

Private Tuition in English in Bangladeshi Secondary Education:
Reasons, Necessities and Outcomes

By

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A thesis

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Declaration

It is hereby declared that

1. The thesis submitted is my/our own original work while completing degree at Brac University.
2. The thesis does not contain material previously published or written by a third party, except where this is appropriately cited through full and accurate referencing.
3. The thesis does not contain material which has been accepted, or submitted, for any other degree or diploma at a university or other institution.
4. I/We have acknowledged all main sources of help.

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Approval

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Ethics Statement

This is my original work. When conducting this research I have read several articles, academic journals, and books. However, the outcomes presented in this study are my very own findings and analysis. Moreover, I strictly maintained the privacy of my participants and used pseudonyms. I never forced or provoke the participants by any means to participate in this study. The participants voluntarily agreed to join the interview.

Abstract

Private tutoring in English (PT'E) is a staple in Bangladesh. However, how much it actually benefits the stagnating English education system – due to many factors such as the priority of grades over skills – in the country is not well researched. Therefore, this study explores in-depth the Bangladeshi students' psycho-social factors, or how social factors affect an individual's decision-making processes and overall behavior, that perhaps lead them to choose PT'E. The study is conducted using the phenomenological approach by taking interviews of the 22 Bangla medium students from class six to class ten. The data analysis involved coding of the data and subsequent convergence into themes from the transcription. The main findings include the fact that PT'E is an established practice in Bangladesh, which is nowadays sustained by psycho-social aspects like mental duress, high social expectations, and the extreme perceived necessity of English for the future. In addition, the academic disarray of the country, including a lack of planning and overwhelming student to teacher ratio, serves as further incentives for PT'E. Unfortunately, despite the overwhelming popularity PT'E, it has to a large extent failed to garner communicative competence.

Keywords: Private tutoring, psycho-social, planning, policies, exam, training, communicative language teaching, expectations, experience.

Dedication

I would wholeheartedly like to dedicate this work to my father and my mother whose unconditional support, understanding and love assisted me to come this far.

Acknowledgement

I would never be able to be grateful enough to my creator, the Almighty Allah, who gives me the ability for everything I can do. After that, I am grateful to my father and mother who always ask me to be a good human first before striving to be a good student.

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List of Acronyms

PT	Private Tutoring
PT'E	Private Tutoring in English
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
TTT	Teacher Talking Time
STT	Student Talking Time
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
GTM	Grammar Translation Method
EFT	<i>English For Today</i>

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Private Tutoring - A Staple of Bangladesh

This study is going to delve into how psycho-social elements push Bangladeshi students towards private tutoring in English (PT'E). The aforementioned psycho-social elements refer to a person's behavioral pattern changing due to their societal impacts. In Bangladesh, it is a common sight to see students going for extra classes after school time whether at home or outside the home. A significant number of students choose private tuition for their academic achievements and to some extent it is following the trend for its sake. As Khatun (2015) demonstrates, the stakeholders (parents, children) neither look at the quality of coaching centers nor look at their own sufferings – for example, mothers are going “back and forth” for their offspring from school to coaching by standing outside hour after hour in rain or in the scorching sun since they do not want to sit in the exam without proper nurturing of the subjects during private tuition (n.p). Indeed, it is quite suitable to say private tuition is a practice embedded into the very depths of Bangladeshi society. Despite the prevalence of private tuition in Bangladesh and other countries, there is inadequate research of its facets, such as but not limited to the following: why this sector is famous, why students are choosing this, what the advantages or disadvantages of this sector are. Moreover, in the field of ELT, it is of utmost importance to know about these issues, as the acquisition process of English language for the foreign language context – as English is a foreign language for much of Bangladesh (Ara, 2020, p. 87) – is indeed necessary to know, including their reason to know English, their competence versus performance schemes, their motivation towards it.

1.2 Context of the Study

The Bangladeshi education system – especially for students under the National Curriculum such as Bangla Medium students – is rife with language learning difficulties such as limited class time and large class size for which the limelight only falls on the toppers, depriving the students who need more hands-on care. Moreover, English classes – especially in Bangla Medium background – do not focus on students’ needs for learning English, but rather on the exam-based academia, though the policy makers on their part claim exams help to robust students’ creativity, sagacity and knowledge. Furthermore, many teachers’ non-friendly attitudes and teacher-centered classrooms are demotivating students’ mental strength to acquire English. Finally, there is an inadequacy of teacher training plans that ultimately affects students’ learning.

In addition, though in Bangladesh Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has been the official language teaching methodology for more than two decades, still today teachers tend to focus on Grammar Translation Method (GTM) rather than more communicative methodologies. Consequently, the proper spread of the four skills of the English language – reading, writing, listening, speaking – is harmed.

Apart from these, there are numerous other psychosocial aspects such as higher expectations from the society to know good English to get a corresponding good platform, as Amin and Greenwood (2018) highlighted a school teacher’s statement: students, who are competent in English, notably in speaking, will flourish in their walk of life (p. 14).

All these are creating hollowness on one side and a fantasy on another side, making students fall in a dilemma about what acquiring English is and, in general, what learning is and how it should be learned for life skills, not for other expectations. This dilapidated education system may incur students to join private supplementary tutoring in English where students get more quality education, more flexible time, friendly teacher-student attitude, positive surroundings, enhancement of grades, and more.

1.3 Focus of the Study

The primary aim of the study is to deconstruct the necessities and effectiveness of PT'E, and whether and how it is directly spurred by the psychosocial aspects as mentioned above – non-friendly atmosphere for students due to high social expectations and lack of planned education policies. From the previous brief discussion, Bangladesh's backdated education system on the one hand, and the rise of Shadow Education on the other, it appears the two phenomena are distinctly linked. Therefore, this study will explore the connections between the rise of shadow education in English, or PT'E, and whether and to what extent it is incurred by the aforementioned education system limitations. Moreover, the question will arise whether choosing PT'E for the aforementioned difficulties really overcomes the problem, and specifically if English tuition in actuality helps students to be competent in the English language.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As mentioned, PT'E is an established platform in Bangladesh. There is a need to familiarize ourselves with the present situation of PT'E in Bangladesh as well as in the world. Therefore, let us chronologically break down, where relevant, the status and impact of PT and PT'E by reviewing the literature.

2.1 What is private tutoring?

Private tutoring (PT) can be interpreted as a subsidiary education system, taking place outside the classroom. It focuses on the primary and secondary level students followed by teaching only pedagogical subject matter; it is considered as imperative and not recreational (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 1; Bray, 2013, p. 412). Dang and Rogers (2008) say PT can be aligned with mainstream schooling (p. 161) because when schools assign homework, students may need another supplementary tuition to solve that particular work.

PT is considered as shadow education since the structure of learning, materials, and learning objectives are parallel to mainstream schooling, concerning the extra special lesson to conceal the errors with unlimited trials (Guill & Lintorf, 2018, as cited in Bray, 2011, p. 172). Joshi (2019) narrates, the allotted governmental supply cannot meet the requirements of proper studying, resultantly raising the demand for PT. Hence as a substitute, shadow education came, starting to overshadow regular schooling (p. 1). In line with Joshi, Bray (1999) describes a few reasons behind classifying PT as a part of shadow education. Initially, he opines that the endurance of PT can itself be attributed to mainstream schooling. Secondly, he points out that PT systems are following regular schooling. When there is a transformation of “size” and “shape” of regular schooling, PT follows that path. Thirdly, Bray (1999) claims the community is looking for supplementary tutoring to get an edge because the central

attention goes to regular schooling. In the fourth point, Bray (1999) explains that PT follows the attributes of schools which means the schemes are almost parallel (p. 17).

