



Factors and Attitudes of Parents and Students toward Avoiding Shadow Education in English in Rural Bangladesh

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: 15 March 2025 Revised: 16 April 2025 Accepted: 08 May 2024 Online: 22 September 2025	Although private tutoring, also known as "shadow education," has long been an option to augment regular English classes, some students have been avoiding it for a variety of reasons, despite its obvious benefits. Using an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design, the study started with quantitative data collected from 448 participants, including students and parents, using questionnaires and then 24 participants, including students, parents and teachers attended individual interviews in rural sites. The study identified the attitudes and factors why parents and students avoided fee-paying shadow education in English, even though these tutoring sessions were significant in rural Bangladesh. It also revealed that children's reluctance to abandon private tutoring was influenced by their parents' financial insufficiency. Sometimes, parents' disinterest and children's lack of time stopped them from getting extra English lessons. The study contributes to the field of shadow education and provides suggestions for educational planners regarding removing obstacles to private tutoring in rural areas to promote English learning.
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1. Introduction

While shadow education in English is commonly available across the world, a number of parents face various socioeconomic challenges and abstain from it. A variety of factors influence whether or not someone takes up shadow education, and these elements are likely to vary across the region according to the economic, political, social, and educational contexts (Silova, 2010). Some believe that their children may not meet academic goals if they do not enroll them in extra fee-charging tutoring program. Financial constraints within the family may make hiring a private tutor unfeasible. In an Indian study of school dropouts in Delhi's slums, 25.9% of the participants said they couldn't afford the expenses of private tutoring (Chugh, 2011). The attractiveness or distraction of tutoring for students is influenced by parental socioeconomic backgrounds (Bray & Hajar, 2024; Entrich, 2018; Heyneman, 2011; Kenayathulla, 2013; Kobakhidze, 2018; Kwok, 2010). Due to their lack of family social and financial resources, underprivileged children may not be able to receive additional help from private tutors (Chiu & Chow, 2010; Yung, 2019).

Disputably established links exist between parents' circumstances and the intentions to forgo children's private English tutoring. Children's extra fee-paying English learning isn't supported by their parents' lack of wealth at times. Some students frequently receive tutoring in several fields for extended periods of time, whereas others receive tutoring in a limited number of subjects only occasionally (Bray, 2009). The significance of learning English and the cost of private English coaching for families were highlighted by Khuwaileh and Al-Shoumali (2001) in research conducted in Jordan. English tutoring is common in many nations and language programs in schools are influenced by social and other significant factors, including political views, job trends, and linguistic ideologies (Tollefson, 2002; p. 328). Education decision-making is influenced by social origin, particularly during periods of transition in educational achievement (Entrich, 2015; p. 193).

While some students are unable to participate in tutoring, others wish to perform for longer periods of time. Globally, the private English coaching industry has grown significantly (Yung, 2015). The language skills that students acquire via tutoring could be a significant source of human capital (Bray, 2009; p. 31). There is a real correlation between socioeconomic circumstances and the undercurrent of abstinence in tutoring. In both developing and rich nations, there is a problem with unequal access to language learning materials (Terasawa, 2017). Adorable commercials can sometimes have an impact on private English teaching, but they frequently fail to draw students or parents certainly. The study offers new outlooks by combining quantitative and qualitative data to understand family foundations and underlying factors of abstinence to enroll in shadow education

in English in low-income areas. In light of the objectives, the study aims to respond to the following research question:

- Despite the obvious importance of shadow education in facilitating English language learning, why do some parents and students in rural Bangladesh avoid it?

Parental Socioeconomic Basics and Nonparticipation in Tutoring

At times, parents suppose that their children are attentive to school lessons and will do better in English exam without tutoring. Additionally, they do not have sufficient money to afford children's tutoring costs. Some nations, like China, Egypt, Japan, and Sri Lanka, had a significant "hidden" educational phenomenon of private tutoring, whereas others, like Tanzania and England, did not have such a widespread phenomenon (Bray 2009; Bray & Lykins, 2012). Tutoring demand might be both surplus and differentiated at the same time. When students and their families think that the mainstream system isn't providing for all of their needs, tutoring is considered. Differentiation can occur when tutors offer a curriculum that deviates from the standard curriculum instead of merely repeating what is taught in the mainstream classes (Bray & Kwok, 2003; p. 613).

