

A Study on the Causes and Effects of the Current State of Extracurricular Tutoring in the Context of the “Double Reduction” Policy--A Qualitative Research Based on Parents of Public Elementary School Students in Shanghai, China

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Abstract:

Based on the Ecological System Theory, this study uses semi-structured interviews to present the current situation of extracurricular tutoring that still exists in the context of the “Double Reduction” Policy and analyzes the reasons for it at the micro, meso and macro levels. The results of the interviews show that there are three types of tutoring for children under the “Double Reduction” Policy: maintaining pre-existing extracurricular tutoring arrangements, starting tutoring after the policy, and abstaining from tutoring throughout. In addition, most of the parents had a negative view of the “Double Reduction” Policy, while a few had a positive or neutral attitude. Based on the interviews, the study found that: Parents’ education philosophy, the school’s teaching mode, the “peer effect” of extracurricular tutoring, the educational streaming and examination systems, the anxieties surrounding social mobility among the middle class, and deeply entrenched Chinese traditional beliefs played a major role in the persistence of extracurricular tutoring. Subsequently, this study examines the impact of extracurricular tutoring from a social stratification lens, pointing out its potential to exacerbate the educational gap between different classes and families. Consequently, the study concludes with recommendations for policy enhancements aimed at fostering a more equitable educational ecosystem.

Keywords: the “Double Reduction” Policy, extracurricular tutoring, Ecological System Theory.

1. Introduction

The “Double Reduction” Policy refers to “Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Off-Campus Tutoring for Students in Compulsory Education” issued by the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the General Office of the State Council in July 2021. As one of the pilot cities, Shanghai promulgated relevant implementation opinions. Its contents regulate the requirements for the amount of homework to be assigned by schools to students in the compulsory education stage, such as limiting the average completion time of written homework for grades three to five in primary schools to no more than 60 minutes. At the same time, the policy requires the education authorities to strengthen the supervision of extra-curricular tutorial organizations, especially the establishment of extra-curricular subject tutorial organizations will not be allowed. These regulations aim to reduce the excessive burden of homework and off-campus tutoring in compulsory ed-

ucation, and to alleviate the phenomenon of “excessive competition” at this education stage. However, relevant studies in China have shown that , the “Double Reduction” policy has not achieved its intended goal of reducing students’ burdens, but has instead given rise to anxiety among parents and pushed the phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring into the “underground” [1,2]. Therefore, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring under the background of the “Double Reduction” policy.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part will use qualitative research methods to conduct semi-structured interviews with parents of elementary school students in public schools in Shanghai, and present the current situation of the interviewed parents’ group giving their children extra lessons. The second part will analyze the reasons for the persistence of extracurricular tutoring, drawing upon the Ecosystem Theory, and categorizes these factors into three levels: micro, meso, and macro.

The third part will analyze the possible effects of the persistence of extracurricular tutoring from the perspective of social stratification, and at the same time put forward suggestions for the optimization of the “Double Reduction” Policy.

From a theoretical perspective, the significance of this study lies in interpreting the phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring under the “Double Reduction” Policy from a sociological perspective. On the one hand, it explains why the current phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring contradicts the “Double Reduction” policy, which aims to curb extracurricular academic training, from the perspective of ecosystem theory. On the other hand, the study explores the impact of the persistence of extracurricular tutoring in the context of the “Double Reduction” Policy from the perspective of social stratification. From a practical perspective, this study can interpret the behavioral logic of parents in Shanghai who give their children extracurricular tuition under the background of the “Double Reduction” Policy, which aims to reduce the pressure of extracurricular tuition for students.

2. Method

This study used the semi-structured interview method because it allowed the author to understand the experiences and thoughts of the interviewees more comprehensively through in-depth and prolonged conversations with each interviewee. As a result, it enables the author to further explore the underlying reasons why extracurricular tutoring has not been reduced after the implementation of the “Double Reduction” Policy.

During the course of the study, all participants volunteered

to engage in the interview process and gave consent to the authors to audio record and transcribe the interviews as well as to publish the findings anonymously.

