The Shadow Education Market in Australia:
A Study of Online Tutoring Intermediaries

Master of Research Thesis
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Summary

This research examines the private tutoring market in NSW. While other researchers have conducted research on 'learning centres', this research focuses specifically on one-on-one 'in home' tutoring facilitated through online intermediaries. The methods encompass a content analysis of 65 websites that facilitate tutoring lessons, together with interviews with tutors who utilise these websites to find work. Within this thesis, the different intermediaries that exist within this market are classified and compared in relation to the functions that they perform. Research on online labour markets is used to try to explain how these intermediaries operate. This thesis also draws on classical economic sociology to explore the impact of different kinds of intermediation on tutors' work and their relationships with their students. This shows the influence of intermediaries on the flexibility of the job of being a tutor and the way that tutors find students to tutor. I also demonstrate how tutors generate a trusting relationship between themselves and their students and show how intermediaries attempt to foster a similar relationship between their users.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself. I have complied with the terms of the Human Research Ethics Committee. The approval reference number is: 5201800080

M.Sturges

(Signed)_____ _____ Date: 14/10/18

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List of Abbreviations:

ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ABN	Australian Business Number
ATA	Australian Tutoring Association
FAQ	Frequently Asked Question
HES	Household Expenditure Surveys
HSC	Higher School Certificate
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program - Literacy And Numeracy
NDIS	National Disability Insurance Scheme
NSW	New South Wales
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TVI	Tutorial Voucher Initiative
WWCC	Working With Children Check

Chapter one: Introduction

This research is on the supply side of the market for shadow education in the state of New South Wales (NSW), Australia. There is a specific focus on organisations that serve as online intermediaries between tutors and students. These intermediaries are used by tutors and students and arrange for students to have tutoring lessons within their own homes, the homes of tutors or in a public place. The use of these intermediaries has effects on the marketplace for tutoring and on the job of being a tutor.

The aim of this research is to outline the intermediaries that exist within this market and explain how they operate. I also explain the impact of these different intermediaries on the tutors who use and work for them and in doing so, I outline how taking on the role of tutoring effects the lives of tutors. The existence of these intermediaries has profound effects on the tutors who work within this industry, because these intermediaries both form an 'in' for potential tutors to get work, but also take away some of the flexibility that the job represents. Intermediaries can also facilitate trust between tutors and students that have not already met one another. These themes are conceptualised using classical economic sociological theory. In doing so, I intend on answering the following research questions:

1. What functions do intermediaries that facilitate tutoring provide and what are the effects of the different structures of intermediaries on the tutors who use them?
2. Do intermediaries that facilitate tutoring operate in a way that would be expected based on classical theories of economic sociology?

The limited size and scope of a Masters of Research project has meant that a certain segment of the private tutoring market, rather than the whole market was more appropriate to study. Only organisations that facilitate tutoring using the internet as a mediator and the tutors who use them are included within this study. This segment of the market was chosen because of the way that work is organised for tutors through them. Since these organisations facilitate tutoring, rather than providing it themselves, they are referred to as 'intermediaries' within this thesis. Since intermediaries use websites to facilitate tutoring, comparisons can be made between them and other online labour markets. This tutoring

takes place in students own homes, tutors homes or in public places and I will therefore refer to this type of tutoring as 'in home' tutoring.

Within this chapter I will outline the context that this research takes place in. I will then outline the theoretical perspective that is utilised within this thesis. I will then explain the significance of this research. Finally, I will provide an outline of the chapters within this thesis and their contribution to solving my research problem.

Background and Context

Within this section, I will firstly define the term 'shadow education', and explain the use of it and other similar terms. I will then provide some background about the Australian education system and explain how this interacts with the market for private tutoring. Then I will provide a description of the government policies that have impacted on the tutoring market, specifically the rollout of the Tutorial Voucher Initiative (TVI) and explain how this context made way for the establishment of a national tutoring association, the Australian Tutoring Association (ATA).

The term 'shadow education' is somewhat contested. Stevenson and Baker (1992) were some of the first researchers who used this term when they were studying the shadow education market in Japan. They define shadow education as "a set of educational activities outside of formal schooling that are designed to improve a student's chances of successfully moving through the allocation process" (Stevenson and Baker, 1992, 1640). Their conception of shadow education includes only those activities that are within the private sector (Stevenson and Baker, 1992, 1643). There has been some discussion about whether other test preparation strategies that are publicly provided should be included in this definition (See: Buchmann, Condron and Roscigno 2010a; Grodsky, 2010; Buchmann, Condron and Roscigno 2010b). Bray and Kwo (2013, 481) explain why the market is called the 'shadow education market' - "Such tutoring has become widely known as shadow education because as the curriculum in the school system changes, so the curriculum changes in the shadow; and as the mainstream gets larger, so does the shadow." Although this thesis is focused on shadow education that takes place within the

private sector, this market is also affected by and strongly linked to the mainstream education sector as was outlined by Bray and Kwo (2013, 481).

Other similar terms that have been used to describe this practice have included supplementary education and bespoke education. The term supplementary education has mostly been used by researchers in the United States and is a term that encapsulates a wider set of practices than shadow education, including tutoring within the school and on a voluntary, rather than paid basis (Davis, 2013, 28). Davis (2013, 28) argues that it is a more sociological term than shadow education and that it includes other elements used by the family that foster education. However this could be seen in the same way as the wider definition of shadow education as outlined by Buchmann et al. (2010a, 436). Mark Bray, one of the most prominent researchers in the area of shadow education uses both of the terms shadow education and supplementary education. The term 'bespoke education' has been used by an Australian researcher Jenny Davis, in her doctoral thesis because she felt that neither shadow education nor supplementary education completely captured what was happening within the Australian context. Bespoke education is individually tailored to a student's needs, however there are differences in the cost and intensity (Davis, 2013, 49). The term 'bespoke education' also implies that private tutoring has a strong link with school choice and can include other strategies used by families to tailor children's education, such as enrolling children in a private fee-paying school. This recognises the involvement of parents in their children's education. It also acknowledges the blurring of the boundaries between public and private provision that the tutoring industry represents.

Within this thesis, I use the terms shadow education, supplementary education and private tutoring interchangeably, however I am looking specifically at tutoring that is provided through the market and is targeted at helping students do well within mainstream schooling. I also acknowledge like Davis (2013), that private tutoring is strongly linked to parent's involvement with their children's education, because it can be used as a strategy by parents to enhance their children's standing in a competitive educational system. It is also intensely connected to the mainstream education system, as has been outlined by many researchers previously.

In fact, shadow education cannot exist without the mainstream education system (Dang and Rogers, 2008, 163). It is therefore important to note the context of the Australian education system. Within Australia, around sixty per cent of secondary students attend public secondary schools, most of the remaining students attend 'private schools,' and a smaller percentage attend academically selective public schools (Campbell, Proctor & Sherington, 2009, 36). New South Wales (NSW) is the state in Australia with the largest number of selective schools and there is competition among schools to enrol 'clever' students (Campbell et al. 2009, 105-106). Students who wish to attend a selective school generally undertake a test in year five at school (Department of Education, 2018). While academically selective schools and public schools only receive funding from the government, 'private' schools both receive funding from the government and are able to charge students fees (Campbell et al. 2009, 10). Although there has not been any research in Australia which directly shows the impact of selective schools on demand for tutoring, Watson (2008, 6) showed that the private tutoring market is larger in NSW than the state of Victoria and reasons that this may be because there are more 'high stake decision points' in NSW. The prominence of selective schools and therefore higher number of students who complete the selective school test in NSW could be seen as an example of a high stake decision point.

All Australian students have to undertake compulsory testing in grades 3, 5, 7 and 9, known as the National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN). NAPLAN has been administered every year since 2008 and consists of reading, writing, language conventions and numeracy testing (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2016). While some have described NAPLAN as high stakes testing (Lobascher, 2011, 10), others have argued that it does not represent high stakes testing because it does not determine whether students will be able to proceed on to further grades and the results do not determine whether schools remain open or are forced to close (Polesel, Dulfer and Turnbull, 2012, 6). Nevertheless, preliminary research has shown that it is likely that NAPLAN increases parental anxiety about their children's schooling and leads to an increase in the number of parents enrolling their children in private tutoring (Davis, 2013, 155). However, other researchers using international comparisons have found that the existence of high stakes testing has no impact on the

prominence of the private tutoring market (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre and Wiseman, 2001, 11; Dang and Rogers, 2008, 169). The existence of a large number of academically selective schools and standardised tests within the mainstream education system makes the state of NSW an appropriate place to study the private tutoring market.

Dang and Rogers (2008, 188) maintain that in 'liberal' countries such as Australia, too little attention has been paid to the market for shadow education and that governments may need to take on a more regulatory role. Dang and Rogers (2008, 188) argue that governments need to take on a more regulatory role to address imbalances in supply and demand, prevent tutoring 'corruption' and prevent barriers to competition. While little regulation exists in Australia, a peak body of tutors and tutoring companies was established in March 2005, known as 'The Australian Tutoring Association' (ATA). The ATA aims to "represent tutors and tutoring organisations, act as a lobby group, and raise the standard of tutoring in Australia" (Australian Tutoring Association [ATA], 2018a). The ATA was formed during the rollout of the pilot of the Tutorial Voucher Initiative (TVI) (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 9-10). The TVI was a federal government initiative that provided private tutoring lessons to those students who achieved below the national benchmark for literacy in the 2003 NAPLAN test. The TVI was managed by different brokers in each state that were responsible for hiring tutors. It allowed parents to decide on their own tutor from the tutors involved in the program (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2006, x). In NSW, tutoring was largely provided on school grounds, outside of school hours (with a small number of lessons taking place during school hours) (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2006, xiii).

While the TVI was being rolled out, the ATA used their position to argue for more hours of tutoring per student to be provided, quality controls on the selection of tutors and interstate parity in the scheme (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 9). The TVI pilot was evaluated by the Australian government in 2006 and the results showed an overall improvement in the reading age of the students who participated (see: Department of Education, Science and Training, 2006), however the evaluation process has been criticised because of the very low take up in certain geographic areas and because there was no control group in the evaluation (Watson, 2008, 8). Despite this, the program was

expanded to include students in year 5 and 7 under the Federal Liberal Government's *An Even Start* program (Watson, 2008, 9; Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 10). This program was continued by the Labor government in 2008 and then discontinued in 2009 (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 10). Although this program has been discontinued, it is important to note that there was a period of time in which the Australian government was quite involved with the funding of private tutoring to students. Even though *An Even Start* was discontinued, the ATA still exists and continues to have members throughout Australia. In Australia the government has previously played an active role in promoting access to private tutoring (Bray, 2009, 75), but now has little involvement. In other countries, governments have taken on a much more active role when it comes to the regulation of private tutoring. South Korea is a notable example and a country in which a large amount of research has been conducted (Choi and Choi, 2016, 145). In South Korea, the government previously banned private tutoring (Bray, 2009, 47), however it has now placed curfews on the operating hours of *hagwon,* which are private academic institutions (Choi and Choi, 2016, 144). One of the reasons that South Korea has been so heavily studied, is because of the sheer size of the industry and because of the various regulations that the Korean government has implemented (Choi and Choi, 2016, 146). The government has attempted to regulate the private tutoring industry because it was seen as wasteful and against the aims of equality in educational opportunities (Choi and Choi, 2016, 146).

Theoretical position

Some aspects of Australia's approach to education policy is reflective of neoliberal policies. This neoliberal approach to education emphasises markets as the providers of services, rather than government provision. The introduction of standardised testing such as NAPLAN, increased emphasis on school choice and an emphasis on individual responsibility can all be seen as being reflective of a neoliberal approach to education. One aspect of this kind of policy is an emphasis on individual responsibility. Individual responsibility can be seen by the way that parents talk about school choice, as making the right choice for one's own child is regarded as an act of good citizenship (Campbell et al. 2009, 163). Davies (2004), argues that making the decision to send a child to tutoring can

be a school choice in itself. Bray and Kwo have argued the growth in shadow education is largely to do with a neoliberal approach to education, as it has become a marketable service (2013, 491). This argument will also be made within my next chapter, however it is also pertinent to understanding my theoretical perspective.

The shadow education market can be seen as being a further extension of trends towards individual choice and responsibility, as consumers are able to choose their own provider in a market. Even the TVI and *An Even Start* programs are reflective of school choice policies, as the premise of it was that while the government provided the funding, the parents were able to choose the tutor that thought would be best suited for their child, from a number of tutors who applied for the program. While school markets are 'quasi-markets' because they are propped up by governments (Whitty, 1997), private tutors and tutoring companies operate within a competitive 'shadow' market. Since a shadow education intermediaries operate within a competitive market, a theoretical perspective that helps to understand these markets is needed.

Using economic sociology of markets, within this thesis I will assume that market forces are socially constructed, rather than naturally occurring. Despite this, they can still place major constraints on firms (Fligstein, 2001, 190). Unlike a purely economic perspective where the focus is on the efficiency of markets, I am more interested in who has the power within markets (Fligstein, 2001, 177). Economic sociologists have also looked at corporations and parts of economic sociology has been developed from organisation theory. Economic sociologists have also focused on networks of people and organisations (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994, 18-19). Fligstein (2001, 43) argued that workers want to control the labour market and to do this they must be able to control the 'property rights'. In the context of labour markets, 'property rights' refer to the skills that can be used to make profits (Fligstein, 2001, 53). In order to control these, workers may attempt to gain control of certifying workers, in which case they would be able to decide who has the right to make money from their skill (Fligstein, 2001, 43), or they may use other strategies. Within this thesis, I explore this idea through looking at the networks created by tutors and at the attempts that have been made to professionalise the industry.

'Conceptions of control' allow the relations of exchange to be reproduced. They are participants' cognitive understandings of how the market works. Therefore they are both industry and culturally specific. They define and create an understanding of who is powerful and why (Fligstein, 2001, 71). In new markets, however, there are not yet any conceptions of control and so firms must compete on price (Fligstein, 2001, 71). Within this thesis, I will be discussing the conceptions of control and how they relate to tutoring. Within this market the conceptions of control that dictate how organisations, tutors and students interact with one another. The conceptions of control also dictate who can trust whom within the market.

Classical economic sociologists conceptualise trust as a form of social capital (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994, 385). Unlike other commodities, trust is not depleted with use, and actually increases with use (Putnam, 1993, cited in: Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994, 385). Alliances and mutual dependencies can only last when there is a certain level of trust (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994, 385). Trusting relationships are also developed over long periods of time, which can pose difficulties for new entrants. Within this thesis, I will be looking at how this conception of trust is used by both individual tutors and tutoring intermediaries.