Across underprivileged societies, family socioeconomic fundamentals and parental limitations are remarkable. Despite its importance, a considerable proportion of pupils have been refusing to receive private tutoring in English. Due to its private finance, private tutoring creates a barrier to opportunity distribution. In rural Pakistan, children from the wealthiest income groups are nearly five times more likely to be receiving private tutoring than children from the poorest groups (Aslam & Atherton, 2012; p. 14). Tutoring became a necessary service for students in Georgia as a result of the state education system's rising decentralization and marketization in the early 1990s (Kobakhidze, 2018; p. 43). According to a World Bank, the main reason why private coaching is so common in Egypt may be due to the makeup of exams (Sobhy, 2012; p. 53). South Korea has seen a rise in the English-centered 'hakwan' (tutoring) sector. One of the academic and intellectual skills used to assess job applicants is English (Kim, 2016; pp. 34–35).

Reluctance, Impracticality and Inability

Reluctance means students' lack of interest in shadow education and parents' decline in children's additional lessons. Impracticality indicates that private tutoring does not suite with student's demand and time. Some students have less time and do not find sufficient time to receive out-of-school tutoring. The economic inability of rural parents may make hiring a tutor impossible.

Parents with higher average earnings are more likely to use tutors because they have the financial means to cover the tutors' costs (Rushforth & Ireson, 2011; p. 3). Tansel (2012) reports from a study conducted in Turkey that parents on a low income cannot afford more intensive tuition. Children's tutoring is influenced by two key factors. There are two purposes for curriculum enrichment: acquiring knowledge beyond the curriculum and compensating for meeting curricular standards (Bregvadze, 2012; Buchmann et al., 2010). Due to its fee-based character, private tutoring exacerbates educational inequality in the social environment (Phillipson, 2008; Yung, 2019). Peer motivation and visually appealing marketing are sometimes the focus of shadow education in English. Using promotional booklets is the most popular method in Taiwan (Tong, 2001; p. 18). Some parents find tutoring advertisement uninteresting and do not think it is important. A significant portion of private tutoring is assumed to be provided to students who are falling behind their peers (Bray & Lykins, 2012). At times, families are not willing to pay for English tutoring in order to stay up with their peers. According to Bray & Kwok (2003), some instructors in Hong Kong increase demand by advertising, giving out discount coupons in periodicals, and rewarding students who refer their peers and other tutors.

Significance of English Language

It is obvious that English language is integral to the country's global business, information technology, and the national curriculum for language learning in schools. According to a Chinese study by Perez-Milans (2013; p. 7), English language proficiency is a crucial component of a high-quality citizenship education and is a key component of many nations' basic education development strategies. The fields of tourism, science education, and diplomacy make extensive use of the English language. Bangladeshi parents pay special attention to their children's English language acquisition because it is often very difficult to find a job (middle and higher positions) without knowing English in the competitive job market (Manzoor, 2013; p. 14). The English-medium schooling system occasionally establishes a foundation for the upper elite within society. English-speaking members of the elite class have distinct opportunities in their professional and social life.

One of the most popular subjects in South Asian countries for private tutoring is English. English proficiency is valued in the workplace since it is required for worldwide communication and international business. Learning a language is now directly linked to mobility and employability (Perez-Milans, 2015; p. 154). There are plenty of English-medium private kindergartens and elementary schools that choose their own curricula. In Bangladesh, a small number of English-medium secondary and upper secondary schools use the O-Level and A-Level English curriculum. Children from wealthy households

attend private English-medium schools (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007; p. 253). Bangladesh's Supreme Court continues to conduct its function commonly in English. One important subset of private supplemental tutoring that could be considered a macro-phenomenon of contemporary education is private tutoring in English (Hamid et al., 2009; p. 282). The primary cause of the prevalence of private coaching shouldn't be the format of exams. Private English teaching can occasionally focus on visually appealing ads and the inspiration of nearby friends.

