

Research Paper

Participation in Shadow Education in Church- and State-Maintained Schools: The Role of Cultural and Social Capital

Gabriella Hegedűs¹, Ildikó Csépes²

Recommended citation:

Hegedűs, G., & Csépes, I. (2024). Participation in Shadow Education in Church- and State-Maintained Schools: The Role of Cultural and Social Capital. *Central European Journal of Educational Research*, 6(2), 60–75. <https://doi.org/10.37441/cejerr/2024/6/2/15117>

Abstract

Research on shadow education is often justified based on Bourdieu's theory of capital as it is assumed to contribute to social inequalities. This paper focuses on the role of cultural and social capital and on the differences between state- and church-maintained schools in the North-Eastern parts of Hungary. Using a convenience sample and our own constructed measurement tool, a quantitative survey of secondary school language learners (N=711) was conducted to explore the relationship between the effectiveness of supplementary private language tutoring as well as the cultural and social capital of language learners in cross-sectoral comparisons. Our results highlight the positive correlation between the highest educational attainment of the mother, the participation rate in shadow education and language learners' achievement. In our study, language learners whose mothers had a higher education level demonstrated greater efficiency, in terms of academic achievements. Despite being less successful in passing language examinations as a result of a lower social composition in denominational grammar schools, language learners could count on a higher level of support both from their language teachers - who were better able to support their students to progress at their own pace - and from their classmates and families, demonstrating that social capital had a compensating effect on their learning trajectories.

Keywords: shadow education; supplementary private language tuition; language learning; cultural capital; social capital

Introduction

Language teaching plays a crucial role in developing learners' communication skills, increasing cultural awareness and improving their academic performance. There has been a significant expansion of shadow education in recent decades (Gordon Győri, 2020) on a global scale. It is important to note that the significance of shadow education may vary across countries. Bray (2013) points out that while shadow education is diverse in cultures and countries, one similarity is that the competitive nature of the school system increases the need for tutoring. Therefore, we find it relevant to examine the Hungarian context, where, due to the examination-centred nature of the school system, today an increasing number of families are making use of supplementary private English language tuition in both state- and church-maintained schools. Parents primarily choose one-to-one private tutoring (Hegedűs, 2021) for their children in order to broaden their learning opportunities. In our study, we investigate the role and impact of supplementary private language tutoring in a cross-sectoral comparison in the North-Eastern parts of Hungary, with a focus on participation rates, reasons for participation and effectiveness. Our research will examine the importance of cultural and social capital in the field of supplementary private language tutoring.

¹ Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary; hegedus.gabriella@arts.unideb.hu

² Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary; csepes.ildiko@arts.unideb.hu

Definition of shadow education

The phenomenon of shadow education was first described by Gordon Györi (1998) in his study on the Japanese education system. The author describes the ‘secondary, or shadow, forms of education’ (p. 275) that complement and thus contribute to the success of the Japanese education system. The metaphor of the shadow itself has been used by many (Marimuthu et al., 1991; George, 1992; Stevenson & Baker, 1992), and the attention of the academic world was drawn to shadow education by Bray (1999). The concept of shadow education can be interpreted in different ways. According to Bray (1999), shadow education must meet three conditions: (1) it must take place in the form of one-to-one tuition or in a small group, (2) it must supplement the formal school curriculum, and (3) it must be provided for a fee. Pásku and Münnich (2000) consider shadow education as an umbrella term and include all non-formal forms of education that refer to extracurricular activities in which a student receives academic support on a supplementary basis without paying tuition fees. Kim and Jung (2019) also consider shadow education to be complementary in nature, as the authors argue that extracurricular educational activities without tuition fees also fall into the category of shadow education, since, like all non-formal forms of education, they aim to complement the formal curriculum.

In their conceptual interpretation of shadow education, Suter and Gordon Györi (2021) provide a comprehensive analysis of European research on the concept of out-of-school-time. In their study, the authors mention other terms such as shadow education, private tutoring, all-day education, out-of-school time, extended education, among others (p. 318). Therefore, it is not surprising that the definition of this phenomenon is a matter of debate as it is open to various interpretations. Ceglédi and Szabó (2014) also draw attention to the importance of the metaphor, stating that ‘the term shadow implies that the phenomenon in question is always related to something else, since it is always a shadow of something else.’ (p. 257-258). Namely, the shadow, or private tutoring, expresses the characteristic properties and changes of the shadow phenomenon, which in turn mirrors the formal education system (Schilperoord & Weelden, 2018). In the present paper, the phenomenon of shadow education is discussed based on the Brayian interpretation.

In addition to its conceptual interpretation (Bray, 1999; Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Pásku & Münnich, 2000; Gordon Györi, 2008; Ceglédi & Szabó, 2014; Gordon Györi, 2020; Imre, 2020; Zhang, 2020), the legitimacy of shadow education as a phenomenon is also a matter of debate since the question arises in relation to the impact of shadow education on social opportunities and equality (Gordon Györi, 2020; Entrich, 2018). Most research approaches the phenomenon of shadow education by building on Bourdieu’s (1998) theory of capital, according to which shadow education contributes to the widening of the social gap, thereby increasing educational inequalities. Bourdieu, who considers social structure in a basically vertical hierarchy, believes that economic, cultural and social capital determine the place of the individual in the structure of society; his theory of reproduction suggests that this determinacy is also observed in school, which reproduces social inequalities. Although Bourdieu (cited by Pusztai, 2020) mentions economic capital as the most significant form of capital, he also considers cultural capital to be important. He divides the latter into three groups: incorporated cultural capital, objectified cultural capital and institutionalised cultural capital. Incorporated cultural capital refers to individual abilities and skills that are not transferable, while objectified cultural capital refers to material goods such as books that, given the right kind of incorporated cultural capital, enable individuals to acquire even higher levels of institutionalised capital. The latter form of capital is the set of documents and qualifications that an individual acquires in the course of his or her learning life. Bourdieu argues that while cultural capital is best defined in terms of education, social capital derives from social obligations or relationships. The different types of capital are interchangeable and can add up, determining the role of the individual in society (Pusztai, 2020). Based on Bourdieu’s theory of capital, participation in shadow education further increases the opportunities of those in higher social positions, thus widening the social gap.

