



The Social Role of Extra Lessons in Zimbabwean High Density Secondary Schools

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Abstract

This study was aimed at unearthing the social effects of extra lessons. The researcher adopted an interpretivist paradigm and used the qualitative approach. The multiple case study design was used owing to the three high density secondary schools in Chegutu urban, Zimbabwe. The study adopted multi method approach to data generation. Interviews, documents analysis and focus group discussions were adopted. A multi-perspective view was obtained from teachers, schools inspectors, parents and learners selected through critical case purposive sampling. A sample of twenty-three participants was used. Thematic analysis was used to sift the data. From the findings, it was revealed that while extra lessons had a number of positive social roles, they also had some negative social effects among the different stakeholders. Results show that extra lessons were used for the establishment of cordial relationships among learners and between teachers and learners interacting in small groups. Reduction of criminal activities was one of the benefits derived by society from learners attending extra lessons. However, attending extra lessons resulted in behaviour adulteration and modification. Extra lessons also exposed learners to abuse by teachers and contributed to the breakdown of the social fabric in the traditional family, because they consumed most of the time families were supposed to be together. The researcher proposed that the centralised model of extra lessons, where learners and teachers gather for extra lessons could be adopted so that there are no malpractices especially by teachers who have been accused of abusing learners in private places where extra lessons are offered. With some level of monitoring by MOPSE officials, centres and private places where extra lessons are offered need to be supervised so as not to be places of bad behaviour. Since extra lessons are based on the ability of the parents to pay, thus contributing to social inequalities among the people in the communities, the government could equalise the opportunities to attend through the creation of extra lesson centres. There is need to set standards and provide operating licences for service providers. Monitoring should be an on-going exercise to make sure standards are being upheld.

Keywords: Social role; Extra lessons; High density; Secondary schools.

1. Introduction

The high demand for extra lessons, the world over, has been attributed to the underprovided services in the formal and mainstream education system (Kim, 2004). This could have been the case in Zimbabwe. Between 2006 and 2008, work stoppages were a characteristic of the Zimbabwean education system given that educators and other personnel in the education service engaged in prolonged strikes to air out their grievances on poor conditions of service (Jinga and Ganga, 2012). While for some (Kim, 2004; Tokwe, 2010), it is the under provision of services in the mainstream system, others believe that the examination orientation among different communities is to blame for ever escalating demand for extra lessons (Smyth, 2009). Still others attribute the demand for extra lessons to the neglect of teachers, by the employers, who felt demoralised because their salaries were inadequate to meet their basic needs, even transport to and from work (Bewu, 2013). Given this background, the motives behind extra lessons have been to provide for the underprovided services, prop up learners' academic achievement in the face of the dreaded examinations and provide teachers with extra remuneration that employers could not afford to provide. While those advocating for extra lessons argued for them on the need for more time to augment the formal learning that has been affected in a number of ways, there are some unintended benefits and challenges that have been brought about by the extra lessons (Jinga and Ganga, 2012; Tokwe, 2010). One area that requires attention is the social side of the extra lessons given that learners and teachers are required to spend most their time outside the formal school, taking part in extra lessons (Mboi and Nyambedha, 2013). It is behind this background that this study sought to establish the perceptions of teachers, school inspectors, parents and learners, on the social role played by these extra lessons among the various stakeholders.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

There has been a lot of focus on the academic and economic role played by extra lessons, though with most studies differing on the potency of the extra lessons to improve the academic attainment of learners. Some debate on the social side of extra lessons among scholars has begun to rise with various scholars raising concerns on the social effects of extra lessons (Bray, 2011; Lee, 2015). This study, therefore, seeks to unearth the social effects of extra lessons, if any and provide recommendations for the way forward.

1.2. Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How have the extra lessons affected the social environment of the urban day secondary school learners and teachers?
2. How has the community benefitted from the extra lessons?
3. What have been the negative effects of extra lessons on the community?

2. Review of Related Studies

2.1. The Social Issues and Extra Lessons

According to [Bray \(2011\)](#), extra lessons have created and perpetuated social inequalities. Because extra lessons are meant to equalise opportunity for those who are motivated and have high potential to contribute to society, it is especially distressing how these extra lessons can be a social mechanism that reproduces and reinforces inequality ([Bray, 2011](#); [Bray and Lykins, 2012](#); [Hallak and Poisson, 2007](#); [Southgate, 2009](#)). This is because extra lessons are paid for and those who cannot pay, the traditionally disadvantaged, cannot attend hence they lag behind. Those capable of paying continue to access this elusive form of education that might remain the preserve of a few, even if it means asking for further clarification on issues fail to understand during formal working hours ([Hallak and Poisson, 2007](#)). Learners from affluent families and children of parents with higher education levels are more likely to receive extra lessons ([Kim, 2004;2007](#); [Kim and Park, 2010](#); [Lee, 2003](#)). However, intended benefits of extra lessons appear to be more for the less privileged groups than on the privileged ones. This has been revealed in some studies that have established that extra lessons are of much benefit to the learners from disadvantaged backgrounds ([MacBeath et al., 2001](#); [Posner and Vandell, 2009](#)). These studies revealed that learners from the disadvantaged groups are quick to grasp any opportunity that appears to be attempting to put them at equal footing with those well to do.

Extra lessons help to shape the social class of participants and distinguished one class from the other ([Smyth, 2009](#)). [Smyth \(2009\)](#), concludes that the uptake of the lessons is mostly motivated by the desire by parents to transform their economic capital into critical resources aimed at achieving social advantage over the non-participating households.

However, in contrast to that view, private tutoring affects all aspects of life for people in different socio-economic strata ([Hussein, 2017](#)). This is perhaps why teachers and learners from different backgrounds in Zimbabwe appear to be concerned about taking part in extra lessons. In the study, [Hussein \(2017\)](#) establishes that rich families used extra lessons as a means of showing off their economic wealth, whereas the poor used the extra lessons to help place them at an equal footing with their counterparts. For [Pontryagn](#) cited in [Hussein \(2017\)](#), extra lessons continue to pave way for the unbalancing of basic social rights in society. This applies where the poor are deprived of education whilst the rich are advantaged because they can use their financial resources to access a different form of education.