Tutoring intermediaries operate not just through markets, but online markets. Hence, I will also be using literature on online labour markets to try to understand the structure of the intermediaries within this study and how they impact on the tutors who work for them. This is applicable because all of the intermediaries within this study facilitate tutoring through the use of a website. The intermediaries also provide similar functions to online labour markets, as will be discussed in chapter four. Researchers who have studied online labour markets have also drawn on economic sociological theory.

Significance

As will be argued in my literature review chapter, there has been little research on the market for private tutoring within Australia. The research that does exist attempts to show the size of the market (Watson, 2008; Kenny and Faunce, 2004), focuses on the demand

side of the market (Sriprakash, Proctor and Hu, 2016; Butler, Ho and Vincent, 2017), or has shown the link between private tutoring and the mainstream school system (Doherty and Dooley, 2017). All of the Australian research has been on either the entire market or specifically on tutoring centres, my research, being on intermediaries is on an understudied segment of the market. This research contributes to understanding how intermediaries operate in the market. I also undertake an initial exploration of how the operation of these intermediaries impact on the work and lives of tutors. As was stated by Mark Bray "Tutoring also, of course, shapes the livelihoods of the tutors" (Bray, 2006, 516). However, little research has been conducted that shows exactly how it affects the work and lives of tutors. This is a Masters of Research project, and hence it is a very small scale study, so while I do hope to contribute to an under-researched area, of course much more work needs to be done to address this research gap.

Outline of thesis

Within this chapter, I have provided a brief introduction to my research and an overview of the background to my research problem. Within chapter two of this thesis, I provide a review of the literature on shadow education. Within the third chapter, I explain the methodology and methods that were used to collect and analyse the data for this thesis. I will also re-state the research questions which have guided this research. In the fourth chapter, I classify the different intermediaries from my sample and then show the correlations between the different types of intermediaries and the functions that they perform. These classifications are then used to inform the fifth chapter, in which I discuss how the different operation of intermediaries impacts on the work of tutors. This chapter has three broad themes, which are flexibility, barriers to entry and trust. The sixth and final chapter is the conclusion, in which I further outline my main argument, explain the significance and limitations of my research and pose possible areas of related future research.

Chapter two: Literature Review

Introduction:

Tutoring is strongly linked to the mainstream education sector. As was shown within chapter one, the shadow education market is reflective of neoliberal educational policies within the mainstream education sector such as school choice and standardised testing. At the same time, shadow education can be seen as a break away from the institutional norms around educational provision, as tutoring is an unregulated and de-professionalised market. In the first section of this literature review, I will outline the literature on the shadow education market within Australia and show that there has only been a limited amount of research on this topic. I will then turn to the international literature, where I will outline the general literature on shadow education and then focus on the different types of tutoring, starting with tutoring in learning centres, then turning to tutoring that is facilitated by an online intermediary. While my research is on this second type of tutoring, the research on learning centres is also relevant because of the researchers focus on tutoring as an 'education business', unlike most other research on shadow education which has concentrated on the use of tutoring by students.

Australian Literature:

The effectiveness of tutoring has been the focus of a couple of Australian studies. Kenny and Faunce (2004) conducted a quantitative study comparing the results of students who received tutoring and those who did not. Although this study did take into account the number of hours of tutoring the students undertook, one issue with their study was that it failed to take into account the type or quality of tutoring that the students undertook (Kenny and Faunce, 2004, 125). This is problematic, as has been shown by Bray (2006, 518-519) tutoring can differ quite substantially in regards to the service provided. For example, it could be taught by a qualified teacher or a high school student, one-on-one or in a large group (Bray, 2006, 518-519). Altogether, their results showed that private tutoring had no real effect on the student's test scores. Using a very different tactic, Forsey

(2013) conducted ten interviews with students who were at university, who had attended tutoring during their final year of schooling to advantage themselves in the university admissions test. He found mixed results about whether the students found tutoring helpful (Forsey, 2013, 188). His research is important because it provides examples of tuition provided both within the market and through school-community partnerships (Forsey, 2013, 179-181). He also briefly outlined the different forms of organisation that tutoring can be provided through (Forsey, 2013, 173).

Other researchers have studied the impact of government policies on the private tutoring market and the interaction between tutoring and the mainstream education system. Watson (2008) released a conference paper which showed the size of the tutoring market using the results of the Household Expenditure Surveys (HES) conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). She showed that significantly more money was spent on tutoring in the state of NSW than Victoria and this may have been because there are more 'high stake decision points' where students could secure themselves a better position if they achieved higher marks in NSW than Victoria (Watson, 2008, 6). She also examined the effectiveness and subsequent evaluation of the Australian government's Tutorial Voucher Initiative (TVI). Doherty and Dooley (2017) conducted research on the private tutoring industry within Australia. Their research involved monitoring 18 school newsletters in a variety of different schools in Queensland, to look at how private tutoring was framed in 2016. This was then compared to the debates around private tutoring during the implementation of the TVI in 2004. They argued that the presentation of advertisements for tutoring services in school newsletters was a 'nudge' strategy used to influence parents to enrol their children in tutoring (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 12). They showed that it is in the best interests of the school to 'nudge' parents to enrol their children in tutoring, because in the highly competitive school environment, schools are judged by the results of their students (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 13). They show that the advertising of tutoring in school newsletter is a public/private partnership that is mutually beneficial to both public schools and private tutoring companies (Doherty and Dooley, 2017, 13).

More recent research on shadow education within Australia has focused on the demand side of the market, that is, it looks at the reasons that parents choose to enrol their children

in tutoring. Sriprakash, Proctor and Hu (2016, 433) interviewed Chinese parents who were sending their children to coaching colleges or hiring tutors for them specifically to do well in the academically selective school test. For these parents, private tutoring or coaching colleges were an obvious choice, as they felt that the mainstream Australian schooling system was not providing them with the education they desired for their children (Sriprakash et al., 2016, 433). It was also a strategic reaction to the competitiveness of the Australian education system (Sriprakash et al., 2016, 437). Butler, Ho and Vincent (2017) also conducted a qualitative study within Australia. Their study focused on how a segment of middle class parents negatively perceive parents who engage in competitive 'tiger parenting,' which includes enrolling their children in private tutoring. Within both of these studies, the authors saw the growth of private tutoring as being reflective of the competitive educational environment, brought about because of the selective and private school system. Through these papers, the strong link between the mainstream school system and the shadow education market can be seen.

Davis (2013) conducted four detailed qualitative case studies of tutoring centres and one of a private tutor's practice. For each case study, Davis interviewed the managers of the centres, tutors who worked at the centres, parents of students who attended the centres, students who attended the centres, and other 'associated professionals' such as a behavioural optometrist who would refer students to tutoring and the tutoring centre would refer students to him. Her aim was to show how tutors and tutoring centres legitimise their services. She found that private tutoring was used because, unlike school, it could be individually tailored to student's needs (Davis, 2013). Pertinent to my research, trust emerged as a theme with her interview participants. Davis (2013, 168) reports that many parents placed huge amounts of trust in their child's tutors, with parents often taking their advice about which specialists they should get their children to see, or even about which school to send their child to. These trusting relations often put a strain on the relationships with students' classroom teachers and the mainstream education system as a whole, as families turned to tutors instead of teachers for advice (Davis, 2013, 101). Davis' work shows that developing trusting relationships with private tutors can have implications for the family's relationships with both classroom teachers and the publicly funded education system as a whole (Davis, 2013, 33).

International Literature:

Although there has been relatively little Australian research on shadow education, internationally there has been a large number of studies on this topic. There have been many papers where the authors have made comparisons between the shadow education sector across countries (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre, and Wiseman, 2001; Mori and Baker, 2010; Southgate, 2013) or have outlined directions for research on shadow education (Bray, 2009; Bray, 2014). In this section, I review the most relevant studies of these studies for my research.

Mark Bray is an influential author and collaborator on research on shadow education internationally. In his 2006 paper, Bray examined the factors that influence the supply and demand for shadow education and argued that both researchers and policymakers should pay more attention to it because of the implications for equity. As noted above, Bray (2006, 518-519) outlined the many different forms that tutoring lessons can take, including one-on-one, in medium sized groups or even in huge lecture theatres. He argued that tutors are a much more diverse group of people than teachers in mainstream schools who can be expected to be formally trained and within the ages of 21 to 65 approximately. Tutors on the other hand, can be qualified teachers, university students or retired teachers working full-time or part-time (Bray, 2006, 518-519). Bray (2006, 516) explained that tutoring is sometimes difficult to study because tutors often operate 'informally' and hence the true extent of the market is unknown.

In a later book, Bray (2009) explained some of the worldwide trends in shadow education, outlined the different variations in the way that tutoring is performed and provided advice for policymakers who may attempt to regulate the shadow education industry. In this book he contended that the mode of tutoring is shaped by the providers as well as the clients (Bray, 2009, 28). He also outlined three instances of how supply can create demand for tutoring, such as when teachers put pressure on children to get tutoring, when there is increased competition because other students are getting tutoring and through

advertisements by tutoring providers (Bray, 2009, 79). He argued that the tutoring sector has previously been quite informal but is now becoming more commercialised and structured, pointing to the existence and growth of major tutoring centres and franchises (Bray, 2009, 28). He provided advice for evaluators and regulators, who he says should be sure to understand that there are many different types of tutoring that need different kinds of regulation (Bray, 2009, 29). Bray and Kwo (2013) show the implications of the growth of shadow education on the ideal of public provision of education and universal access. They show that internationally there has been growth of private tutoring in recent years, but it has always existed. They do not present any data for the growth of the Australian market (Bray and Kwo, 2013, 484). However they do argue that the growth in shadow education is largely to do with a neoliberal approach to education, as it has become a marketable service (Bray and Kwo, 2013, 491).

Learning Centres:

While learning centres are not the focus of my research, the research that has been conducted on them is quite important because of the researchers emphasis on tutoring as an 'education business', rather than many other studies which are centred around the use of tutoring by students. This research has largely been conducted by a few researchers in Canada. These articles have contended that the emergence of 'tutoring franchises' or 'learning centres' are representative of the increased marketisation of the tutoring industry (Aurini, 2003; Aurini and Davies, 2004; Aurini, 2006). Although in the past there were only a few test preparation companies and 'moonlighting' tutors in Canada, private tutoring now represents a sizeable market consisting of a number of large businesses offering a range of services (Davies and Aurini, 2006, 123; Aurini, 2004, 467). One type of these businesses is 'learning centres' which are typically franchises that offer a variety of different, standardised programs and generally focus on long term skills (Aurini, 2003; Aurini and Davies, 2004; Aurini, 2006), rather than training for the test (Davies and Aurini, 2006 124). Aurini and Davies (2004, 431) argue that learning centres provide a better business model than traditional tutoring businesses, because they have long term contracts with parents and hence their income streams are less volatile. Despite the rise in

learning centres, they still believe that tutoring to improve test results in mainstream schooling is more prominent than learning centres which provide more of an alternative to the mainstream schooling system (Davies and Aurini, 2006, 124).

In both her 2004 and 2006 articles, Aurini asked how learning centres and franchises garner educational legitimacy. In her 2006 article, she used institutional theory to assess the differences between mainstream schools and learning centres and argued that learning centres represent a move away from institutional norms. In the public education system in the past, schools were able to avoid accountability measures and garnered their legitimacy from hiring credentialed staff (Aurini, 2006, 89). Similar to Australia, more recently public schools in Ontario have been subjected to accountability measures such as standardised testing (Aurini, 2006, 89). Learning centres, on the other hand, exist within a highly unregulated sector and are not subject to these formal accountability measures. They therefore represent a move away from these institutional norms (Aurini, 2006, 89-90). Since learning centres do not get government funding and are solely dependent on the market for funding, they need to have a constant stream of students. The consumers who use their services on the other hand, have the power to exit the services whenever they like. Garnering legitimacy is therefore an extremely important and constant process for learning centres compared to mainstream education providers (Aurini, 2006, 86). Aurini (2004) makes comparisons between the mainstream education system and learning centres and franchises. She argues that learning centres transform the nature of teaching in three ways; it de-professionalises it because tutors working in centres do not need to have teaching credentials, it sometimes competes with mainstream schooling and it does not have the same government regulation that exists within the public sector (Aurini, 2004, 481).

The growth in learning centres has also transformed work for those in the industry. While previously it provided an extra income for tutors, it now presents an opportunity for full-time business owners and for lifelong careers (Aurini, 2004, 467). There are also differences in the type of people who work within the tutoring sector compared to those who work within the mainstream education sector. When looking for potential investors in franchises, franchisors often prefer people who do not have education degrees because

they believe that teachers often lack entrepreneurial ambition (Aurini, 2003, 16). The tutor franchise managers in this study would often prefer to hire tutors without teaching credentials because they were usually cheaper and teachers often did not provide the best 'fit' because they were seen as a disciplinarian, rather than someone the students could relate to (Aurini, 2006, 98). Some of the franchise owners believed that educators should be paid based on their abilities, and critiqued the highly unionised and professionalised mainstream education sector (Aurini, 2004, 482). In a later paper, Aurini and Quirke (2011) interview managers or owners of learning centres to study market competition in learning centres, independent tutoring centres and secular private schools. The interview participants within this study did not see competition as affecting their way of doing business or their everyday lives, but instead their business was driven by a commitment to learning and teaching (Aurini and Quirke, 2011, 191). The participants instead emphasised providing a high quality, individual service for each of their students, rather than focusing on the actions of their competitors (Aurini and Quirke, 2011, 183). This is somewhat contradictory given Aurini's previous findings about franchisors preferring non-teachers to become franchise owners.

Similar to what was shown in the Australian literature, these learning centres are also reflective of a change in parent's attitudes towards their children's schooling. The shadow education market is growing in Canada, despite the fact that Canada does not have testing that would be considered 'high stakes' (Aurini and Davies, 2004, 421). Aurini and Davies (2004, 434) believe that the one of the reasons for the increase in private tutoring is due to parent's anxiety about schooling reforms in Canada, which saw an upheaval of the curriculum and more standardised testing. They also state that the industry will continue to grow because parents are taking more proactive stance towards their children's education and because education and professional careers are becoming more competitive (Aurini and Davies, 2004, 435). Aurini argues that there has been a shift in culture which has caused a shift in demand for more individual and tailored education (2003, 8), and that businesses need to offer an individualised service which fits in with parent's ideas about child-raising (Aurini, 2003, 24). Davies (2004) uses statistical data from a national survey on education to discern the type of parents who seek out private tutoring for their children. He argues that private tutoring is used as a 'school choice by default', in that it serves as a

cheaper alternative to private schooling (Davies, 2004, 250). These articles show how intertwined private tutoring is with neoliberal educational reforms, such as school choice policies and standardised testing.

