

The role of extra lessons on the general administration of urban day high density secondary schools

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the role of extra lessons on the general administration of the secondary schools in Chegutu, Zimbabwe. The case study design was adopted. Interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis were used to collect data. Twenty-three participants, consisting 8 teachers, 6 learners, 6 parents and 3 school inspectors were purposively sampled. Findings revealed that the general administration of schools was affected by extra lessons. Extra lessons helped in raising the school pass rates. They helped build a good image for the schools and assisted in the reduction of the teachers' workload. However, the lessons created a dent on teacher professionalism. Teachers were accused of neglecting formal schoolwork by creating demand for extra lessons among learners. The lessons also contributed to indiscipline among learners. Relations between learners and teachers were also strained. The study recommended that extra lessons should continue as they reduced the workload for teachers and provided a conducive working environment at the school. It is prudent that MOPSE, school heads and parents monitor work given to learners during normal school hours to avoid the creation of artificial demand for extra lessons.

Keywords: Extra lessons, administration, urban day, high density, secondary schools

1. INTRODUCTION

Supplementing and complementing what has been learnt in the formal school classroom through extra lessons has received a lot of attention from different stakeholders and the practice has become a worldwide undertaking, consequently generating a lot of discussion in countries in the European Union, Asia, Canada and Africa (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Bray, 2011; Davies & Aurini, 2016; Munikwa & Mutungwe, 2011; Sacmeq, 2010). So popular have been the extra lessons that they have been an activity that has been incorporated in education sub-systems in most countries, globally, as learners take to the activity on a very large scale (Bray, 2015). Various reasons have been advised for the practice. In Zimbabwe, extra lessons were initially designed by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (MOPSE), as remedial lessons, to assist learners lagging aspects of their formal school learning areas. MOPSE, through Chief Education Officer Circular Minute Number 12 of 1987, declared that activities meant to provide remediation for learner inadequacies and deficiencies were only meant to assist those of average and learners above average ability who appeared to be lagging at least two years behind in a learning area to enable them to catch up with others. However, with the practice involving all types of learners and teachers and different types of schools, there has been mixed feelings about efficacy and potency leading to some stakeholders questioning their role in the mainstream education system. While their role in propping up learners' academic achievement has received wide debate albeit with a lot of disagreements, it is their effects on the general administration of the school that needs attention (Bray, 2013). For that reason, this study was an investigation aimed

at establishing the effects of extra lessons on the general administration of the school with the hope of filling in the gap identified in different research studies.

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

With the advent of extra lessons, a lot of optimism has been ushered in within the minds of many stakeholders notwithstanding the fact the extra lessons have had their fair share of challenges. This has been highlighted in some studies that have indicated both the positive and negative effects of extra lessons on, for example, the academic achievement and economic role of extra lessons (Bray, 2015). The diverse and contradictory views on the role played by extra lessons on other phenomenon give rise to an inquisitive mind on what could be their effects on the general administration of the schools. It is, therefore, the aim of this study to investigate the role of extra lessons, if any, on the general administration of the urban day high density secondary schools in Chegutu, Zimbabwe.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study aimed at addressing the following research questions:

1. How have extra lessons affected policy issues in schools?
2. To what extent have extra lessons contributed to the staff turnover in schools
3. In what ways have extra lessons contributed to learner indiscipline in secondary schools?
4. How have extra lessons affected relationships between teachers and learners in secondary schools?

4. RELATED STUDIES

Some studies, for example, a national survey involving thirteen countries worldwide, which included Japan and Kuwait, established that the extensive use of extra lessons and other related initiatives tended to impact on the formal schools and as such educational policy pronouncements (Baker, Akiba, Le Tendre, & Wiseman, 2011). One of the findings in the study was that shadow education provides feedback to learners and their families on the changes pertaining to the admission into high school as well as universities and colleges. This, therefore, implies that extra lessons influenced policy making to a large extent as those in search of the extra lessons are motivated by need to make it in institutions of higher learning and work opportunities as well as high stake tests. Further findings by Baker et al. (2011) establish that because of the extensive use of extra lessons in Japan, teachers in public schools have had their workload drastically reduced calling for policy changes on workload allocation. In such instances, extra lessons would normally lead to the teacher redundancy. Where teachers are idle, there is no reason why governments should continue paying them particularly where learners abstain from attending lessons due to their attendance of extra lessons. Where some schools get affected in such a manner that is through reduced pupil-teacher ratio some teachers are normally transferred to other schools where their services are required.

