught with discretion (Hernandez, 2009). Nevertheless, some elementary schools utilize their own academic resources and curriculum at their discretion in order to operate autonomously, which includes individualized timing and academic goals (Greiger, 2002).

Parallel education. Just as the word 'private' often creates a mistaken link between tutoring and private education, the terms 'shadow education' and 'parallel education' are often confused with one another. However, they are different. Where shadow education refers to supplementary tutorial services, parallel education refers specifically to alternatives to public education, namely private schools and home schooling (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Private/parallel education is meant to be a comprehensive and complete form of education that serves as an alternative to the public system.

Background

There are several factors that have shaped the increase in tutoring in Canada: increasing immigration and educational tourism from countries with diverging pedagogical cultures and practices, American tutoring franchises entering the Canadian

market, a lack of parental confidence in public education regarding the quality of public education, and an education market that has been flooded teaching professionals.

Immigration and Educational Tourism. Two key demographic trends have played a significant role in the growing prevalence of tutoring in Canada: immigration and educational tourism. These trends have highlighted the differences between the pedagogies and assessment models in immigrants' native education systems and those of their new country, leading to pedagogical conflicts.

Immigration. In 2006, Canada's population of foreign-born persons was approximately 20%; however, this number is projected to increase to as much as 28% by the year 2036 (Stats Canada, 2018a). This estimation predicts that 55% of that population will have been born in Asian countries (Stats Canada, 2018a). Moreover, 6.6 million people in Canada, nearly 20%, report speaking English or French as a second language (Stats Canada, 2018b), indicating that there is a significant portion of the population who are potentially in need of EAL support. These numbers are significant because tutoring is extremely pervasive in Asian countries such as South Korea and Turkey (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). For example, private tutoring is a \$14 billion commercial industry in Japan (Wells, 2002) and has become critical within the context of Japanese education (Russell, 1997) with the majority of Japanese students having participated in intensive tutoring programs throughout school vacations (Witte, 2000). Moreover, because private tutoring is common practice in China, most Chinese immigrant families have maintained this practice in Canada (Jenish, 2019). The fact that this same population may need additional

language support makes it all the more likely that they will continue using private tutoring after immigrating to Canada.

Educational tourism. Tutoring practices have also been increased in part due to Canada's educational tourism trade. For example, between 2004 and 2017, the number of Chinese international students studying in Canada rose from just under 40,000 to nearly 150,000 (Canadian Bureau for International Education [CBIE], 2018), and there were nearly 415,000 international students studying Canadian post-secondary institutions in 2016 (Government of Canada, 2017), a number that has risen significantly for eight consecutive years (Stats Canada, 2019b).

This trend has permeated into lower levels of education that have a more direct impact on tutoring practices. For instance, in Ontario, the Toronto District School Board has seen a 5-10% increase in the number of international students who enrolled in their district, while smaller districts such as Thames Valley District School Board have seen increases greater than 100% (Loriggio, 2017). Similar increases have been seen in many of Canada's metropolitan cities, most notably those in British Columbia, and most of these international students have come from Asian nations, such as South Korea and China (Loriggio, 2017). As a result, the tutoring practices that are common in these nations are likely to be imported.

Educational tourism has also intensified tutoring practices in countries where tutoring was already prevalent. In Eastern countries, many students aspire to study overseas; however, to do so they must pass a variety of high-states exams, such as SAT

preparation, Graduate Record Examinations (GRE), Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT), college portfolios (Davies et al., 2002). This has created widespread educational credential competition. In addition, some language ability tests are necessary. As a result, international students who wish to study abroad must complete language tests, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Test of English as a Foreign Language ([TOEFL]; Witte, 2000). To do well on these tests, many students rely on tutoring (Davies et al., 2002).

Differing Pedagogical Cultures and Practices. As Asian students enter Canadian provincial education systems, they find that the pedagogical models employed in Canada are distinct from those in Asia (Greiger, 2002). The two differing pedagogical approaches and their associated practices have come into conflict: Confucianism's teacher-centered pedagogy and exam-oriented assessment, and the John Dewey's student-centered approach and multi-assessment approaches (Collins, 2002). Though Canada does employ teacher-centered approaches in conjunction with Dewey's student-centered pedagogy, the differences can still be jarring for students who are accustomed to a more rigid, teacher-centered context.

Teacher-centered approach. As Tan (2016) notes, Confucian pedagogies rely almost exclusively on a teacher-centered approach. She suggests that, in this context, there is a strict hierarchical relationship between the teacher and student, and teachers consequently have a disproportionate amount of power, which means learners are dependent their teachers. In this context, the lessons are almost entirely didactic, meaning

that teachers offer instruction while students passively listen without critically questioning the teacher (Wu & Qian, 2008).

Student-centered approach. In contrast to the strict hierarchy of the teacher-centered approach, education theorist John Dewey (1916) supports a democratic approach to education. This, he argues, is critical to creating an effective pedagogical model as content could be more easily absorbed by students if it is presented in a manner that makes it relatable to the students so as to deepen the connection to a given lesson (Dewey, 1902). He likewise frames learning as a social interaction between teachers and students, and though he argues that teachers should guide the classroom, at teachers must adapt their pedagogical approaches to address the students' needs. In this context, students' knowledge, views, and experiences are seen as being as central to the learning process as the teacher. Thus, he advocates for a student-centered approach. Because the elements of Dewey's approach are so foreign to newcomer students who come from a more rigid teacher-center education system, this has the potential to create an educational culture shock.

Exam-oriented assessment. As Wu and Qian (2008) note, China's education system is highly dependent on high-stakes, exam-oriented assessment that is often incompatible with more student-centered approaches. This approach focuses on rote memorization as the central means of information transmission and discourages critical engagement. This has culminated in the Gaokao test, China's high-stakes entrance exam. Because so much depends on the outcome of this exam, it is common practice for

students in China to secure tutoring support to succeed (Davies, 2018). In this way, parents hope to help boost their children's grades and Gaokao scores by soliciting tutoring services that cram for tests (Bray, 2017).

Multi-assessment approach. Because Dewey's (1938) approach focused on students' experiences, his approach also forwarded the notion that learning should be built on experiences, not simply lecture. Moreover, because Dewey argues that knowledge should be transferred in a manner that students can relate to, he argues it should also be assessed in a similar manner (Dewey, 2009). Not only, for example, should children be tested on their recall of a given topic, but they should also be tested on their ability to apply it (Herrick, 1996). Likewise, rather than focusing on scores, Dewey argues that assessment should provide on feedback to help develop students' abilities and understanding (Herrick, 1996). Though much of Dewey's work was written over a century ago, it is still relevant and commonly practiced today (DeFalco, 2016).

Pedagogical Conflict. Many parents of international children arrive in Canada from a different pedagogical background. As a result, Li (2001) suggest that some parents do not understand the pedagogical approaches used in Canada, questioning things like a lack of emphasis on testing and homework, and in turn lack confidence in the education systems' ability to teach their children. Because some of these same parents are often already used to augmenting their children's education with extracurricular tutoring programs, it not surprising that they turn to tutoring in a Canadian context, thereby contributing to the rise in tutoring (Jenish, 2019).

Tutoring franchises. Another key factor that has contributed to the growth in tutoring in Canada is the expansion of tutoring franchises—such as Oxford Learning and Sylvan Learning—which have focused heavily on advertising to create a perceived need for tutoring. For example, Sylvan Learning, which is an American company, has engaged in an extensive international expansion (Sylvan Learning, 2018). This expansion has been bolstered by advertising campaigns that feature extensive and demographic-targeted online advertisements (Google, 2016), and television spots promoting summer enrollment (“Sylvan Learning,” n.d.). Such efforts seem to have collectively contributed to a significant growth in the number and popularity of tutoring franchises through Canada (Chai, 2013; Whyte, 2009). As a result of aggressive expansion strategies, prevalent tutoring companies have expanded and opened thousands of sites throughout North American area, such as Kumon, Sylvan Learning Center, and Oxford Learning Center (Davies, 2018; Epstein, 2001).

Parental concerns about public education. The influx of immigrants from Confucian backgrounds and expansion of tutoring franchises is likewise correlated with a growing perception that this group of parents are not entirely confident in Canada’s public-school system. As Li (2001) notes, some Chinese international parents do not see the value of Canada’s student-centered pedagogy, creating a lack of confidence within this population in public education within this population. Likewise, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (2018) survey public attitudes found that 25% of parents from across Ontario believed that the quality of schools has diminished in the past decades. Moreover,

Witte (2000) found that parents viewed private tutoring as a means to compensate for underperforming schools and incompetent teachers. This may be due to the fact that older Canadian parents, like international parents, are unfamiliar with an education system that has changed dramatically since they were in school. For example, many parents in Ontario have struggled with and shown opposition to ‘discovery’ math being used in place of ‘fundamentals’ (Flanagan, 2018). In this way, the Canadian parents’ views on Canada’s current pedagogical methods parallel those of international parents, leading to a reduced confidence in Canada’s pedagogical approaches.