2.2 Variations of PT

Variations of PT exist, the first being one-to-one sessions where only one teacher teaches only one student. This type of setting is generally held in students' homes. Secondly, there are small and large batches. Generally, professional teachers, various educational consultancy companies or even senior students take tuition privately for a financial boost (Bray & Kwo, 2014, p. 1). Islam and Hoque (2019) say, collectively two to nine students in a batch are considered as a small group whereas a group of 10 students or exceeding that is considered as a coaching center (p. 4). Adding to the diverse classifications of PT, Bray and Lykins (2012) pointed out that internationally, shadow education takes place using the internet (p. 2). Nowadays, students and teachers can receive or provide education from any part of the world (Bray & Kwo, 2014, p. 20).

2.3 The Concept of PT in Asia

The concept of private tutoring came in different routes for different countries, with cultural, traditional, economical and colonial reasons as its roots. For example, East Asian countries like China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea have a very ancient tradition of taking tuition from renowned or famous personnel, as Kwok (2010) and Zhang (2011) reported that these countries followed the path of Confucius and its contemporaries' philosophies for real life advancement (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 8). These countries are image conscious about their societal and economical stances, always wanting to be ahead of their contemporaries, and so many chose private tutoring for a boost (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014, p. 5). Moreover, Nath (2008), Sujatha & Rani (2011), and Suraweera (2011) opine that competition between the communities and getting extra liquidation influenced teachers to move from mainstream

schooling to a supplementary one (private tutoring) in South Asian countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, and Pakistan (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 8-9).

Bray and Kwo (2014) sheds light on the “star tutor” who is popular for their specific subject based knowledge, attracting students heavily; as a result, countries like Hong-Kong, Sri Lanka, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Taipei are featuring them, which itself results in a spike in private tutoring (p. 9).

2.4 The Concept of PT in Bangladesh

The concept of private tutoring in Bangladesh almost resembles the other Asian countries. Out of a multitude of factors the prime reasons of booming private education are the lack of quality of education in mainstream school, and unstructured accommodation, affecting both the students and teachers (Nath, 2007, p. 13; Nath, 2011; Islam & Hoque, 2019, p. 2). As a result, tuition-based education outside the classroom became a “well accepted norm” (Nath, 2008, p. 65) for the parents, students and teachers. Resultantly, that appeal for extra education of students helps teachers accrue additional monetary benefits. According to the Education Watch Report of 2007, “40% of the secondary school teachers act as independent or grouped private tutors” (Nath, 2011). In line with this, the teachers, who used to be comparatively famous for their subtle way of passing knowledge to the students, changed their teaching style and became quite demanding towards the students, in one way influencing pupils to take private tuition (Islam & Hoque, 2019, p. 2) They also operate coaching centers (ibid). Resultantly, private tutoring is enhanced as a venture in the community (Bray & Kwo, 2014, p. 9).

Nath (2011) believed that the more the co-operation of a teacher with the students, the less crowded the supplementary education centers were. If schools provide smooth teaching then there will be no need of extra English tuition (Hamid, Sussex, & Khan, 2009, p. 298).

Nath (2008) thinks that the reason behind poor teachings is that teachers are trained poorly or there is lack of adequate training; even if teachers are trained properly it is not possible for a teacher to take classes of 60 or more students smoothly (p. 66). Moreover, Nath (2011) opines that parents do have some reasons behind admitting children into extra classes. Reasons include the low standard of teaching system in mainstream classes, inadequate attention on the incompetent students' influence of mates, dreams to get their child have satisfactory result to pursue good academies with good grades and to ultimately have better jobs.

2.5 The Concept of PT'E in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, people in all sectors mostly use Bangla, though for many years English has become a matter of prestige and a ladder to attaining many achievements of life (Hossain, 2013). Students are therefore going for private tutoring for increasing their proficiency in English, which in turn would assist them in their higher studies. Naturally, Bangla medium students face more challenges in the English subject in school in comparison to those immersed in an English medium environment. Though there are arguments whether Bangladesh has an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) or ESL (English as a Second Language) context for English (Ara, 2020, p. 87), researchers like Farooqui (2007, p. 96) clearly states English to be a foreign language in Bangladesh. Since the education background of the target group is Bangla medium and because English is not the first language of the country, the research on Bangladeshi students puts the research in a foreign language context.

Moreover, stakeholders give subconscious or conscious acknowledgement towards this ambition. The higher the English proficiency, the better the job one can attain. Resultantly, students go to English tutors to boost their confidence and make a stronger base for their further career prospects (Mahmud & Kenayathulla, 2017, p. 2-13). The researchers

open up their results section by saying, in urban areas around 43.3% students received their English tuition from their English school teacher. It is important to note that not all students went to non-teachers or coaching (Mahmud & Kenayathulla, 2017). Furthermore, as Hamid, Khan, and Islam (2017) say, for attaining excellent grades and implying English in real life around 75% of the students chose supplementary tutoring in English (p. 7).

2.6 Remuneration and Urban Rural Discrepancy in Private Tutoring in Bangladesh

At the turn of the 21st century, the remuneration costs became higher eventually according to the data of the year 2000. Studies show an overwhelmingly higher significance of English tuition over that of other subjects. For example, in 2017, the mean remuneration for English was 1290 tk whereas all other subjects combined accounted for merely 1895 tk (Mahmud & Bray, 2017, p. 5).

As for rural and urban difference in remuneration, unsurprisingly urban tuition is much costlier than its rural counterpart. Nearly a threefold increase in cost exists in urban areas: over a period of nine months 1688 tk was the average cost of an urban private tuition study compared to only 616 tk in rural areas (Nath, 2008, p. 63). In Sagorgram (a rural area), the remuneration of tuition was 500 tk or less for 58.1% of the time whereas Dhaka (an urban area – Bangladesh's capital) accounts for just 1.3% in that category, meaning that the rest 98.7% of tuitions cost higher than 500 tk (Mahmud & Bray, 2017, p. 5). Moreover, 50.7% of tuition fees in Dhaka exceeded 1200 tk whereas only 8.1% of people in Sagorgram pay that much (ibid). Shariful Rahman, a high school teacher, says a teacher from urban and rural or remote areas can earn around 2 lakh tk and upto 1.5 lakh tk a month respectively. Thus, they gave their full effort on private tuition (Bhuiyan, 2019).

2.7 Gender Discrepancy

Elbadawy et al. (2007) conducted a research on gender bias regarding PT in Egypt. They report that sons are prioritized over daughters by parents due to both conventional religiosity as well as assumed financial superiority of boys (p. 3). In line with this, Bray and Kwo (2014) report that in many countries, including Bangladesh, much more males receive PT than females (p. 27).

Hamid, Khan, and Islam (2017) report in detail the gender imbalance of Bangladeshi PT. The number of girls attending PT is higher than that of boys (88.46% to 81.59%). Although this statistic is quite close, there are large discrepancies in others. For example, 52% of female students in the survey feel PT is “very helpful,” whereas only 38% of male students did so. More revealingly, 52% of female students thought it impossible to do well in examinations without PT, while only 28% of male students felt that way (p. 8-9).

2.8 Government's Action on PT in Bangladesh

According to the draft of the Education Act of 2016, if anyone, specifically any teachers, conducts teaching outside classrooms – for example, in one-to-one sessions or in large groups – then he or she will be fined two lakh taka or six months jail. Not only this, books – such as guidebooks, containing a collection of questions with answers or model test papers where different years question papers are attached – were also made illegal to print and publish, and violation of this rule would have serious consequences (Habib, 2016; Ahmed, 2017).