A study in Kuwait, established that extra lessons caused a great lack of interest on the part of the learners (Hussein, 2007). Hussein (2007) argues that there is a lot of absenteeism in schools and where learners attend, they do so to avoid being questioned by the administration. If the learners know that they can pass the examinations through extra lessons, they avoid going to school. In agreement, Whewell (2007) deplors the use of extra lessons when he remarks that the objections to private tuition, which principally requires attention, are that it interferes with public teaching as well as generating dependence and superficial knowledge among learners.

It has also been established that extra lessons, in some schools, make learners skip classes or sleep through lessons. This means that extra lessons can make regular schooling less efficient and lower the educational attainment of learners (Bray & Lykins, 2012). In India, Yasmeen (2009) established that as a result of attending extra lessons, learners created disciplinary problems. Yasmeen (2009) and Cheo

and Quah (2005) conclude that the adage, “the more the better” in terms of extra lessons does not match reality, and that diminishing returns set in rapidly when “over-investment in the child” takes place.

Sawada and Kobayashi (2006) report that learners in Japan did not take their secondary school mathematics seriously because they attended *juku*. According to Sawada and Kobayashi (2006), 50% of the teachers interviewed stated that learners who took part in the extra lessons refused to take part in other school activities. This demonstrates that extra lessons have had some effects on the school administration. Another study in India established that as a result of attending extra lessons, classroom attention tended to dwindle and the learners who were involved in the extra lessons created disciplinary problems (Yasmeen, 2009).

Extra lessons have also been blamed for the human capital flight, that is, resignations and abscondment for greener pastures. Education systems have seen an exodus of teachers from the mainstream. In some countries, (e.g. Costa Rica and Lithuania) teachers have resigned from their formal teaching posts to go and undertake extra lessons that have had a bright light effect (Bray, 2011; Mogari, et al, 2009). However, private tutoring has not always been negative as the practice has been used to fill in the void in the mainstream (Bray, 2001; Mogari et al., 2009). Teachers, in critical areas, are leaving. For example, Mathematics and Science teachers are in short supply in South Africa (Mogari, et al, 2009; Moloji, 2000). This, then, might have given rise to the need for extra lessons in Mathematics and Science where teachers are in critical supply.

5. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This study was a qualitative inquiry aimed at understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting (Creswell, 2012; Flick, 2011). The researcher adopted the case study design to gain a greater depth of information on the effects of extra lessons on the general administration of the urban day high schools. The study focus was on the use of methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis, result in a narrative, descriptive account of a setting or practice (Parkinson & Drislane, 2011). Interviews were held with teachers, school inspectors and parents. Learners were subjected to a focus group discussion. The researcher accessed and analysed documents which included punishment records as well as learner academic reports. The researcher was interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009). In this case, the researcher was, therefore, interested in investigating what teachers, school inspectors, parents and learners viewed as the effects of extra lessons on the general administration of the schools. The researcher thus studied the behaviour of the participants, that is, teachers, school inspectors, parents and learners, in their natural setting (the schools and the community in which these schools were located) attempting to make sense of the phenomenon of extra lessons in terms of the meanings the participants provide to the researcher (Creswell, 2012).

6. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Twenty-three participants made it into the study. A kick start sample of 30 participants was targeted but data saturation was arrived at with 23 participants who provided enough data that was adequate to provide the data for the study. The 23 participants from where data were generated consisted of 8 teachers, 6 learners, 6 parents and 3 school inspectors who were sampled through non-probability purposive sample. The researcher utilised the critical case sampling is a technique that refers to the process of undertaking a selection of a small section of important cases from a group of prospective cases whereby the selected case is most likely to yield the most important information that has the greatest impact on the development of knowledge being sought by the researcher (Patton, 2014). The researcher identified the critical cases of participants that were taking part in extra lessons. Their level

of participation and experience in the phenomenon was very critical to inform conclusions and make logical generalisations in the study (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Over and above having participants` identity hidden for purposes of anonymity and confidentiality using pseudonyms, the participants were given codes. Teachers were coded T1 to T6. Learners were coded L1 to L6 and parents P1 to P6, whereas school inspectors were coded S1 to S3. This assisted in attributing responses attached to the different participants at the same time persevering their anonymity.

7. PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Data generated through interviews, document analysis and focus group discussions, several themes emerged. The data are therefore, presented under the various themes. From the findings, it has emerged that the general administration of the schools in Chegutu urban has been affected both positively and negatively, by the extra lessons. From a positive perspective, extra lessons improved the general school grades and complement what has been taught in schools, making it easier for teachers to handle their instructional duties. On a negative note, extra lessons are the root cause of some of the misdemeanours among learners within the classroom and around the school, making it an administrative challenge for the teachers and school heads.

7.1 Improvement in the general school grades and image

Extra lessons have impacted positively on the general school pass rates, ratings and school image in the community. From the public eye, the pass rates scored by the school mean that there is quality education being provided by the schools through the hard work being done by the teachers and the learners. A school that has learners attending extra lessons and thereafter performing quite well, gets the credit and inversely boosts its image to the extent that it woos a lot of students to enroll with them. In one of the excerpts, Mr. Jonasi (T1), a teacher, believes that extra lessons “*have paved way for the improved pass rates in most schools*” whose learners were taking part in these extra lessons. These sentiments were also echoed by another teacher, Mrs. Nhari (T3) who supports this view by indicating that “*The school average and children’s grades are set to improve if they attend extra lessons*”. When this happens, the image of the school is set to improve as the school is regarded in high esteem as indicated in the following excerpt in which Mr. Sango (T5) is in full support of the views by these other participants by remarking thus:

I think maybe prestige in terms of pass rates when students end up getting very good grades and then publicises them to the community and their enrolment increases. So, I think my extra lessons are ending up being a by-product to their enrolment as school itself. They end up enrolling more students because of the good prestige that grades come with.

From the excerpt, the term “*prestige*” goes to show that the school is looked at with great admiration by the members of public. Extra lessons are making schools prestigious in that the pass rates they get at the end of the year attract members of the communities. From the prestige which attracts members of the public, it is also significant to note that schools are increasing their enrolments because of the extra lessons. This is signified by the expression “*their enrolment increases*”.

Concurring with views of other participants, one of the schools` inspectors, Mr. Mhofu (SI1), mentions that the schools stood to benefit from the extra lessons through spillovers benefits in form of improved grades. He had this to say:

It is going to have a benefit, directly, yes because what we are talking of are results at the end of the day, results that speak well for the school. The teachers ... has gone an extra mile teaching the children but it sets a very good record of performance for the school even if it is conducted outside but without mentioning the extra effort made by the teachers outside the system.

From the above excerpt, extra lessons are making the schools attractive. Part of the excerpt states “*results that speak well for the school*” is an indication that the school has created a good image through the results which are attributed to extra lessons. The phrase “*sets a very good record*” goes to demonstrate that schools are benefiting from the efforts teachers are putting outside of the school initiatives as signified in the phrase “*without mentioning the extra effort made by the teachers outside the system*”.

Perceptions held by parents help sustain the view that schools are befitting out of the extra lessons. For example, in the following excerpt, Mr. January (P1) sees a lot of positive effects to the school among which is what he refers to as “*the glory to the school*”:

Indeed. A good pass rate for a school is a glory that goes to the school. Although there has been some input by those extra lesson teachers or those extra lessons. So penultimately, it is the school that gets the glory to say there is such a higher percentage. The school has got 85%, 95% pass rate and more so per subject. The teacher at that school gets the glory to say, Mrs. So and So or Mr. So, and So has got 90% pass rate in Mathematics and yet maybe out of these children some go for extra lessons. So, I find it positive and good for the school as well.