2.1 Basic Information of Interviewees

Given the fact that the decision of whether to primary school students participate in extracurricular tutorial classes is usually determined by their parents. Therefore, this study focused on the parents whose children attend public primary schools. Specifically, the study selected seven parents as interviewees, all of whom belong to the “New Shanghainese” demographic, with an average annual income ranging between 200,000 to 300,000 yuan. The “New Shanghainese” group refers to the group of immigrants who have migrated to Shanghai through education, employment, investment, and other means since the reform and opening-up policy [3].

Many news reports have pointed out that the “New Shanghainese” group has become an important component of Shanghai society and an important force in urban development. Therefore, exploring the family parenting life of parents in this group can reflect the general family parenting situation in Shanghai society after the promulgation of the “Double Reduction” Policy. In addition, by limiting the children’s schooling to public schools, this study also aims to ensure that the results truly reflect the parenting situation of the general population in Shanghai during the compulsory education period, rather than the parenting practices of the upper class or the elite group.

The basic information about the interviewees is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Basic information about the interviewees

Serial number	Parent’s gender	Parent’s age	Education background	Child’s gender	Child’s grade level
M1	Female	41	Bachelor	Female	Grade 4
F1	Male	38	Bachelor	Male	Grade 1
F2	Male	40	Master	Male	Grade 1
M2	Female	38	Bachelor	Female	Grade 2
M3	Female	41	Master	Male	Grade 4
M4	Female	42	Bachelor	Male	Grade 3
F3	Male	39	Bachelor	Female	Grade 3

2.2 Interview Outline Design

The outline of the interview was divided into two parts. The first part focused on the changes in children’s school life after the enactment of the “Double Reduction” Policy.

The second part focused on the changes in parents’ decisions about their children’s extracurricular academic tutoring after the “Double Reduction” Policy was enacted. The third part focuses on parents’ attitudes towards the “Double Reduction” Policy. The specific questions were designed

with reference to relevant domestic research studies [1].

2.3 Interview Process

The interviews were conducted from July 22 to July 26, 2024, with one to two parents scheduled for each day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one and online via the Tencent Meeting platform, with both parties turning on their cameras to ensure visualization of the exchange. The entire process of each interview was recorded for subsequent transcription.

The duration of the interview was approximately 15-25 minutes. This time arrangement ensured that the researcher could obtain sufficient information, while also avoiding making the interviewees feel annoyed or offended.

After the interviews, the author was responsible for transcribing the interviews verbatim and translating them into English. After the translation, the author would employ thematic analysis to study the changes in extracurricular tutoring behaviors among different families and their atti-

tudes toward the “Double Reduction” Policy after its issuance [4]. The specific steps were as follows: Firstly, read and familiarized with each interview transcript. Secondly, broke down each interview text and create open coding. Finally, identified the themes based on the links and differences between the codes.

3. Results

3.1 Thematic Coding Process

Parents’ decisions about their children’s extracurricular tutoring behaviors after the “Double Reduction” Policy were divided into three sub-themes: continuous tutoring before and after the policy, tutoring after the policy, and no tutoring involvement both before and after the policy. These are presented in Table 2. Parents’ attitudes towards the “Double Reduction” Policy were categorized into three sub-themes: positive, negative, and neutral/ indifferent, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 2. Thematic coding process I

Interview text citations	Code	Sub-theme	Theme
M1 “My child has not been very good at math since she started elementary school, and she wanted to make up for it herself. We had our own set of remedial rhythms at home before the double reduction.”	Children have an independent pace of learning	Continuous tutoring before and after the “Double Reduction” Policy	Parents’ decisions on extracurricular tutoring for their children before and after the “Double Reduction”
F1 “..... The same points in school if everyone else knows them and our kids do not. Then the child himself is frustrated. In order not to let our children lose at the starting line, we still have to make up the lessons.”	Peer group pressure to cram		
M3 “More or less everyone in the same class makes up one or two classes. My kids themselves feel pressured to come back and kind of want to make up classes if everyone is making up classes.”			
F1 “Primary, secondary and tertiary exams still exist, then it’s still the score that determines fate. In order to get a high score, you still have to learn more through remedial classes as well.”	Pressure to enter a higher educational institution		
M3 “The school itself also ranks and talks to us parents when our children’s grades are not good, which also puts pressure on me and my kids.”			
M1 “My child will soon face junior high school, and I would like to enroll her in a remedial class to learn some junior high school knowledge, so as to avoid not being able to keep up by then.”			