Moral issues have arisen in the provision of private tuition. Some studies have highlighted the immorality of teachers taking part in supplementary tutoring ([Bray and Lykins, 2012](#); [Dawson, 2009](#); [Silova and Bray, 2006](#)). [Silova and Bray \(2006\)](#), for example, argue that these extra lessons foster corruption. Situations in which teachers provide extra lessons for learners for whom they are already responsible for in the public system can lead to corruption, particularly when teachers deliberately teach less in their regular classes in order to promote the market for extra lessons ([Bray and Lykins, 2012](#); [Dawson, 2009](#)). Other studies support this finding by revealing that most teachers treat learners who take part in extra lessons better than they treat those who avoid the extra lessons ([Silova and Bray, 2006](#)). In some instances, learners are threatened with lower grades if they refuse to undertake extra lessons ([Dawson, 2009](#)).

On a positive note, extra lessons have had other non-academic social gains and roles in communities where they were being practiced ([Bray, 2009](#)). In various studies ([Bray, 2011](#); [Glasman, 2010](#); [Haag and van Kessel, 2010](#); [Kubanova, 2006](#)), extra lessons have tended to be used for social benefits by parents. Extra lessons are used for the maintenance of the social fabric between parents and their children. Learners, out of respect for their parents, go for the supplementary lessons as they do not want to appear to be going against the dictates of their parents ([Bray, 2011](#)). The sentiments are shared by [Kubanova \(2016\)](#) in a survey whose results show that learners attended extra lessons because their parents wanted them to do so. [Sultana \(2011\)](#) remarks that learners attended extra lessons to please their parents or other significant stakeholders. [Gauci and Wetz \(2009\)](#) established that parents sent their children for extra lessons in order that they felt that their parents were doing all they could to help them in their education even when there was no real need for them to attend.

However, whilst relations between parents and their children could be mended through extra lessons, relations between teachers taking part in the extra lessons could be strained. In Egypt, strained relationships arose between and among teachers involved in private tutoring when some teachers went without or had a few learners as they competed with colleagues for learners in the informal market ([Hartman, 2014](#)). There were strained relationships among teachers stemming from envy especially where some could not benefit while others were benefitting economically, from the private tutoring ([Bray, 2013](#)). However, a study in Hong Kong by [Bray \(2013\)](#), reveals that the receipt or non-receipt of private tutoring by learners did not have any significant bearing on their friendship and peer relationships.

[Sultana \(2011\)](#), suggests that learners joined extra lessons out of the desire to meet and make new friends and also fit into specific peer groups. These findings were most prevalent among teenagers who attended single sex regular schools. The same results were obtained in a study by [Barrow and Lochan \(2012\)](#) in Trinidad and Tobago,

which established children went for private lessons because they saw it as opportunity to socialise with learners of the opposite sex if the tutorial groups were co-educational.

In another study, also in France, [Glasman \(2007\)](#) established that homework was a centre for tensions between parents and their children. Parents would not be able to assist their children at times, because of the frustration stemming out of repeated failure on the part of the children being taught. Parents therefore, found it imperative to send their children to the extra lessons centres as a way of securing peace in the home and as means of getting rid of the children from the homes. This was a way of removing tension from the house ([Glasman, 2007](#)) and passing the burden to the intervener ([Senge, 2009](#)) where the problem was better off attended to and handled. According to [Bray \(2009\)](#), sending the children away was a way of removing tensions in the home in an attempt to pacify relationships among family members. [Bray \(2011\)](#), reporting on findings from a survey in European countries, notes that the mobility among family members led to the cessation of the domestic support as a traditional source of assistance in homework, hence children resorted to supplementary lessons outside of their homes. From the finding it can be noted that with large numbers people crossing the borders to other countries, this could be the reason why learners resorted to extra lessons. Some of these learners remained under the guardianship of the old who at most ill-equipped or uneducated enough to assist the learners with their school work ([Bray, 2011](#)).

In his study, [Hussein \(2017\)](#) established that some families used extra lessons to show off as they made extolling remarks of the numbers of tutors teaching their children. [Hussein \(2017\)](#), established that unlike in England, where there were independent schools as options for those who could afford, families in Kuwait sent their children to private tutors because there were no independent schools. The same study also established that families of a high socio-economic status were more likely to engage private tutors for their children. As already established in other studies ([Byun and Park, 2012](#); [Dang and Rogers, 2008](#); [Kim, 2004](#)), the well-off parents would presumably want to maintain the socio-economic gap between them and those of lesser class. This is why according to the same study by [Nath \(2016\)](#) rich parents, were willing to part with 46% of their private expenditure for education on private lessons for their children. In this case, [Nath \(2016\)](#) remarks that private supplementary tutoring is playing the role of providing more to those who already have thus widening the already existing inequalities in education.

[Mboi and Nyambedha \(2013\)](#), in Kenya, established that extra tuition was denying primary school learners the opportunity to interact with others within the school and outside, rest as well as play. However, [Bray \(2013\)](#) reveals that the majority of those learners that did not go for private tutoring indicated that they had more time for sports, shopping with parents and playing computer games with friends. In the study by [Mboi and Nyambedha \(2013\)](#), teachers attested to the view that learners left school late and arrived home after 1730 hours from school because extra tuition was provided in the schools. The extra lessons, thus alienated the learners from the normal expectations of society where they were required to perform certain household duties over and above attending school.

3. Research Methodology

The study adopted an interpretivist paradigm in which the researcher used the qualitative research approach. The chosen research design was the case study and the researcher adopted the multiple case study approach owing to the different sites of investigation which included three high density secondary schools in Chegutu urban. For data generation, the study adopted multi method approach which included interviews, documents analysis and focus group discussions. This methodological triangulation enabled the researcher to obtain data through the various data generating instruments ([Patton, 2014](#)). Since the study was on the social role of extra lessons, a multi-perspective dimension was obtained from teachers, schools inspectors, parents and learners. Their selection into the study was through critical case purposive sampling that the researcher was able to come up with a group of 23 participants from where data were generated. These participants had experience in as far as the extra lessons were concerned with the teachers having been in the practice for more than five years. Care was taken to safeguard the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants owing to fact that extra lessons were a sensitive issue in Zimbabwe. Informed consent to participation was also sought by the researcher ([Creswell, 2012](#)).

4. Presentation and Discussion of Results

Thematic analysis was used to sift the data. Emerging from the data were both positive and negative social effects of extra lessons on both individuals and community.