Cultural and social capital

The socio-economic background of language learners’ families, including their cultural and social capital, can have a significant impact on access to quality educational resources. Consequently, learners from higher socio-economic backgrounds often have more opportunities to progress on their learning paths, while learners from lower socio-economic backgrounds face additional challenges. The socio-economic family background of language learners is reflected in educational research from several perspectives, such as the correlates of academic success, parental involvement, the educational setting and individual learning differences. While Schulz (2003) emphasises the role of research on socio-economic status in relation to student academic achievement, he also points out that in the OECD PISA studies (Avvisati, 2020) this concept appears as a

composite indicator of economic, social and cultural status, which consists of parental occupational status, educational attainment and material assets. In the Hungarian context, Albert et al. (2021) and Szabó et al. (2021) conducted a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic background of foreign language learning and the families of language learners. The authors' research results confirm the positive impact of family background on both foreign language choice and achievement. Szabó (2021) conducted research on the mother's education and language learning achievement. One of Szabó's (2021) important findings is that children whose mothers had higher educational attainment scored better on language achievement tests. This is in line with findings by Kumar et al. (2021), according to which the mother's education has a significant impact on the child's educational attainment. Presumably, this can be attributed to the fact that children of mothers with higher qualifications are more motivated to participate in learning (Fejes & Józsa, 2005), which serves as a driving force for the learner and may make learning more effective in the long run. While parents from lower socio-economic backgrounds may have lower involvement due to different difficulties (Bacskai et al., 2024), parents of higher socioeconomic status are more involved in their children's schooling (Hoover-Demsey & Sendler, 1997), which is positively correlated with the child's academic achievement (Bacskai et al., 2024). The type of settlement the students' families lived in is an important indicator of cultural capital, especially in disadvantaged areas (Garami, 2020), where polarised education can create greater disparities.

In a review of the Hungarian literature, Ceglédi and Szabó (2014) also examined the social background factors of the family in the context of the Shadow Education in Hungary (2009)³ research led by Tamás Kozma (Ceglédi et al., 2014). However, the authors' investigations did not specifically focus on English as a Foreign Language, as the National Assessment of Basic Competencies in Hungary dataset they used also covers extracurricular, after-school, tuition-free activities, and does not focus only on subjects that are necessary for further education. Based on data from the 2006 National Assessment of Basic Competencies in Hungary dataset, which examined the proportion of tenth-grade students participating in after-school and out-of-school activities, the authors found that the parents' educational level was the most important determinant of whether their children participated in shadow education. Based on Bourdieu's theory of capital transmission, Ceglédi and Szabó (2014) conclude in their research that participation in shadow education contributes to the transmission of capital within families, which is mainly an opportunity for parents with a high level of education, as 'shadow education is an important element of families' social reproduction strategy' (p. 270). Similar to Ceglédi and Szabó's research methodology (2014), Szemerszki (2020) also conducted analyses using data from the National Assessment of Basic Competencies in Hungary. The author examined the types of extra-curricular activities that pupils participate in and how different background factors affect participation rates. Her research shows that children whose parents have higher levels of education have higher rates of participation in private tuition and that higher levels of parental involvement also have a positive effect on participation in private tuition. In terms of language learning overall, Szemerszki concludes that participation in extra lessons in foreign languages contributes to the social mobility of learners, thereby increasing their higher social status (2020, p. 218), which is in line with her previous research findings that parental involvement is positively correlated with student achievement (Szemerszki, 2015). At the same time, it can be said that shadow education is a privilege for more talented students from higher socio-economic family backgrounds. This confirms previous research results by Józsa and Nikolov (2005), who also draw conclusions on parents' educational attainment with a focus on language learning achievement: interestingly, while student achievement did not show a strong correlation with extracurricular activities, the higher the parents' educational attainment, the more successful their children were as language learners.

The socio-economic status of language learners' families, along with their social and cultural advantages, can greatly influence their access to high-quality educational resources. As data has shown, there are differences in terms of value preferences among schools depending on whether the institution is maintained by a religious or a state authority (Major et al., 2022), which can likely influence the level of student achievement. Based on the research findings of Major et al., it can be stated that while 'general human values' and 'values that support personality development' (p. 484) are important to teachers in both types of schools, the authors' study confirmed the earlier findings of Pusztai (2011), according to which so-called 'more traditional' values (p. 56), such as the role of community, are more prominent in denominational schools. These religious schools often attract students from families who share common values and beliefs. This shared bond can enhance a sense of community, as Pusztai highlights the importance of the fact that 'belonging to a community improves school effectiveness' (Pusztai 2020, p. 37). For example, disadvantages generated by the composition of the school –

³ <https://ni.unideb.hu/hu/elozetes-kutatasok>

resulting from the composition of families with lower educational attainment – can be compensated for by social capital, which emphasises the role of the community. Religious communities provide a great space for exercising this compensatory role. Pusztai refers to support from the family as a source of capital outside the walls (2020, p. 41), as the learner's family can also be a positive force for academic achievement.

In supplementary private language tuition, this type of parental involvement can also be supported by Coleman's (1988) theory of social capital, who argues that the presence of social capital can help compensate for deficiencies in other types of capital. Bandura, in his social learning theory (1989), also points out that family members, friends and important actors in the individual's environment can provide a role model for the individual and can be a motivating influence in their learning process.