The phrase “*glory that goes to the school*” and “*it is the school that gets the glory*” indicate that the school is benefiting from the extra lessons after the learners have passed their examination. Where the schools get very pass rates as indicated in the excerpt by “*has got 85%, 95% pass rate*”, it is the school that benefits more than the teachers. Yet credit should also go to the extra lessons as suggestions by the phrase “*yet maybe out of these children some go for extra lessons*”.

In support of the views and beliefs held by teachers, the learners in the focus group discussion indicated that extra lessons assisted schools to a great extent in improving the pass rates in the schools. For example, Moxon said, “*I think the lessons are making it possible for the pass rate to improve at the school, it is higher.*” The claims were also substantiated by Cecil (FGDL5) who said, “*I see extra lessons as improving the knowledge among the learners. To add to that the school’s pass rate improves.*” The improved pass rate was also visible in the school head’s office as displayed on the results analysis table for the past years.

Public and social media in Zimbabwe have flighted school ratings, according to their pass rates from position one to 100, nationally. On the role of creating a positive image of the school through pass rates, the findings in this study concur with those in a study in Kenya by Mboi and Nyabedha (2013). In their study, they established learners who attended extra lessons indicated that their teachers wanted them to pass their examinations in order to compete with other schools for positions. This could be the same in Zimbabwe especially where school ratings are now in the public domain. In concurrence, Barrow and Lochan (2012) remark that high performance was a standard for determining good primary schools, effective school administrators and teachers, who would receive acclamation and admiration from the public hence the concurring with the findings of this study as indicated in the phrase in the above excerpt “*end up enrolling more students because of the good prestige that grades come with*”. Indeed, enrolment statistics for the school signified a steady rise especially for the Advanced level classes as seen in the Staffing and Enrolment documents held at the school.

Although the schools in Chegutu urban have not been anywhere within the 1-100 best school range, there are possibilities that, locally there could be competition for learners as a result of the academic results, which are publicised through word of mouth and other means such as the social media. However, one of the schools, S1, has received a lot of attention from the community as the best in the urban centre, hence being the most prestigious among the three. To confirm the “*prestige*” that went

with the grades, the schools has witnessed a steady rise in the pass rates as is indicated on the results analysis documents posted in the school head's office. There is, therefore, stiff competition among members of the public to have their children enroll with the school.

Thus, the extra lessons are supporting the conventional school system, to a large extent, by improving the pass rates for the schools which then translate into gaining of prestige and glory for the schools.

7.2 Reducing the burden of the teaching and learning process on the teacher

Extra lessons are aiding in the reduction of the teachers' workload. This is evident in the reduction of strain on the teachers, as reflected in the excerpts. Teachers no longer to explain concepts at length in the formal classes. The concepts would have been introduced to some learners during extra lessons and the teacher in the formal class, finds it easy to explain the already covered material.

All the six (100%) learners were in general agreement that their schools are benefiting in that the teachers are not having to labour a lot when teaching because, after lessons, the learners are easy to teach. The learners already the concepts being taught by their class teacher in the mainstream. For example, this is demonstrated in the following excerpts by two of the learners in the focus group discussion:

Devine (FGDL3): *I see these lessons are important in that if you go to school, teachers are not kept busy a lot or subjected to a lot of labour because you will be revising some of these things, those taught during the extra lessons.*

Ben (FGDL4): *Extra lessons are benefiting because the teacher does not have a lot of work to do. Children go to school already knowledgeable. The teachers won't spend a lot of time teaching learners. Thirty minutes provided at the school per lesson, won't be adequate but because of extra lessons, learners would already be knowing a lot of things taught during extra lessons.*