Tutoring intermediaries:

As discussed in chapter one, my research is on what I refer to as 'tutoring intermediaries'. These are websites that facilitate tutoring lessons by allowing tutors and students to contact one another. Most of the research on these websites have looked at the ways that they market themselves to potential students, thereby showing the types of tutors that parents are looking for. While the first articles in this section analyse the websites themselves, the second set of articles analyse the individual profiles of tutors.

A few studies have analysed the marketing strategies of tutoring websites. Kozar (2014) focused on Russian private tutoring providers and pays particular attention on the 'language barrier' which is a concept often used on these sites. These websites emphasised the importance of their services through this term, as the language barrier was seen as being impossible to overcome without outside help, such as from tutors (Kozar, 2014, 85). One of the important findings of her research was that some of the websites blame the students' failure to learn on their prior learning experiences in schools (Kozar, 2014, 89). This discourse justified the existence of English tutoring providers and framed them in a favourable light to consumers (Kozar, 2014, 92). However, Kozar's (2014, 92) argument is somewhat contradictory because she also argues that this concept is used as a part of a neoliberal ideology that attributes one's own failings to the individual. Hallsén and Karlsson (2018) also analysed the websites of private tutoring providers, however they focused on the Swedish market and used testimonials by parents to show the strategies used by tutoring companies to recruit students and hence showcase some of the reasons that parents get private tutoring for their children. The tutors are the most prominent figures within these testimonials and it is through these testimonials that the tutors become the face of the companies (Hallsén and Karlsson 2018, 3). Through these testimonials, three different types of tutor emerge; the first is a stand in teacher, the second is an elder

sibling or role model and the third is an instrument of parental control (Hallsén and Karlsson, 2018, 7). Hallsén and Karlsson (2013, 13) show through these narratives that parents demand a tutor that can give their child individual attention and who can relate to their child. Although teachers are seen as the main educators within society, they cannot fill this role of an older, experienced peer, as tutors can (Hallsén and Karlsson, 2018, 13).

Faganel and Trnavčevič (2013) analysed the discourse surrounding tutoring in Slovenia, by undertaking a qualitative content analysis of a tutoring website. On this website there were individual profiles of tutors and forums on which students and tutors discussed tutoring. Their research showed how private tutoring is perceived by parents and students. They state that marketisation and commodification caused a decrease in the level of outside support given to students and an explosion in demand for private tutoring (Faganel and Trnavčevič, 2013, 168-169). Faganel and Trnavčevič (2013, 171) found that there was not a huge difference in price for tutoring services in different locations, however tutoring was slightly more expensive for university students compared to school tutoring. Despite this, tutoring was a significant expense for families (Faganel and Trnavčevič, 2013, 171). In one chat they found that teachers discussed the prices of their services amongst themselves, showing what appeared to be a cartel agreement between teachers in one smaller city (Faganel and Trnavčevič, 2013, 173). The conversations that they studied also showed that word of mouth played an important part in how parents searched for and selected a tutor (Faganel and Trnavčevič, 2013, 173). This shows that even parents who discussed tutoring online still relied on their own networks to find a tutor.

While the studies discussed above looked at the intermediaries as a whole, other studies have focused on the individual tutors who use these intermediaries. Three studies used online advertisements by private tutors and tutoring providers to find demographic and other data about the providers of these services. Tanner et al. (2009, 3) collected information about 504 agencies in England and then asked 300 to participate in a phone survey and conducted structured interviews with 130 agencies. In contrast, Kozar (2013) conducted her research in Russia, but with a much smaller sample. She analysed the demographic data of the top 32 tutoring profiles and interviewed twelve tutors (Kozar, 2013). However, there is also no data from these twelve interviews presented within the

article. Šťastný (2017, 566) analysed the online profiles of tutors from eight particular notice board websites within the Czech Republic. He used purposive sampling when choosing the profiles to use but did not mention how many profiles he analysed (Šťastný, 2017, 566). Tanner et al. (2009, 20) distinguished between five different types of agency; traditional agencies, notice board, mediated notice board, individual/ small agencies and educational centres. These studies also found a large range in the price of tutoring services even within the one country (Tanner et al., 2009, 5-6; Šťastný, 2017, 571-572). Šťastný (2017) found that the age and the education of the tutors was a predictor of the price. He argued that this could have equity effects, since those who could only afford to employ tutors in the lower price brackets would receive an inferior service (Šťastný, 2017, 572).

Conclusion:

Within this chapter, I have provided an overview of the little research on shadow education in Australia and then put forward the research that has been conducted on shadow education internationally. Researchers have shown that the shadow education market has a strong link to the mainstream education market. Mark Bray has indicated that the tutoring market has become more commercialised and formalised in recent years. The research on learning centres in Canada has shown that tutoring is less professionalised than the mainstream education market. Research on tutoring intermediaries has focused on how tutoring intermediaries market themselves to potential students, thereby showing the types of tutors that parents are looking for. Although my focus is not on learning centres, throughout the rest of this thesis I will be concentrating on similar kinds of issues as those that have been the focus of research on learning centres and the tutoring market as a whole, such as professionalisation and trust. While some researchers have briefly mentioned how tutors have operated within this market, there has not been a study which has focused on the experiences of tutors.

Chapter three: Methods and Methodology

Methodology:

As shown in chapter two, there has been little research conducted on the private tutoring market within Australia. For this reason, this research was designed as an exploratory, sequential, mixed methods study. Mixed methods were chosen because they can provide insights into slightly different facets of a phenomenon and because one method can be used to inform the next method (Greene, Caraceilli and Graham, 1989). In this study, a content analysis of the webpages of intermediaries was conducted. The webpages of these intermediaries were firstly analysed qualitatively, using a conventional approach. The functions that these intermediaries performed were then analysed quantitively and were used to classify the intermediaries into different categories. These classifications were then used within the sampling process for interviews with tutors who provide lessons. There was also one interview with a tutor who set up intermediaries to facilitate tutoring lessons. After outlining methods, I will reflect on the validity and reliability of this research process.

Mixed methods fit within a pragmatic paradigm, whereby the most important part of the research process is answering the research questions, rather than being tied down to a particular method or worldview (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998, 21). Therefore, pragmatists can choose from any qualitative or quantitative methods, provided that they answer the research questions (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998, 24). Mixed methods were chosen because quantitative and qualitative methods have complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses (Brewer and Hunter, 1989, 17). As has been stated within chapter one, the following research questions guided this study:

1. What functions do intermediaries that facilitate tutoring provide and what are the effects of the different structures of intermediaries on the tutors who use them?
2. Do intermediaries that facilitate tutoring operate in a way that would be expected based on classical theories of economic sociology?

As previously stated, this is an exploratory study and these were not originally the research questions that I intended to answer. I felt that an exploration of how the intermediaries operate was needed before any further analysis of their use could be conducted.

Methods:

The methods used are quite similar to those used by Tanner at al. (2009), who studied the tutoring market within England. However, while Tanner et al. (2009) have analysed the tutoring market as a whole, for this project, there is a specific focus on one part of the market.[1] As has been outlined in chapter one, only tutoring which is facilitated through the use of an online intermediary, that takes place in a student's home, the home of the tutor, or a public place is included within this study. This narrow focus was needed because of the limited size and scope of a Masters of Research project, especially when compared to Tanner et al.'s project which was a large project commissioned by the Department of Education in the United Kingdom (Tanner et al., 2009, 1).

Content Analysis

Sampling:

The content analysis included 65 intermediaries that allow for students and tutors to get in contact with one another. Each of these intermediaries had to offer face-to-face 'in home' tutoring for subjects that are taught in schools within NSW. Relevance sampling was used in finding the sample, which meant that all units that contribute to answering the research questions were included within the sample (Krippendorff, 2004, 119). Hence the following exclusion criteria were developed to determine which intermediaries would contribute to answering the research questions and therefore would be included within the analysis.

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[1] Other researchers have also looked at a specific segment of the market, for example Webb (2012) and Lentell and O'Rourke (2004) focused on online tutoring, Aurini (2003), Aurini (2004), Aurini and Davies (2004), Aurini (2006), Davies and Aurini (2006), Aurini and Quirke (2011) studied learning centres and franchises, and similar to myself, Kozar (2013) and Šťastný (2017) looked at intermediaries.

Exclusion criteria:

- Intermediaries that exclude customers, for example tutoring programs run through schools that only allowed students from that school to attend.
- Intermediaries that did not provide services within the state of NSW. If the areas the intermediary provided services for was not explicitly stated, then at least one tutor had to come up when a search in NSW was conducted.
- Intermediaries where face-to-face tutoring was not offered. This ruled out intermediaries that only provide online tutoring, such as Tutornova, My Web Tutor and Aleks.
- Intermediaries that did not offer tutoring at a student's home. This primarily excluded large tutoring centres, that mainly offered small group classes rather than one-on-one tutoring.
- Intermediaries that advertise programs that are not for school subjects, for example Ridley College has tutors for religious subjects, or University Tutor which only has tutors for university subjects.

These exclusion criteria were developed to ensure that all of the intermediaries that were included provided a similar service. The last criterion was included in order to keep the focus is specifically on 'shadow education'. A few intermediaries offered language tuition only, however if tutors on these intermediaries offered their services for school language subjects, they were also included.

The intermediaries were found by performing google searches for tutoring webpages and checking the results against the exclusion criteria. Google searches were performed repeatedly using different search terms such as 'tutoring NSW.' With each search, I went through each of the results to see whether it could be included based off the exclusion criteria. I would continue to do so until none of the results that came up were relevant (usually around 30 pages into the search). Some of the results that came up in the searches were community sites that included a list of tutoring centres and intermediaries that

worked within that particular area, in which case each result was checked against the exclusion criteria. The final data corpus is included as Appendix A.[2]

Data Collection:

Once the study sample was identified, Capture for Nvivo was used to download all of the webpages on each of the intermediaries. This process was completed in the second half of March, 2018. This allowed for the webpage data to all be captured at one particular moment in time. One issue with using content analysis to analyse webpages is that webpages contain 'dynamic' data, meaning that they constantly can be changed and updated. Marotzki, Holze, and Verständig (2013, 453) state that with 'dynamic data,' additional tools and resources outside of the website functions can be used to archive data. While using Capture for Nvivo allowed for the data to be analysed consistently, it does not account for any changes in the intermediaries over the course of the thesis. For example, The Nanny Collective was included in the analysis, however by the time the thesis was submitted, this intermediary no longer provided tutoring services, but just focused on nannying services. The analysis on the intermediaries is therefore all for one particular moment in time. Once captured, the webpages were imported into Nvivo for qualitative analysis.

Data Analysis:

The intermediary data was collected and then analysed in two different ways. Each of the pages of the intermediaries were coded thematically. Mayring (2000, 1) explains that "qualitative content analysis defines itself within this framework as an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification." The text on each of the intermediaries were coded using what Hsieh and Shannon (2005, 1279) would classify as conventional content analysis. Each sentence was considered a context unit and the codes were developed inductively. Already existing

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[2] This appendix shows each of the websites that was included, of this corpus, each relevant webpage of the website was coded.

theory was brought in at the end of the analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2005, 1279) argue that this is an effective approach for when the literature in a researcher's field is quite limited. This approach was therefore seen as appropriate for an exploratory study. As the data was coded, a codebook was developed with definitions and examples of all of the codes and this was updated as the codes were updated. This codebook is included as Appendix B. While all of the text was coded, not all of the coded text contributed to the final results/discussion chapters of the thesis. This is because, as Krippendorff states, "it is rare for different textual units to have equal relevance for a content analyst's research question" (2004, 113). Memos were also taken down during the coding process. In some ways, this analysis was similar to Altheide and Schneider's (2013) description of ethnographic content analysis, in that it was quite exploratory and the results were presented more like a narrative, rather than quantitatively.

Similar to Tanner et al. (2009), I encountered a few issues with analysing tutoring intermediaries. Firstly, intermediaries only represent those with the time, money and expertise to create a website (Tanner et al., 2009, 10), therefore there could be a number of tutors that exist, that do not have an online presence. This is less of an issue for this study than for Tanner et al., because I am more interested in the role that these intermediaries play, rather than trying to show all of the intermediaries that exist within the market. They also saw problems with the fact that the intermediaries are aimed at a range of different people (students, parents, current tutors, potential tutors). While Tanner et al. (2009, 9) see this as an issue, because I am looking at the latent meanings, rather than just the manifest meanings, this makes the data more substantive and interesting. On some pages it was difficult to determine who the text was aimed at, and it seemed that on some pages the creators were trying to 'catch all' students, parents and potential tutors. The intermediaries also provided varying degrees of detail. Once again, this was less of an issue for the qualitative part of my analysis, then for Tanner et al. (2009, 18) because while they were trying to determine how many intermediaries are operating, and the average prices of the services, I am more interested in the meanings behind what they say, for example how they talk about trust. The interviews were also partly used to determine whether this intermediary data was accurate for the intermediaries that the participants used.

This qualitative data was also used to create quantitative data. Each of the intermediaries were quantitively coded according to the functions that they performed. This data was put into an Excel spreadsheet and most functions were coded as either a 0 for did not perform, or 1 for did perform. These codes were developed from Tanner et al.'s (2009) report and readings on the gig economy, which emphasised the importance of ratings and review functions (see: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2017; Spreitzer, Cameron and Garrett 2017; Stewart and Stanford, 2017). They were also developed somewhat inductively by including any function that at least one of the intermediaries performed that was not listed in either Tanner et al.'s (2009) report or the sources on the gig economy. This coding frame is included as Appendix C. Some intermediaries did not specify whether or not they performed a function and it was therefore assumed that they did not perform that function. While this incomplete data is not ideal, it is likely that if an intermediary did have a certain function, the creators would want to make that obvious to the user, because then they would be more likely to want to use the intermediary. This data was originally intended to be qualitatively analysed, however the number of intermediaries that existed and functions that they performed became too overwhelming to study qualitatively and hence it was deemed more appropriate to present the data quantitatively. The intermediaries were initially put into different categories based off whether they contained tutor profiles and had contact details available for each of the tutors listed, according to the description of different intermediaries as outlined by Tanner et al. (2009). Once these categories were developed, the total number of each function performed were counted and the results of this analysis are presented in chapter four.

The results of the content analysis also informed the interviews in two ways. They determined which intermediaries the interview participants would be chosen from and partly informed the direction that the interviews would take.

Interviews

Sampling:

The interview participants were all tutors who had their contact details on one of the intermediaries used for the content analysis. The intermediaries that interview participants were recruited from were chosen and then the interview participants were selected from the chosen intermediaries. The three intermediaries were chosen because they all function quite differently and have very different verification and training processes. They are also quite different in who they charge to use the service (tutor, student or no-one) and the price they charge users, as was discovered from the content analysis. The intermediaries are classified and the results of the analysis of their functions are presented in chapter four. This sampling strategy was chosen because the focus of the analysis is on the intermediaries and the different ways that they operate, rather than the individual qualities of the tutors themselves. The three intermediaries that were chosen were the Australian Tutoring Association (ATA), Tutors4You and another third intermediary.