Ahasan (2017) has extensively reported on the government’s actions to stifle PT in Bangladesh. According to him, the government body thinks taking classes outside the institution makes teachers uninterested in teaching properly in school, and also takes away much of his or her time from classroom teaching. Secondly, he pointed out that the

government thinks private tutoring as a special treatment for students from affluent background, and so it leads to classism. Moreover, he mentioned that many times the exam questions get disclosed before the exam from many coaching centers. At the same time, there are similarities with mock tests of coaching centers and university exam question papers which pointed out the moral degeneration of private tutoring. Ahasan explained that another bad example is that students often go for private tutoring in particular subjects such as English. Therefore, when students go for receiving lessons indirectly, they fall in the criteria of favoritism or discrimination. Though there are many reasons, it is needed to note that there is no proper structure of our education system. Finally, Ahasan claimed that another issue of many coaching centers is that they are using repetition and memorization techniques which give no place for creativity.

2.9 Research Gap

From the above discussion, it is seen that research on PT'E, and even PT in general, has been primarily done on gender imbalance, monetary benefits, and urban-rural discrepancy. Therefore, this research aims to fill the research gap by tracing PT'E's psycho-social aspects including affective filters, push from family and peers, unstructured and backdated policies, all of which have not been directly accounted for in the literature.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter delineates the research design and methodology of the research under the aforementioned context. Initially, the research design is outlined. Afterwards, rationale behind picking a qualitative method has been described for this study. Lastly, procedures and mechanics of data collection, data interpretation, and data analysis have been explained.

3.1 Research Design

This research employs a qualitative approach where phenomenological research has taken place to understand the in-depth feelings of the interviewees through their real-life experiences, memories, opinions, as explained by Giorgi (2009) and Moustakas (1994) (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). Rather than finding a yes or no consensus from a quantitative approach, I wanted to delve into the psycho-social aspects of PT'E, and so decided to conduct qualitative research.

3.2 Research Questions

Three distinct research questions have been made for this paper. These are the following:

1. What are the psycho-social aspects that lead students to enroll in PT'E?
2. How are policy makers' plans contradictory to the stakeholders' expectations that lead students to enroll in PT'E?
3. Is PT'E a good standard for teaching English?

To answer these questions, qualitative methods are employed. Basically, the interviewees' habituations, thoughts, experiences, opinions related to PT'E have been observed, and accordingly the question pattern of the interviews was made. Semi-structured

interviews have been taken, which I transcribed verbatim after translation from Bangla to English. The interviews have mostly been collected through social media (WhatsApp) and face to face conversation.

3.3 Participants of the Study

This research targeted twenty-two Bangladeshi Bangla medium students. The students are all from Dhaka – the capital of Bangladesh. The participants of the study are from grade six to grade ten – all in secondary school context. All of them are from Bangla medium schools. All of the participants have experience of English coaching, and most of them are continuing their English private tuition during the pandemic. The reason these students are chosen is because Harmer (2007) notes how adolescent students have a supplementary and delicate necessity for following the trend in order to receive social recognition, which moreover makes the target participants more relevant to the research topic related to psychosocial aspects.

3.4 List of the Participants

No.	Name of the Participants	Class of the participants
1.	Tasfia	9
2	Sanjana	7
3.	Abrar	9
4.	Turag	10

5.	Zareen	9
6.	Hoque	6
7.	Ziraan	8
8.	Amana	10
9.	Malikka	10
10.	Eva	9
11.	Ikra	9
12.	Marya	10
13.	Nusrat	9
14.	Hazan	10
15.	Aronno	10
16.	Mustaq	10
17.	Samir	10
18.	Noel	7

19.	Rubel	6
20.	Rahat	7
21.	Farah	8
22.	Arissa	8

Figure 1: List of the participants (pseudonyms)

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection process concerned taking semi-structured interviews having a total of 17 questions. Moreover, before using the semi-structured questions for the interviews, the questions had been piloted by a school teacher and non-teacher students (graduates and undergraduates). They provide their insights about the questions and depending on their opinion I made necessary corrections. One particular change brought on by piloting was that the questions became more student-friendly.

Due to their age, the participants are in the developing stage to shape their ideas, thoughts and understanding, and so there is a good possibility of them becoming confused or awkward (Harmer, 2007, p. 83). In line with this, to understand the interviewees' in-depth feelings and experiences, semi-structured interviews were undergone which allowed for more flexibility, and because the researcher can proceed at the interviewees' pace. The purpose was for the participants to feel they are in a friendly and non-judgmental atmosphere where they do not need to hesitate and can feel free to say whatever is in their mind. Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) think accordingly that semi-structured interviews happen "in real time,"

allowing both the interviewee and the interviewer a mental space, and as a result, extracting an in-depth, real life view with proper discussion (p. 10).

Both face to face and telephonic interviews were taken. Due to the pandemic, it was neither always feasible to go out and take interviews, and nor did the participants always feel safe to do so. I was able to take face to face interviews from those participants who live close to my area. Block and Erskine (2012) say that face to face interviews and telephonic interviews are almost parallel (p. 429), and so the fact that all the interviews were not face to face is not a significant limitation of the study.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data analysis was done through several steps. Initially during the interview session, the researcher took notes of the participants' utterances and translated them from Bangla to English immediately. In some of the participants' cases, their voices were recorded. For those who consented to recording, their interviews were transcribed verbatim. However, pauses, length of pauses, hesitations, and extralinguistic features were not taken into account, because those were not found to be relevant for the purposes of this study. As Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) say, such nuanced conversational aspects are mostly relevant in conversation analysis, a different field of study (p. 65).

After doing all the necessary work of translations and transcriptions, I went through a long process of coding. For coding I made tables and extracted similar answers and significant answers from each student. Moreover, the points where the participants put stress and emphasis during the interview were also added in the coding section. Subsequently, the codes were analyzed deeply and made into themes for findings. Thenceforth, the themes of the discussions were made from the codes. This rigorous process took several weeks.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

For the study ethical structures were strictly followed. Firstly, before taking the interview I personally talked with every participant to make them understand what the questions are about and if they are willing to give the interview. In some cases, I talked two to three times with the participants because many of them were very hesitant about whether they should participate or not. I assured them that their personal details, credentials and any potentially sensitive information will not be included. Moreover, I asked them several times if they had issues with recording. To those who agreed to be recorded, I ensured that no one would listen to their recording besides me. Furthermore, because of the friendly situation I tried to create, I was able to access raw information without any hesitation on the participants' part and other external influences. Moreover, pseudonyms have used in the research paper.

Chapter 4: Findings

The Findings section reverberates the interviewees' thoughts and feelings. Quite interesting results have been yielded, from stress-ridden and compact (both in size as well as in time) classrooms to the rush for professional success for the perceived superior notion of English. The Findings are divided into several sections. These themes have been generated from codes found from the interviews.

4.1 Uncomfortable Surroundings Leading Students to Choose PT'E

In this subsection, various reasons for environmental stress of the participants are discussed. The participants' personal memories – to some extent, bitter feelings, expectations, and reactions – are explained in different settings.

4.1.1 Distressing Situations in School's Environment

The interviewees all agreed that they chose PT'E because of their nervousness or shyness in their English classroom settings. For example, many said in the classroom they do not ask questions to their teachers out of fear of being a laughingstock for poor performance. Nusrat mentioned that when they answer wrong, “everyone laughs” at them. Most revealingly, Noel replied that he sees the “smirking expressions” of his teacher. Zareen from class nine added that initially her teacher laughed at her though later said, “It’s okay.” Amana said, whether in English or Bangla, she feels uncomfortable in the class. Many of the participants said they are weak at processing English sentences and that they stammer. Resultantly, they choose not to ask questions. One particular interviewee named Malikka, studying in class nine, disclosed that she does not question her English teacher repeatedly because “sir shows disturbed faces” to her. That interviewee also revealed that the teacher says she has lack of concentration and even tagged her as a “bad student.” She feels “mentally tortured” in the classroom.