While community support may be a key defining factor for religious schools, the research of Major et al. (2022) indicate that in state schools, greater emphasis is placed on values that are 'marketable in the labour market' (p. 486), such as decisiveness and leadership skills. Fülöp and Gordon Győri (2020) view education and the labour market as a 'global competition system' (p. 96). Based on this perspective, competitiveness can be a defining factor, which may also influence student achievement. In her study, Fülöp (2004) highlights that Hungarians primarily perceive competition as a selection process and a means of motivation (p. 150). Furthermore, competition also adds to the realization of individual goals, thus having a positive impact on student achievement.

Examination-centredness

Examinations play an important role in language learning as they provide a structured framework for standardised assessment. They allow students to assess their language skills and identify areas for improvement. In addition, for some students – in the absence of internal motivation – they can provide an external motivation tool. Successful language examinations often serve as a valuable certificate, increasing the language learner's career opportunities for the future. However, examination-centredness can also have its backwash as students who have to meet stricter graduation requirements might be more likely to attend shadow education, which is a sign of increased educational selection (Jansen et al., 2023). In a similar vein, selective education also has its dangers (Šťastný, 2023) as early tracking in primary school might lead to a higher extent of participation in private tutoring.

In his study, Soeung (2020) highlights the importance of acquiring examination skills and English language skills for 12th-grade students in Cambodia, as these can contribute to the success of both the students' graduation and their future plans. However, language learners often find that private education neglects examination preparation, thereby potentially diminishing the students' prospects for success. Soeung proposes the introduction of a language curriculum that takes into account the balance between examination and career needs in both formal school education and private language education, and thus it can be useful for all language learners, irrespective of their participation in private language education or not.

When investigating private language tutoring in Thailand, Charoenroop (2021) points out that entrance examination is a prerequisite for accessing higher education. In this examination, students are required to pass several tests, which are usually significantly of higher difficulty level than the papers they encountered during their formal school studies. Since the stakes of these entrance examinations are very high, students need to take part in supplementary private language tutoring, which explains why private language tutoring has been a key phenomenon for Thai students for decades.

In Hungary, students place high value on possessing a language proficiency certificate, as the B2-level language examination provides an advantage during university admissions (Fekete & Csépes, 2018) and offers the benefits of gaining additional points. Obtaining an accredited language proficiency certificate can lead to better job opportunities and the possibility of working in a diverse cultural environment, thus contributing to the individual's social mobility. In other words, it can serve as a sort of 'passport' (Fekete & Csépes, 2018, p. 13) for advancing in academic and professional pathways.

However, while examinations and shadow education play a crucial role in shaping educational outcomes, further research is needed to explore how this relationship influences students' long-term learning experiences, academic motivation, and the potential for unequal access to supplementary education.

Research design and Methods

Research objective

The aim of our present research is to make a cross-sectoral comparison, to explore the reasons behind learners' use of supplementary private English tuition, and to investigate the relationship between their achievements and sources of cultural and social capital. Based on the reviewed literature, the following concepts are operationalized: the *reasons* for language learners' participation in supplementary private language tuition, their *success* in language learning as a result of shadow education, the learners' cultural-, and social capital. Our dependent variables are language learning participation rate and language learning achievement, the latter defined as the possession of a B2-level language proficiency examination. To measure cultural capital, our independent variables are the mother's highest level of education as well as the type of settlement of the student's family. Social capital, measured by the kind of support learners received from their teachers, classmates and families during their studies, is explored using Coleman's (1988) theory of social capital. Our analyses are conducted in a cross-sectoral comparison, based on the type of school maintainer, specifically distinguishing between state and denominationally maintained secondary schools.

Research questions and hypotheses

To achieve our research objectives, the following research questions and hypotheses were formulated:

Q1: Is there a difference in the impact of language learners' cultural capital on the participation rate, reasons and effectiveness of supplementary private language tuition in cross-sectoral comparisons?

Q2: What is the relationship between language learners' participation rates in supplementary private language tuition and language learners' social capital in cross-sectoral comparisons?

H.1.1: Based on previous research, it is assumed that there is no difference between sectors in terms of the rate and reason for the participation of secondary school language learners in supplementary private language tutoring. In both sectors, language learners with higher cultural capital in most cases used private language tuition (Imre, 2020) primarily to obtain a language examination.

H1.2: Presumably, a higher proportion of pupils in state-maintained secondary schools obtained a language examination.

H.1.3: Language learners in state-maintained grammar schools with higher cultural capital living in a county seat are more successful than language learners in denominational grammar schools of lower social composition.

H2: Despite lower parental status composition, church-maintained grammar schools have higher social capital, which reduces the participation rate in supplementary private language tuition.

The research sample

To answer the research questions, quantitative research was conducted, collecting data in the school years 2021/22 and 2022/2023. We conducted a convenience sample survey among 16-19-year-old secondary school language learners (N=777), with a slightly higher proportion of girls (58.3%) than boys (41.7%). This may be due to the fact that in Hungary, as well as in other developed countries, there is a female majority in secondary schools (Fényes 2020) and that girls are more represented in language groups. The data were collected anonymously in the North-Eastern parts of Hungary (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties). The reason for this is that in North-Eastern Hungary there is a particularly strong emphasis on English language learning, with the largest number of students taking English language examinations and passing the advanced school leaving examination equivalent to the intermediate language examination certificate. The counties in the sample are defined by the peripheral nature and the resulting unfavourable social composition, as these areas are characterized by high unemployment and low educational attainment (Garami, 2013).

The research tool

In our research, a self-developed questionnaire was used as a measurement instrument, which was constructed based on Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process-oriented motivational theory and Kuhl's (1984) self-regulatory theory of language learning. Different dimensions of language learning were formed, such as language teaching method, individual learner differences (differentiation), language learning goals and language learner beliefs.