Bangladeshi Secondary Education and English

Out-of-school fee-charging learning is a widespread practice in Bangladesh. There are four main phases of education in Bangladesh. Primary education lasts five years (one to five grade), followed by secondary school from six to ten grade, upper secondary education from eleven to twelve grade, and university education at the conclusion of grade twelve. Undergraduate admissions are made for general, technical, engineering, business, agriculture, and medical programs. Bengali and English are the two curriculum languages of the NCTB (National Curriculum and Textbook Board), which are followed by some private and public schools that are registered. The contents of the NCTB Bengali curriculum are the same in the English version curriculum; however, the student sections (classes) and the medium of instruction are different in different schools. English is one of the compulsory courses in secondary (grades: 6 to 10/ages: 11 to 16) and higher secondary (grades: 11 to 12/ages: 17 to 19) levels. All books are not in English. In the formal education system of school, only 45 to 60 minutes are used for English classes in a day. A variety of diverse suppliers make up the educational system (BANBEIS, 2014; p. 25). The "O" (Ordinary) or "A" (Advanced) Level English-medium education system is apparent in urban areas. Secondary education receives a large amount of funding from the private sector, most of which goes toward paying for private educational services like private tutoring rather than school supplies (Imam, 2005).

The secondary education system is one notable exception, requiring a large amount of private funding that makes the burden of some guardians to make the necessary expenditures. Since secondary school is the final phase of preparing a child for entry into higher education, parents place a high value on it. Teachers' frequent absences and their comparatively short teaching periods when they are in class have been identified as learning impediments (Cameron, 2012; p. 10). The access policy exposes students to English extensively through education. Starting in first grade and continuing until grade twelve, English is a mandatory subject. English makes up about 20% of the one-twelve curriculum (Hamid, 2010; p. 293). Policy and planning surrounding the English language have been influenced by a multitude of groups, including educational scholars,

non-governmental organizations, and international development agencies. Globalization is currently increasing the importance of English, endangering Bangladesh's cultural recolonization (Imam, 2005; p. 471). According to the Census 2022, the total population is 68.49% in the rural areas and 31.51% in the urban areas. The literacy rate of population 7 years and above is 74.66% at the national level (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2022). Monthly average income per capita is Tk. 7,614 (64 US Dollar), while this is Tk. 6,091 (51 US Dollar) in the rural area. Monthly household average income is Tk. 32,422 (271 US Dollar), while this is Tk. 26,163 (219 US Dollar) in the rural area (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023).

Theoretical Framework

Avoiding shadow education in English is significantly influenced by the family socioeconomic underpinnings in most cases. The study makes use of the "economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) and the "capability approach" (Sen, 1983) ideas. According to Bourdieu (1986), students come from a variety of family socioeconomic backgrounds, and some of which may be influenced by the type of economic capital. Economic capital includes money, property, and incomes belonging to the family. The idea reflects the connection between students' family socioeconomic backgrounds and their academic participation or nonparticipation. The greatest way to describe development is as a process of increasing people's capacities (Sen, 1983). Sen's paradigm allows any explanation of human development and well-being to be viewed through the lens of activities or capabilities as an evaluative space. Poor families typically aren't able to invest enough in their kids' education due to financial constraints, which has an impact on their kids' academic achievement (Becker, 1964; Li & Qiu, 2018).

The wealth or assets of parents may be crucial in helping to pay for schooling. Family economic capital changes learners' needs through additional English lessons and affects access to or lack thereof to tutoring. Resources frequently bridge the gap between present income and college costs, and they can keep kids in school longer by acting as a financial safety net for their families when they experience financial hardship (Nan & Huang, 2009). There are two ways that a child's family background influences their academic success. First, parents influence their children's academic performance by competing and buying high-quality educational resources (such as top public schools and private educational services) using their social and financial resources. Second, by participating in school and providing behavioral support, they foster their kids' curiosity in learning and learning habits (Li & Qiu, 2018; p. 19). Parental pressure, the socioeconomic

conditions of the local community, and the demand for academic progress are all closely related to private tutoring (Song et al., 2013; p. 137).