Flooded teaching profession. Between 2006 and 2011, Ontario saw nearly 26,000 pre-service teachers enter a job market that did not have positions for them (Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario [HEQCO], 2016). Moreover, as of 2015, over one third of pre-service teachers who had graduated in 2010 had yet to secure a permanent position with a public-school board (Ontario College of Teacher [OCT], 2018). Many of these teachers take education-related positions, but the most common occupation they choose is tutoring (OCT, 2018). It is not surprising then, that a saturated education market has increased the number of available tutors, which has likely in turn contributes to the increase in tutoring services in Canada.

Research Purpose

It is clear that the increase in tutoring in Canada has been shaped by a number of factors, most notably the increase immigration and educational tourism, American tutoring franchises expanding into the Canadian market, a lack of parental confidence in

public education, and a saturated education market that has left teaching professionals searching for alternative jobs in their field. As the popularity of private tutoring has increased, many parents of students in Canada have come to recognize tutoring as a significant factor in education that provides competitive advantages for their children. Although the phenomenon of wide-spread private tutoring has grown in Canada, research on this issue is still in its infancy. Thus, there is inadequate literature and research on the efficiency and equity of the private tutoring industry, which is important data that governments need to be able to integrate into all aspects of the education sectors, including public education, private educational institutions, and the private tutoring industry.

Due to this lack of research, there are several lines of inquiry that research must engage in. For example, it is critical to determine whether tutoring is cost-effective with respect to improving students' academic performance. This is especially important given that there is no clear evidence indicating whether private tutoring improves the learning outcomes of low-performing students. There is likewise limited research on whether tutoring services create unfair advantages for the children of affluent families and put children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds at a disadvantage. This is doubly problematic as research has yet to establish the demographic trends relating to this phenomenon, so it is unknown which demographic groups of parents enroll their children in private tutoring. Based on these gaps, is not surprising that there is also limited research with regard to what kind of legislative policies can address the concerns and

potential issues associated with tutoring trends in Canada. To address these gaps, it is important to first develop an understanding of the literature that does exist so as to define these gaps in more concrete terms and propose future research and a series of recommendations to ensure that tutoring in Canada is used as a means to facilitate learning without undermining the equity of Canada's education systems.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

To develop a plan for future research and potential recommendations, it is critical to do a thorough and extensive literature review. Thus, for the purpose of the current study, an exhaustive search was done. Several databases were used, including ERIC, Google Scholar, and Pro-quest Social Sciences. A combination of numerous search terms was used. These terms included but were not limited to ‘tutoring,’ ‘demographics,’ ‘social impact,’ ‘immigrants,’ ‘international students,’ ‘policy,’ ‘accreditation,’ ‘outcomes,’ and several others. These were used in various combinations with each other, and each of Canada’s provinces were likewise added in a number of combinations. In addition, several major countries were included in the search, including Canada, America, China, Japan, China, and South Korea. These nations were included either due to their proximity or the number of Canada or their contribution to Canada’s immigrant community. Works were initially restricted to studies in English and those completed within five years of the search; however, these parameters needed to be broadened as there were limited studies available. Thus, a number of studies were included that reached as far back as the 1990s, though preference was given to articles published since 2000. Studies were also selected based on which methodological approaches they used with the aim of including studies that relied on a variety of methods so as to ensure a balanced perspective and range of both qualitative and quantitative data. For national and

provincial statistical data, the research relied primarily on data offered by Statistics Canada.

Based on a thorough reading of the literature, four key issues arose: demographics, results, impact, and policy. To establish the trends needed to develop future research plans and recommendations, each of these categories is discussed in detail.

Demographics

Given that Canada has witnessed a rapid growth in tutoring (Wang & Bray, 2016), which is part of a broader global trend that includes a variety of forms and a rapidly growing number of students (Greiger, 2002), it is critical to first understand the demographics linked to this trend. Given that this trend has been largely influenced by the globalization of the education sector, one critical demographic is nationality. However, in a Canadian context, it is likewise important to consider provincial demographics. As tutoring is a form of private education that is meant to enhance academic outcomes, it is likewise important to consider socioeconomics and student performance. Both of these factors may be influenced by parents' level of education, so it is important to consider this demographic as well. Sex/gender and the age of students are demographic that likewise seem to influence trends in tutoring. Finally, there are also trends with regard to when tutoring takes place and how long it is. To understand tutoring's broader impact, it is important to first understand these demographics.

Nationality

Canada's tutoring trends are perhaps shaped by globalization more than any other factor. With a high number of immigrants, refugee, and international students, the educational practices of other countries are being rapidly imported, and English language needs are often being addressed through tutoring services. This is most common among children whose origins are in East Asia, including China, Japan, and Korea. However, Middle Eastern students receive significant tutoring, notably Arabic-speaking students and Israelis.

East Asia. The incidence of private tutoring is an important phenomenon in East Asia and is host to variable sizes, different locations, multiple degree of socioeconomic development, and differentiated political institutions (Stevens, 2001). For instance, Canada Home Tutoring Ltd., which is located in Edmonton, reportedly provides instruction to roughly 200 students a month during the school year (Briggs, 2001). One-quarter of them, mostly Asian, are high achievers who have set their academic goals even higher (Witte, 2000). Most Asian clients maintain 95% averages in math and science but would like to boost their language marks (Elkord, 2017).

China. A proliferation of Chinese immigrants has led to an increase in the number of Chinese-origin students in Canadian schools, in Ontario in particular (Fuller, Elmore, & Olfield, 1996). Though this trend began in the 1990s, the number of Chinese immigrants has only increase more in recent years. Canada's foreign-born population comprised was approximately 20% of the nation's total population—a number that is expected to increase through to 2036—and 55% of Canada's foreign-born population are

from Asia countries (Stats Canada, 2018a). These numbers are significant because tutoring is extremely pervasive in China and other Asian countries (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Because private tutoring is common practice in China, most Chinese immigrant families have maintained this practice in Canada (Jenish, 2019), leading to a rapidly growth in the number of tutoring services and companies provided in Canada because private tutoring (Steven, 2001).

Japan. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the majority of Japanese students in Japan have participated in intensive tutoring programs throughout school vacations (Witte, 2000). In particular, in some top-ranking schools, more than 60% of students may have spent time after high school preparing for university entrance examinations (Cookson & Hodges Persell, 1985). As a result, private tutoring is a \$14 billion commercial industry in Japan (Wells, 2002) and has become critical within the context of Japanese education (Elkord, 2017) with the majority of Japanese students having participated in intensive tutoring programs throughout school vacations (Witte, 2000). As there are over 85,000 Japanese Canadians living in Canada, with most living in either and given that the population is growing (Stats Canada, 2007a), this population and their educational practices will likely contribute to the trends in tutoring. It is also important that most Japanese Canadians live in British Columbia (44%) or Ontario (34%; Stats Canada, 2007a), both provinces where tutoring has become increasingly popular.

Korea. The context for Canada's for Korea-born population is similar to the Japanese-born population. At around 55,000, most Korea-born Canadians reside in British

Columbia (32%) or Ontario (54%), and the population is growing (Stats Canada, 2007b). Korea is a representative of a nation with a prevalent private tutoring industry. For example, in Korea, the amount of money the average household spends on private tutoring has been approaching the degree of spending on the formal schooling education system (Domina, 2005). Thus, it is fair to assume that Canada's Korea-born population has significantly contributed to Canada's tutoring industry.

Middle Eastern countries. Though it is less than ideal to categorize all Middle Eastern countries together, most studies that explore this population tend to focus on Arab-speaking students more generally. For example, Elkord (2017) looked at Arab immigrant's perceptions of high school, and several of the study's participants noted that they receive regular tutoring support, in some cases as much as two hours each evening. It is important to note that this support is not just for English language proficiency, but also for subjects including math and science (Elkord, 2017). However, reliable stats cannot be drawn from this study as it was a qualitative report.

Educational tourism. The practice of tutoring has been impacted by educational tourism. The prevalence and high regard for modernization and Western education has led to a global demand for private international schools and ESL private tutoring over the past decades for students at all levels of education, starting as early as kindergarten (Heath, 2014). According to Sharma (2016), there has also been a rapid growth in the number of English language acquisition supplementary tutoring services for the students who are pursuing their studies abroad or start a new life with their families in other

countries. To secure enrollment, these students must take a variety of language proficiency tests, including Scholastic Aptitude Tests, Graduate Record Examinations, and the International English Language Testing System (Sharma, 2016). Thus, the international students who enter Canada's lower levels of education will be entering class with the support of tutors. Moreover, over half of Canada's international students plan on applying to citizenship (CBIE, 2018), many of whom eventually become permanent residents and citizens who may likely pass this tutoring practice onto their own children. Thus, educational tourism's impact on tutoring in Canada is twofold.