Teachers taking classes with learners who would have attended extra lessons are not as burdened as those taking classes devoid of extra lessons attendees. This is evident in the first excerpt where Devine (FGDL5) mentions that "*teachers are not kept busy a lot or subjected to a lot of labour*". Part of the work will already have been covered during extra lessons. This is evidenced in the phrase "*you will be revising some of these things*" implying that the work would have already been covered during extra lessons. As implied in the phrase "*teacher does not have a lot of work*", there is less burden on the part of the teacher as the class will not devote a lot of time on issues already covered during extra lessons as implied in the phrase "*won't spend a lot of time teaching learners*". This is because learners are already familiar with the concepts as "*learners would already be knowing a lot of things taught during extra lessons*". Extra lessons lessened the burden on the teachers to as learners would have been introduced to the concepts well before hand. In support, Nyasha (FGDL6), indicates that learners go to school with some knowledge when she remarks *they will already be knowing how to use a formula*. This differentiates learners who attend and those who do not attend extra lessons. The phrase "*learners would already be knowing a lot of things taught during extra lessons*", signifies that there is bound to be less work for the teacher because most of the issues would have been already dwelt upon during extra lessons. Therefore, extra lessons were a solution to reducing fatigue on the teacher over and above solving the challenges expressed on the inadequate time for normal lessons, which in the schools ranged from 30 to 40 minutes per lesson. While in the present study, the extra lessons brought relief to the teachers in the formal school, a study carried out by Further findings by Baker et al. (2001) found out that this could be a threat to the teachers' jobs. In that study, it was established that extensive use of extra lessons in Japan, teachers in public schools have had their workload drastically reduced thus calling for policy changes on workload allocation and conversely leading to the teacher redundancy. However, the Zimbabwean situation differs in that as these extra lessons are prohibited,

not all learners attend making it impossible for teacher retrenchments, thus coming as a blessing to those teachers who find themselves teaching learners who attend the extra lessons.

7.3 Extra lessons as a conduit for corruption by teachers

Extra lessons breed corruption among teachers (Silova and Bray, 2006). There was a feeling from the generality of the participants, especially school inspectors and parents, that extra lessons are a source of corruption by the teachers. All the 3(100%) school inspectors and 4(67%) parents agree that extra lessons are making teachers underperform in the formal classroom with the hope of forcing learners to attend extra lessons which are economically lucrative to them. The following excerpt from an interview with one of the parents, Ms. Ndumo (P2), helps to sustain this view.

I think if the teachers who teach at school conduct extra lessons for the same students they are teaching at schools, I think there is a loophole there because they will not teach well in school and put more effort after school and it will disadvantage those who cannot afford to pay for extra lessons.

Teachers are not putting a lot of effort in the formal classroom as signified by the phrase “*they will not teach well in school and put more effort*”. From the excerpt, one gets a feeling that the instructional process is especially where teachers take learners or extra lessons and as well take the same for the formal classes. The term “*loophole* suggests” that teachers take advantage of the unsuspecting learners to teach them during the extra lessons as well as during the formal classes.

Situations in which teachers provide extra lessons for learners for whom they are already responsible in the public system can lead to corruption, particularly when such teachers deliberately teach less in their regular classes in order to promote the market for extra lessons (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Dawson, 2009). In support of the above remarks, one of the school inspectors, Mr. Mhofu (S11) said:

So, when they conduct these lessons, I also feel enough justice may not be done at school level. They would reserve their time to go and conduct the extra lessons after hours and it means dismissal or early departure home to conduct these lessons because they need to be conducted during the day and before sunset so that the children can benefit and you can draw as many children as possible depending on your approach to clientele or the learners.

From the excerpt, not a lot of effort is being put by the teachers in the mainstream system as symbolised by the phrase “*enough justice may not be done at school level*”. However, according to the phrase “*reserve their time to go and conduct the extra lessons*”, one has a feeling that more effort is now being put on extra lessons and in some cases, teachers may dismiss as signified by “*early departure home*”. From the excerpt one believes that teachers have become unscrupulous to the extent that what they want are numbers regardless of their complaining about the same in the formal school. The phrase “*you can draw as many children as possible depending on your approach to clientele or the learners*” now testifies that teachers are now worried about drawing as many learners as possible for the extra lessons so that they make more money. The same observation was made by Bray (2009), who asserts that extra tuition diverted resources from other productive use when teachers in the mainstream education system tended to focus their attention more to the profitable extra lessons.