The statements in the dimensions were evaluated by the respondents on a Likert scale from 1 to 5. In the present study, we investigated the reasons for and effectiveness of language learners' use of supplementary private language tuition in a cross-sectoral comparison based on cultural capital. Then it was examined whether language learners' social capital had a compensatory power on school composition, and whether it had an impact on participation rates and attainment. In our study, items relating to the individual pace of progress were analysed in the dimensions of the language teaching method and the motivational impact of the language teacher (Table 1):

Table 1. Items of the questionnaire on individual pace of progress as measured by the quantitative research instrument

Items	
1.	My teacher teaches English at a pace that is suitable for me (item 17).
2.	I would like to learn English at my own pace (item 18).
3.	My teacher encourages me to learn if s/he matches the pace of learning to my ability (item 54).

Source: Shadow education in foreign language education 2023 - own database (hereafter referred to as ÁK-INYK 2023), the authors' own editing

Results

Sociodemographic data of language learners participating in the research

Table 2 shows the sample of language learners who participated in the research. The variables used to examine cultural capital are mother's education and the type of settlement where the language learner lives; the variable to measure language learners' achievement is the rate of the language examination certificate, and the variable for comparison across sectors is the variable for state- and church-maintained grammar schools.

Table 2. Student sample (N=711): participation rate in supplementary private language tuition (PT)

		Participated in PT (n=333)	Did not participate in PT (n=378)
Maintainer of school (p=0.822)			
State-maintained school	<i>Case</i>	170	197
	<i>Column percentage</i>	46.3	53.7
Church-maintained school	<i>Case</i>	163	181
	<i>Column percentage</i>	47.4	52.6
Mother's qualification (p<0.001)			
Elementary, or secondary education	<i>Case</i>	<u>142</u>	<u>262</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	35.1	64.9
Tertiary education	<i>Case</i>	<u>191</u>	<u>116</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	62.2	37.8
Type of place of living (p=0.028)			
County seat	<i>Case</i>	<u>116</u>	<u>102</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	53.2	46.8
Village or smaller town	<i>Case</i>	<u>217</u>	<u>276</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	44	56
Language examination (p<0.001)			
Possesses a language certificate	<i>Case</i>	<u>154</u>	<u>104</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	59.7	40.3
Does not possess a language certificate	<i>Case</i>	<u>179</u>	<u>274</u>
	<i>Column percentage</i>	39.5	60.5

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Note: The underlined values have an adjusted residual absolute higher than two.

As Table 2 illustrates, out of the 711 secondary school students who took part in the research, 311 participated in supplementary private language tuition, while 378 did not. 367 learners attended a state-maintained, while 344 attended a church-maintained secondary grammar school. A similar rate of participation in supplementary private language tutoring is found across sectors, as 46.3% (N=170) of students in state-maintained grammar schools and 47.4% (N=163) of students in church-maintained grammar schools participated in supplementary private language tuition. The cultural capital of language learners is indicated by the mother's education and the type of settlement the students lived in. Regarding the mother's qualifications, the highest level of education attained by the mother is significantly higher (p<0.001) for students who took part in supplementary private language tuition (62.2%) than those not participating in private tuition (37.8%). This indicates that the cultural

capital, as measured by the mother's educational attainment, is significantly greater among those who attended supplementary private language lessons. In terms of the type of settlement, a significantly higher proportion ($p=0.028$) of students living in the county seat participated in shadow education (53.2%) than those who lived in a rural area (village or small town) (46.8%). Student achievement is measured by the rate of language examination, which shows that students who attended private language classes were significantly ($p<0.001$) more successful (59.7%) than their peers who did not (40.3%).

To answer our first research question, the participation rates in supplementary private language tuition were first looked at by including the language learner's cultural capital across sectors (Table 3).

Table 3. Cross-sectoral comparison between the total sample of students ($N=711$) and private students ($N=333$)

Mother's qualification	Total sample (n=711)		p	Participants in private tuition		p
	State-maintained	Church-maintained		State-maintained	Church-maintained	
Elementary/ secondary education	<u>195</u> 53.1%	<u>209</u> 60.8%	0.024	67 39.4%	75 46%	0.134
Tertiary education	<u>172</u> 46.9%	<u>135</u> 39.2%		103 60.6%	88 54%	
Type of settlement (p=0.028)						
County seat	101 27.5%	117 34%	0.036	51 30%	65 39.9%	0.038
Village or smaller town	266 72.5%	227 66%		119 70%	98 60.1%	

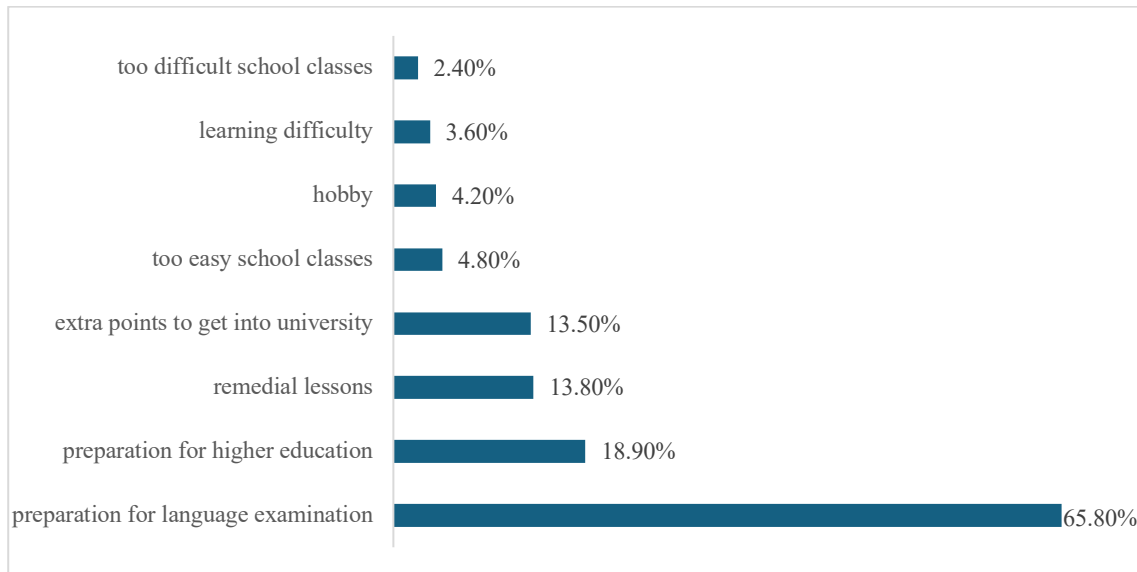
Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Note: The underlined values have an adjusted residual absolute higher than two.