General conclusions on nationality. The most significant barrier with regard to identifying the demographic trends with respect to nationality among Canada's immigrants is that there simply are not firm stats with regard to who is utilizing tutoring services; thus, many of the conclusions that can be tentatively drawn are based on correlations between a rise in tutoring, a rise in immigration, and the native tutoring practices of many people within Canada's immigrant population. However, future research is required to determine whether there is a causal relationship between the two.

Provincial Demographics

Private tutoring is a common tool for parents who have school-aged children in Canada (Arai, 2000), and between 1998-2008, the number of Canadian students who have private tutoring experience grew by 20% (Park, 2008). However, some provinces have seen greater increases, and since education is a provincial matter in Canada, it is critical to understand how tutoring impacts different provinces. For example, in Ontario,

Canada's largest province, tutoring rates have increased more than 40% over the 1990s (Huffman, 1998; Stevens, 2001). However, there are limited statistics available that offer a clear outline of tutoring trends. What is clear is that the populations who are more likely to use tutoring—namely international students and students from immigrant families—are more prevalent in Ontario and British Columbia than any other province. As noted, the Toronto District School Board has seen a 5-10% increase in the number of international students who enrolled in their district, while some smaller districts in Ontario have seen increases higher than 100% (Loriggio, 2017). This trend parallels similar increases in British Columbia (Loriggio, 2017). Moreover, British Columbia and Ontario host the majority of Canada's Japanese-born (Stats Canada, 2007a) and Korean-born (Stats Canada, 2007b) populations. Further research must be done, but it is clear that these trends are impacting each province in different ways and to different degrees.

Socioeconomics

Tutoring is no longer confined to relatively prosperous families, but far-reaching ranges of families from various and distinctive social classes (Fuchs, 2002). According to Davies and Aurini (2006), in the context of North America, parents are playing a more active role in their children's education with regard to private, supplementary tutoring. However, socioeconomics does play a significant role in tutoring trends and disparities. Davies and Aurini (2006) are not alone in forwarding the ample evidence of a cultural propensity and tendency for parents in many other countries to pay private tutoring or tutoring business centers to supplement school provision for their children, particularly in

the most developed territories (Bray & Silova, 2006). Empirical evidence indicates that the socioeconomic characteristics of the students' families—such as household income, parental involvement, and education—are key factors that shape the likelihood of utilizing or perceiving the need for private tutoring (Dang & Rogers, 2008).

Unfortunately, statistics on socioeconomics in relation to tutoring in Canada is sparse. Multiple studies agree that there is an academic outcome gap that is positively correlated with socioeconomic status (Butler, 2019; Fuller, Neudorf, Bermedo-Carrasco, & Neudorf, 2016), but few manage to link this with access to tutoring. However, K.-K. Kim (2003) found that more privileged households with higher income and better education usually invest more in private tutoring. Other studies have found that children from more affluent families do in fact have more access to private tutoring and do see higher levels of academic achievement; however, these studies are in other countries, such as Israel (Addi- Raccach, 2019) and Japan (Entrich, 2018). Thus, it is vital that future research establish clear trends given that this particular demographic is critical to establishing the potential negative impacts of Canada's tutoring trends. This is especially important given that parents' expectations can be shaped by demographic factors such as socioeconomics.

Academic Performance

Given that private tutoring has been seen by some as a remedial learning strategy for low-performing students to help students improve their academic performance and close the gap in academic outcomes (Tansel & Bircan, 2006), it is also important to

establish demographics with regard to students' performance. For instance, some may assume that private tutoring is typically received by pupils who are lagging behind their peers and wish to keep up. This has been true in the past. For instance, parents usually initiate learning centre contact and consultation and correspondence with tutors to communicate after their children have suffered certain academic difficulties and problems (Oswald et al., 1988). However, tutoring is currently more common among students who are already performing well and wish to maintain their competitive edge (Dang, 2007).

Evidence suggest that the students who receive tutoring support are often already outperforming most of their classmates. For example, one survey found that the majority of parents who hire tutors had children whose overall academic achievement was within A or B range (Matute, & Guajardo, 2010), which is in the top half of the class. This suggest that tutoring is more often utilized by average or students with high performance than students whose academic performance is actually lower than their peers. This suggests that tutoring may only exacerbating such gaps, though more extensive research is required to verify this.

Parental Education Background and Involvement

Previous studies have found that parents' level of education (Acharya & Joshi, 2009; Ardila, Rosselli, Matute, & Guajardo, 2010) and involvement (Castro et al., 2015; McNeal, 2015) have been correlated to their children's academic achievement. It could likewise be helpful to establish this demographic information in relation to tutoring practices. For example, K.-K. Kim (2003) found that parents with higher levels of

education often invest more in private tutoring. This is supported by Arai (2000), who notes that today's parents are the most educated and involved generation and are consequently more likely to intervene and shape their children's development and educational performance, but the more educated a parent is, the more likely this will happen. This is a key consideration as parental involvement plays a significant role in the private tutoring experience of their children (Park, 2008), and parents have the sincere desire to facilitate and support their children's educational careers. Furthermore, parents may often have high expectations that even a quality school cannot meet. The benefits of this are highlighted by Lareau (2000), who found that private tutoring is correlated with a substantial degree of parental involvement at home, including discussions about education with the child at home and the monitoring of children's behaviors. Witte (2000) likewise suggests that parental involvement in private tutoring has a significant impact on children's academic performance. For instance, parents are more likely to help boost their children's academic performance if they research curriculum and tutoring services and monitor their children's progress (Witte, 2000). However, though research has established that there is a correlation between parental involvement, tutoring, and students' success, minimal research has been done to investigate whether parents' education attainment plays a significant role.

Sex/Gender

Though few studies explore demographics with respect to tutoring and sex/gender, research has found that private tutoring is more likely to be used by male students than

female students in Canada (Fan, 2001). Female students who do use tutoring services are more likely to hire private tutoring for mathematics support than male students (Sharma, 2016). Given that private tutoring has been regarded as a way to enhance academic knowledge among students who cannot effectively evaluate their own academic competences (Y.-H. Kim, 2002), this may suggest that female students believe math competencies to be insufficient. Such perceptions may be reinforced by the fact that male students on average secure higher grade in math than female students, while female students tend to outperform male students in terms of literacy, and this is consistent with students in Ontario (Lee, 1998) and in nations that comprise a significant portion of Canada's immigrant population, such as South Korean (Seth, 2002). This is a long-standing trend as Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985) found that during the 1980s, female students were less confident than male students with regard to their academic knowledge and ability to pass exams without hiring private tutors, though this was an American study. Moreover, Zhuhadara, Marklinb, Thrashera, and Lytrasc (2016) note that male and female students in America interact with tutors differently, but their study was limited to computer-based tutoring services. Like other demographics, the research on how gender-related stereotypes affect demands and provision underlying private education is partial and inconsistent (Buchmann, diPrete, & McDaniel, 2008). However, it is also a critical issue when examining the demand for private tutoring within the context of socioeconomic determinants and thus requires analysis (Domina, 2005).

Age

To establish trends linked with tutoring, it is also important to understand at what age parents enroll their children into tutoring services are. Establishing this could help determine at what age it is more effective and appropriate to begin tutoring. However, the statistics are not broken down into more specific categories. Multiple studies have found that the tutoring market has already become more common among younger students and that the targeted group is getting younger (Davies & Hammack, 2004; Wells, 2002). It seems, then, that parents are more likely to enroll younger students in tutoring services not only because tutoring is starting at a younger age but also because, as students get older, their parents are less involved in private tutoring education and the students themselves are less likely to use private tutoring services (Wells, 2002). Again, though, the data on this topic is limited.

Scheduling

Finally, it might also prove advantageous to get data regarding when students engaging in tutoring services. There are some more casual examples of this. For example, some students receive tutoring in the evening, while others receive it during the evening on weekdays, after school. These differences alone warrant comparative analysis to see which is more effective at helping parents and students achieve their academic goals. However, there are more drastic differences. For example, there is also an increasing number of Canadian parents who are enrolling their children in private summer or after-school tutoring programs, such as those offered by Kumon or the Sylvan Learning Centre (Jenish, 2019). Moreover, some students receive tutoring throughout the whole year,

while other primarily receive it immediately before the major examinations, and still others other receive it throughout both the academic year and even during the summer (Jenish, 2019). Currently, there are minimal studies that outline the rates at which each option is used. Thus, it is critical that future studies establish which approaches will most effectively help students secure their desired academic attainment.

Key Points on Demographics. The central takeaway with regard to the demographics related to tutoring is that too little is currently known, and what little is known has not been validated through extensive, thorough, quantitative studies. It is therefore vital that future research focus first on establishing these trends so that subsequent research can use that data to determine how tutoring services are impacting various populations.