M2 “Because of the reduction in the amount of school work, especially in the lower grades there is no written work after school. My children come home and just watch TV, which also puts some pressure on me to have negative emotions.”	Reduced school workload	Tutoring after the “Double Reduction” Policy	
M4 “When my (child) moved into the upper grades, the things we learned in school were shallow, but the tests were difficult. My child felt a little unable to keep up, so he took remedial lessons.”	Increased course difficulty		
F2 “..... There is no need to make your child study all day long, after school you want your child to learn something you want to learn, my child loves to paint oil paintings.” F3”..... I think clearly my child is to develop morally, intellectually, physically, spiritually, aesthetically and socially, learning is not the only goal, so in the extracurricular practice is more inclined to cultivate her hobbies and interests”	Focus on the overall development of the child	No tutoring involvement both before and after the “Double Reduction” Policy	
F2 “I think most of the tutorials in the society will not have good teachers. It is just business (for profit) for them, the tutorial organizations. There are still fewer of them that can really look out for the students.”	Distrust of out-of-school training institutions		

Table 3. Thematic coding process II

Interview text citations	Code	Sub-theme	Theme
F3 “Overall it is taken the pressure off the kids, I guess, at least there’s no written work. The child can do what they want to do.”	Reducing the stress of children’s schoolwork	Positive	Attitude towards the „Double Reduction“ Policy
F2 “Generally speaking, I am in favor of it, maybe not quite changing the phenomenon of endoscopy, but at least it will straighten out the tutoring institutions that charge exorbitant fees and have average teachers.”	Rectification of extracurricular tutorial institutions		
M4 “I think the aim is good, but at the end of the day the goal of getting into a school for the GCSEs remains the same, so it’s still actually treating the symptoms.”	Existence of an examination and enrollment system	Negative	
M2 “As long as at the end of the day you still rely on the midterm and high school exams to get into a good college, the ‘double-decrease’ policy would not take the pressure off of your child, but instead it will push some of the child’s learning onto the parents.”			

F1 “..... Families with connections can always find a variety of ways to make up for it. Ultimately it just widens the gap between students.”	Differences in family circles		
M3 “The ‘Double Down’ policy came out and actually gave people more choices of whether you want to be aggressive, lay flat, or be centered.”	Provide more options for nurturing children.		
M1 “The ‘double-decrease’ policy did not have much of an impact on our family because, as I’ve said before, our family started tutoring before the ‘double-decrease’ and had our own pace of learning.”	Children have an independent pace of learning	Neutral/not caring	

3.2 Interview Results: Extracurricular Tutoring after the „Double Reduction“ Policy

According to the results of this study’s interviews with seven participants, although the “Double Reduction” policy aimed at reducing the academic burden on students, the majority of parents still chose to enroll their children in extracurricular tutorials, indicating that the phenomenon of tutoring has not been completely eradicated.

Specifically, there are three types of situations where parents enroll their children in tutoring classes.

The first one is that most parents maintain their children’s tutoring arrangements both before and after the implementation of the “Double Reduction” policy. There are three main reasons behind this phenomenon.

First, the child’s personalized learning pace and need for tuition. As interviewee M1 mentioned, she thought that it was difficult to take into account each child’s learning progress and the degree of digestion of knowledge in a large class at school. Therefore, she started extracurricular tutoring for her child’s weak subjects before the “double-minus” policy to ensure that her child’s learning effectiveness would not lag behind the school’s progress.

Secondly, there is the pressure of transitioning from primary to junior high school. In order for their children to enter a better junior high school and adapt to new learning environment, parents will choose to enroll their children in tutorial classes for advanced learning of junior high school content.

Lastly, peer pressure regarding tutoring is also significant, which is particularly strong in the context of the examination and admission system. In order to outperform other students in future exams and gain an edge in performance, parents would choose to enroll their children in extracurricular tutoring classes. In addition, some parents also mentioned that the atmosphere in which almost everyone

in the class attend extracurricular tutorials will also motivate their children to take the initiative to attend tutorials on their own.