While in the total sample, both sectors seem to have a significantly higher proportion of students whose mothers did not possess a university degree ($p=0.024$, public sector 53.1%, church sector 60.8%) than those whose mother did (public sector 46.9%, church sector 39.2%), no significant difference was found regarding supplementary private language tuition: the rate of learners was higher in both sectors if the mothers had a university degree or higher degree (public sector 60.6%, church sector 54%). Interestingly, in the public sector, the proportion of learners whose mothers obtained a tertiary qualification (60.6%) is significantly higher compared to those whose mothers obtained an elementary- or secondary level qualification (39.4%). In contrast, church schools show a smaller gap, with a more balanced proportion of tertiary (54%) and elementary- or secondary (46%) maternal education. The type of settlement is also a significant determinant in our research. Similarly to the student sample, which predominantly consists of students residing outside the county seat ($p=0.036$; public sector: 72.5%, church sector: 66%), the rate of students participating in supplementary private language tuition is notably higher in villages and smaller towns ($p=0.038$, public sector: 70%, church sector: 60.1%). Our findings indicate that mothers with higher academic attainment (tertiary qualification), regardless of whether they reside in a village, small town, larger city, or county seat, tend to demonstrate higher levels of involvement in their children's education. This includes a greater recognition of the importance of language development in their children's academic progress, as supported by Szemerszki (2015; 2020). Notably, the type of settlement did not significantly influence these outcomes, suggesting that educational attainment, rather than geographical location, is the critical variable contributing to cultural capital and parental engagement.

Reasons for participation in supplementary private tuition

To answer our first research question regarding the correlations between cultural capital and participation in supplementary private language tuition, the reasons for participation in shadow education were investigated by conducting descriptive statistics. The learners in the sample gave different reasons for their participation in supplementary language tuition (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Reasons for participating in supplementary private language tuition (N=333)

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Out of the 711 secondary school students in our research sample, 46.8% (N=333) participated in supplementary private language tutoring, while the majority (53.2%, N=378) did not do so. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of reasons for participation. The reason why the percentages add up to more than 100% is that language learners were given the opportunity to provide more than one reason for their participation. The results clearly show that language learners attended private lessons mainly to prepare for a language examination (65.80%). This was followed by preparation for higher education (18.90%), remedial purposes (13.80%) and the opportunity to gain extra points to get into higher education (13.50%). A low proportion of language learners said that they found their formal school lessons either too easy (4.80%) or too difficult (2.40%). 3.60 per cent of language learners also indicated that they had a learning difficulty. Based on our results, the responses can be grouped into two main categories: (1) in line with previous research (Réti, 2009; Hegedűs, 2021), our results point to the importance of the language examination for secondary school students. The high proportion of responses in relation to preparing for higher education and gaining extra points suggests that language learners viewed passing the language examination as an opportunity to broaden their aspirations for higher education. (2) Additionally, reasons such as remedial lessons, too difficult or easy classes at school, and learning difficulties imply that individual learning pace inadequacies prompted students to seek private lessons. There were no significant differences found in reasons between language learners in both types of secondary grammar schools. To address our first research question, a cross-tabulation analysis was conducted to determine if there were variations in language learners' reasons for participation across different sectors.

Table 4. Reasons for language learners' participation in private language teaching (N=333)

Reason for participation in private tuition	State sector	N	Church sector	N	p
Preparation for language examination/higher education					
Preparation for language examination	66.5%	113	65%	106	0.436
Preparation for higher education	19.40%	33	18.40%	30	0.463
Extra points for higher education	14.70%	25	12.30%	20	0.313
Need for individual learning pace					
Remedial classes	12.4%	21	15.30%	25	0.264
Too easy school classes	4.1%	7	5.5%	9	0.366
Too difficult school classes	1.8%	3	3.1%	5	0.339
Learning difficulty	3.5%	6	3.7%	6	0.358

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Table 4 clearly shows that a similar proportion of students in both state- and church-maintained grammar schools explained their reasons for supplementary private language tuition, whether they were related to language examination preparation, plans to get into higher education, remedial purposes, or the difficulty (or lack of it) of the formal language lesson. Our results reveal that there are no significant differences in the perceived quality of language instruction or the emphasis on language skills between state- and church-maintained institutions. This suggests that the demand for supplementary private language tutoring is not primarily driven by deficiencies within the formal education system. Instead, it reflects a broader, proactive desire among language learners and their families to achieve higher proficiency and competitive language skills, independent of institutional quality. This highlights a widespread recognition of the importance of language mastery as a crucial asset in both academic and professional contexts, driving the pursuit of additional language learning opportunities.

Effectiveness of private tuition

In order to analyse and compare the effectiveness of private tuition (PT) – measured by the variable of a language examination certificate rate – as part of our first research question, descriptive statistics were used.