Tutoring Outcomes

The goal of tutoring is to help students improve their academic performance (Tansel & Bircan, 2006) and is commonly considered as a supplement that helps to improve academic performance among elementary and high school students (Butlin & Ian, 1996). Moreover, when soliciting the services of tutoring, parents have longer-term hopes and take a long-view as they look forward to the latter dividends in the future their children may bring to them (Liu & Bray, 2018). Therefore, it is critical to consider parents perceptions and expectations so as to evaluate whether or not tutoring services are fulfilling their intended purpose, goal, and if this purpose is being achieved efficiently.

In discussing this, it is important to consider the qualification of tutors and the pedagogies they are utilizing.

Parents Perceptions and Expectations

With regard to parents who pay for private tutoring services, there are typically two factors that shape their decision to use a tutoring service: their negative perception of public education and their expectations in an increasingly competitive education market.

Perceptions of public school. A joint effort by the Canadian Education Association and OISE found that parents who purchase private tutoring are less satisfied with public schools than non-tutoring parents (Wang & Bray, 2016). For example, when parents are told by teachers in formal schooling that their children may lack the capacity to improve, parents might see that as a failing on the part of the school system and seek out tutoring centers (Matute, & Guajardo, 2010). In this regards, private tutoring is considered to compensate for underperforming schools and incompetent teachers (Witte, 2000). Compensating for this perceived deficiency in the public-school system because parents are concerned about the perceived risk of academic failure; thus, parents are increasingly willing to pay for private, supplementary tutoring (Aurini & Davies, 2004). In addition, in most developed countries, parents perceived a higher demand for private tutoring lessons because of the disparities between the challenging requirements of university entrance examinations and public schools' curriculum content (Murawska & Putkiewicz, 2005). Though this may be less of a concern in Canada as it does not have rigid entrance exams, Davies et al. (2002) note that changes in provincial education

systems have led to a decrease in parents' confidence in public education. Thus, public schools are seen as being inadequate and tutoring is necessary to secure enrollment and success in post-secondary institutions.

This perception is compounded among immigrant parents who studied in a Confucian context and have faith in that system: these parents often lack confidence in Canada's student-centered approach (Li, 2001). According to Stevenson and Baker (1992), for these parents, tutoring has a central role in mediating between these contrasting pedagogical models for Chinese immigrant students and facilitating the adaptation and acculturation of Chinese immigrant children. In a tutoring context, then, it is vital to identify whether students encounter student-centered or teacher-centered approaches and which helps them to adapt to their new academic culture more effectively (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

Perceptions of academic competition. Parents also believe that education is becoming increasingly competitive and are thus willing to pay increasingly higher application fees and annual tuition cost (Collins, 2002). For instance, the increasing competition for educational credentials has become more intense across North America because there is far more demand for the top desirable opportunities in higher education in Canada and the United States (Mischo & Haag, 2002). Thus, parents rely on tutors to help their children secure higher scores on their SAT preparation and develop college portfolios, which fuels knowledge economics (Kempf, 2016). "Knowledge economy" is the use of knowledge to generate tangible and intangible values, which can be used by

decision support systems in various fields and generate economic values. Knowledge economy is also possible without technology (Kempf, 2016). Many parents dedicate significant time and efforts to seek the supplementary support and strategies that best suit their children's needs at both advanced and remedial levels (Lareau, 2000). Some students from high school may even spend additional years enrolling in some specialized private tutoring classes in preparation for these important examinations (Ono, 2007). Thus, private tutoring has been regarded as a desirable and strategy for parents who seek to enhance their children's competitiveness, either at advanced or fundamental levels (Kempf, 2016).

Expectations. Parents' expectations are likewise increasingly high. Even students with average grades have parents who expect them to pursue higher education because they believe that their children would not otherwise succeed in the competitive labour market (Stevenson & David, 2016). For example, an increasing number of parents expect their children to attend post-secondary schools and thus have high expectations for their children's performance (Sorensen, 1994). Sometimes, many students whose grades are below average do not effectively complete homework assignments, and their parents may therefore expect them to attend the private tutoring services. As a result, there are an increasing number of tutoring centers and services that are responsible for general knowledge courses and extra-curriculum academic courses that aim to enhance outcomes for students who are going to take the high school and university entrance exams (Fuchs, 2002).

Importance of parents' perceptions and expectations. Whatever the goals of a tutoring service might be, the parents' perceptions and expectations are central as they are the measure that the success of a tutoring service will be measured against.

Outcomes

When evaluating the success of tutoring services, one thing is clear: parental involvement is central to students' success.

Positive outcomes. Several studies have offered data that suggest tutoring does improve students' academic outcomes. For example, Dang and Rogers (2008) found that private tutoring can help students improve their academic performance in public mainstream education (Elbaum, Vaughn, Tejero Hughes, & Watson Moody, 2000; Mischo & Haag, 2002; Tansel & Birckan). This is supported by Fuller et al. (1996), whose data suggest that learning achievements could be improved by tutoring services for children, at least on average.

Negative and neutral outcomes. Not all the data are as promising as some suggest. For instance, Heath (2014) report that multiple longitudinal studies that control for prior achievement illustrated negative relationships between tutors-related involvement activities and students' academic outcomes. However, this study is in the minority. That said, Adler (2004) argues that there is no clear empirical evidence regarding the quality and efficiency of private tutoring and that private tutoring actually inhibits students' academic outcomes and can even negatively impact the entrance exam results they are expected to secure (Adler, 2004). In addition, there is limited evidence

suggesting that these plausible improvements can be truly cost-effective (Adler, 2004). Poisson (2007) agrees, stating that empirical evidence on the specific consequences and effects of private tutoring is ambiguous as tutoring is a complex phenomenon and is shaped by multiple factors, such as assessment methods and teachers' performance, both of which can shape student outcomes.

Parental involvement. One point that seems consistent is that parental involvement can consistently support learning outcomes. Rosenbaum (2001) found that multiple variables have reciprocal relationships with children's cognitive learning outcomes and effects on academic performance, including parental education. For instance, Wang and Bray (2016) found that parents who spend more time gathering and comparing relevant information are more likely to find appropriate private tutoring services that best fit their children's needs, which in turn will enhance children's academic achievement. Likewise, parents who more frequently interact with private tutors or instructors can more effectively monitor their children's progress and find alternative private tutoring in a timely manner if the current one does not seem to fit their children's demands (Witte, 2000). This gathering of information on private tutoring and closely monitoring the progress of their children who receive private tutoring may also be a proxy for indicating the overall degree of the parents' commitment to their children's education (Butlin & Ian, 1996), which is often a good sign. Thus, parental involvement in private tutoring has a significant impact on students' achievement, and there is a

collateral and substantial association between student outcomes and parental involvement (Heath, 2014).

However, this is not to suggest that all forms of parental involvement are advantageous. Bruce (2000) found that parental involvement in private tutoring, home-based activities, and school-related involvement activities—such as contacting schools about school curriculum and programs and volunteering—are less likely to directly influence children’s educational outcomes as they do not change the process within schools. Sorensen (1994) also concludes that positive relationships between proper parental involvement and students’ learning outcomes is superficial. Thus, parents should be cautious about the kind and level of involvement they engage in, and future studies should explore which forms are most advantageous for students.

When considering the impact of parental involvement in tutoring and its related outcomes, it is also critical to consider how parental involvement in other aspects of education can shape student outcomes. Ule, Živoder, and du Bois-Reymond (2014) note that when parents recognize their role as co-educators and offer their children support for school assignments, their children are more likely to develop individual responsibility, secure higher academic outcomes, and complete a higher level of education. Shen, Krenn, Hu, and Yuan (2016) note that this is especially true when such involvement occurs at a young age and that the relationship between parents and children is more significantly correlated with higher academic outcomes than the relationships between teachers/schools and students. Though these two studies are European and American

respectively, their findings are consistent with those from previous Canadian research as well (Deslandes, Bouchard, & St-Amant, 1998). Thus, when making claims as to how much tutoring supports academic attainment, it is important to consider how intersecting factors, such as parental involvement in both tutoring and other aspect of education also influence academic outcomes.

Curriculum, Pedagogical Approaches and Teacher Qualifications

Learning outcomes can obviously be improved when appropriate pedagogical approaches are used by qualified teachers. However, when it comes to tutoring, there is often no concrete curriculum, and it is unclear which pedagogies are the most appropriate in which situations, and whether the tutors have the teaching qualifications to make such determinations.

Curriculum. The emergence of the private, supplementary tutoring sector has complemented the private and public schooling education systems (Stevens, 2001), but the content is not always consistent. Unlike schools in both the public and private sectors, which largely depend on the mainstream educational curriculum, the private tutoring industry does not have an official curriculum. Most franchises provide supplemental education (Dang & Rogers, 2008). This means that tutors execute individualized learning content and correspondent remedial instructions (Keith, 1991). Interestingly, traditional tutoring models help with homework and test preparation through multiple and various collateral educational offerings, approaches that have transcended learning centers (Wells,

2002). In such instances, tutors may help students answer certain questions but may be unfamiliar with the intended learning outcomes.