The Australian Tutoring Association (ATA) was one of the intermediaries with the most stringent checks and verification process for tutors who were listed, with individual tutors having to pay $300-$350 a year to be listed, to have their qualifications verified and, for those tutors who do not have a teaching qualification, to complete an online course. Tutors4You was chosen because it was an 'online marketplace' and the business that owns the intermediary runs a number of other online marketplaces in different industries. Their stated aim is "To assist the businesses listed on our websites to find more customers and grow their business. To make it quick and easy for our website visitors to find, compare and select products and services." This intermediary treats individual tutors as business owners and tutors or tutoring companies have to pay a subscription to get leads and get in contact with students. The third intermediary was chosen because unlike the ATA and Tutors4You, it did not allow for tutors to be contacted directly. The interview participant from this intermediary felt like an employee of this intermediary and subsequently did not wish for his workplace to be named. A fourth participant was chosen because he runs two different intermediaries which are similar in purpose but quite different in the way that they function.

Tutors from the first two intermediaries were easier to contact, because their contact details were found through the intermediary. These tutors were initially contacted by

phone and then after they agreed to the interview, a follow up email was sent to each of them, to summarise what participation in the study entailed. A copy of this email is included as Appendix D. The manager of the intermediary was also able to be contacted quite directly, by filling in an online form through the intermediary. Accessing the tutor from the third intermediary was more difficult, as while the intermediary had individual tutor profiles of each of the tutors, they did not have any contact details available. I was fortunate enough to have already known one of these tutors, who was able to be contacted through my personal networks and he was happy to participate in an interview.

In addition to sampling by intermediary type, the following selection criteria were also applied: At the time of the interview, all of the tutors had to be:

- Over 18 years of age
- Tutoring subjects which are completed in primary or high school (if they teach a language or music, then they must state explicitly that they can tutor for school subjects, eg Higher School Certificate (HSC) music)
- An individual tutor, not a business
- Tutoring within NSW
- Tutor students in their own homes, students homes or public places[3]
- Able to be contacted by the researcher

Data collection:

All of the interviews were semi-structured and started out with questions about their experience being a tutor and how it related to their current and future career goals. The focus then moved on to their experience using intermediaries, such as whether they found them useful for recruiting students and whether they exerted much control over their tutoring practice. The interview questions are included as Appendix E, however since the interviews were semi-structured this was used only as a guide. The interview with the manager of the intermediary was slightly different in that it also included questions about the intermediaries he ran. Each of the interviews lasted for between half an hour and one

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[3] Although one of the tutors interviewed tutored students in their students schools library during their free periods, this was not organised by the school and was still included within the study.

and a half hours. Interviewees were also extremely generous with their time, sending emails after the interview to elaborate on points they had mentioned during the interviews and one of the participants brought a copy of her agreement that she gave to each of the students she tutored to show the researcher.

Data analysis:

The interview recordings were transcribed by the researcher and notes were taken while this transcription was being undertaken. The interviews were then imported into Nvivo and coded using the same codes developed from the content analysis of the intermediaries.

Validity and Reliability:

A number of steps were taken to ensure that the results of this research were valid, reliable and reproducible. Firstly, the procedures used within the research were described thoroughly within this chapter of the thesis. This description also included attaching the interview guide within the appendix (see Appendix E) and including a list of all of the websites that were used within the content analysis (Appendix A). This helped to ensure the reliability of the research because it shows the decisions that were made throughout the research process. This is also intended to make the research reproducible, because other researchers can use the same methods and apply them to other situations to see if the results are applicable in the situations they test.

As outlined by Brinkmann and Kvale (2005, 106), the use of thick, ethical description involves being able to "see events in their value-laden contexts, and judge accordingly." Thick description was used when describing the participants and the interviews with participants as will be seen in chapter five. The context in which the research takes place was also described in detail, especially in the background part of chapter one. The use of thick description validates the results, because it indicates to readers that the researcher has an understanding of the research topic and context (Grossoehme, 2014, 111). Through using multiple methods, the validity of the research was further strengthened. Multiple methods included interviews with the tutors, interviews with a manager of a tutoring

website and the content analysis, which provided data from the perspective of the business managers who run the websites. By using this multitude of methods, different perspectives on the same phenomenon were given.

Chapter four: Intermediary structure

Categorising intermediaries:

As explained in chapter three, the common link between the intermediaries chosen for this study is that they mediate students' access to 'in home' tutoring. However the intermediaries differ substantially in the level of control they exert over this interaction. There are multiple different ways in which intermediaries operating within the tutoring market can be classified.[4] Tanner et al. (2009) have categorised tutoring agencies in England, which seem to provide the most suitable explanation of the agencies within my sample. In their work on categorising English tutoring agencies, Tanner et al. (2009) only include tutoring organisations that have a functioning website and hence, their categories can be used to group the intermediaries that I have included within my research. In the final section of this chapter, the data from the quantitative analysis of the websites is presented, which shows the functions that these different types of agencies perform.

Tanner et al.'s (2009, 18) classification describes five different agency types that operated within the private tutoring market.[5] These were traditional agencies, notice board agencies, mediated notice board agencies, individual/small agencies and educational centres. I have slightly adapted these categories to align with the intermediaries found in my research (see Table 1). One of the categories that Tanner et al. (2009) included was educational centres, which were organisations that provided tutoring in a designated location. This category was not included within my analysis, as only intermediaries that facilitated 'in home tutoring' were included, as has been previously discussed. I also included an additional category for 'job boards / online labour markets' because when searching for my sample, many tutors were found on websites that are not necessarily set up to facilitate tutoring

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[4] Davis (2013) argued that they should be categorised by the underlying theory of learning and Forsey (2013) outlined three broad 'centres of activity': schools, the community and the market.
[5] Here, I use the term 'agency' rather than intermediary because Tanner et al.'s classification also includes educational centres which do not facilitate tutoring through an online portal.

lessons, but connect buyers to the providers of a variety of different services. 'Job boards / online labour markets' also allow tutors and students to connect with one another and operate in a similar way to many of the other agencies included. This type of intermediary were also used by the interview participants to recruit students. Another way in which my work differs from Tanner et al. (2009, 9) is that they did not include the websites of individual tutors, even if those individual tutors were operating under a company name, unless it could be seen from their website that the tutor passed work on to other tutors. Within my work this delineation seemed somewhat contradictory, because tutors may pass work on to other tutors, even if this does not occur online. For example, one of the tutors I interviewed was an individual tutor who also passed work on to other tutors. She did this when parents rang her and she could not fit students in, or if they required a service she did not provide. However this is not visible from her online profile and I only know this from having interviewed her. I therefore decided to change the 'individual/small agency' category to include the websites of any individual tutors. Based off Tanner et al.'s (2009) descriptions of the different agency types, I created a table which explains the features of each type and the number of intermediaries in my sample that I have allocated to that category. This is presented as Table 1 below:

Agency type:	Agency description:	Distinguishing feature:	Number of intermediaries that fit in this type:
Traditional agency	Maintained a selected bank of registered tutors and allocated work in response to requests from prospective clients. The intermediary takes responsibility for the standard of work performed.	No individual tutor profiles or contact details of tutors appear on the intermediary. The intermediary only has contact details for the intermediary itself.	17

Mediated notice board	Intermediary maintained a list of registered tutors, from which clients selected but no individual tutor contact details were provided, so contact with the tutor occurred solely through the intermediary.	Individual tutor profiles, but no contact details provided.	14	39
Noticeboard	Intermediary maintained an online notice board for individual tutor advertisements with contact details allowing clients to negotiate directly with the tutors.	Individual tutor profiles with contact details.	18	
Individual/small agencies	Each website is for an individual tutor. They may also have links to other tutors' websites.	Websites were created for only one tutor.	2	
Job boards/online labour markets	These intermediaries are not aimed specifically towards tutors and students, but allow any type of worker and employer/consumer to connect. They include jobs boards, where students could post ads looking for tutors and where tutors could post ads looking for students.	Include jobs other than tutoring.	14	

Table 1 - Types of Intermediaries (Adapted from: Tanner et al., 2009)

As can be seen, Tanner et al.'s (2009) agency types are distinguished by how they allow the tutor and the student to get into contact. While it makes sense to classify intermediaries in this way, I also found many other differences between the intermediaries. For example the intermediaries differ in how they collect payments, pay tutors and whether they provide training for tutors. It is probably for this reason that Tanner et al. (2009, 20) state that their categories are broad and overlapping. I have also found Tanner et al.'s categories somewhat incomplete, such as that they state that tutors may or may not be vetted by noticeboards, but do not say anything about the vetting process for traditional agencies. However, as will be explained in the next section of this chapter, it is likely that traditional agencies screen their tutors, as most within this study do. Also, although they provide these classifications, they only provide a very limited discussion of how these agencies facilitate tutoring. For example, when providing an explanation of mediated notice boards, they state that "These agencies often provide an online database of registered tutors, and may also utilise web based forms or embedded email as the primary means of communication between the client, agency and tutor" (Tanner et al., 2009, 20). Within the rest of this chapter, I intend on explaining further how intermediaries facilitate tutoring through the functions on the websites. These categories form the basis of explaining the functions that the intermediaries provide.

Functions of intermediaries:

As was outlined in chapter three, the different intermediaries were grouped into different categories and each intermediary was coded according to whether it performed certain functions, such as providing ratings, training for tutors or taking payments. The full coding frame which outlines these intermediary functions is included as Appendix C.

While Tanner et al.'s (2009) report is useful for understanding the different types of intermediaries that exist and categorising them, research on the organisation of online labour markets is valuable for understanding how intermediaries operate. Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 13) show how Ahrne and Brunsson's (2011) five elements of organisation are enacted by digital marketplaces. The following section describes which functions these

intermediaries complete and how these relate to the elements described by Kirchner and Schüßler (2018).

The first of Kirchner and Schüßler's (2018) five elements is that the digital marketplaces have account memberships. Around half of the intermediaries in my study required tutors to have memberships to be able to get students (33/65). While this is not a huge number, many others also had the option of becoming a member, even if tutors did not necessarily have to sign up to get students. For example, on some intermediaries, students could post advertisements looking for tutors. On these intermediaries, tutors with or without an account could respond to the ads, but for tutors to advertise their services, they would have to create an account. Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 9) argue that digital marketplaces have a more limited form of membership than traditional organisations because members are not contractually obliged to perform certain tasks, as an employee would be, but can perform them so long as they follow the rules of the marketplace. For many of the intermediaries, it was difficult to discern whether they had memberships that were full memberships, like employees, or partial memberships, like online marketplaces. This is a pertinent question which many researchers have asked about online labour market users (see: Healy, Nicholson, and Pekarek 2017; Minter, 2017; Todoli-Signes, 2017; Stewart and Stanford, 2017).

Secondly, marketplaces require members to abide by rules on the marketplace through what Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 9-10) term 'algorithmic bureaucracy'. The set up and functions of the marketplace prevent users from disobeying the rules. Similarly, Smorto (2018, 8) states that platforms can utilise the architecture of the website to constrain the actions of users. One of the noticeboards in my study did not allow for tutors and students to exchange contact details through the messaging function and tutors had to pay to get 'leads' instead. When tutors or students tried to send one another any contact details through the noticeboard without having paid for a lead, the noticeboard would automatically black out these details. The noticeboard thereby prevented any users from breaking the rules that the noticeboard had set up. The other possible way that intermediaries may have engaged in algorithmic bureaucracy is through the algorithms which determine the order that tutor profiles appear. While it was difficult to ascertain

how the intermediaries order the tutor profiles, in a very few cases (2), tutors could pay to have their profile come up at the top of the search. It is more likely that they determine this order based off the ratings that they have received, along with the locations of the tutors. This is similar to online labour platforms as described by Smorto (2018, 17), as there is often a lack of transparency about how these rankings are determined, which poses difficulties for those who use and rely on the platform and rankings.

Third, digital marketplaces use an aggregation of user data to monitor users to ensure they comply with rules (Kirchner and Schüßler , 2018, 10-11). Rating was the function in which there was the biggest difference between the different types of intermediaries. No traditional agencies used ratings and ratings could only be used on three mediated noticeboards. For jobs boards and noticeboards on the other hand, a high number used ratings for tutors (9/14 and 11/18 respectively). For jobs boards, this was one of the only functions that most of them provided. For some intermediaries, the ratings and reviews determined the order that they came up when students searched for tutors, as can be seen from the following extract from Tuty (a noticeboard):

> *HOW DO I INCREASE MY PAGE RANK? Your rating and the number of hours you have tutored determine where your listing appears. To boost your page rank ask your students to leave a rating at the end of each lesson. The more hours you log teaching through Tuty, the higher your listing climbs in search results*. (Tuty).

Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 11) also argue that evaluation systems facilitate trust between buyers and sellers. As already stated, no traditional agencies had ratings, instead, most traditional agencies explicitly stated that they screened tutors (14/17). Similarly, while only three mediated noticeboards had ratings, most (11/14) screened tutors. On the other hand, most (11/18) noticeboards had ratings and less than half (7/18) screened their tutors. Jobs boards/online labour markets provided almost no functions except for ratings, which most provided (9/14). Intermediaries success is based on the quality of the marketplace they provide and so they have an interest in ensuring that users do not take advantage of one another (Smorto, 2018, 4). While the traditional agencies and most mediated noticeboards in this study operate like traditional organisations and screen the

tutors for the students and therefore provide some responsibility for the delivery of the service. Peer platform markets have created new ways to signal reliability to consumers, such as through ratings (Smorto, 2018, 4). Noticeboards and jobs boards are essentially crowd sourcing this role to other users of the intermediary, which the same as what many online labour markets do.