4.1. Establishment of Cordial Relationships among Learners and between Teachers and Learners

A very important role, expressed by the generality of the participants in the excerpts, is that extra lessons present opportunities for learners, parents and teachers to create cordial relationships. This is very outstanding in the following excerpt which captures views by one of the teachers, Mr. Zhou (not his real name):

I believe that these extra lessons are very important to the learners because they enhance co-operation among the learners, enhance unity, oneness amongst the learners. And also the relationship with their teachers, it builds a very strong bond, a strong relationship with their teachers because where they get a one-on-one experience with their teachers because I think normally in class, our classes are very big. You have a class of 65. So it will be a very difficult thing to have close contact with the learner in a class of 65. So when you have a class of 10, you would actually see that John has such and such a problem. And also remember that John would have brought money for you so the bond that you build with someone who paid you directly

becomes a very strong bond as compared to a bond that is there at school where you are complaining about the remuneration and stuff. So I think in terms of social unity, social cohesion, extra lessons are very important.

It is evident from the excerpt that extra lessons bring the learners together as they would have come from different schools. This is reflected in the phrase “*enhance co-operation among the learners, enhance unity, oneness amongst the learners*”. They co-operate with each other in the learning processes. In the same vein, there is the tendency for teachers and learners to build very strong relationships as reflected in the phrase “*builds a very strong bond, a strong relationship with their teachers*”. This is mainly a result of two reasons, according to remarks by the teacher. Firstly, there are a few learners in the class thereby making it possible for the teachers to get to know everyone and socialise resulting in a *one-on-one experience with their teachers*. Secondly, there is the payment for the service by the learners, which makes the teachers and their learners bonded together as shown by the phrase “*you build with someone who paid you directly becomes a very strong bond*”. Hence, teachers would get to know the learners more as they interacted on individual basis and the payment made by learners help cement the teacher-learner relationship, thus bringing about “*social unity, social cohesion*”.

According to Mr. Zhou, extra lessons help in “*the creation a kind of a bond amongst those who were taught resulting in them creating a network of friendship among learners from different schools*”. Learners attending extra lessons normally do so in groups ranging from 6 to 10 and, according to Mr. Zhou, one realises that after extra lessons, “*learners would discuss*”. This interaction and moving together, is therefore, a sign that extra lessons help in unifying them, thereby bringing about “*social cohesion*”. Learners coming from different schools converge around a teacher. It is likely from the meeting that they would discuss educational issues around what would have been taught the extra lessons. Given that situation, discussions lead to relationship formation, thereby enlarging the number of peers one had. The same would happen between the teacher and the learners.

In line with the views expressed other participants, one of the parents, Mr. Oliver (not his real name) indicated that socially, his child had benefitted in gaining friends during extra lessons. He had this to say:

...you would find out that she has actually improved the number of her friends and the teachers who are assisting her, such that she has actually benefitted because really, they could help one another if ever there is any problem and there are students from different schools apart from where she is attending. So, her number of friends and some fellow students who can assist her have actually increased.

From the excerpt, the phrase “*has actually improved the number of her friends and the teachers who are assisting her*” shows that learners get to widen the range of their friends as well as teachers through extra lessons. The expression “*fellow students who can assist her have actually increased*” shows that the learners have at their disposal more a diversity of friend which also implies that the sources of information are diversified and could academic challenges solved for the various types of friends and teachers. The cross fertilisation of ideas as symbolised “*students from different schools apart from where she is attending*” makes it easier for challenges to be resolved without much complications.

The views expressed by teachers and parents were also shared by the learners. Most of the learners expressed the view that extra lessons had enabled them to meet new people and make new friends. For example, Peter indicated that socially, he has “*made friends with other learners*”. When they met with learners from other schools, they give each other contact details and “*are able to talk and know each other*”. This shows there is friendship building as a result of the extra lessons. As Moxon puts it:

In terms of relationships with others, I learn at school A, if I see someone from school B, we start relating well and he/she can give me what he/she learns at his/her school letting me know that they are doing it this way in mathematics. I grasp the formulas they use and use them myself.

Relationship building is the key in the experiences shared Moxon above as reflected in “*we start relating well*”. The relationships are also manifested in the sharing of ideas as seen in “*he/she can give me what he/she learns at his/her school*. In support, on relationship building, Mr. Zhou explains that cordial relationships are established among the teachers, learners and parents, in the course of the extra lessons. In his narrative, he says:

Like I said before, extra lessons, socially, enhance oneness, co-operation between parents and teachers and other learners. Because we are also saying that there are other parents who attend these extra lessons. So parents who attend these extra lessons would interact with these learners and the young ones would also interact with the teachers. So the relationship between the parents and the teachers would be boosted. There would be very good relations between teachers and learners.

From the excerpt, “*oneness and co-operation*” depicts a situation of friendliness among parents, teachers and learners. Since there are different age groups interacting during the extra lessons, all in attendance during the extra lessons get to know the teachers quite well and as such they build cordial relations which rise to high levels as reflected in the word “*boosted*”.

Most participants were of the view that the one-on-one situation that prevailed during extra lessons entailed a close and lasting relationship between the teacher and the learner. The paying parent of guardian of the learner and the teacher were also brought together more so bearing in mind that the parents would be eager to discuss the progress being made by their children. The fee paid for extra lessons cemented the relationship between the teacher and the learner. As Hartman (2004) reports in Egypt, there were strained relationships between and among teachers involved in private tutoring. This is a result of the friction to choose among the best teacher in which case some may go without or little students at all as they compete with colleagues for students in the informal market.

As indicated by one of the teacher participants, learners benefitted from old aged learners whom they interacted with during extra lessons as they shared ideas. According to Mr. January, another parent, his child was benefiting by way of interacting with other students who were apart from the school mates that he was used to seeing. The majority of teenagers surveyed by Sultana (2011) indicated that they joined extra lessons out of the desire to meet and make new friends and also fit into specific peer groups. These findings were most prevalent among teenagers who attended single sex regular schools. The same results were obtained in a study carried out by Barrow and Lochan (2012), in Trinidad and Tobago, in which it was established that primary school children went for private lessons because they saw it as an opportunity to socialise with learners of the opposite sex if the tutorial groups were co-educational. In Trinidad and Tobago, most primary schools were single sex schools (Barrow and Lochan, 2012). In the context of the current study, learners went to co-educational high schools hence results concur regardless of the focus group participants.