The underlying subtleties of shadow education in English might lead to social imbalances since wealthy students may benefit more from instruction in English than do impoverished students. Children's academic success is significantly influenced by the financial resources of their parents, particularly their income (Heckerman & Torche, 2007). Either the input technique or the output method can be used to quantify the worth of education. The input method evaluates the resources that the state, families, and students have committed to education. The output approach evaluates the products of education. Measures of resource efficiency are obtained by comparing the inputs and outputs of education (Psacharopoulos, 2006). In actuality, children's academic perspectives and claims on their involvement or non-participation in supplementary English classes are influenced by the resources and methods of the student's household. Students' experiences with private tutoring are impacted by their familial circumstances (Castro & Guzman, 2010; Jung & Lee, 2010).

2. Research Method

An explanatory sequential mixed-methods design (Creswell, 2012; p. 541) was used in the study. In order to explain or expound on the findings, the design entails first gathering quantitative data and then gathering qualitative data (Creswell, 2012; pp. 542-543). The research may gather quantitative and qualitative data consecutively in two or more phases. It's possible that a quantitative or qualitative approach alone is not always sufficient to describe something. A mixed-methods design can capture the richness of participant voices, illustrate the intricacies and dynamic changes in social reality, and deepen the comprehension (Swain, 2017).

Participants and Sampling

Opportunistic and snowball (Creswell, 2012) purposeful sampling were employed in the study. Opportunistic sampling means "the researcher takes advantage of unfolding events that helps answer research questions when the study begins". According to the definition of snowball sampling, "it usually proceeds after a study begins, when the researcher asks participants to recommend other individuals to be sampled" (Creswell, 2012; p. 209). Data were collected from four sampled schools in Patuakhali, Bangladesh. Grades eight and ten (secondary education) were purposefully sampled. The education boards evaluated pupils at the conclusion of grades eight and ten then through two open tests, which inspired the selection of these two grades. Through

questionnaires, students in grades eight and ten and their parents were engaged in the survey process. Individual interviews were conducted with participants that included students, teachers, and parents. In the survey process, parents supplied information alongside students since they maturely evaluated the need for tutoring alongside their kids. Data were provided by a sample of 24 (3x8) interviewees, which included 8 students, 8 parents, and 8 teachers, as well as a sample of 224 students and their 224 parents (either mother or father) in the survey.

Data Collection Procedures

Two structured questionnaires had been created for the survey process as part of the data collection technique. Each questionnaire package included a code number that was used to identify the pupil and his or her parent. Every present student in the class was sampled and took part in the survey. With authorization from the school leaders, the researcher gave questionnaires (both student and parent questionnaires) to students in the classroom. Students were informed in class about the research's goals and instructed to provide consent forms and questionnaires to their parents, who watch over their lessons at home. It was instructed to the students to complete their own surveys at home. Accordingly, on the scheduled date, students sent back the completed questionnaires to the investigator (both questionnaires). Each individual interview took 30 to 40 minutes to record on audio.

Data Analysis

The analysis was a mix of quantitative and qualitative data. Descriptive statistics was used in the quantitative and coding process was employed in the qualitative data analysis. To further clarify and expand on the quantitative findings for a thorough comprehension of the problem, interview data were used. Teachers, parents, and students shared their perspectives and experiences during individual interviews. A coding system was made up of the steps and guidelines for logically and methodically analyzing data. Codes are labels or tags that give the descriptive text units of meaning. They are typically applied to "chunks" of various lengths, such as words, phrases, sentences, or entire paragraphs, either linked or unlinked to a particular context (Miles & Huberman, 1994; p. 56). Codes were compiled to create broader themes that emerged as crucial outcomes. Different chunks were classified using a variety of colors and tags in order to identify the responses to the study topic. Three simultaneous tasks were carried out in the analysis: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