The second situation is that some parents have started to enroll their children in tutoring classes after the implementation of the “Double Reduction” Policy. This change mainly stems from the reduction in the amount of homework after the implementation of the policy, particularly the abolition of written homework for students in the lower grades of elementary school (grades 1 to grade 3), which has triggered parents’ anxiety that insufficient practice may lead to students’ inadequate knowledge mastery, and their grades would consequently decline. At the same time, the difficulty of balancing the amount and difficulty of homework in the upper grades after the “Double Reduction” Policy has increased the demand for extracurricular tutoring by many parents and students themselves.

The last situation is that a few parents do not arrange for their children to participate in extracurricular tutorials before and after the “Double Reduction” Policy. This is mainly due to their education philosophy that they prioritize the comprehensive development and hobbies of their children instead of focusing solely on academic performance. In addition, interviewee F2 also believed that extracurricular tutorial organizations were mainly profit-oriented and could not guarantee the quality of teaching, which made him be skeptical about the reliability of the teaching standards in tutorial organizations.

3.3 Interview Results: Attitudes towards the „Double Reduction“ Policy

Based on the interview results of seven interviewees in this study, it was found that their attitudes towards the “Double Reduction” Policy can be categorized into three types of situations: positive, negative and neutral/indifferent.

Some parents are positive about the “Double Reduction” Policy, believing that the policy’s stipulation to reduce homework load effectively alleviates students’ burden and creates more free time for students to pursue their personal interests and hobbies after school. In addition, these parents strongly agree with the policy’s regulatory measures towards extracurricular tutorial institutions, which they believe will help curb industry malpractices, such as high tutorial fees and overly commercialized tutorial environments, and will help to mitigate the “rat race” phenomenon within the education system.

A few parents exhibit a relatively neutral or indifferent attitude. While recognizing that the “Double Reduction” Policy has freed their children from the pressure of homework imposed by schools, they emphasize that the arrangement of students’ after-school time depends more within the family. They contend that if parents take the initiative to arrange tutorials for their children after school due to educational anxiety, the pressure on their children’s studies would not be effectively relieved. Meanwhile, for those families that have established a stable learning pattern, the impact of the “Double Reduction” Policy may be relatively limited, leading to a more indifferent attitude.

Most parents have reservations about the “Double Reduction” Policy or are rather negative about it. On one hand, they think that the policy cannot fully rectify the situation of extracurricular tutorial organizations and the chaotic situation of extracurricular tutorials. In their opinion, social classes disparities will lead to uneven implementation of the policy. The middle and upper classes with more resources and money can still easily access high-quality tutoring when needed, while the lower and middle class families may face more restrictions. On the other hand, they point out that as long as examinations remain the cornerstone of student selection mechanisms within the education system, the “Double Reduction” Policy, which seeks to alleviate the pressure on students by stipulating the amount of homework and rectifying the tutorial organizations, may only be superficial and fail to address the root causes of the problem. It may even prompt families to seek more secretive or high-intensity tutoring, thereby intensifying competition in education and further increasing the burden on students and families.

4. Discussion

Interviews with seven parents of public elementary school students showed that after the implementation of the “Double Reduction” Policy, the phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring still exists in elementary school students during the compulsory education stage. This study will analyze the reasons for the persistence of this phenomenon

based on the ecological system theory and subsequently propose corresponding policy recommendations [5].

4.1 Analysis of Causes

Ecological system theory suggests that the behavior of individuals is constrained by the social environment [5]. It views society as a multi-leveled system and specifically divides it into micro, meso and macro categories. The theory provides a theoretical framework for this study to analyze the factors influencing parents’ decisions to enroll their children in extracurricular academic tutoring [5].

4.1.1 Micro system causes

The micro system refers to the environment that the individual is in direct contact with, which in this study mainly refers to students’ personal characteristics and family’s background.

Given the homogeneity in the educational background, age, income, and the fact that the interviewed participants had only one child, the study finds that parents’ educational philosophy play an important role. When parents hold more aggressive ideologies such as “not letting their children fall behind at the starting line”, they are more inclined to enroll their children in extracurricular tutorial classes.

In addition, contrary to some existing research findings, this study with parents of public primary school students in Shanghai reveal that there is no significant gender difference in children’s extracurricular tutoring behavior [6]. To some extent, this indicates that the Shanghai parent’s view of tuition education is not influenced by the gender of their children.

4.1.2 Meso system causes

The meso system refers to the small-scale group environments in which individuals are exposed to, which in this study mainly refer to the classes and schools in which students study.