4.1.2 Mockery from Society May Lead Students to Choose PT'E

Most of the participants said they faced mockery by their friends or relatives for having low English competence, especially spoken English. They claimed particular difficulty in pronunciation. For example, a student named Turag from class ten disclosed that he once had a slip of tongue which garnered great mockery. Instead of reading “metal” he read “mental.” Three other participants experienced similar mockery. For example, Hoque from class six said he uttered “chicken” as opposed to “kitchen”; Nusrat from class nine misspelled “hang” instead of “hack”; Mustaq uttered the wrong character name of a movie – “Looki” as opposed to “Loki.” Some others said they have been mocked at times simply because of giving wrong answers to the teacher’s questions.

Interestingly, though they faced mocking, their reactions varied from one another. For example, a few participants said they feel low and sad after facing bullying. Ikra, a student from class nine, shared her feelings: “I give excuses to skip talking. I feel ashamed. I feel like they (friends) think of me as a bad student.” A few others think that they should have good practice in English and have to study quite hard to handle such situations. However, there were a few exceptions. One student called Ziraan from class eight took this situation very positively and said, “If they do not mock me, I would not have such push factors to improve.” In other words, that individual takes criticism in a constructive manner. Another student called Aronno from class ten protested when the topper students asked him about her lack of English proficiency. Aronno said that she went to school for enjoyment, not for “reading twenty-four hours.” Furthermore, Tasfia from class nine said she faced mockery by a close member of the family but does not feel bad since that family member also helps her to learn English. However, behind her positive reaction, she added that mockery makes her “shy outside to talk,” and she feels “they will judge me by my English speaking.” This mocking trend is so common that Malikka from class ten says casually that “everyone faces mocking.”

4.2. Social aspects for adopting Private Tutoring in English

This section discusses participants' perceived importance of English stems from future prospects and parental demands for a strong foundation in English.

4.2.1 English for the Future

The interviewees gave mesmerizing answers when asked about the importance of taking English tuition to their future. Most of them said they do supplementary classes since English is used all over the world, and in abroad, they need to speak in English. Ikra said, "English is needed all over the world. If I go anywhere, I need to speak in English. As well as, I have to get good results." Participants said that achieving high competence in English would serve them well in their future grades where their subject matter will also be in English. Arissa expressed her inner thoughts, saying, "Knowing proper English will not make me struggle in upcoming grades." Because of this future application of English, they have chosen PT'E. Moreover, Noel and Eva feel that English is necessary for getting jobs and success in life respectively. Interestingly, English is needed not only for traditional jobs but also careers in sports, as Aronno from class ten said, "I wanted to be a cricketer, so I need to speak in English."

4.2.2 Strong Foundation in English

Two participants named Tasfia from class nine and Ziraan from class eight replied that they chose PT'E to have a good foundation in English. For example, Ziraan professed, "Rather than exams, I prefer to make my base stronger because in my upcoming classes my subject matter will be in English." Instead of saying "strong base," a few participants said their "fluency," "pronunciation," "vocabulary," "reading," "writing" would be enriched.

Intriguingly, whatever the functions of English language they listed, grammar was invariably at the top. The response regarding grammar is so high that the phrase used here – "strong foundation" – can be replaced with "grammar." Interviewees acknowledged that they

are weak in grammar; that they have to have a strong base in grammar; that they need to know the concept of grammar; that grammar will help them in speaking, listening, writing – “sentence making.” Zareen from class nine, replied with great enthusiasm about grammar, saying, “If I learn grammar properly, I will get good results in the examination. And in further life speaking in English grammar will help me.”

4.2.3 Does Parental Involvement Lead Students to Choose an English Private Tutor?

It is found that 16 out of the 22 interviewees’ parents are involved with selecting their children’s private tutors. Interestingly, all 16 are mothers. Their involvement is either active or passive, including steps such as discussing with other students’ mothers and then coming to a decision. Abrar disclosed his mother’s thoughts, saying, “My mother decided about my tutor. Mother found out well established coaching and said to me that ‘you are weak in English so you need to take private coaching.’” Aronno’s description is identical with Abrar: “My mother arranged it [PT’E]. My neighbor aunty passed the information to my mother about the teacher. My mother knows I am weak in English.” Marya also agreed with the role of her mother arranging her private tutor. She said, “My mother arranged it [PT’E]. Different parents ask to study....” Ziraan who studies in class eight said he did both coaching and private classes under their school teacher, and that it was his own mother who initially talked to their friend’s mother to get them admitted to that particular school teacher.

4.3 Frozen Educational Policy and Academic System

This section provides the evidence of the problematic educational blueprint through the voice of interviewees. Moreover, how this situation brings up PT’E and resultantly becomes a staple will be discussed.

4.3.1 Exam Based Country Forefronting to PT’E

The interviewees were asked twice about examinations. Here, almost everyone shared that they wanted to do good results or to have good marks. When directly asked whether this

English tuition is only meant for exams or not, most of them gave importance to the exam and then acknowledged the other needs, like the importance of grammar or to have strong basics in English as discussed earlier. When asked again whether the incentive is to procure good results, everyone pointed initially to “good results” and again added those needs. However, when the researcher asked the reasons behind online coaching in this pandemic, most of them, subconsciously in the mood of gossiping, only gave the importance to exams. For example, Eva said, “I have to attend school’s exam...” and Zarin said, “Since online exams are going on so that I am doing online coaching to do well.” Farah replied the same – “School is ongoing, so tutoring should be on going. Because there are exams in school.”

4.3.2 School’s Insufficiency – Less Time, Big Class Size

One of the main complaints of the participants is for not getting attention or for hesitating to ask questions in a large class. Three participants named Noel, Abrar, Mustaq from class seven, nine and ten respectively, mentioned that in one class there are around 60 to 70 students. Moreover, class time is strikingly low which does not allow them to ask questions repeatedly or to get attention from the teacher. This will be further discussed in the next section.

4.3.3 School Teachers’ Frame of Mind and Classroom Feedback

Twice the participants were asked about the school teacher’s attitude, but still it was quite difficult to gauge. Many interviewees mentioned they study English separately under their school teacher, meaning they study under their school teacher at coaching centers outside of school. The teacher’s teaching style at coaching is, however, different from that at school. The involvement of the school teacher in getting students to enroll in PT’E is also evident in the interview session. Few participants clearly said that their school teacher asked them to admit to their English coaching; Marya from class ten said, “seniors students said that, ‘If you do not study to Sir (school teacher), he will not give marks.’”

Furthermore, the insufficient time and large class size plummeted the performance of both the teacher and the participants. The following are their responses to three questions asked in a row. Initially, when asked whether their class teacher assigned homework or not, almost all of the interviewees replied in the affirmative. When asked if their teacher checks their homework regularly or not, few participants like Sanjana, Abrar, Amana, Samir said it happens every so often. Ziraan from class eight said that “the teacher checks homework habitually, but not all of the copies because class time is less.” Abrar expressed in a matter-of-fact manner, saying, “Teacher checks fifteen to twenty copies whereas there are almost fifty-two to fifty-five students in the class.” Rubel replied the same. He said, “Sir only checks two to three copies since time is less.” Marya mentioned, “The teacher asks initially who has done the homework and if the students replied positively, then the teacher writes the correct answer on the board.”

As for how they get their feedback on homework, Mustaq from class ten explained, “It is not possible to give feedback on sixty copies within forty minutes...” Noel from class seven voiced the same, saying, “There are 60 to 70 students so it is not possible to check regularly.”

An exception, Samir said, “Teacher checks homework regularly and provides both oral and written feedback.” Sad but true it is that interviewees like Tasfia, Turag, Zareen, Eva, Aronno mentioned that their teacher checks homework sometimes but gives red marks or red circles without giving any detailed feedback. For example, Tasfia said, “He just checks and gives red marks but does not tell the reason for my mistake.” Turag also said, “He [the teacher] checks homework by using a red pen and circles errors.”