3. Findings

A combination of qualitative and quantitative data has been used to determine the foundations of not attending private English tutoring. Qualitative data have revealed participant views and experiences, elucidated the principles of abstinence and took socioeconomic factors into account. According to the survey, 39.3% of the sampled students in Bangladesh's rural area did not take advantage of private English tutoring for a variety of reasons. The research participants' descriptions are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Description of participants

<i>Schools (Pseudonym)</i>	<i>Grade 8 students</i>	<i>Grade 10 students</i>	<i>Student survey participants</i>	<i>Parent survey participants</i>	<i>Interview participants</i>
School D	35	23	58	58	6 (2 students, 2 parents, 2 teachers)
School H	27	21	48	48	6 (2 students, 2 parents, 2 teachers)
School L	34	21	55	55	6 (2 students, 2 parents, 2 teachers)
School P	36	27	63	63	6 (2 students, 2 parents, 2 teachers)
Total	132	92	224	224	24 (8 students, 8 parents, 8 teachers)

In the rural area, parental socioeconomic perspectives held sway. A few pupils did not obtain private English tutoring for the entire year due to economic issues. According to survey data, monthly family earnings and parental educational attainments were below average in rural areas. The most important element influencing a family's ability to participate in children's private tutoring was its finances. According to Table 2, more than a half (54%) of rural families earned an average monthly income of between 25 and 41 US dollars. Many rural parents were undoubtedly forced by their insufficient income to refuse their children's private English tutoring, which required payment of a fee. Smaller than the greatest income level, which was between 41 and 125 US dollars. With respect to income, over one-third of rural families (34.8%) made the second-highest amount. In spite of the importance of private English tutoring for the learning process, parents and students who participated in interviews shared financial difficulties in their families that prevented them from attending.

Table 2. Aspects of family (rural) monthly average income (n = 224)

<i>Income levels (Rural area) (BD Taka & US Dollar)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
<3,000-5,000 BDT (25 – 41 USD)	121	54.0
5,001-15,000 BDT (41 – 125 USD)	78	34.8
15,001-25,000 BDT (125- 208 USD)	21	9.4
25,001-50,000 BDT (208- 416 USD)	4	1.8
50,001->80,000 BDT (416- 666 USD)	0	00

Parental educational levels, ranging from primary to postgraduate, are displayed in Table 3. According to Hamid et al. (2009), participation rates in private tutoring are influenced by the educational attainment of parents. Parents with little or no education typically had little interest in spending a large sum of money on their children's education. Over two-thirds (66.5%) of rural mothers and over half (50.9%) of fathers had only completed primary education. Less than one-third (27.7%) of mothers and nearly one-third (29%) of fathers finished secondary education. Therefore, rural kids were deterred from enrolling in private English tutoring due to the circumstances of parental educational levels.

Table 3. Parental (rural) educational highest levels (n = 224)

<i>Educational highest levels (Rural area)</i>	<i>Father</i>		<i>Mother</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Primary education	114	50.9	149	66.5
Secondary education/SSC	65	29.0	62	27.7
Higher secondary/HSC	29	12.9	8	3.6
Bachelor	7	3.1	3	1.3
Postgraduate/Master	9	4.0	2	0.9

The key principles of refraining from private English instruction are illustrated by the data in Table 4. Financial difficulties were a major factor in the rural area. Family economic capital might be a significant factor in this regard. The results showed that 28.6% of students had financial difficulty paying for their tutoring. The largest percentage of participants gave this explanation for their lack of involvement in additional lessons of English. Six of the eight students who participated in the interview said they had financial challenges. Just 13.4% of students said they didn't have enough time to attend private English tutoring, but 14.7% said their parents didn't want them to do so. Some students stated in interview transcripts that they were preoccupied with science coursework and that their parents had no interest in paying for private English tutoring.

Table 4. Factors and attitudes toward avoiding shadow education in English identified by students (n = 224)

<i>Factors and attitudes toward avoiding tutoring in English</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
I have insufficient money for payment of tutoring fees	64	28.6
I have no time for participation in tutoring	30	13.4
My parents do not want me to do it	33	14.7
It does not seem worth the money	22	9.8

Note: Students were permitted to select multiple responses.