According to the ecological system theory, inherent value norms within these diverse small-scale groups can subtly influence individuals to engage in conformist behaviors, even against their intrinsic desires. Prior studies have shown that the teaching mode and quality in a school can influence students’ decisions to engage in extracurricular tutoring [7]. If schools have stringent academic expectations and implicit ranking systems, the parents will be propelled to respond to this pressurized environment by enrolling their children in extracurricular tutoring.

Moreover, consistent with relevant research findings, this study also finds the important role of peer effects on extracurricular tutoring behavior [8]. When almost every student in a class participates in extracurricular tutoring and regards it as the norm, students and parents who orig-

inally had no intention to participate will also succumb to peer pressure and engage in extracurricular tutoring ,so as to better integrate into the classroom atmosphere and keep up with the learning progress of other students. This, in turn, exacerbates the academic competition within the classroom and potentially across the entire school.

4.1.3 Macro system causes

Macro system refers to the institutional systems, social structures, as well as prevailing cultural norms and values within the society in which individuals reside.

Regarding institutional factors, firstly, the “Double Reduction” policy mandates schools to reduce homework loads while not entirely stifling the rise of extracurricular tutoring institutions. This paradoxical situation is likely to lead to parents’ concern and anxiety about their children’s insufficient learning in school, and thus turn to spending children’s leisure time on extracurricular tutoring.

Secondly, the simultaneous reform of the high school entrance examination streaming in China’s education system in 2021, which stipulated a 1:1 ratio for enrollment between general high schools and vocational high schools, has intensified the anxiety of parents in the compulsory education stage. They worry that their children will be streamed to vocational high schools, and thus will not be able to find a well-paid and decent job in the future.

In addition, as long as China’s education system continues to rely primarily on examinations for student selection, schools, parents, and students will remain oriented towards exam-oriented education, inevitably fostering intense competition among students. As a result, the implementation of the “Double Reduction” Policy with regard to the amount of homework and extracurricular tutorials will not be able to ease the competitive pressure on students, and ultimately fails to substantially reduce the burden on students.

In terms of social structure, it is linked to the current social mobility of the middle class. The intergenerational mobility rate in Chinese society is gradually leveling off, and bachelor’s degrees are becoming increasingly common. Under these circumstances, the middle class is under pressure to move upward and faces the potential risk of downward mobility. Given that the level of education is still the main factor affecting one’s ultimate social status, middle-class parents have higher expectations for their children’s academic performance and education qualifications in order to consolidate their family’s social status, and are prompted to enroll their children in remedial classes.

Concerning societal mainstream culture and values, these are heavily influenced by traditional Chinese culture. China has long been influenced by traditional beliefs such as “All occupations are inferior, except for studying,” which

the importance of children’s academic pursuits. Nowadays, the society generally associates high education level with high social status and income, further intensifying parents’ emphasis on their children’s academic achievements. Consequently, they relatively refuse to see their children streamed into vocational high schools during the high school examination. Therefore, parents will choose to enroll their children in extracurricular tutorial classes in order to enhance their children’s mastery of knowledge and strengthen their educational competitiveness.

4.2 Preliminary Exploration of Impacts

Based on the perspective of social stratification, this study argues that the persistence of the phenomenon will exacerbate the educational divide between families of different socioeconomic classes. According to the Effectively Maintained Inequality (EMI) hypothesis, it is argued that educational inequality can be sustained through disparities in educational quality, even when upper-class families become saturated within a particular level of education [9].

Previous research indicates that parents with higher economic and cultural capital tend to impose stricter academic standards on their children and invest more in private tutoring and supplementary education [10,11]. On the contrary, parents with lower economic and cultural capital often forgo private tutoring, opting for a more “hands-off” approach to their children’s education [12]. Nowadays, the implementation of the “Double Reduction” Policy reduces the amount of homework in schools, which further drives economically advantaged parents to choose to seek out private tutoring as a means to enhance their children’s academic performance. This will put the children of the middle and lower income groups, such as migrant workers, at a disadvantage. Consequently, upper and middle class families can take up most of the quality education resources by virtue of their economic and cultural capital, while those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are often relegated to less favorable educational opportunities. If this phenomenon persists for a long time, class solidification will first appear in the education system, and it will gradually become difficult for students from lower-middle-class backgrounds to obtain a higher social status and achieve upward mobility of the class via their own abilities, which will subsequently affect the overall class structure of the society.