From the above excerpts as presented from the different participants, the learners, teachers and parents are benefitting socially from extra lessons as new relationships are created. Parents meet teachers whilst the teachers meet learners and learners have the opportunity to meet new friends as well as new teachers from other schools. These findings concur with those by Bray (2011), Kubanova (2006), Sultana (2011) and Gauci and Wetz (2009). For example, Bray (2011) established that extra lessons were used to for the maintenance of the social fabric between parents and their children. Learners, out of respect for their parents, went for the supplementary lessons as they did not want to appear to be going against the dictates of their parents. Kubanova (2006) found out that learners were attending extra lessons because their parents wanted them to do so while Sultana (2011), in a survey in Malta established that learners went for extra lessons to please their parents, in which case, there was clear evidence that learners were attending extra lessons for the appeasement of their parents, though not out of their will and wish. Gauci and Wetz (2009), however, state that whilst relations between parents and their children could be mended through extra lessons, those between teachers offering extra lessons could be strained due to the existence of competition for clients. The situation can also be the same among learners who attend and those who do not attend extra lessons. This is reflected by Mrs. Nhari, who feels that those not attending may not get to like their parents as they “*feel betrayed by the failure of their parents to pay for the extra lessons*”. They could also feel the difference between those attending and those not attending. Instead of creating friendships among those attending and those not, there is bound to be enmity as reflected in one of the excerpts by Mrs. Nhari, another teacher, who feels could also be that those not attending but willing to, “*might feel envious of their fellow learners*”. This breeds jealous and learner relationships are bound to be affected. However, contrary to this finding, a study by Bray (2013) established extra lessons did not have any significant bearing on existing friendships, especially peer relationships.

4.2. Drawing Learners Away from Social ills

Another role that has emerged from the data is that extra lessons are making the learners shift their attention from the social ills that might befall them in the community to socially expected norms.

In support of this observation from the data, Mr. Tsuro's views are that socially, extra lessons “*take the learners off the hook of drug abuse in the street*”. That being the case, therefore, society as a whole tends to benefit from the menace of these youngsters who would not be idle as they attend extra lessons. This is also supported by Mr. Owens, another teacher, who remarks thus:

In our case, we carry out extra lessons with the elderly people from the community and mixing with them and sharing both academically and socially. We notice that they are very disciplined because of the elderly people who come forward for extra lessons with a business mind and not to waste time. All in all, they discipline the young so that they are socially disciplined and also they mix with other students from other different institutions and this gives them exposure, for example on the use of computers. They are well exposed after sharing with other students from other schools. Socially, mixing is very important especially with other students from other areas whereas those not attending are restricted to their schools only.

From the excerpt, there is a feeling that learners are drawn away from social ills as they get to mix the elderly people who come for extra lessons, as depicted in phrase “*very disciplined*”. As suggested by the phrase “*a business mind and not to waste time*” the elderly folk who attend the extra lessons, discipline the young so that they are socially acceptable. These act as role models and the young learners get to emulate them for the good of society.

Another participant, Mr. James supports this view by remarking that learners “*are not prone to abuse or political sways due non-achievement at school*”. This implies those who get to fail are at the centre stage of political upheavals as they get to be abused by those fighting power. When involved in extra lessons and eventually passing, the learners are not susceptible to abuse by the politicians and hence this stabilises the community.

The same sentiments were advanced by Mrs. Nhari, who intimated that besides learners having accepted extra lessons as an option to improve their grades, the learners did not have time to waste as they were always kept busy, especially the teenagers, and this resulted in no mischief among them. Further in support, a learner participant, Peter, indicated that extra lessons are assisting in that they are “*no longer involved in mischief*”. This is because he sees that there is no time to waste because “*when they came from school, they got busy, when at school, they were also busy, hence they did not get any time for mischief*”. To the contrary, participant Ben feels that mischief is always there. In his argument, he seems to imply that some learners do not tell the truth when go out on the pretext that they are going for extra lessons. He states “*some learners inform their parents that they are going to attend extra lessons but instead they would go elsewhere to play and at times cause others to play along roads and get involved in mischief*”. From the assertions by Ben, learners are dishonest as reflected in the phrase “*would go elsewhere to play*” under the guise of attending extra lessons and it there that they become mischievous to the extent of inciting others to

do bad things. However, Nyasha, another learner, rebuffs these views in support of others who believe that extra lessons are not at all a source of mischief, when she argues saying:

Extra lessons do not cause mischief among learners. A child who misbehaves says he/she is going to school but he/she is not going there. They are involved in mischief. If we say extra lessons are causing mischief, no that is not it. Some can even say they are going to church where parents are going but you arrive there, they are not there. But, they would have left home on the pretense of going to church. So, it's not it. Children just require parental control. We can ban everything else if we are to say extra lessons are the root cause of mischief and let us have children locked up in the dura walls.

There is an outright rejection of the view that extra lessons are sources of mischief as reflected by "*extra lessons do not cause mischief among learners and no that is not it.*" From Nyasha's experiences, a mischievous child is always that even in the absence of extra lessons. To support this, some learners have departed from home as if going to church as indicated in the phrase "*on the pretense of going to church*". Being an elderly learner, Nyasha could have had self-control as she knew exactly what she needed through extra lessons as opposed to the younger learners who could purport to be going out for extra lessons and yet in actual fact they were up to some mischief. Mr. Mhofu also has positive opinions of extra lessons as he argues that extra lessons are not a source of mischief among learners. He argued that learners stayed within the watchful eye of their parents because "*the learners walked for short distances to the places*" where extra lessons were held. Everything is done within the watchful eyes of parents. Parents needed not worry because they are in close contact with their children who would have gone for extra lessons. Therefore, extra lessons were not a source of mischief for the focused learner who know what they are really up to. This is probably because most of their time is spent profitably doing school work and extra lessons. The current study is based on three schools, two of which are double session schools. This implies that learners have a lot of idle time as half the day is spent at the formal while the other could be put to waste making the learners susceptible to crime. In a survey carried out in France, [Glasman \(2010\)](#) establishes that centres where extra lessons were held were viewed by parents as being a safe haven for keeping learners constructively engaged instead of leaving them unoccupied in which case they would indulge in delinquent misbehaviour.

4.3. Behaviour Adulteration and Moral Decadence

Contrary to the view that extra lessons are drawing learners away from the social ills, they have also contributed towards either behaviour adulteration or modification among learners. There is moral decadence that results from attending these extra lessons, which manifests in a number of ways. Mr. Owens describes his experiences as follows:

You will notice that most of these children tend to pick certain norms and customs from the strangers they meet and come across during extra lessons and they want to adopt those ones. They want to adopt whatever they see at extra lessons and I have noticed it is a great challenge for the parents as they are forced to buy whatever the children demand from them.