One student gave an explanation of how he worked a part-time job outside of school hours to help support his family financially and pay for his education and personal expenses. Another pupil said,

Though I had less time for working much with science subjects, I was interested in receiving private tuition in English. But my family economic condition was not good. If my father were prosperous, I would have received private tuition in English. I have some classmates who have more than one tutoring (Individual tutoring at home and coaching at tutorial center) but I do not have at all (student S3).

In several situations, parents were eager, but due to financial constraints, they were unable to pay for the private tuition. The majority of parents were financially responsible for their multiple children and calculated when it came to everyday expenses, extra investments, and tutoring fees. Some parents refused to send their children for tutoring in English because they believed that their friends and relatives did not do so. A parent said,

Although it is an economic challenge for me, I had an interest in employing a tutor of English at my home. I think home tutor is better for girls because a guardian can follow up his/her daughter's lessons. I think that some of my friends and relatives did not send their children for tutoring in English, yet their children did well in examinations. At times, tutoring seems to be insignificant cost to me (parent P7).

The major explanations given by parents for their children's nonparticipation in private English tutoring are detailed in Table 5. Of the parents surveyed, the largest proportion (31.2%) said they were unable to afford to pay their children's tuition. According to interview data, a few parents reported experiencing financial difficulties. As a result, they dissuaded their kids from enrolling in private English tutoring. While 16.1% of parents said that the current private tutoring did not seem to meet their children's needs, the second-highest percentage of parents (18.3%) said

that many of their friends or relatives did not send their kids for private English tutoring.

Table 5. Factors and attitudes toward avoiding shadow education in English identified by parents (n = 224)

<i>Factors and attitudes toward avoiding tutoring in English</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
I am financially unable to pay child's tuition fees	70	31.2
None of the available private tutoring seems to suit my child's needs	36	16.1
Not many of my friends or relatives are sending their children for tutoring	41	18.3
My child does not have time to take tutoring	30	13.4
I do not want my child to take private tuition	27	12.1
I think it is insignificant cost	22	9.8

Note: Parents were permitted to select multiple responses.

Some parents stated in interview data that their friends or relatives did not receive private English tutoring for their children. Therefore, they encouraged their kids to avoid private English coaching. Just 13.4% of parents said their kids didn't have time for private English tuition, and 12.1% said they wouldn't be willing to pay for their kids' private English tutoring. Parents encouraged their children not to enroll in private English tutoring after realizing children's time shortage and workload at times.

A number of parents expressed their disapproval of private English tutoring since the costs were exorbitant for them. Due to their lack of family social and financial resources, underprivileged children may require additional help from private tutors, but doing so might be difficult. According to survey results, 12.1% of parents (Table 5) stated that they didn't want to accept private tutoring, as well as 14.7% of students (Table 4) said their parents did not want to enroll in private English tutoring. It might have happened as a result of parents encountering various social and financial constraints that dissuaded them from hiring tutors at an additional cost.

Teacher participants provided interview data and mentioned that all of them were not involved in private tutoring. Although many students did not participate in English tutoring due to several reasons including family socioeconomic situations, the majority of English teachers provided tutoring assistance. Some locations were very remote and families were very poor. A few of the parents requested financial assistance from the school's poor fund to cover their kids' tuition. A few applied for tuition waivers—full or half. A teacher said,

Some female students did not participate in tutoring in English because they stayed in rural sites that were far from schools and teachers' residences. Parents sometimes would not like to send their daughters without companions. Besides, family members attempt to assist

students in English lessons in some cases. A choice of students may understand class lectures at schools and do not feel necessity of fee-charging extra lessons in English (teacher T5).

While some parents preferred children's tutoring during the upcoming exam time, it was clear that some parents could not afford to cover the tutoring expenses for the entire year. A sizable percentage of parents thought that the expense of private tutoring was insignificant. Several parents stated, because of their students' time constraints, they did not encourage their kids to tutoring. At times, pupils were occupied with homework, assignments, and classroom instruction. They were unable to find time for private English tutoring. Particularly, science students were heavily involved in lab and practical work, which deterred them from enrolling in private English tutoring at times.