In another excerpt, Mr. Oliver (P3) also expresses reservations on the extra lessons especially where teachers tend to relax in the formal school system with the hope of forcing learners to take up extra lessons to supplement what would have been learnt at school. This is reflected when he says “*teachers have got a tendency of just sitting during the time they will be at school hoping that if they go out for these extra lessons, they are going to make one or two dollars*”. He also goes on to remark that “*there is*

very little that is going to happen in our schools and teachers will be waiting for opportunities to go out and carry out these extra lessons". This makes one view teachers as corrupt as they do not take their formal work seriously in order to create demand for extra lessons. The same views have been shared by Bray (2009), citing Sujatha (2007), who remarks that teachers involved in extra tuition do not take their normal teaching in the mainstream system seriously, hence forcing learners they teach in the formal school to attend the extra lessons.

In further concurrence with above excerpts, that as teachers taking part in the extra lessons are not performing well in the normal class, Mr. Nhari (T3) remarking thus:

From my own observation, teachers are no longer committed to their work especially while at school because they recruit children who come later for extra lessons. They are reluctant to teach at school and maybe it is because of low morale.

The phrase "*no longer committed to their work especially while at school*", shows that teachers deliberately ignore their schoolwork with the hope of enticing learners for extra lessons. In some cases, they are just teaching just to appear as if everything is normal and yet inwardly, they are not willing to teach in the formal classes as signified by the phrase "*reluctant to teach at school*". Another participant, Mr. Turo (T6), concurs when he says:

You have seen that professionalism in the teaching sector has been sacrificed especially taking cognisance of the fact that most of the teachers now respect these extra lessons more as compared to the work they are supposed to be doing in their schools. During the day, teachers sit on their laurels not teaching so that students will beg for extra lessons. And in that regard, the teacher is going to benefit and that is a loss to the student and the parent.

From the excerpt, work ethics are no longer being respected. The phrase "*professionalism in the teaching sector has been sacrificed*" shows teacher are flouting regulations. Extra lessons are stealing the limelight from the mainstream education system as reflected in the phrase "*respect these extra lessons more as compared to the work they are supposed to be doing in their schools*". Teachers seem not to be concerned about their formal work so that they secretly force learners to ask for extra lessons. This is why teachers have been blamed for manipulating the mainstream by slackening their teaching to create opportunities for extra lessons (Lee, 2002; Mogari, Coetze and Maritz; 2009). The lack of professionalism is also shown in the phrase "*sit on their laurels not teaching so that students will beg for extra lessons*". Several studies concur with the present study by highlighting the immorality of teachers taking part in supplementary tutoring (e.g Bray & Lykins, 2012; Dawson, 2009; Silova & Bray, 2006). These studies have argued that these extra lessons foster corruption. This also resonates with the findings by Silova and Bray (2006) whose study in Ukraine and Azerbaijan revealed that most respondents believed that teachers treated students, who took part in extra lessons, better than they treated those who avoided the extra lessons. In the same survey, most respondents revealed that most teachers involved in extra lessons would pressure students they taught to take up supplementary lessons with them after official school time.

This lack of professionalism was also observed Bray (2003). From another perspective though, Bray (2003) noted that if teachers in the mainstream education system discovered that many of the students in their mainstream classes were receiving supplementary tutoring, they tended not to work hard. The lack of professionalism was manifested in situations where some learners received supplementary while others did not, leaving teachers in the mainstream in a dilemma on whether to teach effectively to those who were not receiving extra lessons or be inclined towards teaching as expected to those who had already been taught because they felt this group was easier to teach than the other. This is besides the case that there is need to consider teaching according the syllabus, whether learners are attending

extra lessons. Citing Sujatha (2007), Bray (2009) remarks that teachers involved in extra tuition do not take their normal teaching in the mainstream system seriously. All this bear testimony to the corrupt tendencies that have crept in some of the teachers providing extra lessons.

7.4 Causing indiscipline among learners in the formal school

Extra lessons have also given rise to indiscipline among learners when they come to the mainstream school. Two out of the six learner participants and five of the teachers indicated that extra lessons were a cause for concern in as far as learner discipline was concerned. A typical example is an observation by participant learner Ben (FGDL4), who remarked that those who attended extra lessons were seen roaming about and made noise during lessons at school. This is what he had to say:

There is something negative about these lessons because if a learner gets these extra lessons and goes to school, they start making a lot of noise in class. They even start walking around the school yard when others are having lessons in their classrooms. Some teachers then start following them up asking them where they will be going, and what they will be doing.