However, Zareen later reflected differently, saying, “Sometimes the teacher writes rules of grammar as a feedback.” Hoque said sometimes teachers write on the board about the feedback. Still, the fact remains, as Mustaq said, that “90% teachers use red circles as feedback.”

Moreover, a few participants replied they get oral feedback from the teacher. Nusrat disclosed that “it is rare to get detailed feedback.” Two participants named Noel and Amana gave positive answers: one said that their teacher does not check homework regularly but when he does, the checking is thorough; another said that his teacher checks what is important and for incomplete answers the teacher writes the answers on the copy.

An exceptional answer voiced by Arissa from class six is, “Me and my classmates always get written feedback because we have specific dates for submitting homework. If we make mistakes, we lose marks since after the topic is covered in class, we are assigned to do homework.”

The participants distressed that such negligent feedback and evaluation happen due to less time not having structured lesson plans for the class. Less time also leads to favouritism, as Aronno said that since class time is short, the teachers prioritize the toppers of the class.

4.3.4 Policy maker’s prescribed books

Another striking reason for selecting English private tutors or coaching centers is that the prescribed English textbook – *English For Today* – either is not comprehensible enough for them to understand, or it is their lack of competence and experience with communicative textbooks that makes the book too difficult to tackle. Malikka from class ten referenced this board book, *English For Today*, saying that whether it is a school teacher or private teacher, no one uses that book. Hoques said, “He [the private tutor] model tests from the guide book.” Ziraan said, “Sir has a book and ask us to solve the grammatical items from there...”

Whatever the answer – whether the book is incomprehensible or if the students are highly incompetent – the book is neglected by teachers. For instance, a few participants said their book is not enough to understand all of the concepts of grammar. Many participants said their books are comprehensible enough to read alone; however, they have large intervals of discrete grammar learning in between reading *English for Today*. The interviewees said that

there is a huge amount of concepts which their private tutors help them to refine, again stressing on grammar that will help them in the exam. As Eva from class ten said, “I chose an alternative outside of the classroom to understand the concept, though books are enough.” In conclusion, their private tutor is considered their personal guide, without whom they either cannot understand the prescribed materials.

4.4 The Ever-Comfortable Teaching Environment in PT'E

For questions related directly to their private tuitions, the participants' replies were way more positive than their views on school teaching. They said they can ask questions to their teacher, that they do not feel shy, and even that private teachers never judge them, as a result of which they can ask anything. Amrin excitedly said, “[My private] teacher is very friendly, I can ask any question, he can solve any problems, and try to make us understand the rules again and again. In coaching we do practice regularly and if there comes any new rules then the teacher just made us understand.”

When asked specifically about the satisfaction level for PT'E, the participants' answers varied; however, all of the replies are related to their improvement of English. For example, Samir said, “Previously, I did not get good marks but after that [PT'E] I got good marks.” Ikra, Marya, and Arissa said they understand what their private teacher teaches them, as opposed to being confused at school. A few participants replied that their reading, writing and speaking skills are improving. Eva stressed by saying, “Yes I am satisfied. I am dependent. The way my private tutor teaches me I understand everything, I do not have to go anywhere for understanding.” Moreover, Amana highlighted the fact that they are getting practice of grammar at PT'E, and Rubel said his tutor helps both in school and coaching syllabuses. One of the important statements given by Mustaq was that “our coaching is not commercialized.” Ziraan gave an example of how PT is not commercialized, saying, “In school there is limited time and many students. And in coaching there are limited students

and much time.” Moreover, they get tips and techniques for doing good in the exam. Furthermore, the private tutor speaks in English which helps them to learn English. Sanjana stated, “He [the private tutor] speaks in English regularly and students who face difficulty to understand English, teachers help them to understand. It is also helping me to be fluent.”

Moreover, when asked about the helpfulness of PT'E and their dependency on the private tutor, the participants gave numerous positive responses. At once they listed no end of good techniques from their tutor. For instance, many participants talked about the private tutor's notes; many participants praised the good teaching style; a few participants praised the comfortable surroundings where they can ask questions; and some participants talked about repetition of topics which helps them to learn “perfectly.” The most responses referred to friendly behaviour, almost all of the participants saying their private tutor is friendly. Arissa gave an example of friendliness – “We go to museums; we play recreational games such as chess and sometimes we have discussion sessions in the form of gossip.”

4.5. PT'E May Make Students Adverse to Their Classroom

Interestingly, when asked whether they lacked their concentration in school just because of their separate reading space at PT'E, most of the participants said they concentrate in their class but their friends and other students do not concentrate in the class because the topic the teacher teaches them in the class either has already been covered by the private tutor or the tutor will cover that topic anyway. For example, Mustaq said, “Maximum students do not put focus on the class. They think coaching or private sir will teach them the topic.” Marya casually stated that “no one concentrates in the classroom, and that it is common.” Some interviewees admitted they do not concentrate all of the time in class because of the same reason. Ikra confessed, “Sometimes I lack concentration. Like I already know the topic and the school teacher is teaching the same thing.”

Sanjana, Turag and Arissa replied differently. Sanjana said, “I concentrate both in the class and in the extra class because the examples that teacher uses are not the same”; Turag thought that giving concentration in coaching and classroom will bring good result of his performance; according to Arissa, “My private tutor gives me a topic which is related to my classwork so keeping concentration in both of the places is necessary.”

4.6 Private Tutor’s Teaching Style

When asked about the private tutor’s focus on the syllabus, half of the participants replied that their private tutor only focuses on the school syllabus. Mustaq also gave reasons for that, saying, “In coaching we pay for per class. They have specific targets for class. They only focus on syllabus for their fixed time.” Mallika reported another example behind this. She says, “He (the tutor) focuses on syllabus because from syllabus we get questions in exams. And if the teacher wants us to learn new things, they could not teach outside elements because syllabuses are huge.”

The other half of the participants said their tutor focuses on both school and outside syllabuses. When asked about this external syllabus, a few participants talked about grammar. A few said that after finishing the school syllabus, the private tutor teaches them advanced grammar which would help them in their future. For example, Sanjana said, “After finishing the syllabus, my teacher teaches grammatical items like active and passive voice; so that it will help me in my next grades.” Others mentioned story writing, reading story books, free writing, and vocabularies as part of their extra syllabuses. For instance, Arissa replied, “Sir gives us a different story and asked to read and then ask to find out new vocabularies.” She also mentioned one story book which is called *A Wimpy Kid*.

Both of the groups gave different reasons for focusing only on the syllabus and out of the syllabus. Both groups said the purpose is to do well in the exam and also to improve reading, speaking, listening, creative writing, and analytical ability. Moreover, when asked

about their teacher's teaching style on grammar, nine participants replied that when teaching grammar, their teacher teaches them rules first or asks to memorize rules and then gives examples for the rules. Nusrat stated, "He gives rules first and then gives examples which are related to grammar. He asks to memorize rules and then asks for practice." Just like Nusrat, Aronno said, "He teaches rules first, asks me to memorize and then give examples." In the same way, few participants, however, mentioned their teachers give examples first then give rules for the grammar. For example, Farah said, "She [the private tutor] shows examples, then she shows me the rules."

However, it is very significant that private tutors do not spoon feed students their school homework though they help to finish. If students want help then only the tutors make them understand the concept. As Sanjana said, "He does not spoon feed; rather, he makes us understand the related items." Nusrat also said, "If I ask for help then he makes me understand the concept but does not spoon feed."