4. Discussion

The study adds to the understanding of factors and attitudes of parents and students toward avoiding shadow education in English in an underprivileged area. Impetuses and arguments for tutoring abstention have been unveiled evidently through the lens of facilitating contextual perceptions of students and parents. This study closes the research gap in the global and Bangladeshi tutoring literature (Hamid et al., 2009; Hamid & Mahmud, 2023; Mahmud, 2018; Mahmud, 2019; Mahmud, 2021a; Mahmud, 2021b; Mahmud & Bray, 2017; Mahmud & Kenayathulla, 2018; Nath, 2007) because earlier studies focused on the demand factors and consequences of private tutoring, but they did not identify the factors influencing nonparticipation in private English tutoring. Additionally, private tutoring research has not received much attention in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), applied linguistics, or language education research, despite being a substantial issue (Hamid et al., 2009).

Usually, getting an English tutor is associated with getting good grades or developing exam abilities at times. School teachers in after-school hours, teachers from coaching centers educated people (not involved in other employment) and senior students serve as private tutors commonly in Bangladesh. This creates a social climate in which passing an exam is valued, even though it could eventually impede actual academic knowledge. The overemphasis on exams at the expense of communicative skill development is one of the factors undermining effective English language acquisition (Yung, 2015; p. 723). At times, parents are reluctant to spend money on tutoring because they believe their kids won't learn the effective and high-quality English needed to

compete with their classmates or peers. Indeed, the prediction of English language success emphasizes the importance of doing well in English in examinations. Tutoring is generally a good investment for individuals and educational returns (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004) to stay in education systems for as long as possible (Bray, 2006; p. 521).

The theoretical framework matched the concepts, some of which elucidated family 'economic capital' and 'capability approach'. Parents' educational investments to support their children's English language development through tutoring are influenced by their family financial foundations. People want to use their family financial resources (Heckerman and Torche, 2007; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004), but not everyone is able to do so. Private tutoring provides alternate tasks of academic lessons and makes educational investment which increases social inequality (Bourdieu, 1986; Entrich, 2018). According to Becker (1964), parents have a significant impact on their children's education, marital stability, and other aspects of their lives. The shape of tutoring claim is not same to all pupils since factors vary from family to family, while one can avail more than one tutoring in English and another cannot do so at all.

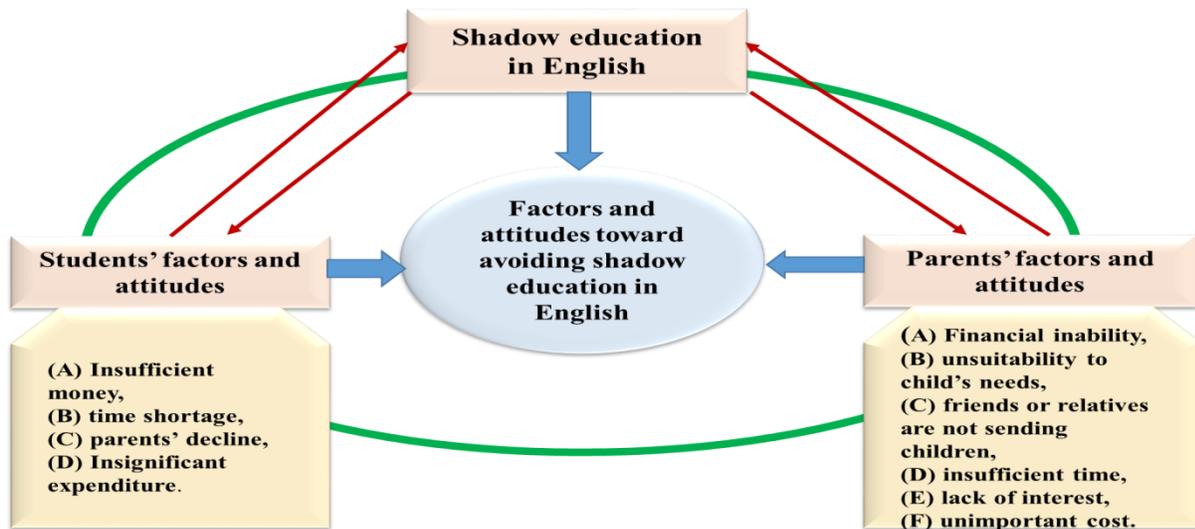


Figure 1. Factors and attitudes of parents and students toward avoiding shadow education in English