Smorto (2018, 20) stated that sometimes the fact that the intermediary exists and that someone has an account with the intermediary makes the user feel as though there is some guarantee that safety is assured, as the intermediary appears to be the provider. Since many of the noticeboards and jobs boards did not actually screen tutors and instead provided an opportunity for rating tutors, this may not be warranted. Rather, the parents have a responsibility to ensure that they check the ratings of the tutors and screen them themselves. It was also stated on many of the intermediaries that parents should check the tutors' details themselves, but often this was buried with the FAQs. The following passage from SeekaTutor's (which was a noticeboard that did not screen tutors) FAQs shows that many tutoring noticeboards, much like other online intermediaries seek to remove themselves from any liability they could have for the conduct of tutors that use their sites:

> *Is SeekaTutor.com.au responsible for the quality or behavior (sic) of the tutors? SeekaTutor.com.au is a platform to enable communication between tutors and parents/students. Transactions and private tutoring services conducted between tutors and students are entirely at your own risk.* (SeekaTutor)

The fourth element that Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 11-12) describe is that digital marketplaces are able to enforce sanctions through ratings systems. While it is possible that tutors could be given sanctions through the intermediary because of negative reviews, none of the intermediaries explicitly stated that they did this. The ratings and reviews were mostly framed much more positively, as though they were helping the tutors, "Our feedback system also helps you build trust by displaying reviews and testimonials from your happy students!" (First Tutors). While one intermediary stated that they could sanction users, it seemed as though they would prefer if users worked out any disputes among themselves:

What do I do if I have had a bad experience with a business listed on the website?
Please contact the business directly and try to resolve any issues. If this does not
work please contact us and we will investigate your claims which could lead to the
listing being modified or removed. You may also consider leaving a review for
others detailing your satisfaction with the product, service or business.
(Tutors4You).

The fifth and final element is that there must be some kind of hierarchy of organisation which means that the organiser can decide on the rules of the organisation (Kirchner and Schüßler, 2018, 12). Hierarchy is a concept drawn from economic sociology, and in this context, having hierarchy means that users have no say in how the organisation is run (unless they collectively put pressure on the market organiser). This means that one (or a few) people get to make decisions about the marketplace, such as who can become a member, the rules of the marketplace and how members are monitored (Kirchner and Schüßler , 2018, 12). The level of hierarchy in the intermediaries difficult to ascertain from the intermediaries websites, as it is unlikely that these decisions would appear publicly on a website. There were a few functions however, in which some intermediaries exerted control over aspects of the delivery of the service, for example whether they allowed tutors to set their own prices or organise when they worked. Unsurprisingly, traditional agencies (9/17) and mediated noticeboards (10/14) were both more likely to set the price for the service, noticeboards sometimes took payments, but only one noticeboard set prices. Similarly, only one job board set prices and one took payments.

While peer platform businesses often try to claim that they just provide the technology, rather than deliver the service, the revenues of peer platform businesses often come from the activities that are performed by workers, rather than from users accessing the database (Todoli-Signes, 2017, 196-197). Similar to the peer platform businesses that Todoli-Signes studied, the main way that the traditional agencies earnt their income was from charging a set price and then paying tutors a wage. This is unproblematic when the intermediaries are actually employers and take responsibility for the delivery of the service. However many of the mediated noticeboards also earnt an income in this way,

despite not being an employer. For example on Alchemy (a mediated noticeboard which charged students a price and paid tutors a wage), it was stated that "You will be hired as a subcontractor and therefore you need to have an ABN" (an ABN is an Australian Business Number and is used by businesses for tax purposes). The majority of noticeboards also earnt their income from the tasks that were performed by workers, but rather than charging a set price and then paying tutors a wage, they charged a service fee for the tutors. This service fee was charged differently depending on the intermediary, however for many the payment for tutoring had to be made through the intermediary and then the intermediary took a percentage from this payment as a 'service fee.' For these intermediaries, it is clear that they are making money from the services delivered, rather than from the technology they have created. This makes it difficult to discern whether those working for intermediaries are employees or contractors. Stanford (2017, 391) puts forward the argument that this kind of employment is not due to the existence of the internet and peer platform markets themselves, but rather is a continuation of the current trends in employment such at the casualisation of the workforce. This is facilitated by neoliberal policies such as a regulatory structure that allows for zero hours contracts and an employer friendly environment (Stanford, 2017, 391).

Online intermediaries can also provide scheduling features for users. While very few traditional agencies provided a function to schedule lessons (2/17), it is likely that they still perform this function, since consumers cannot get in contact with tutors directly. However, many traditional agencies stated that they allowed tutors to organise lesson times directly with the students or parents, for example on Action Coaching it was stated that, "You would be offered students in fairly close proximity to your home or workplace and then you can arrange mutually convenient lesson days or times with the student or parent personally." The mediated noticeboards were most likely to do scheduling, but it was still just over one third of them that provided this service.

On the other hand, in terms of the amount of support given to tutors, there seemed to be very little difference between traditional agencies, mediated noticeboards and noticeboards. While very few intermediaries in general stated that they provided any training for tutors, interestingly, the same number of noticeboards as traditional agencies

provided training. This may be because one of the intermediaries purpose was to provide training and then as a further incentive for completion, tutors details were put onto the website to advertise. There was little difference between intermediaries in terms of the number that provided teaching materials for tutors. This was somewhat unexpected as one would expect that traditional agencies and mediated noticeboards would provide more support for tutors, as has been previously outlined, they took more responsibility for the delivery of the service in terms of screening tutors.

Within this chapter, I classified the different intermediaries using an adapted version of Tanner et al.'s (2009) agency types. I then used these classifications to discuss the different functions that the intermediaries provide. Traditional agencies were still most like a traditional organisation, in terms of the level of control they exerted over the tutors and the fact that they were most likely to screen tutors, however the level of support they provided was similar to that of other intermediary types. Some intermediaries tried to withdraw from any responsibility for the tutors and this is consistent with other online labour markets. There was also a trade-off between providing ratings and screening the tutors. In the next chapter, I will use the data from the interviews with tutors to discuss how the provision of different functions affect the tutors who use them.

Chapter five: Results and Discussion of Interviews

Introduction:

This chapter is focused on the experiences of tutors and how they interact with intermediaries. Within this chapter I firstly introduce the interview participants and then discuss their jobs in terms of their flexibility and autonomy and explain how this is influenced by the type of intermediary that they use. I then discuss the different 'barriers to entry' that may prevent people from becoming involved in tutoring. Lastly, I discuss trust in the relationship between tutors and students and discuss the different ways that intermediaries seek to replicate the trusting relationships that students and tutors develop through the intermediary. This chapter draws on the classifications and functions outlined in chapter four, as I present the data from the interviews with tutors.

Participants:

As discussed in chapter three, all of the participants in my research provide 'in home' tutoring lessons to primary and/or high school students. To be included, the tutors also had to have interacted with at least one of the intermediaries analysed in the preceding chapter. All of the participants outlined in this study were given pseudonyms.

Timothy is a 24-year-old male who has been tutoring students for around 6 years. He has completed a few different degrees in fields relating to the subjects that he tutors. He was asked by friends to tutor them after he finished high school. Since then, the number of students that he has tutored has grown larger. He used a number of tutoring noticeboards to advertise his services in his first few years tutoring, he now finds that he does not have to advertise because he is able to recruit enough students through word of mouth. Despite this, he still has online profiles on a number of noticeboards, including a paid profile on one noticeboard, which he continues to renew 'out of habit.' He currently tutors around 15-20 students, with some being on a weekly basis and some a bi-weekly basis. Although all of the noticeboards he has used provide the opportunity for ratings, they do not perform

many other functions, so he has control of his own scheduling and the prices that he charges.

Margaret is a middle aged female who has completed a teaching degree and has been tutoring on and off for around 40 years. Over the years, the amount of time she has dedicated to tutoring has been quite varied, because she took time off from tutoring to raise a family, but has also picked up hours at times because her partner's employment was erratic. Currently, she tutors four students every week day afternoon. She has both weekly and bi-weekly arrangements with students, as well as a waiting list of students who can fill in if one of her regular students cancels a lesson. She is a member of the Australian Tutoring Association (ATA), and has also advertised on TutorFinder, however she does not get many students from either intermediary and recruits most students through word of mouth.

Jack is a 21-year-old male who works for a mediated noticeboard and has been working for them for around 18 months. When he moved out of his family home he applied for the mediated noticeboard to earn some extra income. He also has another job which he works casually on the weekends. He is currently completing a secondary teaching degree at a local university and is completing the practical component of his degree. He currently tutors three students a week, but had four students last term and says that this is a high number for the intermediary he works through, as most tutors have two to three students. The intermediary he works for provides a number of functions, such as scheduling, providing teaching materials and training for tutors. The intermediary also charges a set price and then pays the tutors a wage, so out of all the participants, Jack is the most like an employee. For this reason, he wished that the intermediary he worked for not be named.

Sebastian is a 27-year-old male who has been working as a tutor for 13 years. Although his involvement with tutoring initially started from tutoring family friends, he joined an intermediary while he was at university. The intermediary he previously worked for was one listed as a traditional agency in Appendix E. Similar to the intermediary Jack works for, the traditional agency charges students a set amount and then pays the tutors a wage. He found that the traditional agency provided very little contact or support. He now runs

two of the intermediaries listed, one of which is a traditional agency through which he employs one other tutor and the other is a noticeboard website. He employs web designers to work on the noticeboard website and plans on vastly expanding the features of the noticeboard, so that it has quite complex scheduling functions, ratings and allows payments to be made through the noticeboard. He earns his income through tutoring over 40 hours a week for his traditional agency and sees the noticeboard website as an investment that he hopes will become profitable once it is complete.

Although no job boards / online labour markets were chosen specifically to recruit tutors to interview from, both Timothy and Sebastian had used these intermediaries in the past. While Timothy, Margaret and Sebastian would describe themselves as self-employed, Jack described himself as employed by the intermediary and referred to the people that he worked for as his 'bosses'. Drawing on the classifications outlined in chapter four, within the next section there will be a discussion of how the intermediaries impact on the tutors in terms of the flexibility and autonomy of their job.

Flexibility:

Both the intermediaries and the tutors outlined a key benefit of the job of being a tutor as being the flexibility. There were a few different types of flexibility that were spoken about in the interviews and written about on the intermediaries webpages. These included flexibility in the price charged and hours worked. Within this section, I will also discuss autonomy and support, as these both closely interact with the flexibility of the job. The level of autonomy was also strongly linked to the provision of an individualised service which has been outlined by many other researchers as a crucial reason that parents demand private tutoring for their children.

Tutors operating in this market are usually paid a certain fee for an hour long lesson, rather than a wage. All of the tutors in this study taught hour long lessons, but they also spoke about others who had half an hour, 45 minute or even one and a half hour long lessons. The tutors each charged between $20 and $60 for an hour long lesson, but they

also mentioned other tutors who charged over $100 for a lesson (although these tutors were generally working in a niche market). Lessons usually take place either within the student or tutors home, or sometimes within a public place.

Williamson (1975, 44-45) explained that some individuals experience a heightened sense of well-being from informal relations that don't necessarily involve a written record of transactions. However, both informal and formal arrangements will always both exist because some people prefer one or the other (Williamson, 1975, 44-45). Some of the tutors had quite flexible arrangements with students, however even Timothy, who had allowed his students to cancel lessons at any time, still kept records of all of his students and their payments. He did this to ensure he was paying the correct income tax, but also to be able to show students or parents if they questioned him about payments. Williamson also discussed the different levels of hierarchy in groups. Although some hierarchy in groups is more efficient, people may not like a hierarchy because 'auditing and experience rating' may affect their sense of collective wellbeing (Williamson, 1975, 55). Experience rating is when the organisations in markets share information to prevent players taking advantage by quitting and joining another organisation (Williamson, 1975, 15). As was shown in chapter four, there was more of a hierarchy in traditional agencies, but there was still some hierarchy in mediated noticeboards and noticeboards. For Margaret, Timothy and Sebastian, they all enjoyed the lack of hierarchy and that they were able to decide how they completed their work themselves. For Jack however, he was content with the level of hierarchy in the intermediary he worked for because he was provided with support and the intermediary also took away some of the risks associated with working as a freelance tutor.

Prices charged:

While a benefit of being a tutor was often seen as being the high rates of pay that tutors receive, this was often much lower than it would initially seem because of the additional hours of work that tutors had to put in outside of the work they were officially paid for. The tutors experiences, using noticeboards or working through mediated noticeboards and traditional agencies, reveal that the type of intermediary has an impact on whether the

tutors are paid an hourly wage or whether they get to decide on the price that they charge for their services.

Most of the intermediaries outlined a benefit of working as a tutor as being the high rates of pay, especially when compared to working in retail or hospitality. This is shown in the following quote from the mediated noticeboard Alchemy:

> *Our tutors receive more than double what they would earn in a retail or hospitality job (without the hassle of working nights or long days!). We pay our incredible tutors a starting rate between $30 and $35 per hour, with the potential for this to increase up to $50 per hour as you gain experience.* (Alchemy, a mediated noticeboard)

Timothy, Sebastian and Margaret charged a price for an hourly lesson, that was also inclusive of any extra work that they completed outside of the lessons. They all started out charging $20-$25 for an hour lesson, but increased this as they got more business and experience. Jack earnt $30 for an hour lesson that was less than 10km away. As would be expected in a free market, their experiences show that tutors generally start out charging a relatively low price and then gradually increase it as they get more students and more experience. As outlined in chapter four, many traditional agencies and mediated noticeboards charged a set price for tutoring services and then paid the tutors a set wage. Jack estimated that the parents would have been paying around $60 for his service, which was around the same price that Margaret charged now, although she was a far more experienced tutor, with a teaching qualification. Jack was reasonably happy with his hourly wage, but felt that the parents he was working for were paying too much for his services. Sebastian felt that as a tutor, he should be getting most of the money from providing tutoring services since he did most of the work. One of the reasons that he quit the traditional agency he worked for previously was that he felt that they took too large of a cut out of his payment.

All of the tutors spoke about the amount of work that they had to complete outside of the hours that they were paid for. Sebastian outlined an inefficiency in tutoring as being the

time spent travelling to and from students houses to provide tutoring. This, he said cut substantially into the rate that tutors were paid. Jack, working for a mediated noticeboard, was not paid an hourly rate, but different rates depending on how many kilometres from his house the lessons took place. He also was not aware of much his students paid for lessons, because the payment went directly to the mediated noticeboard and then he was paid by the mediated noticeboard, in the same way that he would if he was an employee. Despite previously saying he was content with his wage, Jack later questioned whether his hourly wage was worth his time when he thought about the amount of time that he spent travelling to and from his tutoring lessons, even though he was paid more for lessons that were further away. Similar to gig workers (see: Healy et al., 2017, 237), for tutors in this market it is difficult to ascertain the true number of hours worked and hence it would be difficult to work out an hourly wage. Margaret, for instance said that one week she might spend extra time preparing for one student, but the next week she might spend extra time preparing for another. She said she knew of learning centres that would charge extra for time spent marking homework or writing references, but she much preferred providing an all-inclusive service.