Table 5. Effectiveness of participation in private tuition in the light of the language examination certificate in a cross-sectoral comparison among secondary school students (N=711) (p=0.002)

	Participated in PT		Did not participate in PT	
	State sector	Church sector	State sector	Church sector
Possessed a language certificate				
Case	<u>92</u>	<u>62</u>	60	44
Column percentage	54.1%	38%	30.5%	24.3%
Did not possess a language certificate				
Case	<u>78</u>	<u>101</u>	137	137
Column percentage	45.9%	62%	69.5%	75.7%
Total	170	163	197	181

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Note: The underlined values have an adjusted residual absolute higher than two.

Our results, shown in Table 5, indicate that additional private language tutoring had a clear positive effect on language learners' achievement in both sectors (p=0.002). However, it is important to point out that a much higher proportion of language learners in state-maintained grammar schools possessed a language examination – whether they attended private lessons (N=92, 54.1%) or not (N=60, 30.5%) – than those in church-maintained grammar schools (N=62, 38% of students attending private lessons; N=44, 24.3% of students not attending private lessons). When they did attend private lessons, a slightly higher proportion of students in state grammar

schools passed a language exam (54.1%) than did not (45.9%), while there was a significant difference in performance between students who did not attend private lessons in state grammar schools: 30.5% of them passed and 69.5% did not pass a language exam. Interestingly, in church-maintained grammar schools, the proportions are reversed for supplementary private language tutoring: the proportion of students who passed a language examination is relatively low (38%), compared to those who did not possess one (62%). Based on our results, the higher pass rate in the public sector is presumably due to the more competitive nature of state schools, which puts the students under more pressure to succeed, as described by King et al. (2012), who point to the predictive power of competitiveness and academic achievement. In addition, the higher socioeconomic background composition of state-maintained secondary schools might also contribute more to student achievement. In contrast, students in church-maintained grammar schools, characterized by a lower socio-economic background, began with a disadvantage that additional private language instruction failed to sufficiently overcome.

Finally, to confirm our results, a regression analysis was used to examine whether there is a relationship between language learning achievement, the cultural capital of the language learner's family and the type of school (Table 6).

Table 6. Impact of social factors on language examination performance in a cross-sectoral comparison of students taking part in supplementary private language education (N=333)

	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Do you live in a county seat?	0.048	0.036	0.85	1.049
Does your mother have a tertiary qualification?	1.364	30.167	0.000	3.913
Do you attend a state-maintained school?	0.638	7.207	0.007	1.892
Constant	-0.744	9.248	0,002	0.475

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Note: The Naglegerke R² value is 0.163, indicating that the independent variables explain 16.3% of the variation in the dependent variables. The Cox and Snell value is 0.122. See the Appendix for further details.

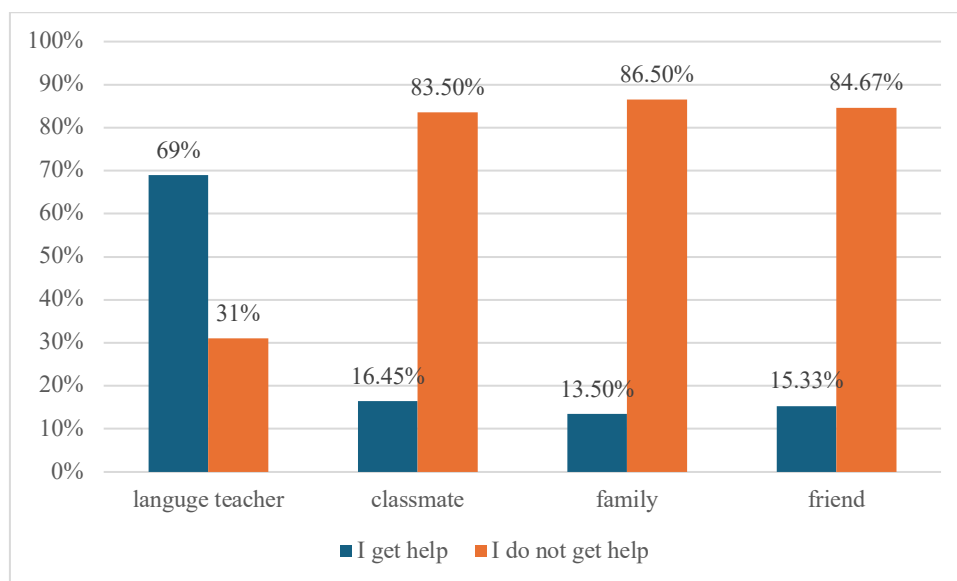
The binomial logistic regression analysis in cross-sectoral comparison showed significant values for social background variables and student achievement. The variables included the type of settlement the language learner's family lived in, the mother's level of education and the type of maintainer of the secondary school. The results in the model suggest (Table 6) that the variables of the mother's level of education as well as the type of school maintainer had a positive effect on learners' achievement and predicted to have an effect on whether the learner will pass the language examination or not. The logistic regression model was found to be statistically significant. Based on our results, the cultural capital of the learner seems to be a determinant of language examination success, as the mother's education was found to be significant: children of mothers with a higher education are 3.913 times more likely to be more successful than children of mothers with a primary or secondary level qualification. In our model our earlier results got confirmed regarding the type of settlement as part of the cultural capital, which had no significant predicative value on students' success. In terms of the maintainer of the secondary school, students attending state-maintained secondary schools are much more likely (ExpB 1.892) to pass the intermediate (B2) language examination than students attending church-maintained secondary schools.

Based on our results, our hypotheses in relation to the first research question were partially confirmed. While our results using descriptive statistics confirmed that both state- and church-maintained grammar schools had a higher proportion of children whose mothers had a tertiary level of education, the majority of language learners who also lived in a rural area took part in supplementary private language tutoring. The type of settlement was found to be less determinant of cultural capital than the indicator of maternal education (H.1.1). However, our hypothesis (H.1.2) that in both sectors, language examination preparation dominates as a reason for participation in supplementary private language tuition seemed to be well founded. Our hypothesis (H.1.3) on language examination attainment was also confirmed, as language learners in state-maintained secondary schools did indeed attain a higher proportion of language examination certificates. Our results were also confirmed by binomial regression analysis.