Though tutoring services have traditionally offered basic and fundamental assistance, such as homework help and test preparation (Keith, 1991), many private tutoring franchises have recently transformed themselves into learning centers. In this context, some tutoring companies now offer their own diagnostic, curricular, and evaluative material (Aurini & Davies, 2004). Though such franchises establish and work toward a clear goal, this does not mean that their learning outcomes and modes of assessment are consistent with the curriculum the student they support is expected to achieve in their school.

Pedagogy. The mode of delivery is not always consistent. Generally, tutoring is more individualized and flexible (Russell 1997), which allows tutors/teachers more individual time to assess a student's understanding. In addition, because tutoring services typically offer assistance with students' homework assignments (Keith, 1991), they are likely student-centered in many respects. This is reinforced by the fact that in tutoring class mechanisms, knowledge is delivered by either one-to-one or in small tutoring groups, though they sometimes include larger classes (Briggs, 2001). Another key issue is that tutors are helping students with a wide variety of issues and for a wide variety of reasons. Thus, they are often expected to answer to the standards of a variety of pedagogical approaches. For example, Zhou and Hu (2017) explore a writing tutoring program that used collaborative approach that was non-directive, while Kempf (2016)

outlines the test-oriented pedagogies that tutors must use when preparing students for high-stakes test. The issue with pedagogy and tutoring is therefore twofold: firstly, there is no clear and consistent pedagogical approach used by tutors, and secondly, tutors must prepare students to conform to a variety of pedagogical expectations depending on their students' learning context.

Teacher qualifications. Teacher qualifications are likewise an important variable in the tutoring industry. The private tutoring instructors include not only full-time tutors and teachers but also part-time tutors from university students to retired teachers (Russell 1997). Tutors often have a wide variety of qualifications. For example, Kwamboka and Kimemia (2017) found that in the technical field, the tutors they surveyed held a master's degree (8%), and bachelor's degree (14%), or a diploma in a related field: technical education (58%), education (10%), or textile technology (10%). Though all of their participating tutors had some degree of qualifications, it is also clear that there was a significant gap between those who had a MA or BA (22%) and those who did not (78%). Conversely, Kwamboka and Kimemia (2017) found that there is a lack of consistency with regard to the qualifications of tutors; consequently, instructors' qualifications and backgrounds vary in the tutoring industry, creating a stratified complicated mixture of tutors. For instance, because many tutors are undergraduate students, or even high school students in some cases, many tutors do not have teaching certificate, experience as teachers, and or any sort of specialized training in education or the subject they offer instruction on (Edgerton et al., 2008). This is supported by Avery (2015) who notes that a

tutoring program for immigrants in Sweden that utilized a collaborative pedagogy warranted improvement because the tutors did not possess the skills needed to achieve program's goals, though students did see improvement. Tutors' qualifications can be even more of a potential concern, as noted by Gale (2016). For example, upper-year high school students often offer tutoring services for low rates to younger high school students or grade school students. Gale (2016) notes that parents, in these instances, are more concerned with their children's learning outcomes than tutor qualifications, though savings is also a factor as independent tutors with less qualifications charge significantly less than tutoring franchises. All in all, private tutoring is much more affordable than private schooling in terms of average households as a supplementary sector instead of replacement of public formal schooling (Schneider, Teske, & Marschall, 2000); however, the qualifications of tutors is not consistent throughout the industry.

Conclusions for Tutoring Outcomes

Tutoring franchises increasingly commit to offer more intricate and durable cognitive skills that will help to improve students' long-term academic outcomes (McNeal, 1999). Some tutoring businesses even guarantee to boost students' academic grades to a certain grade level (Annette, 2000). Thus, the industry of private tutoring has expanded and grown more significantly than other forms of private education, such as private schools and home-based schooling (Dang & Rogers, 2008). However, the actual outcomes are not always consistent, and this has much to do with the fact that tutors and

tutoring services often do not have a clear curriculum, and those that do may not conform to the curriculum their students are expected to conform to in school.

Tutoring's Impact

In addition, the rapid global expansion of private, supplementary tutoring has wide and far-reaching implications for economic, cultural, and social development that can significantly impact future generations of students and educators (Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016). If the goal of tutoring is to support low-performing students and help students improve their academic performance as suggested by Tansel and Bircan (2006), then tutoring has the potential to offer obvious social benefits that can promote the wellbeing of society while promoting equity. However, it is clear that parents with stronger socioeconomic standing are providing their children with a disproportionate amount of access to tutoring service (Dang & Rogers, 2008) and that tutoring is often used to support students whose overall academic achievement put them in the top half of their respective classes (Matute, & Guajardo, 2010). With these factors in mind, it is important to determine if tutoring services are supporting students who need support or whether it is exacerbating an already problematic academic gap that is built on socioeconomic disparities.

Social Benefits

Parents take a longer-view with regard to their children's education, hoping that tutoring will pay dividends in their future academic and professional pursuits (Liu & Bray, 2018). Research suggest that it does. Though some studies suggest that tutoring

does not lead to academic improvement, and others suggest the data is unclear (Adler, 2004; Poisson, 2007), the majority of studies find that it does in fact improve academic outcomes (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Vaughn, Tejero Hughes, & Watson Moody, 2000; Mischo & Haag, 2002; Tansel & Birckan).

The benefits include economic benefits, both for students and society at large. As noted, one year nearly 26,000 pre-service teachers entered a job market that did not have positions for them (HEQCO, 2016). Liu and Bray (2017) found that tutoring actually provided work for such professions while simultaneously helping tutoring students to secure employment in highly competitive fields. It is important to note, however, that their data was based on studies conducted in South Korea. Moreover, in Canada's multicultural country, it is vital that the nation's education systems be able to support immigrant and refugee students, particularly with regard to their language skills. Though Canadian studies on tutoring in this regard were difficult to locate, studies in other countries suggest tutoring is an effective way to help these populations transition. Avery (2015) notes that tutoring did provide immigrants in Sweden with the skills needed to improve their language skills, though she likewise notes that tutors did not possess the experience and/or qualifications to achieve the intended goals of the systems' pedagogical model. This suggests that, even when tutors' qualifications are not ideal, they can still bring benefits to students. Likewise, Mendenhall and Bartlett (2018) note that tutoring proved an effective means of support for refugees during their transition, though the tutors provided were graduate students and were familiar with the program they were

supporting, which is a key distinction to make as this is not the case with all tutoring services.

Education Inequities

The growth in tutoring services has the potential to exacerbate educational inequalities along socioeconomic lines as affluent families can readily afford the expense of supplemental education services that can improve their children's academic outcomes, potentially giving them an advantage over children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Davies, Aurini & Quirke, 2002). Many parents have been motivated to secure private tutoring for their children as a means of gaining a competitive edge for their children within the academic world, and many begin as early as they can (Fan, 2001). As the competition for educational credentials rise, there is greater demand for enrollment in higher education, both in the United States and in Canada (Davies & Hammack, 2004; Geiger, 2002). Because tutoring can help to secure limited and elite positions in post-secondary educational institutions, tutoring can widen the education gap between wealthy and socioeconomically disadvantaged families, which in turn can cause education inequity and social exclusion (Sweetman, 2002). In particular, tutoring enables differences in social class to become magnified through the process of inter-generational transmission of social, economic, and cultural resources (Edgerton, Peter, & Roberts, 2008). Private tutoring enterprises could exacerbate this issue as wealthy families are able to invest in private education (Seth, 2002). In addition, children from socioeconomically affluent families tend to be provided with far more educational resources at home, which

creates a more effective learning environment and can further facilitate the benefits associated with private tutoring, thereby further exacerbating educational inequity (Dang & Rogers, 2008). This is part of a system of 'knowledge economics' in education, which is promoted by modern society and is a precondition for economic success and survival (Desimone, 1999). In this context, the emphasis is on fueling competition for a select number of spots in post-secondary education institutions, despite greater cost (Arai, 2000). In this context, where cost run high, children from socioeconomically disadvantaged families often find themselves marginalized as private tutoring enables wealthy students to gain academic advantages to get ahead of others for the purpose of university admission enrollment (Keith, 1991).

Thus, it is clear that potential inequity caused by private tutoring should be considered (Rosenbaum, 2001). Privileged households with higher income and levels of education are able to invest more in tutoring than other households (Adler, 2004). The learning achievements of these children will often be improved by tutoring services (Fuller et al., 1996). Because higher learning achievement is correlated with higher lifetime earnings, social inequalities are expected to increase because of the availability of individualized household-financed tutoring (Dang & Rogers, 2008).