In the excerpt the phrases “start making a lot of noise in class” and “walking around the school yard when others are having lessons” bear testimony to the disciplinary challenges faced by schools after learners have attended extra lessons. Making noise disturbs the smooth flow of activities in the school as other learners are distracted from the learning that should be going on. Roaming around during as symbolised by “walking around the school yard” is also not permissible as others are in the classrooms during learning time. This is like absconding lessons. Ben is supported by Peter, who indicates that he has discovered that there are problems because those learners who would have gone for extra lessons, “make noise in class” because they feel that they have already covered the work being taught. Since they already knew the concepts being taught, they proceeded to disturb those who did not have money to enroll for extra lessons.

Participant teacher Mr. Zhou also weighs in in support of the learner participants. He had this to say about the extra lessons:

You would hear them actually saying, “Can we be excused? We want to attend extra lessons at home. Our parents want us to attend extra lessons at home”. So would realise that in some cases they would skip school to go and attend extra lessons at home.

From the excerpt the phrase “would skip school” demonstrates that extra lessons are causing learners to abscond formal lessons. The phrases “can we be excused, and parents want us to attend extra lessons at home” may make the formal classroom teacher feel belittled from the utterances as learners would be of the belief that the extra lessons teacher is better off than the normal classroom teacher. Learners, who fail to get permission to go away for extra lessons, may make noise in classes and this results in them being punished for noise making as reflected in punishment books.

In his own views, another teacher, Mr. Jonasi (T1) also weighed in by reflecting on the negative side of extra lessons. As per his experiences, he had discovered that some students would be “reluctant to work at school”. This shows despondency on the learners` side as they bank on the services they receive during extra lessons. There are several drawbacks which create a lot of disciplinary problems for the teachers hence the extra lessons become deplorable since they interfere with public teaching (Yasmeen, 2009; Whewell, 2007).

To confirm the claims by participants that learners at times were found on the wrong side of the school regulations due to attending extra lessons, the researcher had the chance to look at the punishment books kept the three schools. While no breaches of regulations warranting expulsions or exclusions

were recorded in the “black books”, punishment records indicate minor breaches of school regulations committed by those learners who attended extra lessons. For example, at one school, S3, some learners who either absconded lessons or arrived late for school were among those who attended extra lessons and their names appeared on the list headed “*Late comers*” or *Going home before dismissal*”. Several reasons for late coming or abscondment were attributed to attendance at extra lessons. These findings are in line with those by several studies (Bray, 2003; Hussein, 2007; Yasmeen, 2009). According to Bray (2003), extra lessons create disciplinary problems in the mainstream for teachers, as in some learners, tutoring gave rise to lack of interest in what was going in the classroom. Lack of interest was shown through absenteeism from class although in some cases learners would attend classes as required by the school regulations. “*Walking around the school yard when others are having lessons*” from the excerpt above reflects the same scenario. Similar findings have been established elsewhere (Hussein, 2007; Sawada & Kobayashi, 2006). Both these studies report that learners did not want to take part in other school activities because of attending extra lessons. This is in line with “*the roaming around the school when others are in class*” to show their disinterest in the formal class activities (Hussein, 2007). In further support a study in India, established that as a result of attending extra lessons, classroom attention tended to dwindle and the learners who were involved in the extra lessons created disciplinary problems (Yasmeen, 2009).

7.5 Creation of tension and conflict among and between teachers and learners

Tied to the disciplinary challenges brought about by the extra lessons, data obtained from the participants also show that extra lessons have created tension among learners and between teachers and learners.