The two tutors who used noticeboards felt that they had a substantial amount of flexibility to choose their own price for their services. Timothy was able to use his own discretion when charging students and used this to give cheaper rates to families he thought were struggling financially. Although he had become more educated since he first started tutoring and gained a lot of experience, he did not increase the price for students who he had been working with a long time, in return for their loyalty. On the other hand, while Margaret said she felt that the price she charged was in the upper end of the market, she was also quite rigid when it came to clients trying to negotiate the price. She expressed some guilt about this, however she felt it was justified because she dedicated many hours outside of tutoring doing other work for her students, such as preparing for lessons, writing references for students (to get into private schools) and keeping in contact with her student's teachers. The majority of the students she tutored had learning difficulties and so the guilt she expressed was largely because she felt that the families she worked with were already spending large amounts of money on support for their children. Despite this guilt,

she still felt that she was able to 'call the shots' and charge whatever fee she felt was acceptable.

Sebastian believed in a free market logic, where better tutors should be able to charge more for their services and those with less experience would be able to charge a lower price until they had gained further experience. Sebastian said that his wish for his noticeboard website was that tutors would be able to charge whichever price they wanted, including being able to work below minimum wage if they so wished. Although, as he noted, tutors did not have to work for really low wages because even a 'cheap' price for tutoring is higher than the minimum wage. Similarly, on most of the noticeboard websites, tutors were able to charge whatever price they liked for their services. On the Tutr website, in the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) aimed towards tutors it says "remember the price you put on Tutr is the *minimum* rate" whereas on the FAQs aimed at students it says "remember, tutors are most often willing to negotiate their fee." Although tutors are allowed to choose the price they charge, this discrepancy in the message would push the prices of tutors down. The free market competition in terms of prices that Sebastian described already seemed to exist on the noticeboards, as was shown by the way Timothy, Margaret and Sebastian all increased their prices as they gained experience and when they started to get too many students. However, the tutors took the students and families own experiences into account when setting prices, as evidenced by the way Timothy lowered the prices for struggling students and the guilt Margaret expressed about charging her students a higher price.

Hours worked:

Intermediaries often outlined 'flexibility' in terms of the hours worked as a benefit of becoming a tutor. Despite this, tutors who used noticeboards, rather than going through a mediated noticeboard had much more flexibility in terms of the hours they worked. Timothy, who used noticeboards and word of mouth to find work, had quite a casual relationship with the parents and students that he worked with, where either party was able to cancel or change the times of lessons. Similarly, Jack found that the parents he worked for were quite flexible when it came to changing lesson times, but the mediated

noticeboard he worked for did not have the same attitude towards changing lesson times. In fact, they had even sent him a warning email for cancelling two tutoring lessons in one term. Moreover, the mediated noticeboard had also changed the way they booked appointments while he was working for them. Under the old system, to re-schedule a lesson Jack would notify the mediated noticeboard, who would then contact the parent, the parent would then confirm the appointment change with the mediated noticeboard who would eventually let Jack know about the new class time. This was an inefficient and laborious system, both for Jack and presumably for the intermediary itself. Now the bookings are made online and if he wants to re-schedule a lesson, he can contact the parents directly. He finds it much simpler to contact the parents or student directly, rather than going through the mediated noticeboard.

In contrast to Timothy, Margaret had quite a strict policy where last minute cancellations would incur a cancellation fee. Although she had this in place, Margaret never actually followed through with this policy, and was actually quite reasonable when parents had to cancel or re-schedule lessons. She set this policy up to try to encourage students and parents to let her know if they could not attend lessons, so she could ensure that she could line up another student and would not lose any income.

Margaret also provides an example of the differences between the flexibility in the tutoring sector compared to the mainstream education sector. Margaret was able to cut down on her work as a tutor when she was raising her daughter and looking after foster children. She was then able to pick up tutoring work when her husband was not working. In stark contrast, after taking time off five years working in the mainstream education sector, she was told that to work in a school again, she would have to start again with her accreditation. After this, she decided to continue working as a tutor and to no longer work as a casual teacher. One of the tutors in Davis' (2013, 150) study had a similar experience, as she took time off working as a mainstream teacher and when she wanted to come back to teaching, she was told she would have had to go through the accreditation process again. Similarly, both Timothy and Sebastian had considered becoming classroom teachers at one point, however Timothy disliked the idea of teaching students who did not want to be there and Sebastian said that it would be a huge constraint having to teach to

the school curriculum, rather than being able to teach according to students' own interests and abilities. For these participants, tutoring became an avenue for them to educate students, while still maintaining their own autonomy to decide who they teach and the way that they teach it.

Autonomy and Support:

Most of the intermediaries in my study outlined a key benefit of working for them as being given the freedom to decide how they teach. All the tutors interviewed felt as though they had the opportunity to teach in whichever way they felt was best for the students to learn. This could also be seen as a selling point to parents who may purchase tutoring for the individual support it provides. While they all had freedom, Jack was the only one who actually had any support. He was assigned a 'lead tutor' for each of the subjects that he taught, who was able to send him teaching resources on request or answer any questions he had. He was also the only tutor who attended any training through the intermediary, however his training was more focused on how to use the intermediary website and how the intermediary worked, rather than on improving his performance as a tutor. Jack was offered additional online training to improve his performance as a tutor and while he would have not been paid an hourly wage for the time the training would have taken, it would have led to a small raise in his hourly wage on completion. He declined this training, because he did not feel that he had the time to complete it when it was offered. This could be seen as an effort by the mediated noticeboard to implement a standardised way that the services are carried out, although the nature of the training would need to be examined in greater detail.

Although all of the tutors felt that they had the autonomy to decide how they carried out tutoring lessons, in some cases this seemed to come at the expense of having any support or training. When Sebastian previously worked for a traditional agency, the only time he ever met any other people who worked for the agency was during his initial interview. Since no person from the traditional agency was even in contact with him, they provided no support and no skill development opportunities:

So I mean I don't have a lot of examples to draw on from my opinions about them,
but it's more just like having worked with them for two years, I got no indication in
even knowing if I was a good tutor. (Interview 4, 0:03:22).

This is something he sought to rectify when creating his own traditional agency, as he strived to provide professional development meetings for the tutors who worked for him, where they could discuss any problems they had with teaching their students and he could provide advice for the tutors. However, this agency was not very successful, and he tutored almost all of the students recruited through the traditional agency himself. He is now in the process of creating a noticeboard intermediary, which will not provide any support for tutors who create a profile on the noticeboard.

Margaret saw a benefit of having the autonomy to decide how she taught as being that she could deliver each student an individualised program. As outlined in previous research (see: Davis, 2013; Aurini and Quirke, 2011; Aurini, 2003; Hallsén and Karlsson, 2013), one of the main reasons that parents purchased tutoring for their children was because they wanted them to receive the individual attention they did not receive through mainstream schooling. Margaret did not feel that it would be possible to provide individualised programs for each student, had she instead decided to work for a learning centre:

And at least I know it's predictable, and I can control it, and I guess that's the
other thing, in my own home, and with me and the parents that trust me, I'm not
locked into a certain program, it's not a cookie-cutter approach, everyone has
individual, very flexible programs, so I prepare a lot, but I adapt even on the day.
If they come in and say there's something they're struggling with, we'll just drop
what I'd planned and we'll just do whatever. So I like that, whereas I've got
friends that I've tutored for Five Senses [a local learning centre] or other bigger
companies and you're locked into their program, and it's a bit like McDonalds,
they used to have this upselling thing that they had to do. (Interview 2, 00:10:27).

Margaret was also the only tutor interviewed who was a member of the ATA. While all tutors who are members of the ATA have to abide by the Code of Conduct that is

presented to them, this Code of Conduct does not provide guidelines for how tutors need to teach. Instead, it is focused on ensuring members are upfront about costs of tutoring, qualifications of tutors and that they comply with the relevant legislation regarding tutoring (Australian Tutoring Association, 2015). The objectives of the ATA Code of Conduct are "To ensure clients are provided with the best possible service by ethical tutoring organisations and practitioners. 1.2 To create and maintain a national benchmark for educational tutoring services. 1.3 To provide guidance for the implementation of best practice" (Australian Tutoring Association, 2015). Margaret complied with all the rules of the ATA, but she did not feel as though being a member impacted on her tutoring practice.

Barriers to entry:

Within the chapter I discuss the strategies that are used by tutors to recruit students to tutor. Intermediaries can be a useful resource for tutors trying to recruit students, or can be a barrier preventing tutors from finding more students. There are also two ways that tutors try to control the labour market. The first is through networks with tutors and other educators, and the second is through qualifications. It is through these two strategies that there have been attempts to professionalise the industry. These attempts have been largely unsuccessful, however there have been some small segments of the industry that are quite professionalised.

Different intermediary types:

For tutors that did not have networks to recruit students, intermediaries were a way 'in' to the job of tutoring. The different types of intermediaries were quite varied in whether they were a help or a hindrance for tutors looking for students. While the traditional agencies often provided an initial 'in' for potential tutors, they also restricted them when they no longer worked for the traditional agency, such as through non-competing clauses in their contracts. This also interacts with flexibility, as tutors sometimes sacrificed the ability of being able to decide the prices they charged or the hours they worked, in return for a guaranteed influx of students.

Sebastian outlined how working as an individual tutor or running your own agency could be quite prohibitive because of the high costs of advertising. He found that noticeboards were extremely useful, because they allowed tutors to advertise at a much more reasonable price than the job boards he had been using, or even for free:

So my advertising at the moment, I've done a lot through Gumtree [a job board], and a lot through google ads, to promote [his traditional agency], um but that's expensive and there's a pretty high barrier to entry, I think it would be much more convenient to use something like High School Tutors [a noticeboard], I've gotten students through High School Tutors [a noticeboard], um and you know having for example, some share on Facebook button that allows you to share an image of like the important details of your profile on like Facebook or Instagram... (Interview 4, 00:19:38).

Because of his own experience working for the traditional agency previously and the difficulties he experienced in using jobs boards to advertise, Sebastian decided that a new noticeboard would be useful for tutors. He was in the process of creating a new noticeboard, similar to High School Tutors. Sebastian hoped this would allow tutors to get in contact with potential clients quite cheaply, while also allowing tutors to share their contact details more easily. He thought noticeboards were helpful for most tutors to find students, even though the traditional agency he worked for previously allowed him to have a steady influx of students while working for it. The traditional agency that he previously worked for made him sign a contract where, after he quit, he was not allowed to tutor any of the students, or their siblings, that he had tutored through the agency. This meant that once he left the traditional agency he had to find completely new students himself. Once he stopped working for the previous entity, Sebastian set up his own traditional agency and then later started a noticeboard website. While he liked the idea that anyone could use his noticeboard website and charge whichever price they liked Sebastian also actively excluded tutors from working for his agency:

I also have pretty high standards, so each like, I'll interview 20 people and I'll contact say 5 of them to work with, the ones that I don't work with, either um I

thought their communication was not good enough, or their subject knowledge was
not good enough or they were too limited in their transport, like their ability to
travel or... (Interview 4, 00:32:04).

For the tutors that he hired through his traditional agency, Sebastian held professional development meetings to help improve their tutoring. However, he did not like the idea of allowing tutors who used the noticeboard to attend meetings, unless they were willing to pay for this service.

Although traditional agencies and mediated noticeboards provided tutors with students, Jack, using a mediated noticeboard had far fewer students than the other tutors who were using noticeboards and word of mouth to recruit students themselves. Despite this, Jack felt that he would find it difficult to recruit students if he did not use the mediated noticeboard:

R: OK, and so have you ever kind of thought about tutoring yourself like not
through [mediated noticeboard]?
I: Um yeah, I think the problem would be, being able to like get a steady flow of
actual students there, because obviously people will just sign up for an agency.[6]
(Interview 3, 00:14:08).

Intermediaries can therefore provide tutors who would not otherwise be able to find students with students, however, for my interview participants they provided them with a much smaller number of students than more experienced tutors were able to recruit through word of mouth. Despite using intermediaries, Timothy, Margaret and Sebastian all relied heavily on word of mouth to recruit students, this is consistent with the findings of Faganel and Trnavčevič in Slovenia (2013, 173). In Margaret's experience, student numbers grew exponentially because with each new student there was a much larger pool

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[6] Even though with my classifications, I have not classified his workplace as an 'traditional agency', but a 'mediated noticeboard', it still yields a fair amount of control.

of potential students that her students interacted with. This may be why it was relatively easy for the more experienced tutors to find students through word of mouth.

Networks with other educators:

While all of the tutors used intermediaries to find students, they also relied on their own networks to find students. It is through these networks that tutors can gain more control of the labour market, by being able to decide which tutors can and cannot get students. Fligstein (2001, 43) explains that it is not only firms that can control labour markets, but workers can capture these domains as well. Throughout this section, I discuss the tutors relationships with other tutors and educators and explain how they pass work on to one another.

Margaret, having completed a degree in education, had many connections with other teachers from working casually in schools previously. She was able to use these connections to keep up to date with changes in teaching methodologies and the vocabulary that is used in teaching. Her teaching contacts also referred struggling students on to her:

> *I've got a friend who works in a special needs unit and she rang to see if I could sort of tutor some kids who had potential and whose parents really wanted something extra that the school couldn't offer. So yeah, there was referrals from the teacher and other teacher*s. (Interview 2, 00:06:02).

She also passed students on to other tutors that she knew. Once students reached the end of primary school, she would recommend that if they wanted to continue tutoring than they should use another tutor whom she knew. She felt that this tutor was 'by the book', charged a reasonable price and had a similar philosophy about tutoring to herself. She explained that she would only recommend tutors who she felt conducted business 'by the book.' In contrast, Timothy did not have any teaching contacts like Margaret. He did however, regularly provide advice to people who were wishing to become a tutor. He also encouraged some of his past students to become tutors, therefore providing an 'in' for people wishing to become freelance tutors.

In each of the interviews, Margaret, Timothy and Jack all went out of their way to explain that they paid taxes and had Working With Children Checks (WWCC). However, both Timothy and Margaret talked about 'dodgy' tutors who did not abide by the rules, pay taxes and would claim additional benefits from Centrelink. Margaret in particular wanted clients and potential clients to be made aware that she was a professional tutor. One strategy that she employed to do this was that she joined the ATA. She also did not refer students on to tutors who she felt did not abide by the rules and tried to encourage parents to ensure that tutors were operating 'by the books' before using them:

> *…any of the people that come to me and if I can't fit them in, I sort of give them questions they should ask tutors, especially working with children check, and you know the fact is my husband's got working with children check too, which is legal, but some don't and you know I do the receipts and I do the tax and some of them it's 'oh I'll do you a special deal, cash in hand' and it's, there's a lot of stuff they really should know, yeah.* (Interview 2, 00:35:16)

Professionalisation:

While tutors had some control over the labour market in that they were able to decide who tutoring work was passed on to, another way that workers can try to gain control of the labour market is by winning the rights to certify new workers and thereby decide who is allowed to work in the industry (Fligstein, 2001, 43). Similarly, Abbott (1998) argues that white collar workers use professionalisation as their tactic of control (cited in: Fligstein, 2001, 104). While some of the intermediaries had qualification requirements for the tutors working for them, they largely did not professionalise the industry. While the ATA has attempted to professionalise the industry, these attempts were largely unsuccessful. This can be compared to the mainstream education system. As was argued in chapter one and two, while school systems have increased high stakes and accountability measures, the same has not occurred within the private tutoring industry (Burch, 2007, cited in Watson, 2008). Tutors within the shadow education market are on the whole less qualified than teachers within the mainstream education sector (see Aurini, 2004, 481). Within the

market for tutoring, there are very few rules put into place by governments about who can tutor students. The only requirement is that all adults who work with children under the age of 18 require a WWCC. Despite the lack of qualifications required for tutors in general, there are small segments of the industry that are quite professionalised, such as providers of the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS).