Pressure for Parents

In addition to exacerbating the education gap, the expectation for tutoring can put undue stress on parents. For example, Macao, which is particularly distinctive from the North America, has a complex social and cultural history (Kwo & Bray, 2014). Due to the

expectation and pressure to provide their children with tutoring support, many parents in this city are willing to make extensive effort to pay for private, supplementary tutoring for their children, even if they have to accept a heavy burden at work to earn a salary that can afford the tutoring services (Davies & Aurini, 2019). As a result, the children work long hours, are susceptible to stress, and have less time to spend with their parents. Though a study could not be located to outline a similar example in Canada, the growth in tutoring will likely create similar pressure for working-class parents.

Key Considerations

Though it is clear that tutoring has the ability to aggravate education inequities, it is likewise clear that it not only has the potential to help the economy and improve students' long-term employment prospects but can also provide essential support to marginalized students. Thus, it is critical to embrace tutoring, though it must also be tempered with effective policy.

Tutoring Policy

Tutoring's popularity reflects how schooling has been increasingly institutionalized in modern societies, and the shadow education system—at least in the context of a number of developed countries—has been seen as an unavoidable and necessary institution that supports social development in a multiplicity of context (Kwamboka & Kimemia, 2017). This burgeoning enterprise is gradually becoming a hidden form of privatized education behind the front of public education system (Tansel

& Bircan, 2006). As such, it warrants policy and regulation in the same way the public-school system has been regulated.

The need for this is highlighted by the extensive development and infrastructure of many tutoring franchises. For example, tutoring centers in Canada—Ontario and British Columbia in particular—have expanded and changed programs and provisions in response to an increasingly diverse and renewal tutoring services (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). They are likewise developing broader services and offering instruction in time management, literacy, and preschool reading to the youth from the infancy stage, which is similar to tutoring practices in China (Liu & Bray, 2018). Interestingly, tutoring provision business have not only grown in size but have also broadened their offerings to address the preferences from Chinese immigrants in some cities (Davies, Aurini & Quirke, 2018). Tutoring services are now providing a full-fledged program with their own assessment, evaluation, curricular, and instructions and are now functioning as more than a supplement to formal education (Davies, Aurini & Quirke, 2018). Clients are assessed, then placed on either a remedial or enrichment program, and then work at their own pace, relatively irrespective of what they are working on their formal schooling, which is a fairly common practice in China (Davies, 2018). These learning centres develop their own curriculum, offering small-group instruction in various areas—including cognitive learning skills, reading comprehension, and math and science tutorials—instead of following the formal schooling curriculum (Bircan, 2006). As a result, these learning centers are becoming increasingly similar to schools rather than simply being a

supplement to the public-school system (Sorensen, 1994). Given the extensive support they provide, these types of franchises are perceived as alternatives to and a possible reason why parents have less confidence in public education (Aurini & Davies, 2004). Given that the franchises promise to perform the duties performed by schools, it seems reasonable that policies and regulations ought to be put in place to ensure they are performing the task they claim to provide, especially given that many of these tasks require professional accreditation.

Creating policy for the tutoring industry is not a new approach. Tutoring has been well organized and actively regulated in places such as Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, Singapore, and the Arab Republic of Egypt (Kim & Lee, 2004). Even more extreme measures have been taken in regions where there were concerns that tutoring would create disorder within the public education sector. For example, private tutoring was prohibited due to concerns that it might disrupt the mental health of students or exacerbate the social inequalities and deepen human capital in the Republic of Korea and Turkey (Tansel & Bircan, 2006).

Education policies and systems—which refers to education quality, education opportunities, and teachers’ treatment—vary across the different regions (Hung, 2005). However, Canada does not currently have any specific policy in place. Thus, it might consider drawing on other nation’s policy. Korea, which is a representative of a nation with a prevalent private tutoring industry, sought to regulate the rapid growth of private tutoring in 1974 by implementing a secondary school equalization program (Kim, 2005).

Korea sought to address the severe intergenerational transmission of inequality and inequity in terms of education (Ho & Willms, 1996). Thus, the program was designed to allocate secondary school entrance opportunities by lottery instead of any forms of enrolling examination so as to simultaneously diminish the advantages of top-ranking schools and tutoring services (Downey, 1995). The aim of the program was to reduce direct incentive for test preparation tutoring (Muller, 1995). Unfortunately, the demand for private tutoring has still remained as high as ever. Thus, Canada might take this as a template it ought to avoid. However, the current issue is that neither the federal government nor the provincial governments have put policies in place to regulate the tutoring industry, either to prevent the education gaps that could arise from inequitable access or to ensure caregivers who pay for tutoring services are receiving quality and consistent support. Such policies are important if Canada is to avoid the gap in academic outcomes that has been linked with tutoring (Tansel & Bircan, 2006), and which could be exacerbated by social inequalities.

CHAPTER 3

SOME BRIEF THOUGHTS ON THEORY AND PRIVATE TUTORING

Based on the literature review, it is clear that two concerns: whether the quality of tutoring services can secure the academic growth expected of the investment, and whether the growth of Canada's shadow education system will create educational inequities that could lead to greater social inequities. Based on these primary concerns, two theoretical approaches have the potential to provide insight into the tutoring phenomenon in Canada: sociocultural capital theory and anti-oppressive practice (AOP).

Sociocultural Capital Theory

Examining the broader impact that tutoring has on society through the lens of sociocultural capital theory can provide critical insights regarding tutoring. Sociocultural capital theory is interrelated with cultural and social reproduction. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985) present cultural capital to conceptually explain the differences among the levels of performance and academic achievement of children within the educational system of France in the 1960s and developed the concept in the essay "The forms of capital."

Sociocultural Capital Theory

Sociocultural capital theory is comprised of social capital theory and cultural capital theory. According to social capital theory, actual and potential resources help to establish a network of institutionalized relationships through mutual acquaintance and recognition. This is consistent with the tutoring system within Canada as it has become a

shadow institution and has likewise created a system of networks that are linked directly or indirectly with Canada's education systems and the students who navigate these systems.

Cultural Capital Theory

Cultural capital refers to a person's education, knowledge and intellectual skills, which provides an advantage that helps them achieve and secure social, political and economic benefits. In the field of sociology, cultural capital is thought to comprise a person's social assets, which include education, intellect, style of speech, and style of dress (Arai, 2000). These and other assets collectively promote social mobility in a hierarchical society (Arai, 2000). Tutoring fits well under the umbrella of this theory because it aims to support students' academic development and success in the education system, but tutoring is often only available to those who can afford it.

Cultural and social capital includes accumulated cultural knowledge that confers social status and power on an individual and an individual's family. Parental involvement requires parents' time and the skills necessary to engage with students, which depend on economic resources and human capital. A similar positive relationship exists between socioeconomic status and the level of parental involvement (home-based activities). These expectations create a generalized culture of educational competition that encourages parents to seek advantages, such as private tutoring for their children. As a result, the level at which parents are involved in their children's education varies

depending on parents' socioeconomic status (Aurini, 2008). This factor within tutoring can likewise be explored through sociocultural capital theory.

Based on a survey of private tutoring conducted by the Canadian Council on Learning ([CCL], 2017), private tutoring is prevalent across all families, though the proportion of students who participate in private tutoring increases with family income (Lynch, Swartz, & Isaacs, 2017). In addition, private tutoring is conceptualized as a form of parental involvement that explicitly requires parents' economic ability to pay for it (Anisef & Walters, 2010).

Anti-Oppressive Practice

Though originally a social work approach, AOP has been recognized as an interdisciplinary framework that supports children (Wang & Yee, 2010), and given that schools and education are a social issue and support children, AOP has often been applied in academic contexts (Carlson, 2017; Lynch, Swartz, & Isaacs, 2017; Taylor et al., 2016). AOP aims to identify and address the systemic roots that create social oppression, marginalization, and inequities (Strier, 2007). The approach recognizes the unique needs of specific populations, as well as individuals' needs while seeking to address the power systems that create marginalization (Humphries, 2004). This approach seeks to identify how specific demographics or groups within a society secure a dominant status due to system issues and how groups that are subordinated become marginalized or devalued due to limited access to critical resources that facilitate their social development (Dominelli & Campling, 2002).

Thompson (2016) identifies three central forms of oppression: personal, cultural, and institutional. Though the personal element does not seem to be as applicable in the context of tutoring and education, both cultural and institutional do play a critical role. Thompson (2016) notes that government records often create categories that can inhibit people's societal engagement. This could apply to education records such as grades, but also other records, such as students' status as immigrant or refugee. Alternately, institutional oppression speaks to how policy, such as those established by a legislature, can create systemic oppression (Thompson, 2016). This can help to inform the failing or importance of policies.

However, there are some potential limitations to this approach. Dominelli and Campling (2002) argue that a central component of AOP is encouraging clients to challenge the social norms and hierarchies against which they are measured and by which they are devalued. As tutoring practices aim to help students conform to and meet the standards of the education system, tutoring can actually reinforce the power structure that devalues students. However, because access to resources is a central means of empowering clients in AOP, securing access to tutoring resource and educational aids seems to be consistent with the overall goals of AOP.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Though there is a scarcity of research on tutoring in Canada, there is enough information to engage in a discussion on the key factors that are shaping this phenomenon: demographics, outcomes, policy, and impact. Based on a thorough exploration of these issues, future research can be proposed, and recommendations can be made.

Demographics

Two things are clear: there is not enough data to truly engage in a meaningful discussion on the demographics associated with tutoring in Canada, and the key populations are likely to be effective by the growth in tutoring are Canada's foreign-born population, and students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds.

Canada's multicultural approach has enriched its national identity, but it has also created unique challenges. It is clear that many foreign-born people in Canada come from a different pedagogical background and have different expectations. However, given that the pedagogical approaches employed by tutoring services are inconsistent, they will not necessarily address this issue. Thus, schools need to find a way to help these students from divergent pedagogical backgrounds transition into Canada's student-centered and multi-assessment model. Moreover, it is vital that the parents of these students understand the merits of the Canadian system. This is not to suggest that this population does not need tutoring support. Indeed, Avery (2015) and Gale (2016) respectively note, tutoring

can help support language development for immigrants and refugees. However, adequately addressing the issues this population faces through tutoring is difficult because there is simply not enough information with regard to who is utilizing tutoring services, how they are using them, and why they are using them. This will be especially important for British Columbia and Ontario, who are taking in the overwhelming majority of immigrants, international students, and refugees. Given that Canada's immigrant population is increasing, this issue must be explored in future research.

With respect to socioeconomics, it is clear that wealthy children simply have more access to tutoring, which in turn gives them an advantage in school and later in the job market. This creates a vicious cycle: parents with higher levels of education often invest more in private tutoring (K.-K. Kim, 2003), these students will more often than not outperform their classmates (Gale, 2016), and will then gain access to higher levels of education and in turn secure desirable employment in highly competitive fields (Liu & Bray, 2017). Then the cycle will begin again as they pass on these advantages to their own children. This undercuts the purpose of tutoring, which should be designed to support low-performing students to help them improve academically (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Moreover, because the students who get access to tutoring are already performing at a higher level than most of their classmates (Mendenhall & Bartlett, 2018), and some maintain 95% averages in math and science, the students who are struggling are going to see the students ahead of them pull even further ahead. This suggests that tutoring may only exacerbate the education gap.

Other demographics are even less clear. Issues of gender warrant significant exploration, as do the age at which children should ideally begin tutoring, and how much tutoring is most advantageous. It is also unclear whether it should take place during evening, on weekends, or if it should be held consistently through the year, only during the academic year, or only in advance of major exams.

Outcomes

Given that it is generally accepted that tutoring does have a negative impact with respect to widening the education gap, it is fair to assume that tutoring is effective; however, it remains unclear how effective and efficient it actually is. Yes, multiple studies have found that tutoring does help students improve their academic achievement (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Elbaum, Vaughn, Tejero Hughes, & Watson Moody, 2000; Fuller et al., 1996; Mischo & Haag, 2002; Tansel & Birckan). However, other studies find the inverse to be true (David, 2016), while still others report that there is no clear empirical evidence that validate the effectiveness and efficiency of tutoring (Adler, 2004; Poisson, 2007). Even in cases where they are effective, they are not necessarily cost-effective (Adler, 2004). What is clear is that parental involvement can consistently support learning outcomes (Rosenbaum, 2001). Thus, if having to pay for tutoring services is requiring parents to work longer hours and spend more time away from their children, as is common practice in Macao (Kwo & Bray, 2014), tutoring may be taking children away from the most effective and affordable means of academic support: their parents.

The effectiveness of tutoring programs is further called into question by the fact that tutoring franchises lack clear and consistent curriculum and pedagogical approaches and that tutors/teacher often have differing qualifications. Even in instances where franchises do adopt a curriculum or pedagogy, they may not be ideal for Canadian students. For example, as an American company, Sylvan Learning may be inclined to indulge in exam-oriented assessment and prepare students for high-stakes exams. However, approaches in Canada differ, and each province has its own education system. It might fairly be assumed that the curriculum and assessment designed by a given tutoring franchise may not entirely support the learning outcomes their students are expected to achieve in their respective schools. There is a lack of a clear and consistent pedagogical model for tutors and tutoring franchises, and the tutors who offer support do not always have the same level of qualifications, meaning many students may not be getting the same level of support. Until these issues are addressed, tutors and tutoring franchises who make assurances regarding students' success cannot fairly make such guarantees in good faith.

Tutoring Policy

One of the most significant reasons why there is a lack of consistency with regard to tutoring franchises' curriculum, pedagogy, and their tutors' qualifications is that neither Canada's federal government, nor its provincial governments have been proactive enough to create legislation, policy, or regulations for tutoring franchises. Tutoring franchises are increasingly encroaching on the domain the public education system,

creating test and offering assessments of students. If the manner in which this is done is not consistent with professional standards and parents receive conflicting reports from schools and tutoring franchises, the already decreasing confidence in the public education system will worsen. Other nations, such as Korea, recognized this issue in the 1970s (Ho & Willms, 1996), and though its tutoring policies were not ideal, they did recognize the need to create such policy. Other nations have as well, including Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, Singapore, and the Arab Republic of Egypt (Kim & Lee, 2004). If Canada's federal government and/or its provinces do not proactive address this lack of policy, there could be long-term impacts that undermine the education systems in Canada and aggravate an already problematic education gap. This is most especially important for British Columbia and Ontario: as they are taking on the majority of immigrants, international students, and refugees, they do not have time to wait for the federal government to act on this matter.

Impact

The potential impact that tutoring can have on Canadian society is the most critical component with regard to the discourse on tutoring. Tutoring is a dynamic education tool that has the power to bring equity to the system, or completely undermine all efforts to create equity.

The potential benefits of tutoring are multifaceted. A tutoring industry, most especially a properly regulated one, has the potential to create jobs for qualified education professionals who struggle to find work in a complete and overcrowded field.

Moreover, by providing citizens with more access to high levels of education and even understanding at the secondary education level, tutoring also has the potential to create more informed citizens, which could increase any number of aspects of their lives: it could give them a greater appreciation of the arts, make them more science and math literate, and increase their political awareness and engagement. This can also help them secure more fulfilling and financially rewarding jobs. It can also help immigrants (Avery, 2015) and refugees (Mendenhall & Bartlett, 2018) effectively integrate into Canadian society and develop their language skills. These benefits are overwhelmingly compelling.

However, in its current form, tutoring services have the potential to intensify the education gap in Canada. As has been established repeatedly, affluent families are in a position to provide supplemental education services that can improve the academic outcomes of their children, giving them what some would perceive to be an unfair advantage over children from less affluent homes (Davies, Aurini & Quirke, 2002). Because tutoring can help students from affluent families procure positions in post-secondary educational institutions, the education gap between wealthy and socioeconomically disadvantaged could worsen (Sweetman, 2002). These issues are inherent in any for-profit industry. It is interesting that in the collaborative tutoring program that Mendenhall and Bartlett (2018) outlined in their study were actually volunteers. This could imply that tutoring might best be served in the form of a public service, rather than a private one.

Currently, there simply is not enough data to firmly grasp the issues at hand; thus, developing future studies must begin to explore all the nuances of this phenomenon.

Future Research

Given the limited number of current studies that explore the tutoring phenomenon in Canada, it is clear that numerous studies would be needed to address the current gaps. It is unfortunate that it has been overlooked by researchers given that private tutoring in North America has experienced a dramatic transformation (Aurini & Davies, 2004). This is especially troubling given that it is vital to understand this phenomenon to maximize its benefits and minimize the potential harm it might cause. Thus, there are several factors that future research should explore, including the demographics of parents and students who utilize the service, as well as the impact tutoring will have on students. Research must also be done to understand what policies would be most effective.

Demographics

Based on an AOP approach, one of the most critical concerns about the impact of tutoring is that it is not disproportionately affecting specifically demographics; however, it is also important to understand why certain demographics are utilizing tutoring services, and why others are in need of such services. To this end, a variety of research designs would be appropriate. Quantitative research has the potential to offer clear trends on which demographics are and are not using tutoring services, and which demographics would benefit most. Alternately, qualitative approaches have the potential to provide details into why certain demographics rely on tutoring, why others do not, and what those

enlisting the support of tutors are getting from in return for their investment. Such data could also inform follow-up quantitative studies that use that data to formulate surveys. Mixed-method also has the potential to reap significant benefits as well. With respect to the demographics that should be examined, it is clear based on the research that socioeconomic and immigrant status both need to be considered, but other demographics should likewise be explored, including perceived race.

Impact

From the perspective of social capital theory, it is important to identify whether the growth in tutoring is helping students build potential resources, namely academic abilities, knowledge, and intellectual skills, so as to support their social development. Likewise, because cultural and social capital include has the ability to confer social status and power, an AOP perspective suggests determining whether tutoring is creating inequities. As Dominelli and Campling (2002) note, restricted or limited access to important resources, such as education, can marginalize and devalue certain populations. Thus, future research should consider both. To understand the impact of tutoring, it is necessary to ascertain whether it promotes long-term social development. This would likely be most effectively studied via longitudinal studies. To determine whether tutoring is exacerbating inequities in education, comparative analysis is likely most effective. Such an analysis could likewise take the form of longitudinal studies but might also look at more immediate situations by comparing two group of students' grades: one group would have access to tutoring; the other would not. So long as the dependent and

independent variables are controlled properly, this could help identify the more immediate impact that tutoring has on inequity.

Policy

In examining policy, it is vital to consider both social capital theory and AOP approaches as school boards are responsible for promoting the effective social integration of students and ensuring equity in schools. As Thompson (2016), policies shape institutional oppression that lead to the marginalization of certain communities and populations and thereby creating inequities. Thus, it is critical to understand what kind of policies cause or can limit such marginalization and inequity. As there are few if any policies among Canada's provincial school boards regarding tutoring, comparative case studies involving policies from other nations may be the only option. For example, as nations such as South Korea have tutoring policies, the details and impact of such policies could be compared to those from other nations. This would provide insights into which potential approaches have the potential to yield the most effective results.

Recommendation

Given how incomplete the literature on tutoring is, it is difficult to make concrete recommendations; however, it seems clear that the first step toward ensuring that tutoring has a positive impact on students is to put policies in place that address the key issues associated with tutoring, which are ensuring the quality and efficiency of tutoring services and limited the potential inequalities that could arise from the restricted access students have to tutoring services. These issues could potentially be alleviated by

establishing certification and accreditation, offering tutoring subsidies, and providing afterschool tutoring programs at schools.

Certification and Accreditation

There are a couple of concerns with regard to the effectiveness and quality of tutoring service. Parents justifiably want to ensure that the tutoring service is going to help their children succeed in school, which necessitate and understand of school curriculum, and that the tutors providing help have the proper qualification. Thus, from the perspective of social capital theory, offering certification and accreditation will assure parents that tutoring will support academic abilities, knowledge, and intellectual skills.

Certifying franchises and facilities. There are currently no official forms of government certification for franchises of their facilities. Thus, it is recommended that governments establish clear standards and measures that can be used to offer certification. Such certification could include verification that the franchise is current on a given curriculum and works toward the same educational outcomes. It might also require that the franchise supports and effectively implements appropriate pedagogical practices. This is tied to facilities as well. For example, if a school board mandates multimodal approaches, a given franchise's facilities might be required to feature smartboards, tablets, and other multimodal tools. It would likewise be critical that facilities be accessible to all students and be able to support students with learning exceptionalities. When parents seeking tutoring support see a franchise in certified, they will be able to trust the service being offered.

Accreditation for tutors. It is not simply enough that a franchise be familiar with curriculum or be accessible; it is equally important that its tutors be qualified. Given that so many pre-service teachers who graduate from teaching programs struggle to find work upon graduating (OCT, 2018), offering accreditation has the potential to address two problems simultaneously. Firstly, parents looking to ensure their children are being supported by qualified educational professionals will be assured that tutors with accreditation share the same qualifications as teachers. Alternately, teachers who struggle to find work will be able to differentiate themselves in a flooded job market. Given that a lack of access to resources can devalue and marginalize certain populations (Dominelli & Campling, 2002), ensuring all students in need have access to tutorial services would be central to an AOP.

Tutoring Subsidies

Though ensuring the quality of tutoring services is vital, it is also important to consider AOP perspective to ensure tutoring does not exacerbate inequity in education. One means that might be able to address this is to offer tutoring subsidies. Such subsidies might ideally be based on three criteria: parental income, students' grades, and the status of learning exceptionalities. For example, if a student's performance is below a certain expectation decided upon by educational administrators, that student would be considered for tutoring subsidies. If that student's parents are below a certain income, then they would still be considered. At this point, the student would ideally be assessed for learning exceptionalities. Appropriate subsidies would then be offered to address the need of

support needed by a given student. This might also take the form of a voucher, stipend, or tax rebate. If a school board has certified and accredited certain franchises, those would ideally be the only franchises where such a subsidy could be redeemed so as to ensure such funds are being spent judiciously and to ensure that the student is getting the support needed to improve academically. This approach would help to ensure that all students have more equitable access to tutoring services and hopefully limit potential inequalities. Like the subsidies, this will ensure that all students in need have access to critical social resources, which Dominelli and Campling (2002) note is central to the goals of AOP as limited access can marginalized people.

There are barriers to such an approach. For example, with education cutbacks, it would be difficult to fund; however, extra goods and service tax could be added to tutoring services so as to generate revenue for subsidies. In addition, some students may not see an improvement in their academic performance despite receiving tutoring support. In such instances, more in-depth assessments would be recommended to determine if there are any learning exceptionalities that are inhibiting academic outcomes.

After-School Tutoring Services

As it may not be feasible to afford individual tutoring for all students whose grades are lower than the standard, schools might also consider offering after-school tutoring programs from those students whose grades are slightly higher but still in need of support. This would be beneficial for several reasons. With regard to efficiency, a larger number of students would be getting support at a smaller cost. Moreover, travel costs for

parents would be reduced as they would not have to take their children to and pick them up from a second location. In addition, it would be an environment the students are already familiar with, and the tutors/instructors handling the sessions would be able to speak directly to the students' respective teachers to understand the specific issues each student is having. Moreover, as an accredited teacher working for the school board, the tutor/instructor would be familiar with the curriculum. There is potential that students may face stigma from their peers for having to stay after school for tutoring help, but the benefits of such a program would far outweigh this potential concern.

Conclusion

The current study explores both the positive and negative impact of the private tutoring industry in Canada, notably issues relating to efficiency and equity. Because wealthier and more affluent families are more likely to be able to afford private, supplementary tutoring, the tutoring industry could potentially exacerbate educational and social inequalities and inequities (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Children without private tutoring may be disadvantaged compared to children with private tutoring. Therefore, with the expansion of private tutoring in Canada, which has increased due to the wave of immigrants who utilize such services, children's education may be increasingly contingent on the extracurricular resources and the advantages offered by their parents rather than on their own ability and efforts, leading to educational and social inequalities and inequities.

In this context, it is likewise important to interpret the widespread burgeoning private tutoring phenomenon. Private tutoring requires a considerable degree of parents' involvement in gathering information to choose the best private tutoring service for their children and even interacting with private tutors and instructors to verify their children's process.

Addressing these issues offers a number of contributions. First, tutoring is a neglected topic among educational researchers. While there is a small amount of international literature on shadow education (Baker, 2001), it has not closely examined the types of parents who demand tutoring. Further, there is almost no detailed literature on tutoring in North America. This is an important omission, especially since a larger market for these services could pose a distinct challenge to equity if it provides advantages to students who have access to tutoring.

There is also evidence supporting the efficiency and equity implications of private tutoring, which provides a foundation for further research (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Likewise, tutoring is now a worldwide phenomenon, and its growth signals the importance of human capital and child socialization. Though private tutoring does increase parental choice and improve student achievement, it has the potential to exacerbate social inequalities and impose heavy costs on households (Heath, 2014).

Private tutoring is now a major component of the education sector throughout the world, but the correspondent cost-effectiveness should be analyzed to improve the academic performance of students served by tutors. Equity concerns should also be

considered as education has been recognized as a key determinant of individual productivity and economywide growth. However, the diagnoses and policy attention should focus more on public school system and formal schooling.

Alternatively, the increase in tutoring practices that Chinese immigrants brought about may have some detrimental effects on both cross-cultural experience and economic efficiency (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Since numerous Chinese immigrant parents secured tutoring services for their children in China, many have continued this practice in Canada, and the difference in pedagogical methods respectively adopted in Canada and China have created some conflicts in this regard. Obviously, no single solution or modification can be recommended for such a phenomenon in Canada (Liu & Bray, 2018).

However, more attention should be taken to regulate the balance of mainstream education and the private tutoring industry to reduce inequalities and inequities (Jordan et al., 2014). Educational leaders and policy-makers should be mindful of how private tutoring in Canada can exacerbate educational and social inequalities and inequities. They should build long-term strategies and mechanisms that keep families from distorting the authentic nature of education.

In short, the current study concludes that education policy-makers and educators should expand research efforts on theory and practice to ensure practices and strategies can be taken to regulate the tutoring industry (Bircan, 2006). That would help to ensure that full curricular coverage is available for all students, even though some are unable to bear the private, supplementary tutoring expenses.

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