The central point of the circle in Figure 1 illustrates the factors or attitudes on abstaining from private tutoring in English. The focal point regarding factors or attitudes on abstaining from tutoring is linked to the shadow education in English, which can be served in a group or individually. The pivotal point, "factors or attitudes on abstaining from tutoring," pertains to

multiple aspects (students' attitudes), including insufficient money, time shortage, parents' decline, and insignificant expenditures. Besides, the central point of the circle connects to a few aspects on the other side (parents' attitudes), such as financial inability, unsuitability to child's needs, friends or relatives are not sending their children, insufficient time, lack of interest, and unimportant cost.

In a low-income community, the socioeconomic circumstances of parents affected children's private lessons in English. Seiyama (1981) proposed the "shadow education investment theory," which holds that parents of higher socioeconomic status (SES) spend more on private tutoring to help their kids do better academically (Entrich, 2015; p. 197). This suggests a causal relationship between SES and the amount of money parents spend on shadow education. It is clear that many rural pupils were unable to pay for tutoring to improve their children's English proficiency. The availability of tutoring opportunities in South Korea is impacted by differences in family financial resources (Kim, 2016; p. 170). Some students had jobs to help support their families. Some parents struggled financially because they had multiple children. In reality, expenditures for children's tutoring were varied based on their locations. Higher-income student families could be able to afford more for extra English instruction than lower-income student families. For several students, tutoring became an unaffordable burden at times. In a Georgian study, Kobakhidze (2018) noted that students, who did not use shadow education, named financial constraints as a factor of non-receipt of the service (p. 55).

5. Conclusion

Though there were particular factors and attitudes on why parents and students chose not to participate in shadow education in English, it was clear that socioeconomic factors affected their reluctance despite its evident significance. Most students needed more English instruction, but some couldn't get it because their socioeconomic backgrounds weren't strong enough. In a Georgian study, Kobakhidze (2018) found a strong correlation between students' socio-economic status (SES) and their use of private tutoring. The students who informed no use of private tutoring came from financially disadvantaged families. Besides, some parents followed their relatives or friends (those who did not send their children for tutoring), and became unenthusiastic for their children's private tutoring. Private tutoring was amplified sometimes by tutoring advertisements which did not persuade a few parents and students because it deemed themselves as customers in a free market. Lack of motivations of students also had a significant role. At times, tutees only join the tutoring classes because their peers do so, and in many settings parents frequently view tutoring as a form of childcare service.

Referring to implications of the study, the latest data regarding socioeconomic aspects and attitudes on abstaining from shadow education may have an impact negatively on rural English education. Education planners in Bangladesh and similar countries in the Third World should come forward to think about tutoring policies for the betterment of rural students so that they can achieve private tutoring at low or free of cost. They should revise policies to improve formal school education and consider the ways on how to eliminate impediments to shadow education in rural areas to promote English language learning. The theoretical framework, which includes the notions of family economic capital and capability approach, may not always match well, despite its potential worth. For the most part, it offers a workable framework in a practical way to carry on the complex relationships between family socioeconomic situations and the basics of fee-paying private English lesson. While generalizing the findings to secondary students in rural Bangladesh as a whole, particular care was indispensable due to the limitations of the study. The sampling did not represent the entire nation or the universe. Further research in this area is required for stakeholders, including students, parents, teachers, and policymakers, in order to better understand shadow education conditions that may have an impact on students' English learning pitfalls and perfection.

Declaration of conflicting interest

There are no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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