Social support: the supportive effect of primary and secondary socialisation as a compensating factor in language learning effectiveness of private tuition

We have seen that, in our sample, in a cross-sectoral comparison, students in public secondary schools were more likely to be successful in language learning, which can be explained by the fact that public secondary schools were characterised by a higher social composition. On the other hand, it can be assumed that state-maintained secondary schools were characterised by a higher degree of competition, which may also have contributed to the success of language learners. At the same time, Engler (2020) points out in her research that it is the role of the school to compensate for the gaps that result from a lower socio-economic background. Such compensating forces may include, for example, the school community's personal attention to students' individual development, or teachers' use of differentiated teaching techniques to support students' academic progress. In the following, our second research question seeks to answer the relationship between the social capital of language learners and the characteristics of participation in supplementary private language tuition in different maintenance sectors. To measure this, we will examine the extent to which language learners can expect support in their school and in their immediate environment, and whether the teacher's attention to individual needs is realized during formal instruction. To answer our second research question, an analysis based on Coleman's social capital theory (Coleman et al. 1966) was conducted to investigate the type of compensatory forces that are present in the education of students in denominational grammar schools in relation to lower cultural capital. First, descriptive statistical analysis was used to find out whether language learners in the sample could count on the help of their language teacher, family, classmates and friends at school, and then it was analysed whether this kind of help in learning is associated with the participation rate in private tutoring.

Figure 2. Types of support provided to language learners in secondary schools (N=711)



Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Figure 2 shows that in both sectors, language learners could count on help in all the areas that have been examined and the greatest proportion (69%) of students used the help of their language teacher at school. The lowest proportion of language learners received help from classmates (16.45%), followed by support from friends (15.33%) and family (13.50%). In a cross-sectoral comparison, significant differences were found in two cases, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Type of support provided to secondary school language learners in a cross-sectoral comparison (N=711)

Student sample (n=711)	State sector	Church sector	n	p
Do you get help from your language teacher at school?	51.10%	48.90%	491	0.539
Do you get help from your family?	38.50%	61.50%	96	0.006
Do you get help from your classmates?	37.60%	62.40%	117	0.001
Do you get help from your friends?	48.60%	51.40%	109	0.533
Participants in private tuition (n=333)				
Do you get help from your language teacher at school?	51.2%	48.8%	205	0.593
Do you get help from your family?	42.9%	57.1%	49	0.138
Do you get help from your classmates?	42.9%	57.1%	49	0.138
Do you get help from your friends?	52%	48%	50	0.503

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

As can be seen in Table 7, 61.50 percent of language learners in denominational grammar schools received help from their families, while this proportion was significantly lower in state grammar schools (38.50%, $p=0.006$). Classmates were also more supportive of each other in denominational grammar schools (62.40%), while in state-maintained grammar schools the proportion of language learners who received help from their classmates was significantly lower (37.60%) ($p=0.001$). While no significant difference was found regarding the school language teacher and friends when looking at the whole sample, the importance of the help they provided was not negligible, as both actors helped language learners' progress at similar rates across sectors. As for language learners attending private lessons, no significant difference was found regarding the assistance received from the language teacher at school, family, classmates or friends, and school assistance did not show a correlation with the rate of participation in supplementary private language tuition.

Our findings indicate that the varying rates observed across sectors in our study may be attributed to the perceived greater emphasis placed on character formation, social norms, and moral values in denominational grammar schools by both teachers and parents. Denominational schools often attract students from families with shared values and beliefs. This common bond can develop a sense of community and can help children and their families who attend the school to better understand each other and to form a support network. This can create a cohesive community in denominational schools where pupils can connect with their peers and support each other. The power of community can be a sustaining force for students in denominational secondary schools. Presumably, both parents and teachers place an emphasis on fostering relationships and helping each other, which can provide a strong support network for students and can be a motivating factor for students (Bacsikai, 2020). Higher levels of support received in both the primary and secondary socialisation arenas, higher social capital can strengthen a sense of belonging to a community. Support from the community can contribute to a more personalised educational process, in which language learners have the opportunity to experience individual attention during the learning process and thus become more motivated towards the subject of learning, in this case English. In order to measure whether the experience of working with the language teacher in the classroom had an impact on the language learner's motivation to participate in supplementary private tuition, the items of individual pace of progress were examined in the language teaching method and the motivational influence of the language teacher dimensions of the questionnaire.

Individual pace of progress as a compensating factor

The impact of community, mutual help and support for each other can influence the forms of activity used in education and contribute to a more personalised educational experience. Examining the individual pace of progression in formal education is of relevance to our research, as it is assumed to contribute to the language learner's participation rate in private language tuition. To answer our second research question, we analysed the relationship between individual learning pace and private language tuition. Since the Kolmogorov Smirnov test did not show a normally distributed pattern, the 0-hypothesis was rejected, and a non-parametric Mann-Whitney test was run (Table 8).

Table 8. Individual learning pace in cross-sectoral comparison (Mann-Whitney Rank Mean)

	Mann-Whitney U	Z	State sector Rank Mean	Church sector Rank Mean	p
My teacher teaches English at a pace that is suitable for me.	56824.000	-2.027	338.83	368.38	0.043
I would like to learn English at my own pace.	55369.500	-2.536	337.84	371.70	0.011
My teacher encourages me to learn if s/he adapts the pace of learning to my abilities.	44280.000	-3.562	301.37	351.82	0.000

Source: ÁK-INYK 2023, the authors' own editing

Table 8 shows that, in relation to individual pace, students attending state-maintained grammar schools were less satisfied with the pace of schooling (MR=338.83) than their peers at denominational schools (MR=368.38), and it can be assumed to be the reason for participation in private language tuition. There was also a significant difference in the preference of language learners to learn English at their own pace, with a lower proportion of students at state school (MR=337.84) than their denominational secondary school peers (MR=371.70). It can be presumed that those who took part in private tuition were less satisfied with the pace of language learning experienced in formal language classes than their peers. As for the teacher encouraging language learners to learn if the pace of learning was adapted to their ability, the Mann-Whitney test also revealed a significant difference ($p < 0.001$), with a higher rank mean for those attending a denominational secondary school (MR=351.82) than for those attending a state secondary school (MR=301.37).