In addition, with the liberalization of the “Three-Child” Policy, many families will transform into multi-child families, and the persistence of extracurricular tutoring may also lead to an education gap between one-child families and multi-child families. In one-child families, parents can devote all their family resources to their only child, so that the child can have access to superior and more

extensive tutoring. Multi-child families face significant economic pressures if they aim to provide similar educational resources to each child, potentially compromising the quality of education received by their offspring. The disparity in the distribution of educational resources between the two types of families may give the only child an advantage in academic competition.

4.3 Policy Recommendations

Drawing upon the research findings, this study makes three main recommendations as follows.

Firstly, the policy should strengthen schools' construction of after-school services.

Based on the results of the interviews, this study finds that the after-school services provided by schools do not fit into the off-work hours of the majority of parents, leading most parents to rely on extracurricular tutoring institutions that offer more convenient timing and specialized instruction. Therefore, while the "Double Reduction" Policy requires schools to reduce the amount of homework, it should also supervise the establishment of a high-quality and diversified service system in schools to meet parents' schedules and students' needs for consolidating knowledge after school. It is only through the construction of a sound after-school service system that the primary battlefield of education be shifted back to schools.

Secondly, the policy should force reformation of the evaluation system and student selection mechanisms during the compulsory education stage.

The interview results indicate that the test-centered student selection mechanism is a major source of anxiety for parents and a significant pressure point for students. Therefore, while implementing the "Double Reduction" Policy aimed at reducing the burden of homework on students, it is imperative to gradually abandon the "score-only" approach in student selection and evaluation during compulsory education. And on this basis, new standards should be formulated to examine the comprehensive qualities of students, with the intention of diluting the strong "exam-oriented" atmosphere in society. Only by reforming the education system can the "Double Reduction" Policy drive a broader transformation in the overall educational ethos of society.

Lastly, the policy should also promote a shift in parents' educational philosophy.

The results of the interviews indirectly show that most parents are still under the influence of the entrenched "exam-oriented" mindset, leading to the phenomenon of "racing ahead," where children are enrolled in extracurricular tutoring for advanced learning of higher-grade knowledge. This not only drains students' energy to a great extent, but also leads to a skewed allocation of resources within the

current education system, generating a lot of unnecessary competition. Hence, alongside reforming the education system, it is essential to fundamentally transform parents' educational perspectives. Specifically, parents need to realize that academic performance is not the sole criterion for measuring their children's future prospects. Instead, the focus should be on the development of the child's learning interests, hobbies and specialties, as well as on the child's comprehensive development, both physically and mentally.

5. Conclusion

Through conducting semi-structured interviews with parents of primary school students in public schools, this study reveals that the phenomenon of extracurricular tutoring has not completely disappeared in the context of the "Double Reduction" Policy.

Drawing upon the ecological system theory as a conceptual framework, this study explores multifaceted factors underpinning this phenomenon. According to the interviews, the micro-system highlights the influence of parents' educational philosophy, while the meso-system uncovers the role of high secondary school performance requests, ranking systems, and the peer influence fostered by extracurricular tutoring. Furthermore, the macro-system identifies the streaming and examination-based enrollment systems, middle-class social mobility anxieties, and entrenched traditional Chinese educational values as significant contributors.

Subsequently, this study provides a preliminary analysis of the implications of the persistence of extracurricular tutoring, suggesting that it may lead to a further widening of the educational gap between the upper and lower middle classes, as well as between one-child and multi-child families, and exacerbate educational inequality. Ultimately, the study proposes policy recommendations from three perspectives: school practices, systemic reforms, and educational philosophy, with a view to contributing to the improvement of the "Double Reduction" Policy.

As the "Double Reduction" Policy was promulgated in the past three years, this study offers timely insights into the societal phenomena and challenges that have emerged post-implementation, and analyze the causes and effects of this phenomenon based on the sociological perspective. The limitations of this study are that the research sample is limited to parents in Shanghai, and the interviewees are basically the same in terms of economic and cultural capital, which makes it difficult to compare and analyze with other classes, leaving room for future research to capture the realities of diverse social strata.

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