In support of the finding, from his narrative, Mr. Zhou (T8) also acknowledges the existence of conflict between teachers and learners as a result of extra lessons. In his own words he said:

...we can see that there is a conflict between classroom teachers and those who conduct extra lessons elsewhere, who are not teachers. The problem is that those who conduct extra lessons elsewhere, in their homes, have their own way of tackling educational issues, tackling subjects and stuff. So, there is a problem when you as a teacher want to teach your learners at school using a particular method you were taught at college. It would be very difficult for you to agree with that learner especially if he/she has prior information that he/she got from the “pasi pemumango” teachers. These teachers simply drill the learners They are after money. So, what they do is they use certain methods which I can call are unauthodox means, conveying information to learners. So, when that learner comes to school, it will be very difficult to explain certain concepts to him/her because “anenge ane zvaakudzwa, mumwe muitiro waakudzwa” wherever, “kwaakadzidza” (They could have been taught whatever they were told elsewhere). So that’s where there is a challenge in the mainstream.

From the excerpt the phrase “*conflict between classroom teachers and those who conduct extra lessons*” bears testimony to the idea that all is not well in terms of relationships between the teacher in the formal class and the extra lessons teacher, especially where the two tend to be different. They, therefore, tend to blame one another for lack of progress when they are engaged with the students. Trained teachers in the formal school system want to put into practice the theory taught at college as reflected in “*want to teach your learners at school using a particular method you were taught at college*”. However, this is met with resistance from the learners as shown by the phrase “*very difficult for you to be in agreement with that learner*”. This creates mistrust between the teachers themselves as well as between the teachers and the learners. What is of utmost importance from the above excerpt is that differences in the presentations of matter between the teacher in the formal classroom and the teacher offering extra lessons, is the source of conflict between teachers and learners when they come to the formal school. Different methods of teaching cause the learners to mistrust the formal classroom

teacher resulting in conflict because of prior information as signified in the phrase *anenge ane zvaakaudzwa, mumwe muitiro waakaudzwa*” wherever, “*kwaakadzidza*”. Literally translated, this means, learners would have been taught something else during extra lessons elsewhere. The formal classroom teacher is unable to convince such learners that what he/she is putting across is correct and that what he/she is doing, is the correct way of doing things. It, therefore, becomes a challenge and there is conflict between the taught learners and the teacher.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Extra lessons impact positively on school pass rates, ratings and help build and improve a good image for the schools in the community. This in turn results in more learners willing to enroll in the schools. Extra lessons assist in the reduction of the teachers` workload. By so doing, they reduce strain on the teachers who find it easy to explain concepts in the formal classes because the concepts are already introduced to some learners during extra lessons. Under such circumstances, teachers feel relieved to work thereby operating in a motivating environment. Extra lessons also assist by covering up for inadequate time in the formal school system. Some negative effects have also been established from the study. Extra lessons have created a dent on teacher professionalism in the education sector as some teachers have been accused of neglecting formal schoolwork so that they create demand for extra lessons among learners. In some cases, they have also contributed indiscipline among learners, while at school. Tension has also been created by extra lessons between teachers taking part those not given the extra remuneration coming out of the lessons as well as differing methods of instruction. Learners and teachers also seem to have their relations strained. Learners have been accused of disagreeing with teachers in the mainstream on issues they feel were handled correctly during the extra lessons. Despite these drawbacks, extra lessons have had some positive effects to the general school administration.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are proposed for the different categories of stakeholders:

- Extra lessons should continue to be offered as they reduce the workload for teachers and provide a conducive working environment at the school since teachers are not over worked.
- It is prudent that MOPSE, school heads and parents monitor work that is being given to learners during the normal working hours to avoid instances where teachers work less in the mainstream in order to create demand for extra lessons.
- There is need to provide guidance and counselling to learners on how to go about attending the extra lessons without affecting the other activities expected of them in the formal school, for example, sports, since these are also of great importance to their wellbeing.
- It is recommended that, because parents, teachers, learners and school inspectors felt that extra lessons are helping to supplement and complement the mainstream education, there is need to legalise the extra lessons and set standards for the activities so that they do not seem to be interfering with the main stream education system, but rather complement it.
- Pertaining to absenteeism and truancy due to attending extra lessons, school heads and the community, including the teachers offering extra lessons, need to make sure that learners are not affected by these extra lessons to the extent of avoiding normal classes and activities as spelt out in the school`s curriculum.

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