According to the excerpt, the mixing of learners from different areas tends to defile current cultures and this is reflected in the phrase "*pick certain norms and customs from the strangers they meet and come across*". There is a tendency by learners to accept anything they admire regardless of it being either bad or good. The phrase "*adopt whatever they see*" implies that learners are at risk of accepting anything they come across during extra lessons albeit it being contrary to expected societal values and expectations. Parents are therefore coerced to accept purchasing anything demanded by their children as reflected in the phrase "*forced to buy*". Such purchases could be in the form of clothes that are not compatible with the prevailing societal norms.

As expressed by one of the parents, Mr. January, in spite of the social gains there were other socially uncouth behaviours manifested by learners in the community as a result of learners attending extra lessons. In the following excerpt Mr. January expresses his reservations against extra lessons in relation to their role in behaviour adulteration:

As these children interact some of the learners of these extra lessons might have behaviour that is not all that conducive and as a result they may influence the other to misbehave, vandalism, you know because they are not per se guided by rules as in the school. So, if that some of the children are way ward they may teach other those bad behaviours and that won't be good for the society and community.

From the excerpt it can be noted that bad behaviour can be the order of the day as symbolised by the words "*behaviour that is not all that conducive*". Learners can copy behaviours that may lead to them becoming uncontrollable as seen by the expression "*way ward*". The children may be involved in destruction of property and other way ward behaviour as reflected in the phrase "*may influence the other to misbehave, vandalism*". All these are result of the interaction that takes place during and after attending extra lessons. Learners are not guided by rules as in the formal school since extra lessons, at most, are meant for academic purposes. The moral aspect is not much of an issue as this is covered in normal school curriculum. Where children are let loose without much guidance on moral issues, there is a tendency to misbehave, to the disadvantage of the society and community.

4.4. Creating a Culture of Sharing among Learners

Extra lessons have made it possible for learners to share resources from the different schools, given a scenario where resources are inadequate in all the three schools. The different schools are equipped with different types of books and resources. In some instances, some of the schools do not even have books for use by learners. However, through the involvement in extra lessons, learners are able to get access to a variety of books and resources since they share whatever is available. The idea of sharing resources is echoed by Nyasha who has this to say:

I see extra lessons to be alright because going to school, especially for me who went to school after an old age, I had no books. After going for extra lessons, I got sources to use. I did not have books. I could only purchase exercise books but textbooks, books to study, I did not have. I shared with those whom I went to extra lessons with. I also see that as a grown up, this will encourage others in the community to go for extra lessons because it really assists.

From the excerpt not all learners have resources as reflected in the phrase “*had no books*” especially textbooks. Learners develop a culture of assisting one another with resources that are available as seen in the phrase “*shared with those whom I went to extra lessons with*”. From the excerpt, extra lessons brought about the need to share resources among those who attended they had a variety of resources from different schools. The schools had different types and forms of books. Extra lessons provided learners to share whatever school resources were available. The idea is also prevalent in experiences shared by Ben, whose remarks imply that because of the extra lessons that brought about a lot of socialisation, “*learners started to share books with notes and textbooks*” because schools had different textbooks. The sharing is also very evident in the statement “*If, for example, School A had many library textbooks and if a learner borrowed, he/she could give his/her friend learning at a school where there was no library*”.

Through sharing resources that are available, learners tend to know and trust each other. Extra lessons are a source of relationship building and mutual trust that result from sharing books among the learners as they give lend and borrow books and other resources for use during the instructional processes.

4.5. Community Benefits from Extra Lessons

4.5.1. Benefits through the Reduction of Crime

An important sub theme emerging from the findings is that society seemed to benefit from the reduction of criminal activities as learners were kept busy with the extra lessons. The double session schools make it possible for learners to have ample idle time during which they could indulge in criminal activities. However, with the engagement in extra lessons, learners find themselves with little or no time for these criminal activities much to the advantage of the local communities. Views in support of the assertion were echoed by various participants but Mr. January, who aptly points out that in local communities, extra lessons, have positive social benefits such as reduction in criminal activities. He has this to say:

The children, it's not only my child who is going for extra lessons. Other children and even elderly people in the community who did not do well are also taking part in the extra lessons. Success in their studies is beneficial to the community in the sense that an educated people, you know, are less prone to crime. So, you find that the community will benefit somehow when it has got people who are educated, who have passed, who are involved in gainful employment, who are doing something because they are educated. There is a reduction in terms of crime because people are aware that crime does not pay because they are educated.

The extract depicts a scenario in which besides being engaged in extra lessons, help focus the learners away from indulging in bad behaviour. This is seen in the phrase “*less prone to crime*”. This could be because one is busy with the extra lessons and also because one has become learned and hence cannot be seen undertaking in behaviour that is unbecoming of educated individuals. Another reason for the reduction in crime could be that those who would have gone through the processes of learning outside of school hours during extra lessons and pass, find themselves employed and this is reflected in the phrase “*are involved in gainful employment*”. To that effect, extra lessons make it possible for those passing their examinations to be accommodated in the labour market thus they refrain from criminal activities. However, the extent of that argument may be brought to question as educated individuals are involved in more advanced criminal activities that pose a danger to the local communities. The purported social gains resulting from extra lessons could be overshadowed by some social ills that arise for a well-educated population but after is said and done, criminal activities are reduced as reflected in “*a reduction in terms of crime*” because educated people are aware of the dangers of crimes as seen in “*are aware that crime does not pay*”, hence extra lessons have helped curb crime.

4.5.2. Increasing Access to Education

Extra lessons are also paving the way for increased access to education. Typically, Mr. Mhofu, school inspector, seems to suggest at least the community stood to benefit from the extra lessons as they increased access to education. In his own word, the school inspector said, “*There is an increase in access to education when they are provided through extra lessons outside the normal school hours*”. when normal schooling usually ends at around five o'clock in the afternoon, extra lessons continue after hours to accord other learners more the opportunity to continue learning after the designated time as shown in the phrase “*outside the normal school hours*”. It implies more and more people get to get education regardless of them being engaged elsewhere during normal hours. However, strong contradictions emerge from the same schools' inspector, when he remarks extra lessons create inequalities among the haves and the have nots. In the following excerpt, he seems to be suggesting that extra lessons are a preserve of those who can afford them. Thus they discriminate against those who cannot afford. He says of those of who cannot afford, “*They get affected in that they feel discriminated and unwanted and poor. They view it as a new form of apartheid or discrimination. It creates unnecessary class systems within the ranks of urbanite parents*”. From these remarks, access is only for those who are able to pay for the extra lessons. Those who cannot pay, do not attend as seen in term “*discriminated*” and the phrase *a new form of apartheid or discrimination*. In support another school inspector, Mr. Kamusoko remarks saying “*There is inequality, surely, because what determines access here is*

affordability. If someone is able to pay, they can access, if they can't afford they cannot access. So he/she is disadvantaged". With the majority of those living those in high density suburbs struggling to survive, let alone pay as reflected the term *poor*, they are may not afford hence are deprived of the extra lessons as seen in *they cannot access*. However, out of the 6(100%) learner participants, some 4(67%) were of the view most parents are able to send them for extra lessons and they see nothing to suggest that they are struggling in sending them for extra lessons. For example, Cecil remarks that "*Personally, I don't see anything wrong economically, because the parents are the ones who are actually sending us for these extra lessons. Parents are actually putting forward the suggestions that I attend the extra lessons*". From these remarks, parents are capable of providing financial support as reflected in "*are the ones who are actually sending us for these extra lessons*" and "*are actually putting forward the suggestions*". In support, Nyasha says, "*I have not seen anything economically challenging*". There seems to be no effect, economically, from what the learners saying to disapprove of the creation of classes between the have and have nots. However, Bray (2009) contends that extra lessons are segregatory as results in the promotion of inefficient allocation of resources because they may be used a means of selecting learners for admission into different universities. Bray (2009) citing Kim and Lee (2008), argues that a high ability learner from a poor parentage might end up in a lowly rated institution of higher learning because the family's inability to foot the required fees for private tutoring. From the contention by Bray (2009), it may appear that the actual burning issue is not about access to education but rather access to more affluent schools, hence the argument may still stand that extra lessons pave way for increased access to education.

4.5.3. Making Learners Vulnerable to Abuse by Teachers

Extra lessons are also leading to learners being abused by teachers. This is despite all the positive roles played by these extra lessons. The areas of abuse are highlighted by all groups of participants, except for learners themselves. One participant, Mr. Zhou, a teacher, for example, remarks that extra lessons expose learners to abuse by the teachers as reflected in the following excerpt:

...you would also think there might be some cases of abuse that might be taking place. You know it's no always that the teacher might be having a group of 10 learners. Maybe a group of two: the teacher and the learner. So there might be incidences of abuse by whoever would be conducting these extra lessons. And also remember, these learners are supposed to pay the teacher so in some cases, the learner might fail to pay the teacher and the teacher might ask for payment in kind. So socially, I think those are some of the cases but although we don't have much evidence... Those are some of the challenges that might be encountered when people are carrying out these one-on-one extra lessons.

In the excerpt, the teacher appears not to be sure of the prevalence of abuse as noted in the expression "*might be some cases of abuse that might be taking place incidences of abuse by whoever*". It appears the teachers does not want to come out in the open to declare that there are cases of abuse, hence he chooses to be tentative. However, the phrase "*ask for payment in kind*" shows that the teacher is aware of what transpires when learners fail to pay in cash as previously agreed upon. The teacher, Mr. Zhou, is also aware that anything can happen where the teacher and the learner act on a one-on-one basis as indicated in the phrase "*challenges that might be encountered when people are carrying out these one-on-one extra lessons*". Also in agreement with the assertion that extra lessons make learners prone to abuse by teachers, a parent, Mr. Oliver has reservations and expresses his displeasure against the teaching/learning room. In his remarks, he bears testimony that other things other learning take place. He remarks *there are a lot of things that might happen*. Again the situation that obtains in the places where these extra lessons take place make the learners prone to abuse. The phrases *small crowded rooms* and *monitoring is not done* shows that some bad happens things tend to happen even between the and among the learners. These concerns raised by the participants come not as a surprise as reports of abuse of learners even in the formal school system have been reported in the local press. It comes as no surprise that learners involved in extra lessons are also subjected to abuse by their teachers given that whereas at schools there is some monitoring, no monitoring mechanisms are in place in areas where extra lessons are held. Mr. Mhofu remarks as follows:

Private homes can be love nests because its unmonitored and being a resident of Chegutu we know some cases of where we have ended up having this problem but we are not saying in every instance these are love nests between the teacher or tutor and the students but whenever it is pronounced of course sometimes government or ministry chips in but it has got some negative impact on the part of the education system more so, the school from which the teacher is coming.

The participant is also being tentative as he remarks "*Private homes can be love nests*". However, some abuse has occurred as indicated in the phrase "*some cases of where we have ended up having this problem*". As policy implementers, the inspectors have been called to deal with such cases as Mr. Mhofu states "*whenever it is pronounced of course sometimes government or ministry chips*". This implies that cases have been reported even if these cases have been carried out of school and the ministry has had to assist by investigating and bringing the teachers to book. However, no document was available to support the abuse at the schools as no teacher had been charged for the abuse or related breach of regulations, such as improper association, where a teacher could be charged for being in a sexual relationship with a learner, or any form of abuse. However, it could be that some of the breaches in regulations go unreported, as participant school inspector, Mr. Mhofu indicated.

4.5.4. Socialisation and Reputation Building by Teachers among a Variety of People

Teachers also found extra lessons to be a platform for socialisation with a lot of people and creating a good name for themselves in the communities. This has been testified in various excerpts. For example, participant teacher Mr. Mamvura indicates that “*am benefitting socially by building a name*” over extra lessons. He received appreciation from the members of the public as “*most people were recognising me as a very good science teacher*”. This is through the results that he was producing in the learners.

Another teacher, Mr. Zhou, has had close links with a good number people and having to build important in building relationships with parents. This is unlike in a formal classroom situation where there are 65 learners. There could be challenges in meeting all the learners` parents. Mr. Zhou says:

But if you have a group of 5-6 parents who are paying you, you interact with them directly and you would even understand the problem that they are facing. Remember these monies are paid monthly and you would find out that one month, a learner might come with the money and the other month, they might fail. So there and then you build relationships. You then ask and understand the situation that they are in and also in terms of socially, there have been cases where you would just assist without expecting any money. So that way you also boost unity, oneness with the parents, understanding with the parents. So extra lessons have actually helped me to understand the situation that is prevailing in the country and also understand what people are going through and also understand what people aspire to do in life. You would come across a parent who would very much want to have his/her kid to come for lessons but the problem is that they would not be having money. So you empathise with them and then you might have to call the learner to come and you help the learner for no fee.

Close links are created as indicated “*you interact with them directly*”. This is because there are small number of learners taking extra lessons. In the formal class, the large numbers render it impossible to closely connect with parents. The building of reputation by the teachers comes out of the assistance rendered by the teacher who understands the parents` plight when “*they might fail*” to pay at the end of the month as required. Added to this the phrase “*you would just assist without expecting any money*” also shows the teacher are not only after money but building relationships with members of the communities as the teacher can just feel for the parents as indicate by “*you empathise with them*” and “*help the learner for no fee*”

In support of the teachers` views, a parent, Ms. Ndumo, seems indicates that the teacher who provides extra lessons is rendering an important service to the community and hence the teacher feels proud because of the service being rendered through extra lessons. From this association, there harmonious relationships are built between teachers and the parents whose children are taught, even without having to pay for the extra lessons. This is supported another parent, Mr. Oliver, who has this to say:

Socially, now I am interacting with a lot of teachers who provide extra lessons for my child. The numbers of the teachers of my child have actually increased and some of these teachers are from our community. So really, we have increased the number of our teachers and our relationship again with the community has also improved.

The phrase “*am interacting with a lot of teachers*” goes to demonstrate the cordial relationship that now exists between teachers and parents. The bad blood that used to exist between parents and teachers and is becoming a thing of the past as indicated in “*our relationship again with the community has also improved*”. On the same issue, Mr. Owens, also states a number of benefits coming through socialisation as a result of the involvement in extra lessons. He remarks thus:

As a teacher, I am now mixing with people, including the elderly, as I mentioned earlier, in the community. Some of them are married people. We mix and I learn quite a lot from them even from these youngsters. In some lessons, we learn we use computers and I notice I have been taught a good number of things by the children, on computers.

Socialisation is expressed in the phrase “*now mixing with people*” and according to the excerpt, a wide array of people has come to socialise with the teacher and these include “*elderly*”, “*married people*” and “*these youngsters*”. To demonstrate that extra lessons are also being about reputation among teachers, Mr. Sango, one of the teachers, indicates that he has become popular among parents to the point that he hardly advertises himself for extra lessons. In his own words, he says:

Most of the parents come from osmosis hearing the good services I am providing. So socially, I have managed to accumulate a good image from society. I am respected, so I think that`s the main social benefit. On the other hand, my social has been affected since most of my time is consumed in taking up extra lessons.

The phrase “*come from osmosis hearing the good services I am providing*”, shows that the teacher is very well known since he has built himself a reputation from the manner he offers the extra lessons. The community regards him in good light as reflected in “*accumulate a good image from society*” and also “*I am respected*”.

4.5.5. Enhancement of Parents` and Learners` Social Status

Extra lessons have been used to enhance the social status of parents and learners. This is as a result of the thinking that education is the gateway to improved social status. In support of this view, parents and teacher participants echoed their sentiments. This is the view held by Mr. James who indicates that socially, parents want their children`s lives to be uplifted through extra lessons, after passing their examinations. In the following excerpt, the participant expresses his views:

Socially, they want their children's lives to be uplifted. However, in some instances, extra lessons have led to increased poverty due to lack of adequate living standards as the little money is being channeled towards extra lessons.

By implication, the phrase "*they want their children's lives to be uplifted*" shows that parents are looking ahead to the improvement of the social lives of their children. However, there is no evidence to substantiate the claim that the learners definitely live better lives upon passing their examination. However, from the excerpt it can be deduced that extra lessons have made families poorer than before as seen in "*have led to increased poverty*". There is no guarantee that the learners live better lives let alone pass the examinations as perceived by the parents. That being the case though, another teacher, Mr. Owens, indicates that despite the negative social effect of extra lessons on parents, he has noticed that extra lessons are "*meant to raise the collective family social status*" when the child eventually made it academically. From the phrase "*meant to raise the collective family social status*", it shows parents are contented with the passing of their children as that alone would mean an enhanced social standing in society. Whether or not there are other benefits coming out of the good grades becomes another extra blessing. For that reason, one is made to believe that, certainly, extra lessons do pose an opportunity for the enhancement of the family's social status. The finding is in line with that by Hussein (2007) who established extra tuition was being used by some families to show up their family status. However, in other studies, for example, Byun and Park (2012), Dang and Rogers (2008) and Kim (2004), the already well-off parents used extra lessons to widen the socio-economic gap between them and those of lesser class. This is why according to Nath (2006), rich parents were willing to part with 46% of their private expenditure for education on private lessons for their children. For that reason, it can be maintained that extra lessons are a gateway to enhanced social status.

4.5.6. Breaking Down of the Family Social Fabric

Extra lessons are a cause for the breakdown of the social fabric in the traditional family. According to both teachers and parents, family life has been negatively affected by extra lessons which consume most of the time that families are supposed to be together. For example, this is reflected in the following excerpt from Mr. Sango who had this to say:

...parents have less time to spend with their children, especially Advanced level students, where there is a lot of pressure from academics. There is less family interaction. The student coming from school and having to spend another two or three hours with the tutor. There is less interaction between the students and parents per day. So that's the major social impact that parents have to suffer.

The phrases "*have less time to spend and less family interaction*" go to show that the families used have adequate time together but this has since changed owing to the children attending extra lessons. This scenario is bad for learners taking the advanced level studies. The expression by Mr. Sango when he says "*where there is a lot of pressure from academics*" shows that the most affected learners are those doing their advanced level. The situation, has therefore, paved the way for parents not to enjoy the company of their children as was the previous case and that is symbolised by the expression that "*that's the major social impact that parents have to suffer*". Mr. Tsuru states that parents no longer have time with children because the children are always engaged, that is, after school and during weekends and this is evident in his statement "*Parents-children time had been taken over by extra lessons*".

Not only are parents suffering from lack of time with family but also teachers. In earlier remarks, Mr. Sango, seems to be emphasising that regardless of the reputation he has earned from the community, most of his socialisation with others has been affected as "*most of my time is consumed in taking up extra lessons*". Participant teacher Mr. Nhari sounds the same sentiments by remarking that as a teacher involved in extra lessons, there is no time interacting with other as seen in "*one is always kept busy*" and "*there was no time for social life*". This might be emanating from the planning, lesson delivery and marking of learners' work at the formal school and during extra lessons. The situation is worsened by the need to assist the children on a one-to-one basis and be reputable in the community. Experiences by Mr. Tsuru indicated that teachers offering extra lessons were suffering as family men, as indicated by "*they no longer had social lives with family and friends*". The extra lessons have made the teachers work throughout the day as well as part of the night to maximise on the opportunities arising from the engagement. Mr. Tsuru suggests that sometimes they used to work in the evenings, "*after work and the wee hours of the night*" and over the weekends because they wanted to benefit economically from these extra lessons. Working for hours on end affected family and other social relationships. A study by Mboi and Nyambedha (2013), in Kenya, established almost similar findings. The study noted that extra tuition denied learners the opportunity to interact with others, in this case implying that these could be family members and friends and within the school and outside. As both learners and teachers may leave home early and return late, there is a possibility that social life is affected as well as the family fabric destroyed.

4.5.7. Perpetuation of Social Inequalities

One of the sub themes emerging from the data is that extra lessons are bringing about social inequalities among the people in the communities. The inequalities are a result of the fact that getting extra lessons is based on the ability to pay for them. It follows that one who is able to afford and can pay for the service, can get the type of assistance. However, from the point of view of some of the participants those who are unable to pay are deprived of the extra lessons regardless of their intention and desire to attend. Expressing his reservations for the extra lessons, school inspector Mr. Kamusoko indicates that extra lessons are a preserve of the affluent and only accessible to the rich. He says, "*There is inequality, surely, because what determines access here is affordability. If someone is able*

to pay, they can access, if they can't afford they cannot access. So he/she is disadvantaged". From the excerpt, the participant is very conclusive on the issue inequality. Those who are able to finance the extra lessons can access them and those who are unable, cannot access them. Since there is general belief that extra lessons are really beneficial to learners, they are only accessed by the rich thereby making them segregatory in nature making the affluent advantaged much to the disadvantage of the poor as indicated by the phrase "he/she is disadvantaged". These findings resonate well with those by Bray and Lykins (2012) who established that private tutoring helped exacerbate social inequalities. Prosperous families were able to send their children to the services of the so called star tutors. In this regard, this widened the gap between the rich and poor as the poor could not access extra lessons for social immobility. However, as extra lessons are meant to equalise opportunity for those who are motivated so that they are at equal footing with others, it has also been distressing to see how these extra lessons can be a social mechanism that reproduces and reinforces inequality, remarked by the school inspector. Students who are traditionally disadvantaged in education are therefore, under-served by this form of schooling (Bray, 2011; Bray and Lykins, 2012; Hallak and Poisson, 2007; Southgate, 2009). This is so given that these extra lessons are now paid for. In this view therefore those who cannot pay, the traditionally disadvantaged, cannot attend hence they lag behind. This has gone in contradiction with the UN Convention of the Rights of a child, Article 28, which stipulates that children should be accorded equal opportunities regardless of their social standing. Also in line with the findings, Nath (2006) remarks that private lessons helped learners from affluent families to learn more than those who had no support. From these remarks it is deduced that extra lessons are providing more to those who already have thus widening the already existing inequalities in education. In support of Nath (2006), Pontryagn cited in Hussein (2017) argued that extra lessons continued to pave way for the unbalancing of basic social rights in society and Bray (2013) and Murawska and Putkiewicz (2006) have also asserted that extra lessons are a threat to social stability as education is available and accessible more to the rich than the poor. For that reason, social equality that breed social discontent among the citizens (Bray, 2013).

5. Conclusions

From the findings, it has been revealed that while extra lessons have a number of positive roles, they also have some negative effects among the different stakeholders. Results show that extra lessons can be used for the establishment of cordial relationships among learners and between teachers and learners as they get to know each other through interacting in small groups. They can also make the learners shift their attention from the social ills that might befall them in the community as they stay within the watchful eye of their parents as everything is done within the reach of parents. Further to that, learners develop a culture of sharing available resources from the different schools, given a scenario where resources are inadequate in all the three schools and that the different schools are stuffed differently with different types of books and resources. Reduction of criminal activities because learners were kept busy with the extra lessons is one of the benefits derived by society from learners attending extra lessons. However, issues of concern about extra lessons are that they may result in behaviour adulteration and modification among learners attending extra lessons, during which learners interact with friends and different people of behaviour. Also extra lessons have been viewed as exposing learners to abuse by teachers as the situation that obtains in the places where these extra lessons take place make the learners prone to abuse. Extra lessons also contribute to the breakdown of the social fabric in the traditional family, as family life is negatively affected because extra lessons consume most of the time families are supposed to be together. Since extra lessons are based on the ability of the parents to pay, they are contributing to social inequalities among the people in the communities because those who are unable to pay are deprived of the extra lessons regardless of their intention and desire to attend.

Recommendations

The following recommendations could be adopted to improve on the practice:

- The centralised model of extra lessons, where learners and teachers gather for extra lessons could be adopted so that there are no malpractices especially by teachers who have been accused of abusing learners in private places where extra lessons are offered.
- In order to accord the learner time rest, there could be time tables put in place for extra lessons especially where extra lessons are provided through the centralised model where learners and teachers could meet, teach and learn and then rest.
- Learners are encouraged to continue the culture of sharing available resources from the different schools given a scenario where resources are inadequate in all the three schools and that the different schools are stuffed differently with different types of books and resources
- Parents are encouraged to keep an eye on their children as they go for extra lessons in an effort to curb mischief by the learners since at times some may purport to be going out for extra lessons, when in actual fact they are not.
- With some level of monitoring by MOPSE officials, centres and private places where extra lessons are offered need to be supervised so as not to be places of bad behaviour.
- Since extra lessons are based on the ability of the parents to pay, thus contributing to social inequalities among the people in the communities, the government could equalise the opportunities to attend through the creation of extra lesson centres which could be used by learners from all schools in the community, with identified competent teachers offering their services at the centres.

- With more interaction through the centralised model of extra lessons, the lessons could be used for the establishment of cordial relationships among learners and between teachers and learners as they get to know each other through interacting in small groups.
- Where extra lessons are held in different venues, on a private basis, there is need to set standards and provide operating licences for whoever requires to provide the service and monitoring should be an on-going exercise to make sure standards are being upheld. Where malpractices are detected, individual teachers caught on the wrong side of the law, could be prosecuted and deregistered.

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