4.7 Corona Wave has not Stifled PT'E

More than half of the participants replied that they are continuing taking English lessons offline. Out of them, a few participants' tutors go to their home on a regular basis even in the pandemic. Arissa mentioned, "I am doing my private classes offline. Sir came to our home and my mother and father do not have any objection for that..."

Some of the participants said they are taking lessons offline but through their relatives. Tasfia is one of the lucky ones, as she said, "The tutor lives in the same buildings. He is my relative."

Those who are taking online classes gave mixed reactions on them. For instance, Zareen said she understands zoom coaching class but not zoom school classes, whereas Ziraan thought differently: "Online classes are effective since there is no wastage of time."

Even though it is happening during the pandemic, when asked about the reasons of PT'E, a few participants mentioned that they want to keep themselves in practice in English language. For example, "I want to use my free time studying English..." said Tasfia. Moreover, a few participants said since school is ongoing online, they are continuing their coaching too as exams are vital. As Farah said, "School is ongoing, so tutoring should be ongoing. Because there are exams in school."

Only two participants said they are not continuing coaching. From these two, one of the interviewees named Abrar said, though their coaching is continuing online, they are not attending there because of "poor quality teaching just like school." Talking about "poor quality" during the interview session, Abrar boldly stated the rating of both the school and the coaching center: "The quality of school teaching was 2/10 and coaching was 4/10. Now, the teaching quality of coaching becomes 2/10 too."

Chapter 5: Discussion

The discussion section provides a thorough analysis of the findings by way of the researcher's own interpretations, which were then backed up with relevant scholarly sources.

5.1 Psychological Stress Make Way for PT'E

The participants are found to have anxiety and also face bullying due to low English proficiency. This social struggle for attaining higher English proficiency is sustained by the job sector which encourages people to have good hold over English.

5.1.1 Affective Filters are Sprouting due to Environmental Distress

One of the major discoveries behind choosing an English supplementary tutor is the distressing mental and social situation that students face in their life due to societal pressures. It can be at school or at their own home. The most significant problem is students are continuously going through verbal bullying which is happening both in an active and passive way because of less competence in English and also the rampant bully culture. As Peker (2016) said, the prospect of bullying acts as a massive incentive to students learning better English in order to not be ridiculed and bullied.

Moreover, from attempting to utter "proper" sentences and pronunciation or stammering, and ultimately failing to present their thoughts, or even if they plough through their incompetence and attempt whatever it is that is on their language repertoire, they face the soundtrack of laughter – actively from students and passively from the teacher's "smirking faces." (See findings). As the article titled "Bullying at schools should stop (2019)" says, schools are not taking proper initiative to maintain a no-bullying environment and to some extent schools' staff and teachers are accountable for such trauma of the students. Alam (2017) states that the secondary school level students in Bangla medium mostly face bullying in their English classroom. Teachers verbally bully students with low

English competence by saying things like, “You will be a workforce to someone’s house” (p. 38).

Mridha and Muniruzzaman (2020) highlighted some important points which are relatable for this study. They opined that students do not find suitable situations for practice. Those who try to speak in English they face bullying – “scorned” and “laughed at” – instead of getting appreciation (p. 125-128). This grows affective filters – anxiety, lack of confidence, motivation, low self-esteem – in students' mindset. Stephan Krashen (1985) suggests that if students can lower down or minimize their affective filters, then language learning will be effective (Gass & Selinker, 2008 p. 402). This takes into account the fact that outside factors such as peer pressure and anxiety can hamper language acquisition. If these affective issues are minimized or filtered, then efficient learning will take place.

Therefore, the circumstances become a barrier of acquiring a foreign language – in this context, English for Bangladeshi students. For instance, these victim students are losing motivation and end up being self-conscious. Since they are teenagers or adolescents and their individual personality is at the developing stage, they became aware of their self-image (Harmer, 2007). Therefore, due to the sprouting of these affective filters, they stop asking questions, giving answers, sharing their own thoughts; all in all, they become less participatory. Not only that, their regular interactions with people become mundane and whenever they talk or try to talk in English, they are self-conscious, trying to be error free but mostly in vain. In some cases, students are going through social anxiety. These societal barriers and striving for being good in English often spur them to choose an extra tutor. Tasfia’s significant examples can give a view of students’ trauma in school and thus choosing private tutor. She said, “My shyness in school and not raising questions in class are being resolved by my PT’E tutor.”

5.1.2 English language – the Measurement Tool of Social Standing

Now the question may appear as to why the problem is happening with the “English” language or what the factors are that lead one group to mock others and another group to strive to know that very language. We have to go to the root level, to go through our history to explain how we made the English language a measurement criterion. The British rulers (East India Company) ruled this land – Bangladesh, India, Pakistan – for almost a hundred years, leaving their legacy that lives on through the use of their language. The societal class struggle had already taken root from that time. Imam (2005) mentions that, during the British period, English was the required language for administration, so the elite society and others who were involved in political and social welfare activities were active in English (p. 473). Those who knew English were considered upper class or gentleman class, and the population with no knowledge of English were called the backdated, lower class. From time to time, to reduce this gap people from all classes aspired to attain the English language. Not only this, English in this modern world is not only a mere language; it is a tool for communication on a global basis.

Here the scenario is the same with the participants. To some extent, competent second language English learners have developed superiority vibes and the less competent English users are looking to close the social gap by trying to learn the language properly as well. The deeply ingrained deception of the British “Divide-and-rule” still manifests appears here.

Moreover, parents, especially mothers, are involved to inject such hype of taking extra education according to the interviewees. This coincides with Nath (2011)’s study on parental involvement on children relating to PT, as discussed in the literature review.

Besides these societal expectations, students are aware of their future classes where their subject matter will also be in English. Some of the students, as established in the interviews, want to go abroad and so they must learn English, and even many students who want a good

job today also feel the need to pursue English. Therefore, students are taking alternative classes of English so that in one way their vocabulary, writing, speaking, grammar can be enriched, and in other ways they can upgrade their social status which is embedded in their mind from the beginning in colonialism. In other words, the goal of many is not proficiency but social prestige.

Hossain (2013) reached a similar conclusion on tertiary level students, finding that 66% of students agree that speaking in English in social places raises someone's status and 66% agree that knowing English language brings forth a job. Moreover, 65% of students confess that they do English courses in different academies (p. 6-9). Though Hossain's research is on tertiary level students, this report finds the same view from the secondary level learners.

5.2 Government's directions are Clashing with Stakeholders' Expectancy

This section discusses the role the government plays which may have a link with the popularization of PT'E. Namely, three themes are discussed: the exam-oriented nature of the country, the inefficient use of the government selected book, *English For Today*, and the morbid teacher-student ratio.

5.2.1 The Exam Based Country Makes Students Choose PT'E

One of the major reasons for choosing shadow education is the stress on examination. Every participant prioritizes on attaining good results in the exams first, and only then the other factors. There were participants who prioritize equally on both exams and learning English. Bangladeshi students have to face the final exam, half yearly exam, class assessments, sudden exams, assignments – and everything is marked. For example, Amin and Greenwood's (2018) study showed how high stakes examinations in Bangladesh “acquire a power of their own” which becomes the end all, be all of students.

Sad but true, our students are measured by their grade sheet, not by their acquisition of knowledge. Distressingly, hard work does not always lead to good results in an exam-based country where tuitions spoon feed information and when rote learning of exam question patterns creates the path of success. Though the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (2012) claimed that exams like SSC try to find out students' creativity, it is not clear that how creativity will emerge, and moreover, the syllabuses are heavily dependent on the context. So, basically, the exams are achievement based which are based on the material they have studied for the course or semester (Douglas, 2017, p. 1). Ultimately, this exam-oriented academia instills in students the sole mindset of getting a good result, with actual skills development being redundant. As for English subjects, students are already facing dilemmas to cope, so nothing can be more productive – in terms of grades – than choosing a private tutor for English. In the same manner, Amin and Greenwood (2018) highlight the association of PT with the exam and how students think that after taking tuition they do relatively well.

In fact, in the current COVID-19 situation, many participants are continuing their English tuition either by going to coaching or having their private tutor come to their home, or another alternative being that students are getting their learning sessions through social media. Rather than expressing any fear of the pandemic, students are willing to learn, if not for their exams, still for not wanting to lag behind. Furthermore, almost none of the parents have any objections regarding allowing tutors at home though many of them talk about taking safety measures. This shows the desperation of learning English no matter the situation.

5.2.2 Are booklets comprehensible?

The English books that are used for the academic purpose are not comprehensible enough according to the participants. One such participant, Malikka, said teachers – both school teachers and private tutors – do not use *English For Today (EFT)*. Rather, they used

the model test books or other books where the comprehension texts of *English For Today* are extracted aligned with the question pattern which will come in the exam.

Amin and Greenwood (2018) found out the same evidence. One of their interviewees says that their teacher does not use the textbook (*EFT*), and rather, they use their guide books. That student says all of her friends have that specific guide book. The researchers noticed that the interviewees' *EFT* book looks like a new one, whereas her guide books are old and torn (p. 6). Whereas the *EFT* books are made following the communicative approach, here the teachers are using the repetition or rote learning since guide books contain repeated items of grammar, previous board exams questions, and important comprehension items. Rahman (2018) also reveals that students agree that they use different kinds of books at home to do the activities though their class teacher sometimes tries to finish a few chapters from the *EFT* book (p. 194).

Moreover, there are different histories, Bangladeshi important events, Bangladeshi reality, dialogues, diagrams which definitely can be useful for communicative class. These activities in the *EFT* books can be done in a very creative manner in the class. There are quite a lot of vocabulary items that can be implemented in many ways to teach students, but these items are not taken advantage of. Moreover, there are grammatical items after almost all of the units.

The interviewees provided different answers for this. Some said the books are comprehensible enough but they do not understand, and others said the books are not comprehensible enough. Whatever the answer, they need a private tutor to understand the concept. Basically, the participants are immensely dependent on their private tutor, and some did not even understand the term "comprehensible" and so used it regardless of whether they actually understand most of the *EFT* book or not. The problem may lie in the inadequacy of classroom planning and teacher training, which have been discussed next.

5.2.3 Big Class Size and Inefficient Teacher Training

Large and crowded classrooms do not help the participants to learn better; rather, they lead continuous disturbances, favouritism towards the toppers of the class, and the embarrassment of not knowing English or answering the wrong thing makes average or low competent students more withdrawn. Together with this, less timing in the class also cannot make it possible for all the students to participate. Furthermore, it is not possible for teachers too to prioritize all the students equally. Since time is less, teachers go for the pupils who can answer correctly or quickly. As an interviewee, Malikka from class ten, said, “... those [students] who are in first or second position they only get the platform, others do not get the platform.” Ahsan (2017) states that it is impossible for a teacher to conduct a big size class – “comprising of a hundred pupils...” in an honest manner. Sometimes, teachers arouse good vibes to answer with only the good students. It becomes subconscious.

Moreover, there is further lacking in the outline of a single class. The lack of time and large class size are the major problems, combined with the failings of the teacher's plan to take class as well, which is also reflected in the primary education system of Bangladesh. This resonates in Hossain, Nessa and Kafi's (2015) study which found that around 69% of teachers do not make lesson plans (p. 13).

Throughout the interviewees' responses, it is visible that teachers do not prepare skeleton plans for the whole term class. Neither do they even make any lesson plan of how to conduct each class. Moreover, teachers assign homework regularly but do not check homework regularly or even if they do, they do not check everyone's copy; so those students who take the time to do homework may end up having their motivation drop. Not only that, teachers mostly circle the wrong answers or write the rules only. Sometimes teachers write down on the board as feedback if most of the students make the same mistake. Therefore, students are deprived of getting proper, individualized feedback. Since the teachers are not

prepared before starting the class, they have to compromise by having impromptu classes. As a result, it is clear that out of a very short time with large classrooms they face many hurdles to control students. For them to adapt to such challenges and also make sure students are active in class is quite daunting. The problem is the teaching style of English in school, and so to choose an alternative, PT'E is required. This reflects Hamid, Sussex & Khan (2009) statement, as already discussed, of PT'E being unnecessary if the schooling system is up to the mark. Sadly, in a country like Bangladesh it seems quite impractical.

Behind these unplanned classes the reason is the shortage of proper training. If teachers are being properly trained, then within a short time and even with a big class size all of the tasks should theoretically be conducted in a smooth enough manner. Important lesson plans include the topic to teach in the class, the question to raise about the topic, specifying creative activity to involve students, assigning homework at a specific time, assigning particular time for checking homework, and so on. The Ministry of Education (2010) agrees that, there are failings of proper training planning as it is “traditional, insufficient, certificate based, loaded with theoretical knowledge, incomplete in practical learning, based on rote learning and conventional testing system” (p. 57). However, even when teachers do receive training, it is quite impractical for them to adopt a communicative framework in large classrooms, as discussed.

Professor Md Fazlur Rahman, a high school teacher, says the *EFT* books are CLT friendly (Chandan, 2016). However, the teachers of our country receive insufficient training to teach using this approach. As a result, they use the book which is designed for CLT classes but with traditional language methodologies like GTM. In other words, the conventional teacher-centered approach distorts the communicative framework of that book. During the English class, teachers are also often bound to use Bangla so that students do good in exam, but this in turn hampers the long-term learning of English.

5.3. Taking Supplementary Tuition – Does it Really Help Academically?

This section explores the actual effectiveness of PT'E. Now that we have discussed the reasons and necessities of PT'E in Bangladesh, there is a need to evaluate the outcomes that come from the practice of PT'E. In essence, the following results are reflected in the study: that PT'E helps students improve their grades; that PT'E has a distinctive teaching style, even with the same teachers; and that the PT'E atmosphere removes some of the anxiety of the participants.

5.3.1 Examples of Improvement in English

It is necessary to note that most of the students say they are improving in English though what most of them actually mean is that they are doing well in the English exams. Again, they prioritize the exam. To them, exam scores reflect proficiency, though it is seen that in higher education (in university level), the same students who have achieved GPA 5 struggle in English fundamentals (Hamid, Sussex & Khan 2009, p. 300).

The interviewees said they want to improve their reading, speaking, listening, writing and all other aspects in English language. However, except for a few participants, most of them say that their teachers do not make them practice in all these four skills. Fortunately, a few participants acknowledged a few communicative tasks their teacher does, such as making a tutorial session of listening and finding vocabulary, reading a book and finding vocabulary, giving a random topic and asking students to write.

Still, the fact remains that the participants are going through practice, especially grammar, all of the time. Therefore, repetition helps them to learn grammar perfectly, at least for the exam. However, it is a matter of debate whether doing grammar drills really helps them to learn English or to learn the rules only. There are also lots of grammatical items included in the examination which does not help students to learn but to get marks only. It will be discussed in the next point.

Another interesting finding is that the participants claimed that they were not spoon fed information at PT'E, by the simple rationale that the private tutors do not help them directly with their school homework. However, other findings strongly show that the participants are indeed quite dependent on PT'E, especially when it comes to the rote learning of grammar. Indeed, it is interesting that the participants did not take this into account, thinking that learning grammar in rote fashion is the natural way to improving their English.

5.3.2 PT'E teachers' teaching style and inconsistency

Unfortunately, at the time of teaching grammar, PT'E teachers teach students the rules first and then give examples. This deductive process is outdated in ESL and EFL, but it is still the norm in Bangladesh. By such deductive drills, students are definitely learning the rules or the system of making sentences, but they are not becoming competent in writing. When they write, they have difficulty of thinking of the grammar rules and the written content at the same time. They become puzzled and end up making mistakes in tense, subject-verb-agreement and what not. The participants even admitted that their teacher asks them to memorize the rules. This is a very unnatural way of learning, and such conscious learning will not help them to have communicative competence (Canale, 1983, as cited in Ellis, 2015, p. 80). Moreover, this repetitive practice also indicates that they are preparing only for exams where they answer a bulk of grammatical items which carry solid marks. According to the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (2012) writing contains 40 marks in English First paper. For both of the secondary groups, composition carries a lot of weight in examinations, such as 55 marks for class 9-10 and 20 marks for class 6 to 8 out of 50. Moreover, from class 6 to 8 and 9 to 10, grammar carries 30 marks and 45 marks respectively of the total marks (p. 69-85).

Rahmatullah's (2020) study on teaching grammar in secondary schools reveals the

same (p. 457). He says, teachers think of students' performance on exams rather than their competence in the subject, so they hold fast to GTM (p. 456). Such rote learning, non-mistake toleration, and focus on rules are counteractive to communicative competence. When it comes to creative writing, they make mistakes and cannot write to their heart's content since they are learning the rules not the language.

Thus, it is a matter of surprise that teachers mostly focus on grammar rather than doing creative writing. Moreover, all the interviewees said that they wanted to learn grammar when asked why they want to be better at English. A question can be asked as to whether it is the interviewees' understanding or if they inherited such ideologies of grammatical importance from their teachers. Moreover, in the previous section the teacher's incompetence on CLT approach was discussed. It appears that teachers are more attuned to practicing grammar instead of focusing on communicative competence.

As already discussed, the popularity of PT'E in Bangladesh is immense. The interviewees greatly appreciated their private tutors as well. Many of them also chose their school teacher as their private tutor. Some teachers are so famous that several students go to them to study; some teachers in turn influence students to get into their coaching. Interestingly, teachers teach differently at school from their coaching centers. As the participants mentioned, the hard work teachers do at the coaching center is not reciprocated for the school. Amin and Greenwood (2018) report that some teachers may willingly take these actions because they want to show their best performance during private tuition. Perhaps, it is happening because teachers need to take several in a single day, having to control a lot of students in every class, not to mention the lack of class time which plummets the classroom performance. Perhaps it happens because of a reduced monetary system or proper training. As discussed in the literature review relating to the urban-rural discrepancy in

PT'E, despite the different magnitude of PT'E in urban and rural areas, PT'E is a lucrative job for both sides.

In the same way, the participants' statements are also imbalanced. Those who take tuition from their school teacher give negative statements about English class teachers, and at the same time these students give positive statements about the same tutor. Perhaps it is happening since students may feel free with a teacher and tense with the same teacher depending on the context. It will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.3 Private Tutor's Approach Lessens the Growing Affective Filters

The availability of private tutors, especially non-teachers, and the welcoming vibes they have, make students interested to join in supplementary tuition. Non-teachers or extra tutors are the ultimate shadow for the status of shadow education in English. Most of the interviewees praised their non-teachers by calling them friendly and helpful. Moreover, the surroundings that they need to enlighten their mind and to speak their heart out are both facilitated by non-teachers. A possible reason why students feel so free in tuitions could be that they feel the environment is not official like at school. Another potential reason is that such tuition classes are not teacher-centered – student-talking time (STT) and teacher-talking time (TTT) are similar. At school since teachers are using GTM, it is obvious that the class is teacher-centered. There are less interactions between teachers and students. Therefore, students who are shy or even students who feel bored in the classroom never want to interact. Though the teaching method does not reflect modern ESL and EFL techniques, students are at least interacting with their teachers in PT'E. Students are asking questions, they are making fun in the class, they are talking and doing work at the same time. The fact remains that they are in a learning environment, however effective it is. Moreover, their target has been fulfilled to some extent like doing well in the exams which does indicate them to be

competent English language learners. Indeed, it is rather EFE – English for Exams – rather than EFL – English as a Foreign Language.

Chapter 6: Limitations

More than three months were taken to conduct the 22 interviews. Since the study has been done at a time of lockdown due to COVID-19, all schools were closed and taking random interviews were not possible at all. Therefore, all the participants had to be found out through different channels – relatives, area familiarity etc. I initially wanted to take interviews of teachers and parents in order to triangulate the data, which was not done. In fact, I also talked briefly with a teacher, but found a lack of interest and lots of hesitation. Still, had there been no lockdown, I would have tried to manage teacher and parent interviews. Moreover, I called them five to six times to make them understand the topic, the participation process and the types of questions. Moreover, many participants kept giving the same answers, and many were so casual in the interviews that it was sometimes difficult to extract meaningful information. In stark contrast to this, some were panicking and extended time was needed for icebreaking. To top it off, some network issues occurred which hampered the flow of the interviews at times.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The study as looked for the psycho-social aspects which stem from the unbalanced policies of the education system. It also looked at the effectiveness if any of PT'E in Bangladesh. The psycho-social affects that were established in the study include the ever-increasing affective filters like anxiety. Such situations are sprouting through the societal expectations and ambitions. There are historical and ideological reasons for the origins of prestige related to PT'E. The second research question attempted to gauge the sustainability of PT'E in the country. Though the country put restrictions on PT'E in 2016, the education system remains outdated and improperly incorporated with policies, and especially its exam-oriented nature is serving to spark more traction on PT'E. Even though CLT has been the language teaching methodology for over 20 years and there is a government made communicative book called *English For Today*, due to lack of training and large class size and less class time, the language teaching methodology continues to be archaic with rote learning. Finally, the question begs itself whether PT'E is a benefactor to English teaching in Bangladesh. Although PT'E has some positive features like lessening affective filters, has potentially longer class time with smaller class size, these positives pale in comparison when stacked up against the negatives. For example, grammar continues to be the overwhelmingly popular language element, both in the students' and teachers' perspectives. Guidebooks and past question paper solutions proliferate the market, creating a situation where students learn language for exams, not the other way around. Indeed, the circular path of running for grades has infested the minds of both the young and the policy makers, whether for convenience or for the way the reality has become.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

1. Do you go to any English coaching or have a private tutor at home to help?
2. What are the main reasons for getting private tuition of English?
3. Are the prescribed books not enough for self-learning?
4. Did your parents select the tutor or coaching from where you are taking private tuition? How did they decide that you need a tutor? Did you tell them or was it the parents of other students that influenced? Or was it the teachers?
5. Does your class teacher check your homework or give tasks in the class? Does your teacher make you understand for what reasons your answers are not right?
6. If you have a need to take private tuition, is it mainly because you want to do well in the exams?
7. Do you ever take PT'E because of your nervousness or shyness in the class?
8. Why do you think it is important to take English tuition? To get good results or are there other reasons? Can you share your opinion?
9. Does your friend speak good English? Does it make you want to speak it well? How do you and your peers consider good English speakers to be like?
10. Who do you take private tuition from? Is it your school teacher or others?
11. How does your private English tutor teach? Does he only focus on lessons related to your book and exams?
12. Do your PT'E teachers help you to finish your homework?

13. What things which are done in PT'E help you the most? Is it the notes or is it something else?
14. How much do you rely on PT'E? Is it very helpful? Are you satisfied? Can you explain?
15. Do you think you or other people are over dependent on PT'E? Like, they may not concentrate on school if they have PT'E.
16. Do you ever feel low being mocked by friends or relatives for not knowing English? If you get mocked what thinking hits you first?
17. Are you taking PT'E lessons in this pandemic? Why or why not? Through which medium are you taking classes? For example, is it online or offline?