Despite the lack of qualification requirements put in place by governments, intermediaries often required that tutors had themselves achieved high scores in tests, were studying or had completed a relevant degree. For example, on the website for Love Maths by Learned Hub it stated that "Our tutors are either qualified teachers, have degrees in mathematics and/or engineering, or are high performing university students with proven academic results." Tutors who choose to become members of the ATA are required to either have a teaching degree or undertake a short online course in order to become affiliated and must abide by the Code of Conduct, as was outlined in the previous section (ATA, 2018b). Sebastian, who ran his own traditional agency had a different view about qualifications for tutors. He felt that teaching qualifications do not make someone a good teacher, "I think that it's a fallacy to assume that someone having endured a diploma of education or a masters of education makes you a good teacher." (Interview 4, 01:03:30). He felt quite strongly that tutoring was a much more effective form of teaching than traditional schooling and that this was because of the smaller class sizes and individualised attention that tutors can offer.

Out of all the intermediaries, the ATA being the national association for tutors, put in the most effort to professionalise the tutoring industry. Attempts by the ATA to professionalise the tutoring industry have largely been unsuccessful. The stated aim of the ATA is to "raise the standard of tutoring" within Australia. The way that it intends to do this is by acting as a lobby group for tutoring organisations and educational tutors. It also has its own form of accreditation and does not recommend that tutors book tutors who have not been accredited through Accredited Tutor (who handle the ATA's accreditation). (Australian Tutoring Association, 2014, 7-8). In an article published in the *Education Review* in 2010, the CEO of the ATA, Mohan Dhall is quoted as saying that the government either needs to introduce standards and regulate the tutoring industry, or

alternatively should promote the ATA as the self-regulatory body. While the ATA has since started its own accreditation, in the most recent newsletter that it reported on members, (September 2017), it reported that it had just over 550 members (ATA, 2017, 1). While this is not a dismal number, it represents a minuscular percentage of the 35,000 tutors estimated as working within the industry (Australian Government, 2018).[7] Although the ATA do have the right to decide who does and does not get accreditation through them, they cannot prevent others from working as tutors.

Similarly, only one of my interview participants was a member of the ATA. Being accredited with the ATA meant that her contact details were displayed on the ATA's website, however she stated that she was not a member of the ATA to recruit more students. Margaret used it as a strategy to signal to parents that she was a tutor who operated 'by the book', to distinguish herself from those who did not. It was unclear whether this strategy was effective though, as Margaret often had conversations with other parents who wanted to negotiate the price because other competitors could provide tutoring services for a cheaper price. Although she believed that other tutors should still be able to tutor if they do not have a degree, she considered the quality of her service to be much higher than someone who did not have the degree and experience that she had:

> *But I know that other people, one lady said to me 'but I can get the girl across the road to come in for $25 an hour.' And I said, maybe you should do that, because you know you're not going to get the same thing, but still one-to-one can be of value*… (Interview 2, 00:27:13).

On the other hand, some pockets of the tutoring market may be heavily professionalised, for example tutors accredited with the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS). Margaret attempted to get NDIS accreditation for her tutoring services, but was told that she would have to do a specific degree from a South Australian University in order to

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[7] This data may not fully encapsulate the number of tutors working within the market because as has been outlined by Bray (2009, 32), informal tutors may make up a large part of the market. This classification also includes private tutors in art, dance, drama, music and other tutors which have not been classified elsewhere.

become accredited. Although she felt as though she had the skills and experience to become an NDIS affiliated tutor, the qualification requirements were prohibitive. She wanted to complete this accreditation to make it cheaper and easier for parents because she thought that lessons with NDIS providers were excessively expensive and she wanted to make it cheaper for families. This shows that although the industry as a whole is not professionalised, there may be certain pockets of the industry in which professionalisation strategies have been very successful.

In Davis (2013) study, the tutors were highly qualified, had teaching degrees and some of the tutors working at the centres even had PhDs. In contrast, within my study, only Margaret had completed a teaching degree, while Jack was currently completing a teaching degree. Both Sebastian and Timothy had completed degrees in the areas they were tutoring in, but were not trained teachers. Moreover, when both Timothy and Sebastian had started tutoring when they had only finished high school and were yet to start university degrees. Since most of the participants in Davis (2013) study worked at tutoring centres, rather than intermediaries or for themselves, the differences in qualifications between intermediaries and learning centres can be seen when comparing her work to my own. It is therefore possible that tutors who use intermediaries are less qualified than those who work for learning centres.

Trust:

Within this section, I discuss how tutors working in this industry must create and maintain trusting relationships between themselves and their students. Intermediaries wishing to remain in this market are creating new mechanisms to generate trust between themselves, their tutors and students, however, these can be misleading or negate any responsibility for wrongdoing by their tutors, as was outlined in chapter four. Within this section, I further show the impact of these mechanisms on the tutors who use the intermediaries.

The tutors interviewed for this study discussed the strategies they used to create and maintain trusting relationships between themselves, their students and the students'

parents. Margaret felt that to do her job, it was very important that the students and parents she worked with trusted her. Margaret employed a few strategies to ensure that parents and students were able to place their trust her. She was very upfront about the policies she had in place, giving new students an information sheet which outlined all of her policies. One of these policies was that she permitted parents to be present during lessons, which allowed parents to see how she worked with their children and that she could be trusted. She also joined the ATA, not to recruit further students, but to show to families that she is a trustworthy tutor.

Timothy, on the other hand, was sometimes surprised by the level of trust the families he worked with had in him. He had parents who would have a brief conversation with him and then leave their children at his house in his care. His explanation of this was that, although some of the people who hired him to provide tutoring services did not know him personally, they had heard positive things about him from others. As outlined by Granovetter (1985, 490), people can get more trusted information from people they know well, or have dealt with in the past. For Timothy, it may be that he was able to create that trusting relationship easily because the families of his new students trust the information that they were given by his current students and their families. It is also important to note that both Margaret and Timothy had been tutoring many of the same students for a number of years. Williamson (1975) argued that complex, recurring transactions require a long-term relationship. Timothy and Margaret's trusting relationship with the families they worked with also went both ways. Neither Timothy or Margaret were worried about parents paying them. Timothy explained that he had quite a casual relationship with his students and their parents, and was never worried about chasing people up for payments:

> *I get the students who say 'oh I will pay you next time' or 'I will pay you in two weeks' time' I mean yeah, well I know where you live or you know where I live, I don't care, but you're not going to leave the country because you owe me like $45-$50 or like anything like that, who cares?* (Interview 1, 0:58:39).

This extract also demonstrates that Timothy did not feel as though there was any need for a mediator between himself and his students, when it came to taking payments. As was

described within chapter four, one of the functions that some intermediaries provide is taking payments from students for tutors. In doing so, they may take away some of the risk for tutors of students or parents not fulfilling their obligations of paying the tutors. Neither Timothy nor Margaret were too concerned about families not taking responsibility for payments, and felt that intermediaries who provided this kind of service were more interested in taking a 'cut' from their income. Jack, on the other hand, felt that a benefit of working for the mediated noticeboard was that he did not have to worry about whether parents would pay him on time and it would be easier to do his taxes because he was given payslips.

As was explained in chapter one, 'conceptions of control' are market participants cognitive understandings of how the market works (Fligstein, 2001, 71). Kirchner and Schüßler (2018, 3) also explain that there is a taken for granted understanding of who market actors are and how they should interact with one another. Within the tutoring market, the taken for granted understanding is that tutoring takes place in a student's home and is completed, either by a person with whom the family already has a relationship, or by a person whom positive reviews have been given from trusted friends and relatives. To change these models, "challengers need to theorize alternatives and mobilize participants and resources" (Kirchner and Schüßler, 2018, 3). The conceptions of control dictate whom can be trusted within this market. Intermediaries trying to break through in this market need to challenge the dominant view that tutoring is done either casually by someone known to the family or within a learning centre. The move towards this online model requires a re-configuration of the taken for granted beliefs about how tutoring usually works. In the literature on online labour markets, it has been suggested that ratings and feedback mechanisms have been used to generate trust between buyers and sellers in the marketplace (Kirchner and Schüßler, 2018, 11). Although tutors and students do not know each other, parents or students looking for tutors can get more information about the tutors through supposedly unbiased ratings and feedback from previous students. Tutoring intermediaries have attempted to create trusting relationships between students and tutors, using the same mechanisms as other online labour markets.

Many of the intermediaries used either ratings or screening to further facilitate trust between tutors and students. As outlined within chapter four, this was often a trade-off with intermediaries providing either ratings or screening. Sebastian, through the noticeboard website he is creating provides an example of other new mechanisms that are being created to build trust between students and tutors. Sebastian outlined a benefit of his website, once completed as being able to showcase tutors employment history, as it will show tutors scheduled and completed lessons. He said that this would be a benefit to both tutors and students because students would be able to trust the information they were reading about the tutors and tutors would be able to get more students. He thought that parents and students would be able to trust the information is correct because it is not tutors self-reporting to the students how much experience they have. It allows the information to be verified and come from a more 'reliable' source, "…so for a tutor it's about having access to students and having a platform to advertise themselves that gives them some sort of trustworthiness and authority" (Interview 4, 00:15:36). Through using this kind of mechanism, parents or students do not need to get information about tutors from their networks, but can get it from the intermediary.

Conclusion:

Within this chapter, I have presented the data from the interviews with tutors and shown how tutors interact with the intermediaries that they use. While intermediaries present an online 'free' market, in actuality, the market for tutoring is a free market regardless of whether intermediaries are involved or not. This can be seen by the flexibility that the tutors enjoyed in terms of the hours that they worked, the prices they charged and the way they deliver their services. This can especially be seen when compared to the highly regulated mainstream education market which the tutors did not want to work in because they felt it would constrain the way which they worked. Some of the intermediaries took away some of the flexibility of the job, because they did not allow tutors and students to negotiate the timing of tutoring themselves, or allow the tutors to choose the price that they charge for their services. While intermediaries gave tutors less flexibility in tutoring, very few provided support or resources for tutors, and even for the tutors who were provided with this support, only the less experienced tutor felt he required it. Despite this,

most the tutors continued to use intermediaries, in order to maintain legitimacy and signal to students and potential students that they were professionals. The more experienced tutors mostly used noticeboards that provided few functions, and therefore placed little constraint on their tutoring practice, while the less experienced tutor in the study used a mediated noticeboard which provided more functions and support.

The experienced tutors who used noticeboards also had long term trusting relationships with the families that they worked with and part of this stemmed from the flexibility in their relationship, in that tutors did not worry about whether they would be able to collect payments, and families were not concerned about tutors re-scheduling lessons. Intermediaries tried to facilitate trust between tutors and students through the use of ratings and review functions, which allowed potential students to evaluate whether they thought the tutor would be trustworthy based on previous online reviews. Altogether, it can be seen that tutoring intermediaries, like other online marketplaces are attempting to enter into a market which relies on informal relationships and ratings and reviews are one of the functions that they can use to facilitate this.

Chapter six: Conclusion

In the previous chapters, I have provided an description of school choice policies and standardised testing within the Australian education system and explained how these policies impact on the market for shadow education. I have outlined the literature that exists on shadow education, both within Australia and internationally and shown that very little research exists on tutoring intermediaries, especially in Australia. I have explained my methods, including a content analysis of the intermediaries that operate within the state of NSW and interviews with tutors who operate within this market. Within the fourth chapter, I classified the intermediaries that exist and presented the different functions that they perform. In the fifth chapter, I showed how different intermediaries' impact on the tutors who use or work for them in three broad areas; flexibility, access to students and trust.

Tutors who operate within the market for private tutoring often have a considerable amount of flexibility in terms of the hours that they work and the prices that they charge students. All of the tutors had considerable autonomy when it came to how they taught their students, especially when compared to teaching in the mainstream education sector. While tutoring intermediaries presented a free online market for tutoring, in which parents and students could easily compare tutors and tutors could compete with students based on price, intermediaries played more of a role than simply providing a marketplace.

As could be seen from chapter four, the intermediaries within this study provided a large variety of different services for the tutors and students who use the intermediaries. As would be expected, traditional agencies exerted the most control over the interactions between tutors and students, whereas noticeboards exerted the least control. Despite this, all of the intermediaries provided around the same level of support to the tutors who used them. A trade-off could be seen between screening tutors or providing an opportunity for ratings or reviews. Reviews were largely used to facilitate trust between tutors and students. This was needed because tutors were usually able to create trusting relationships between themselves and families through long term relationships and word of mouth.

Since intermediaries facilitated a short term relationship in which there was little contact between tutor and student beforehand, reviews were needed to facilitate a trusting relationship.

As has been outlined in my literature review, the shadow education market is a very under researched field within Australia. This research adds to the literature on this market and also focuses on a specific part of the market that has not studied within Australia previously. This research also focuses on the experiences of tutors working within this segment of the market. There is still ample space for more research on this topic.

A limitation of my research is that as my interview participants suggested, there may be tutors working within the sector who work 'informally' in the sense that they do not pay taxes and outside of government rules and regulation. As was mentioned in chapter two, it has been suggested that informal tutoring may make up a large part of the shadow education economy (Bray, 2009, 32). Although some of the tutors within this study had flexible arrangements with the families they worked with, none of them were working 'informally'. The reason for this may also have been because tutors who work informally may be more wary of participating in research, or possibly even of putting their details on an online intermediary.

One of the major themes found within the content analysis was that the intermediaries marketed themselves as providing individual attention to students. While I briefly wrote about individual attention, in the way that it interacts with tutor's autonomy, this seemed to be a major selling point for the intermediaries. Some researchers have briefly touched on this theme as being a reason that students enrol into tutoring (Davis, 2013). The theme of individual attention could be explored further, to examine whether this is truly the underlying reason why parents enrol their children in tutoring and whether they feel like they are getting this from tutoring. Researchers could also look into small group tutoring when studying this topic. This will provide a more nuanced explanation of the reasons that parents enrol their children in tutoring, besides the narrative which is commonly espoused of gaining a competitive edge in high stakes testing.