Consistent with previous research findings of Hegedűs (2021), our present research results confirm that language learners attending private classes required progress at an individual pace. In our sample, a higher proportion of students in denominational secondary schools reported to experience individual learning progress provided by their teachers and received more attention from their teachers during formal instruction. Our results confirm previous research findings by Bacskai (Bacskai 2020), who points to the need for a higher degree of differentiation on the part of the teacher for students with disadvantaged SES family backgrounds. Moreover, in the case of pupils attending church-maintained grammar schools with lower socio-economic backgrounds in the sample, we found that the disadvantages caused by the socio-economic backgrounds of the language learners' families were compensated for by the school.

In state-maintained grammar schools, students appeared to benefit more from higher levels of cultural capital. In contrast, in church-maintained grammar schools, higher social capital, the role of the community (Pusztai et al. 2024), as a key value (Major et al. 2022), and higher parental involvement in the life of the school is assumed to compensate for lower cultural capital. Overall, our hypothesis (H2) is partially confirmed. While language learners in church-maintained grammar schools could expect higher levels of peer- and family support as well as a more personalised education in the language classroom, social capital did not have a significant effect on participation rates in supplementary private language tutoring. In contrast to social capital, the mother's education level as a source of cultural capital played a decisive role in this respect.

Conclusion and summary

In our study, a cross-sectoral comparison was conducted to determine the extent to which the participation rate of language learners (N=711) in supplementary private language tutoring, the reasons for participation in private tutoring and the effectiveness of language learning across school sectors correlated with cultural and social capital. Using descriptive statistical tests and binomial regression analyses, we measured the predictors of learners' language learning outcomes by including background variables such as the type of settlement, the highest education level of the mother and the type of secondary school maintainer. Our results show that language learners with more highly qualified mothers and attending state grammar schools were more likely to pass the intermediate language examination than those at church-maintained grammar schools. Based on Coleman's (1988) social capital theory to investigate how grammar schools with a lower social composition contributed to overcoming the disadvantages of families' socio-economic background, and to analyse the schools' compensatory power (Engler 2020), the role of social capital was investigated. Our results show that language learners in both the public and the denominational sectors relied most heavily on the help of their school language teacher, as well as the support of their families, friends and classmates in their language

learning. However, it is worth noting that the proportion of language learners in church-maintained grammar schools receiving help from their families was significantly higher than that of language learners in state-maintained grammar schools. Overall, students in denominational grammar schools also had a higher level of peer support from their classmates, which implies a lower degree of competitiveness. However, in addition to the higher degree of peer support in denominational grammar schools, an important finding is that there was no significant difference in the rate of language learners attending private lessons in a cross-sectoral comparison. In addition to peer support, it was analysed how language teachers were able to provide support to language learners in the language classroom. Utilising a Mann-Whitney test, the inclusion of individual learning pace was compared across sectors. It was found that students in state-maintained grammar schools were less satisfied with the pace of their formal language instruction than their counterparts attending denominational grammar schools, which may have contributed to the students' use of supplementary private language tutoring.

Our findings suggest that the dynamics of competitive spirit, social capital and cultural capital differ significantly between state- and church-maintained secondary schools, which influences students' language proficiency. It appears that in state schools, a higher competitive spirit and higher cultural capital of the language learner are more beneficial for passing exams, despite possessing lower social capital. This implies that in state schools, individual academic merit and a competitive environment enhance learners' performance in examinations, and private tutoring is likely to amplify these benefits.

In contrast, though the church-maintained schools in the sample had a lower social composition, the higher social capital resulted in a greater reliance on peer relationships and community support. However, the emphasis on social ties did not necessarily mean the same degree of language proficiency as in state-maintained schools. While supplementary private language tutoring was supportive of learners in both sectors, the combination of competition and cultural capital appears to have provided a stronger basis for academic achievement in state schools than in church-run schools, where social capital was more prominent yet played less of a role in academic achievement.

Based on our research results, the mother's highest education and the type of school maintainer led to further differences in the opportunities for academic attainment regarding the chances of language learners from secondary schools with different social compositions. Participation in supplementary private language tuition further enhanced academic opportunities, especially among children whose mothers held higher degrees.

Limitations

Our research has some limitations: (1) the convenience sampling used in this study does not allow to draw general conclusions, (2) our investigation focuses on a specific segment of language learners in the North-Eastern parts of Hungary with a less favourable socio-economic background, and therefore our conclusions cannot be applied to different socio-economic groups in the country. However, we hope that our research findings will contribute valuable insights into a narrow segment of shadow education research, private supplementary English language tutoring, and will serve as a basis for future research.

Acknowledgement: We thank Johnathan Dabney for the English language editing.

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Appendix

Table 1. Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step	43,381	3	,000
Block	43,381	3	,000
Model	43,381	3	,000

Table 2. Model Summary

-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
416,376 ^a	,122	,163

Table 3. Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Chi-square	df	Sig.
1,828	6	,935

Table 4. Variables in the Equaiton

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
type of settlement	,048	,253	,036	1	,850	1,049
mother's education	1,364	,248	30,167	1	,000	3,913
school maintainer	,638	,238	7,207	1	,007	1,892
Constant	-,744	,245	9,248	1	,002	,475