Throughout this thesis, I have provided an overview of the market for private tutoring within Australia and in more depth segment of the market in which tutoring intermediaries operate. I have shown how tutors within this market use word of mouth and long term relationships to facilitate trust between themselves and the students that they tutor. Intermediaries provide tutors and students with a range of different functions, including ratings and review functions which are intended to help facilitate trust between tutors and students. However tutors using these intermediaries find that they can take away some of the flexibility of the job, and they often prefer to use their own networks instead to get students.

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Appendix:

Appendix A: Content Analysis Data Corpus

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Appendix B: Coding Book for Qualitative Content Analysis

Parent Code:	Code:	Description:	Example:
Workers Conditions	Payment to tutors	When it states how much tutors earn on the website or tutors or how tutors are paid.	"Most of our tutors earn between $40-$100/ hour working when they want and where they want…"
	Support for tutors	When the website or tutors talks about providing support for the tutors who work for the business, for example training, learning materials or another tutor they can contact.	"As a BFG tutor you will be given all of the advice and support you need to provide the best service you can!"
	Flexibility or convenience for tutors	When website or tutors talk about the flexibility of the working conditions for their tutors, including working hours or tutoring locations.	"When you are offered each student you will be informed of their particular requirements so you can choose to accept or reject any offers that are made to you. It is very flexible."
	Other opportunities	When the website or tutors outlines other opportunities (such as career opportunities) that can arise from being a tutor.	"Tutors are also given a variety of other opportunities for paid work with Brighter Futures Group as content creators, product designers and more!"
	Rewards or skill development	When businesses say anything about the benefits of working for them, for example skill development.	"For an opportunity to develop your skills and career, apply below!"
	Regulation	Any explanation of the regulation that tutors must comply with, for example WWCC or taxation.	"A Working with children check valid for paid work – a legal requirement for anyone over 18 working with young people. Applying for your WWCC is a 2 part process with a fee

			that we offer a reimbursement program for."
	Preference to tutors	When website or tutors give preference to giving jobs to certain types of people, or people with certain qualifications, accreditations or knowledge.	"Lifetime Learners gives preference to tutors who are members of The Australian Tutoring Association and who are Accredited through The Accredited Tutor."
	Employer or contractors	When website or tutors refer to their tutors as either contractors or employees.	"You will be hired as a subcontractor and therefore you need to have an ABN."
Reasons for getting tutoring:	Time poor parents	When website or tutors talk about parents being too busy, or not having enough time to give children attention or to take them to tutoring.	"We understand that finding a tutor can be difficult due to increasingly busy schedules and taking your child to a centre and picking them up sometimes just isn't possible."
	Falling behind	When not wanting to fall behind is given as a reason that students should get tutoring or needing to develop foundations.	"Infants and Primary students can often find Literacy and Numeracy challenging. The further they fall behind, the harder it is for them in High School."
	Practice for exams	When they talk about tutoring for specific exams, rather than just general school tutoring.	"Our workshops are all run in small groups and are geared towards students maximising their results under exam conditions."
	Individual attention	When website or tutors point to the need for tutoring because students need individual attention or a different teaching style. Individual attention can be either the lessons are geared	"…or students who require one-on-one attention outside of the classroom, where they receive the attention."

		towards what they are struggling with, or can be about the number of students in a lesson.	
	Emotional support	Involves support outside of the typical tutor/tutee relationship, eg emotional support or email support outside of normal tutoring hours.	"Our tutors aim to alleviate both the academic and psychological stress placed on students by understanding their concerns."
	Balance	When there is discussion about having a balance between school and other aspects of students' lives.	"Alongside this, our tutors help instil a healthy work-life balance, preparing students for university and their future (sic) endeavours."
	Confidence	Whenever intermediaries or tutors talk about tutoring improving the confidence of students.	"Tutoring is a great avenue to achieve this instilment of confidence, especially when the student receives amazing marks in their assessments or the exams."
	Different to school	When the website or tutors state that tutoring is different to school, or that the school teaching environment is not fulfilling a certain need.	"Private tutoring is an opportunity for students to learn under a completely unfamiliar setting by a tutor who has produced the results they spire to achieve."
	Competitiveness of schooling	Website or tutors making references to the competitiveness of the school environment/education system of mentioning that most students are tutored.	"Students are becoming increasingly dependent on study outside of school hours, with competition for entrance into selective schools and universities growing by the day."

	Motivation	When website or tutors talk about students being unmotivated or about being able to motivate students.	"5. Unmotivated – doesn't care enough about the outcome."
	Remedial vs high achieving students	When the business discusses the need for tutoring for either high achieving students to perform well in exams or for students who might need it for remedial purposes.	"There is a common misconception about tutoring that it is only useful to those who are underperforming and require remedial assistance. In fact, tuition also enhances skills for those students who are ambitious, confident and high-achievers."
	Future goals	When tutoring is linked to any future goals, for example future schooling, future career paths.	"Students who discover maths realise more of their true potential. More career paths are available to students who succeed in mathematics."
	Independent learner	When the website or tutors talk about students being able to learn without help from others, or learning to love learning.	"The purpose of tutoring is to help students help themselves, or to assist and guide them to a point where they become an independent learner, and thus no longer need a tutor."

Trust	Endorsements or testimonials	Statement saying that a business is endorsed by another business or association or testimonials by parents or students.	"100% endorsed by the Australian Tutoring Association (ATA)."
	Tutor Profiles	When there is a description of an *individual* tutor. This is when there is a description of an actual person.	"Oran has over 5 yrs experience tutoring primary children."
	Accountability	When intermediaries or tutors talk about being accountable, or keeping people accountable.	"Ownership and Accountability A mission can only be realised if individuals take initiative towards that end. If ownership is about taking initiative, accountability is about taking personal responsibility for results and follow through. With all successful student-tutor relationships we find a tutor and student who both decided to be accountable for the outcome, to own it."
	Feedback	When intermediaries or tutors talk about getting feedback, or responding to feedback that they were given. Or when they talk about revising or improving their service.	"We'll then get in touch for feedback (we're really big on getting feedback) to ensure you are comfortable with your tutor and happy with the service. We then invoice you for your first lessons and 3 lessons prepaid in advance which you can use whenever you

			need!"
	Safety	When intermediaries or tutors mention safety as a reason for using their service. This could be children's safety with the tutors or internet safety from using the website, etc. Often to do with police checks, WWCC or accreditation.	"CHILD PROTECTION Learn about the ATAs positions and principles on child protection, including legislation and tutoring methods."
	Guarantees or promises	When intermediaries guarantee or promise a certain level of service (usually about the tutors).	"Guarantee –If you are not happy at any time, you may change tutors or cease tuition."
	Reviews	There is an opportunity for parents or students to review tutors on the intermediary.	"Our feedback system also helps you build trust by displaying reviews and testimonials from your happy students!"

Appendix C: Quantitative Coding Frame for Website Functions

Function	Definition:	Code:	Number of agencies that perform this function:
Screening	The managers of the intermediary vet the tutors to ensure that they have relevant qualifications or their working with children check (WWCC)	Yes=1 No=0	33
Matching	The intermediary matches a tutor with a student, rather than the parent/student choosing their own tutor.	Yes=1 No=0	34
Take Payments	The intermediary takes the payment for the tutoring lesson, rather than the individual tutor.	Yes=1 No =0	19
Price setting	The intermediary sets the price of the tutoring service.	Yes=1 No=0	21
Scheduling	The intermediary sets up when tutoring lessons will be. This is usually through an online booking system (so the parent student can pick a time and book themselves in). Alternatively, the parent/student may contact the organisation and then the organisation schedules the lesson with the tutor.	Yes=1 No=0	9
Teaching Materials	The intermediary provides teaching materials to be used for lessons.	Yes=1 No=0	28
Training	The intermediary provides training	Yes=1 No=0	12

	for the tutors.		
Feedback to parents	Tutors have to provide feedback to the parents about how the student is doing (usually facilitated by the intermediary).	Yes =1 No =0	7
Feedback to website	Parents can give non-public feedback about the tutors to the intermediary.	Yes =1 No =0	14
Ratings	Parents or students can provide ratings or feedback about the tutor which can be seen on the intermediary. Must allow for anyone who has booked the service to rate them, not just featuring tutors, or putting parents testimonials on the intermediary.	Yes=1 No =0	23
References	Intermediaries provides references for tutors if they are applying for another job.	Yes =1 No=0	1
Membership for students	Students or parents can sign up and create an account.	Yes=1 No=0	9
Membership for tutors:	Tutors can sign up and create an account and only members get students from the site. They may also be able to access materials through the site.	Yes=1 No=0	33
Tutor Profiles	There is a description of each individual tutor (this is usually accompanied by a picture).	Yes=1 No=0	48
Tutor Contact Details:	The tutors contact details are listed along with their profile. This can be either a phone number, email address	Yes=1 No=0	32

	or if the intermediary has a messaging function, so that students can message tutors directly.		93
Who pays for service	Who pays for the service ie customers, tutors, paid by ads etc	0= tutors by charging client a certain amount and then paying tutors a wage 1= tutors via service fee 2= tutors via sponsored ads (eg getting their profile to the top of the search) 3= other ads 4= consumer 5 =other	0 =12 1 =8 2 =2 3 =0 4 =3 5 =1 *Numbers don't add to 65 because on many intermediaries it was unclear who they charged.

Appendix D: Recruitment Email for Interview Participants

To _____,

My name is Megan Sturges and I am a student at Macquarie University. I am currently completing a thesis focusing on the suppliers of private tutoring services as a requirement of the degree of Master of Research in the Department of Sociology, under the supervision of Dr Benjamin Spies-Butcher.

The aim of this research is to determine how tutoring websites, such as [website tutor was located on] operate and the impact that this has on both students and tutors. Within this research, I also plan on outlining the employment practices of these websites, to show the similarities and differences between these websites and other online marketplaces.

I am writing to you to ask if you would be interested in participating in an interview for this project? I am seeking you out because your details are listed on the [website tutor was located on] website and from your profile, it appears that you fit the criteria for an interview for this project. To be eligible for an interview for this project, you must be a practicing tutor in New South Wales, tutor in subjects that are taught in either primary or high school and be over 18 years of age.

If you choose to participate in an interview, the interview will be carried out in July of 2018. it would last for around one hour in duration and would be conducted in a place and at a time that is convenient to both myself and yourself. If you choose to participate, you will be asked a number of questions focusing on your experiences using websites such as [website tutor was located on] and your work as a tutor.

If you choose to participate, you will be given a participant information and consent form to keep, which will further outline what this research will involve. Even if you choose to participate in this research you will be free to withdraw at any time.

If you are interested in participating in this research, you can reply to this email or contact me via the phone number below.

If you would like further information or clarification, please do not hesitate to contact myself or my supervisor (details below).

Sincerely,

Megan Sturges

Appendix E: Interview Guide:

1. Tell me what your experience of working as a tutor has been like.
   a) How long have you been a tutor?
   b) What are the positives and negatives of your job as a tutor?
   c) Where do your tutoring lessons usually take place?

2. How does tutoring fit in with your wider career goals and aspirations?
   a) Do you work anywhere else?
   b) Why did you choose to become a tutor?
   c) Do you see yourself tutoring in the next 5 years? Why? /Why not?

3. How much control do you feel you have to make decisions about the way that you work?
   a) Who decides when you work?
   b) Who decides on the prices you charge?
   c) Who decides on the tutoring style? Does this change depending on the student that you are tutoring?

4. How do you recruit clients to tutor?
   a) Are they generally people you know/have been referred to you or do you get in contact with them some other way?
   b) Have you used any kind of advertising before?
   c) Do you know other tutors who have had similar or different experiences with recruiting students to you?

5. Tell me about your experience using tutoring websites, such as _____ (tutoring website they have advertised on).
   a) What did you hope to get out of putting your details on this website?
   b) Has your experience generally been positive or negative?
   c) Have you had any experiences with the ratings or review functions on this website or any other tutoring website?
   d) Do you feel supported through the website?
   e) Have you received any training through the website or another company?
   f) Has the use of this website changed your tutoring practice in any way?

6. Do you have anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix F: Intermediary Classifications:

Traditional agencies:	Action Coaching
	Art of Smart
	Brighter Futures Group (BFG)
	Elite Education
	Hills District Coaching Services
	In home tutors
	Just Maths Tutoring
	Love Maths by Learned Hub
	Nepean Tutoring
	North Home Tuition
	Shine Education
	Top of the Class
	Tutor Doctor
	Tutoring Advantage
	Tutoring for Excellence
	TutorPro
	VProgress
Mediated notice board:	Ace Tute
	Alchemy
	Australian Tutoring Company
	Ezy Math Tutoring
	Grace Simpkins
	LGT
	Lifetime Learners
	Omni Tuition
	Premier Tutors
	Scooter Tutor
	Sponge Education
	TutoringHSC
	Tutoring4All

	Voulez Vouloz
Notice Board:	Accredited Tutor
	Aloki
	Australian Tutoring Association (ATA)
	First Tutors
	Fuse Tutor
	High School Tutor
	Knowledge Roundtable
	LearnMate
	LearnPick
	NSW Tutors
	SeekaTutor
	Spalding
	Tutor Finder
	Tutor Tree
	Tutors Field
	Tutors4You
	Tutr
	Tuty
Individual/small agencies:	Dr Michael Sun
	Sydney Physics and Mathematics Tutor
Job boards/online labour markets:	Adzuna
	Airtasker
	Gumtree
	Indeed
	Jora
	Local Search
	Seek
	Simply Hired
	The Nanny Collective
	Three Best Rated

	True Local
	Where Is
	Yellow Pages
	Yelp

Appendix G: Ethics Approval:

Thu 5/04, 11:27 AM

Ben Spies-Butcher;
Gabrielle Meagher;
Megan Sturges (HDR);
+1 more

Ethics Application Ref: (5201800080) - Final Approval

Dear Dr Spies-Butcher,

Re: ('Shining a light on the shadow education market in NSW.')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval of the above application has been granted, effective (5/04/2018). This email constitutes ethical approval only.

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further. This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Ben Spies-Butcher
Ms Megan Sturges

Professor Gabrielle Meagher

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 5th April 2019
Progress Report 2 Due: 5th April 2020
Progress Report 3 Due: 5th April 2021
Progress Report 4 Due: 5th April 2022
Final Report Due: 5th April 2023

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-et
hics/resources

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-et
hics/resources

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

https://staff.mq.edu.au/work/strategy-planning-and-governance/university-pol
icies-and-procedures/policy-central
https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-et
hics/resources/research-ethics

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the

Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz