



Perceptions of Stakeholders on the Economic Role of Extra Lessons in Zimbabwean High Density Secondary Schools

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Abstract

The current case study was about establishing the perceptions of educational stakeholders of the economic role played by these extra lessons in Chegutu Urban secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The researcher adopted an interpretivist paradigm in which the qualitative research approach was used. A multiple case study approach and multi methods of generation which are the interviews, documents analysis and focus group discussions were used. Twenty-three participants were purposively selected and from these data were generated. Results from the study indicated that extra lessons had both positive and negative roles. Learners stood to benefit from the extra lessons as they could enroll with colleges and become employable or be creators of employment. The extra lessons assisted parents who were then able to save on financial resources because their children would not repeat the same level. In funding extra lessons, parents wanted their children to get employed afterwards and live happily, uplifting the lives of their communities. Extra lessons also assisted in uplifting teachers' standards of lives. Teachers were getting some extra earnings from extra lessons and these extra earnings were going a long way in improving their lives. However, from a negative perspective, extra lessons were straining communities of the financial resources that could have been used to improve standards of living of the parents and guardians. The study recommended that since teachers had been accused of making financial gains at the expense of the actual teaching during, it was prudent that parents monitor work that was given to learners during the extra lessons. Learners, who are the ultimate beneficiaries of the extra lessons, besides teachers, need to be wary of the extent to which they rely on extra lessons. There is need to legalise the extra lessons and set standards for the service providers. This is against the background that extra lessons have been abused for monetary benefits at the expense of effective teaching and learning. MOPSE should invest in extra lessons because they are assisting a lot in meeting the shortfalls of the mainstream education system.

Keywords: Perceptions; Stakeholders; Economic role; Extra lessons; High density secondary schools.

1. Introduction

Education has been viewed in both the developing and the developed countries as the key driver to individual productivity as well as economy wide advancement (Dang and Rogers, 2008). For that reason, high standards of education have been set triggering the need to provide high quality education to learners at all levels of education. The need for high quality education has seen a number of initiatives coming play among which are extra lessons. Various reasons have been advanced and attributed to the offering of extra lessons in schools in Zimbabwe and different parts of the world (Bray, 1999). In some cases, the involvement in extra lessons had been attributed to the nature of the formal and mainstream education systems as well as the examination orientation among different communities (Smyth, 2009). Some studies (e.g. (Kim, 2004; Tokwe, 2010)) argue that lack of time and other weaknesses and drawbacks in the formal education system may have been the cause for escalation in the provision of extra lessons. In Zimbabwe, advocates for extra lessons have indicated that the expansion of the curriculum to include new learning areas, such as HIV and AIDS Education, Health and Life skills and Guidance and Counselling, have given rise to the extra lessons (Munikwa and Mutungwe, 2011; Tokwe, 2010). Added to this, has been the lack of instructional time as a result of hot seating or double sessioning especially in urban day secondary schools. This introduction, to a great extent, resulted in increased numbers of learning areas each secondary school proceeded to have as part of its curriculum. Learners and educators were confronted with extra work but there was no corresponding additional time to cater for the new learning areas that were added onto the list of those to be covered by each school.

Davies (2014), states that in Canada, there has been a rising desire for extra lessons where the private tutoring business has surged despite the fact that parents who hire private teachers were generally satisfied with public education. Hussein (2017), remarks that there was a thriving black market in extra lessons in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which was characterised by very exorbitant prices as the practice had become scandalous and immoral. In the United Kingdom, the practice has also been flourishing with a lot of agencies sprouting across the country (Hussein, 2017). Nearer home, in Africa, in Egypt, 64% of the urban learners have been

involved in extra lessons while, 54% of the rural learners were also taking in the thriving activity which was termed *privates* or *durus Khususiyya*, where the lessons took place at the teacher's or the learners' homes (Hartman, 2014).

The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Zimbabwe Government, 2014), in Zimbabwe, raised concern that extra lessons came with a cost for the already burdened parents (Jinga and Ganga, 2012). They required a lot of financial resources and this could be an extra burden to the parents. According to Zimbabwe Government (2014), teachers have tended to place a lot of emphasis on the need for these extra lessons, arguing that learning time was barely adequate for instruction, contrary to public belief that the extra lessons are basically a commercially driven entity meant to prop teachers' meagre salaries. Indeed, some parents and MOPSE have gone to an extent of labelling the extra lessons unscrupulous and corrupt activities that are aimed at the enrichment of the teachers' salaries in light of meagre remuneration being offered by the Public Service Commission (PSC), which is the employer in Zimbabwe, of all the public sector workers, including teachers.

Given the popularity of extra lessons among some parents, educators, learners and other stakeholders, against a background of improved working conditions for teachers, and the improved instructional conditions and the availability of resources in schools during the Government of National Unity (GNU), one is tempted and driven to find out the perceptions of the affected groups, which include school inspectors, teachers, parents and learners, on the economic role played by these extra lessons.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The practice of extra lessons, referred to as supplementary education elsewhere, has reached unprecedented levels in both developed and developing countries (Foondun, 2012; Hartman, 2014). Between 50% and 70% of learners are involved in extra lessons in Africa and 61% of all the educational expenditure going into the funding of private lessons (Bray, 2009; Hartman, 2014). Amidst all dissenting views and adversities backed by alarming statistics of 70% of learners taking part and 61% of educational expenditure going to extra lessons, there is need for an in-depth critical analysis of the perceptions teachers, parents, school inspectors and learners towards economic role of extra lessons. The question that needs to be addressed is: Given the large numbers of participants and huge economic investment, what could be the economic benefits of these extra lessons?

1.2. Research Questions

The study was guided by the following four research questions:

1. How can learners in the urban day secondary school learners economically benefit from extra lessons?
2. What are economic benefits derived from extra lessons by parents whose children attend rural day secondary schools?
3. To what extent have urban day secondary school teachers economically benefitted from extra lessons?
4. What are the negative economic effects of extra lessons on the stakeholders?

1.3. Review of Related Studies

Studies have been carried out in different geographical locations and most of these have tended to look at the effects of extra lessons on the academic achievement of learners. However, a few have looked the economic benefits and drawbacks of extra lessons (Baker and Le Tendre, 2005; Bray, 1999; Hartman, 2014; Sacmeq, 2010). In an ethnographic study carried out in four districts of Cairo, Egypt, Hartman (2014) established that teachers were benefiting economically from the tutoring system because in Egypt, teachers were among the lowest paid employees in the public service. They also operated under poor working environments in the formal school systems, which were overburdened and underfunded thus failing to offer quality education. The same study establishes that 31% of the families in Egypt named private tutoring as the most significant challenge of the education system in the country as it forced many parents and guardians to take on extra jobs in order to finance the expenses for the extra tuition.

Hartman (2014), concludes that accessibility to extra tutoring depended mainly on the family's financial means. The same study also established that, despite the minority of the teachers in the region being male, no female teachers undertook extra lessons since they depended on their spouses for extra income. According to Hartman (2014), most participants in the study were of the view that private tutoring was the most effective strategy for making extra money and for most of them the practice was the main source of income. Teachers took up government posts as classroom teachers because of incentives such as health insurance cover, job security and pensions. However, from the results of the study (Hartman, 2014) seems to suggest that even if teachers had managed to improve their socio-economic status through private tutoring, the teaching profession had suffered from a negative discourse as the teachers were accused of unethical behaviour and corruption.

The same situation exists as regards the practice of supplementary tutoring in Eastern Europe. The meager remuneration for teachers seems to be driving the teachers to engage in extra lessons (Baker and Le Tendre, 2005; Bray, 1999; Sacmeq, 2010). Extra lessons have been viewed as vital in as far as they helped prop up teachers' salaries. In this region, teachers were failing to provide even for the basics from their salaries. However, extra lessons only assisted them to survive and make ends meet (Bray, 1999). Extra lessons have developed into a huge economic enterprise where huge sums of money are exchanging hands as parents are willing to purchase the private education (Bray, 1999; Mogari *et al.*, 2009). For example, parents in South Korea spend 25% of their earnings on the supplementary form of education, whereas Japanese parents spend USD\$240 per month (Bray, 1999). This goes to show that there is a huge market for the extra lessons and the economies involved stand to benefit from the practice. This could be the same for the Zimbabwean informal market education as this has tended to create a lucrative market elsewhere.

On a positive note, in Korea, several studies have shown that the impressive economic success of that country was only attained through human capital development, which was mostly through the extra lessons (Kim, 2002; Seth, 2002). In some countries (e.g Japan, South Korea and Singapore) there has been a rapid economic progress due to the intensity of extra lessons (Mogari *et al.*, 2009). This might have been a result of government tapping into the practice through taxation and public benefits accruing from the manpower churned out of the informal education system.

However, that extra lessons have assisted as a source of income for individuals and countries is beyond doubt but in a survey carried out in ten countries, which included Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mongolia, Slovakia, Croatia and Lithuania by Silova and Bray (2006), extra lessons were seen to have a number of negative economic effects. Extra lessons tended to deprive the state of tax revenue (Bray, 1999). Extra lessons have been described as a hidden market, where proceeds are difficult to measure and calculate. Where the practice has not been fully regularised and actors registered, there could be chances that the state has lost out on potential revenue to the fiscas as teachers are not contributing anything to the national budget. They pocket all the proceeds tax free.

Costs associated with extra lessons differ from one country to the other (Bray, 1999). For example, in Pakistan, expenditures on tutoring per child averaged the equivalent of US\$3.40. In Hong Kong, China, the business of providing extra lessons to secondary schools reached US\$255 million in 2011. In Japan, families spent a whopping US\$12 billion in 2010 on private tutoring (Bray, 1999; Bray and Lykins, 2012; Hallak and Poisson, 2007). In terms of costs of financing private tutoring, Nath (2016) established that the cost ranged between Tk1,201 to Tk18000 per student, depending on the parents' capacity to pay. These amounts translated to the gross earnings made by the Nath (2016) established that most tutors were making rich pickings from the extra lessons which were higher compared to earnings at their formal places of work. Therefore, that form of extra lessons economically empowered private tutors who would normally feel obliged to take part in the extra lessons under whatever circumstances, in the light of the Tk. 49 67,2 million that was spent on extra tuition yearly in Bangladesh. However, it is important to note that costs for extra lessons can be quantified in monetary terms (Nath, 2016).

Furthermore, a study by Verdis (2002) in Greece concludes that the economic status of the family was associated with attendance at private tutoring centres. Verdis (2002) also carried out a survey of first year university students who had attended preparatory school of the small group or one-on-one tutoring was the generally the preserve of those who well to do. In Greece, private tutoring was undertaken by those from a home that had at least a computer and both father and mother were gainfully employed. The two studies by Verdis (2002) in Greece and Murawska and Putkiewicz (2006) in Poland were follow up studies on university students after having undertaken extra lessons years after leaving school.

2. Research Methodology

The study adopted an interpretivist paradigm in which the researcher used the qualitative research approach (Patton, 2014). 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. The multiple case study approach was adopted to enable comparisons of views held by the different participants on the role of extra lessons from the three different sites (Neuman, 2014). 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 (Creswell, 2013). Since this study was on the economic role of extra lessons, a multi-perspective on the role of the extra lessons was obtained from the participants who were teachers, schools inspectors, parents and learners. Their selection into the study was through purposive sampling that the researcher was able to come up with a group of 23 participants from where data were generated. These participants had a great deal of experience in as far as the extra lessons were concerned. Since the study dealt with human beings as providers of the data, care was taken to safeguard their confidentiality and anonymity as well as securing their informed consent to participation (Dina, 2012). For the preservation of anonymity, pseudonyms for the participants were used.

3. Presentation and Discussion of Results

Data generated were presented in themes emerging from the data. From the onset, it was established that extra lessons had both positive and negative economic effects as indicated in the views of the teachers, parents and learners. Among the positive roles emerging from the data are that extra lessons are being used for learner empowerment through enrolment into colleges and employment creation, saving on financial resources by parents because learners do not repeat the same grade or form, and uplifting of teacher standards of living through accessing extra financial gains, among others. From a negative perspective, extra lessons have been criticised for straining parents of the meagre financial resources.

3.1. Learner Empowerment Through Enrollment into Colleges and Employment Creation

Learners stand to benefit more from the extra lessons than any other beneficiary. They can enroll with colleges and become employable thereafter, or be creators of employment as they would had acquired knowledge meant to stir them towards employment creation. Some of these views are contained in the following excerpt by Mr. Zhou (not his real name), one of the teachers, who has this to say:

From these extra lessons, I believe they can empower the learners because remember we are saying our economy or the situation is, in order for you participate in the mainstream economy, you need to have very good passes, whether at O level or A level. So that the moment a person

comes up with very good passes, five O levels, it automatically means that that person can be absorbed in the mainstream economy. Let's take for example, someone who would have managed to pass Maths. Let's say that person has come up with B or an A, it automatically means that person is now able to be employed by government for example, because it is the main employer right now. Many people are going out there to attend extra lessons simply because they want five O levels especially Maths and English. So the moment that person gets that pass, he/she goes to the teachers' college, nursing hospitals, to the police, army. So we are saying extra lessons are very important because they are contributing to learners getting employment.

One deduces, from the above excerpt, that learners are provided with the opportunity to play a role in the economy as reflected in "*can empower the learners*" and "*can be absorbed in the mainstream economy*". This is so because learners pass after attending extra lessons and get recruited in various sectors of the economy such as service sectors which such as "*the teachers' college, nursing hospitals, to the police, army*". In support, Mr. James intimates that students "*are able to go for higher education*" and are "*able to create employment for others*". Mr. Turo asserts that economically, the learners are also going to benefit through getting work opportunities and this makes "*them climb up the economic strata in their society*". Another participant, Mr. January indicates that the learner "*is going to be able to get some form of employment, go for higher education and that would enhance his chances of being employed*". Phrases, "*empower the learners go for higher education and get some form of employment*", show the economic benefits accruing to the learner. Hence economically, extra lessons empower the learners after having acquired good results. Parent participant Ms. Ndumo also shows optimism on the positive role of extra lessons to empower learners when she remarks "*am investing resources in him through extra lessons so that he can good results in future*". Also Mr. Oliver is forward looking in terms of economic benefits to be reaped by the learner. In his words, he said:

...looking at a situation that at the end of the form four programme, our daughter is going to do well because the pass rate is increasing each year. We are expecting that she is going to pass and after passing, she will go to A level and we are anticipating that some more extra lessons were going to be attended while doing her A level. This would then improve her chances getting a vacancy in the local universities and eventually getting a job because of the extra lessons.

Like their participants, words of optimism on potential economic role played by extra lessons are expressed in the phrases *are expecting that she is going to pass, would then improve her chances getting a vacancy and eventually getting a job because of the extra lessons*.

The majority 21(91%) out of 23(100%) participants perceived extra lessons as the gateway to economic prosperity for both the individual learner as well as the country, after they had passed their examinations. Learner participants Peter, Moxon and Cecil, among others, also see extra lessons as leading to a rise in the learners' economic status. Peter says, "*When attending these lessons, I would be preparing for my passing in the examinations. If I pass these examinations, I can be able to proceed to get a job that will make me earn money.*" Moxon perceives extra lessons as leading to economic development of the country and remarks, "*If they form companies, they start employing others.*" The same sentiments were expressed by Cecil who indicates that extra lessons make education improve in the country because *learners who would have passed proceed to the formation of businesses*". One gets an appreciation of the view that extra lessons are meant to empower the learners. Most outstanding, the phrases *they start employing others, can be able to proceed to get a job and proceed to the formation of businesses*", demonstrate the effect of the extra lessons in empowering the learners so that they are self-sufficient. The parents, teachers and learners expect the majority of those attending extra lessons to pass examinations and make it to colleges and universities to enroll for better professional careers, as established in one of the surveys which established that the majority of first year students at a university had attended preparatory school of the small group or one-on-one tutoring (Verdis, 2002).

3.2. Saving on Financial Resources Because of not Repeating the Same Educational Level

Extra lessons assist parents who are able to save on financial resources because their children would not repeat the same grade or form. Both parents and teachers subscribe to this view. For example, Mr. Sango, another teacher, has this to say:

From an economic perspective, I think students do not really have to repeat the course in future. So I think it saves them time and financial resources from not re-engaging in the same because of failure.

There is a notion of saving the meagre finances on the part of the parents, depicted from the above excerpt. This is expressed in the phrase "*do not really have to repeat*". When learners repeat a failed grade, they are obliged to pay full fees and given that extra lessons assist them in passing, they would proceed to the next level. This is without further waste of resources as indicated in "*saves them time and financial resources*". Ms. Ndumo weighs in in support of the views by the teacher, Mr. Sango. In her observations, she indicates that if her child passed his examinations, she stood to benefit in that it meant "*I would not have to pay fees for the same level again*" as the child would go to the next level without repeating. Another participant parent, Mr. Oliver, is also of the same opinion because "*my daughter is not going to repeat because she is going to do it once and for all and pass all the subjects*". For that reason, the parents are going to benefit because they are not going to keep on pumping money for the children to keep on doing the same form over and over again. According to the perceptions of all the participants, repeating the same level again is a waste of resources and truly so, they save as indicated in the phrases "*not going to repeat*" and "*not have to pay fees for the same level again*". Sounding the same opinion, participant teacher Mr. Sango indicated that parents would want to avert the financial resource wastage brought about by learners having to

repeat their courses. Parents, therefore, benefit in the long run because they did not have to re-invest in the educational area which the students would have failed since extra lessons improve the chances of the child passing.

3.3. Offering Economic Assistance to Parents in Times of Need After Passing

The economic motives of the parents in funding the extra lessons are that they want their children to get employed afterwards and leave happier lives and also uplift the lives of their communities. The learners, after doing well in examinations, assist parents later, after they become employed. Sharing his opinions, Mr. January remarks that while as parents they do not look forward to much assistance, culturally, parents expected their children to somehow help them in times of need. He states:

After the child becomes self-reliant, he/she should help, financially, because of their being employed or is doing something beneficial out of the education they got. They therefore, would assist us as parents, somehow, hence benefitting us who sent them for extra lessons.

The participant is optimistic about the future as reflected in the use of the modal verbs “*should*” and “*would*”. However, what is clear is that the parent looks forward to the child to help economically as reflected “*in would assist us as parents*”. After the students gain knowledge and pass their terminal examinations, they were bound to use the knowledge in the daily lives, hence parents have expectations of their children and basically it was a matter of trying to provide enabling environments that could present opportunities for prosperity through financial rewards later in life (Bray, 2009).

3.4. Straining Parents of the Meagre Financial Resources

Looking at it from a negative perspective, extra lessons are straining communities of the financial resources that could have been used to improve standards of living of the parents and guardians. High density areas are areas normally inhabited by the low income earners and as such, extra lessons are causing further financial strain on parents. The parents are paying extra cash over and above that which they paid at the mainstream schools. For that reason, extra lessons are an extra burden to the parents (Verdis, 2002).

In support of this view, Mr. Nhari remarks saying, “*You see since the economy is not performing well, parents are getting it very difficult in paying for the extra lessons. Getting money is a problem to most parents. They are struggling, they are trying all their means*”. From this, one can deduce that parents burdened as reflected in the phrases “*getting it very difficult*” and “*are struggling*”. It is not easy to secure the money for financing the extra lessons. This is well expressed in the phrase “*Getting money is a problem*”. In support, as a parent of the paying learner Ms. Ndumo, has been affected by these extra lessons economically, because the extra lessons have affected her other responsibilities as they take a chunk out of the minimum monetary resources available in the household. She states, “*For learning subjects like Mathematics, for example, which are charged \$10-00 per week with the teachers requiring hard cash and refusing any other form of payment including bank transfers, electronic transfers or ecocash, I find it hard to survive*”. One gets a feeling of how difficult it is, economically, to finance the extra lessons, as reflected in the expression “*I find it hard to survive*”. Mr. Owens has this to say about the struggle by parents to pay for extra lessons:

Economically, of course, considering the economic situation in the country at the moment, there is quite some challenge with most parents to make the payments. They have to fork out the little they have for children to attend extra lessons because they know extra lessons are very important. So it is a sort of sacrifice they make. Of course, extra lessons strain their pockets because payment has to be made first unlike in the conventional system where payment is once per term and often liberal and regulated.

Parents do not have adequate financial resources and are already overburdened as seen in the phrase “*the little they have*”. The phrase “*is a sort of sacrifice they make*” shows they have to go out of their way to provide financial support for the extra lessons. The parents are feeling the economic pinch as suggested by the phrase “*strain their pockets*”. Hence, some parents are living beyond their means in order to fork out some money for the extra lessons over and above other financial obligations resulting in economic strain. According to Hartman (2014), 31% of the families in Egypt were forced to take on extra jobs in order to finance the expenses for the extra tuition.

Further demonstrating the negative economic effects of extra lessons, parent participant Mr. January, remarks that he is having to pay twice, to the school where he pays the normal fees and as well as having to pay for the extra lessons. This shows that the family has to forego other things that should have been procured with the money that he used for paying for extra lessons. In concurrence with other parents, Mr. Oliver states “*throwing a dollar each time the child attends extra lessons*”. This shows that the parent is not comfortable with the idea of paying the dollar. The term throwing seems to suggest the parent is putting money where the results are not clear and goes further to support the view that it is a matter of struggling when he says “*At times it is actually a toll order*” which means he is actually struggling as he “*at times deprives the child of certain basics that she might want at home*”. This means that at times he ended up failing to provide some basic necessities in the family and for the daughter in order to pump out money for the extra lessons. In support, Mr. Mhofu indicates that communities have been affected because not all parents from the urban sector are having adequate resources to give out. He expressed reservation by remarking thus:

I think there is increased costs for educating one’s child with no guarantee of quality of the output of the teaching in the first place. All parents just send for the sake of sending but there is no guarantee for quality. But because of the climate conditions that we have been experiencing people are just maybe emotionally driven to send their children.

The excerpt shows that the inspector feels it an extra burden which is being shouldered by parent, once again with no clear cut benefit in sight as shown in *“increased costs for educating one’s child with no guarantee of quality”*. Negative sentiments are also shared by Mr. Turo who indicated that looking at the economic situation in Zimbabwe, some of the parents were going out of their way in order for them to pay for these extra lessons. Mr. Turo’s remark that *“They have to scrounge for some money so that they could pay for extra lessons”*, shows that parents in deed are struggling to finance the extra lessons (Hartman, 2014; Verdis, 2002).

According to a teacher participant, Mr. Zhou, parents were economically in a negative way affected *“as most of the parents were not employed, it was very difficult for them to actually pay for extra lessons and some had to borrow and they would remain in a cycle of debt for a long time”*. Borrowing money is reflection of inability to finance what one intends to do and parents are unable to pay hence they borrow. This shows that they are affected economically but the desire for their children to attend extra lessons then pushes the parent to borrow.

Like their teachers, most of the learners expressed the view that most parents were struggling to pay for the extra lessons. Those who expressed disquiet about the economic burden, advanced the view that parents are struggling. For example, Ben expresses the following views:

It is quite difficult because they are spending money twice. They pay school fees and pay for extra lessons. A lot of money is therefore spent. Children also want clothes and other needs and so a lot of money is being spent. Some parents are therefore not for the idea and do not take it lightly but they just force themselves to send the child for extra lessons because of the child’s poor performance. They see those children attending extra lessons having their performance improving. So, they just sacrifice and are left with nothing so that you attend extra lessons.

The idea that parents *“are spending money twice implies they are affected”*. They have a lot of other responsibilities which require funding and these include *“clothes and other needs”* which are accounting for a large chunk of money as seen in *“a lot of money is being spent”*. All this is in pursuit of the good passes they want out of their children. Participant learner Devine expresses the same views and categorically states that *“the expenses incurred are a problem”*. This shows the level of difficulty the parents expect to meet their extra lessons expenses. However, parents just sacrifice because they would have seen that if they left their children continuously failing, it would be a waste of resources, repeating the failed subjects. Learner Peter is more precise as he regards extra lessons as affecting them negatively, economically. As he puts it:

...given that I would be doing 2 subjects, and a subject will be going for \$15.00 meaning its \$30.00 for the two subjects and the school is charging \$50.00 fees. So, add these on the parent’s salary, or maybe one parent is not gainfully employed leaving the other the only one who is gainfully employed. So, on the salary, which could be \$150.00 per month, there is also need for food and clothes and rentals. So, the salary is not adequate. So, things are not okay but there is nothing to do because they want me to pass.

By implication, from the excerpt, extra lessons fees are exorbitant. This is because \$50.00 is required for the formal education per term but for four subjects done during extra lessons, the parent has to pay \$60.00. As argued by other learners, Peter seems to suggest that paying for extra lessons is burdensome as reflected in various needs that require financial satisfaction which include *“food and clothes and rentals”* against a backdrop of meager wages seen *“in salary is not adequate”*. All this goes to show that financing extra lessons is a real economic challenge that has affected the parents and guardians.

Moxon, one of the learners, indicates that there is nothing problematic because the parents are the ones giving them support to go for the extra lessons. They pay and provide everything the children need, hence there is nothing economically negative about the extra lessons. The learner is probably oblivious of the other commitments parents have that may affect the family’s financial position. That being the case, Mr. Mamvura is positive by remarking that economically, parents could say extra lessons are an extra burden because of the small and extra charge for the lessons. He does not feel that parents are being affected economically. He has this to say:

...economically, per se, we wouldn’t say they are affected because we don’t force these kids to come to lessons. It is the parents who initiate it so they know that for their kids to have extra lessons or for the siblings to have extra lessons, there is an extra cost to be paid. So I hope when they bring their children for extra lessons, they would have budgeted for that. So I don’t think I can say it’s something that is imposed on them which strain their budgets.

By not being coerced into funding extra lessons as shown by *“we don’t force these kids to come to lessons”*, the participant seems to suggest that all is well for the parents but out of the need to get that extra help, parents have to struggle to make ends meet. The participant apportions blame on the parents when he says *“It is the parents who initiate it so they know...”*. However, as argued by other participants, it is out of the need for their children to pass that drives them to look around for funding and that does not necessarily imply that by volunteering to send their children for extra lessons, they are not negatively affected.

The findings of the study seem to concur with other findings elsewhere (Bray, 2013; Lee, 2005). Bray (2013) In Hong Kong (Bray, 2013) found out that parents were heavily affected by high costs of private tutoring and this placed parents under heavy psychological pressure. Costs for tutoring consumed substantial amounts of family incomes. The findings are corroborated in Korea, in a study by Lee (2005), which established that extra lessons are a financial burden for parents. Lee (2005) argues that those who do not have the capacity to pay feel deprived of the much needed extra lessons to an extent that they regard themselves as inferior hence may suffer psychological disorders. Therefore, extra lessons are straining parents financially though they are unavoidable because of the perceived long term benefits.

3.5. Uplifting of Teacher Standards of Living Through Accessing Extra Financial Gains

Extra lessons have also assisted in the uplifting of teachers' standards of lives. Teachers are getting some extra earnings from extra lessons and these extra earnings from the extra lessons are going a long way in improving their way of life. According to Hartman (2014), private tutoring is an effective strategy for making extra money and for most of teachers, the practice is the main source of income. Teachers only undertook government posts as classroom teachers because of incentives such as health insurance cover, job security and pensions (Lee, 2005). Findings from this study concur with those by Hartman (2014) and Lee (2005). For example, extra lessons have come as a blessing to participant teacher Mr. Sango whose life has changed for the better as he has immensely benefitted from offering extra lessons. He says:

Economically, it's obvious that I have additional income the mainstream education alone cannot provide me enough income. I need to sustain myself. That is the main economic benefit I am benefitting from providing extra lessons. The extra lessons have brought about more economic benefits than was through ancillary income. The income I have generated from extra lessons has allowed me room to invest in other income generating projects, something I could not do with the conventional source of income.

The phrase *"have additional income the mainstream education alone cannot provide me enough income"* reflects that the participant cannot be where he is now financially without the money he gets from extra lessons. The additional income ranges from \$10.00 to \$20.00 per month for one subject, depending on the level and market. That extra lessons *"have allowed me room to invest in other income generating projects"* bear testimony that there is more income for the teacher that he has used to uplift his standard of living. By implication, those who are not engaged in other income generating projects such as extra lessons, are failing to uplift their way of life as signified in *"something I could not do with the conventional source of income"*. Mr. Sango indicated that it depends on market segmentation as for high density students, the fee was \$20.00 per subject for A level per month and for low density suburbs, it was \$40.00 per month per candidate per subject. By Zimbabwean standards, that is a lot of money and where teachers get such packages, they can really live an improved way of life. The phrase from the above excerpt by Mr. Sango, *"mainstream education alone cannot provide me enough income"* demonstrates that extra lessons are propping up their income as the meager remuneration for teachers seems to be driving the teachers to engage in extra lessons (Baker and Le Tendre, 2005; Bray, 1999; Munikwa and Mutungwe, 2011; Sacmeq, 2010). However, like in other studies, teachers who were failing to provide even for the basics from their salaries, survive and make ends meet, are now living better lives as extra lessons have developed into a huge economic enterprise where huge sums of money are exchanging hands as parents are willing to purchase the private education (Bray, 1999; Mogari et al., 2009).

Some participants, for example, Mr. Mamvura, feel the extra remuneration from extra lessons placed them at a sound economic position. Mr. Mamvura said:

I am affording to do some things that I wasn't able to do before extra lessons. I have managed to send my sister to university. I have my son who is in zero grade and I have managed to enroll him at Hartley 1 primary school, which I consider to be a notch higher than other schools in the locality.

Extra lessons have made things change for the better for Mr. Mamvura as reflected in the excerpt. The phrase *"affording to do some things that I wasn't able to do before extra lessons"* bears testimony to that. Better standard of life is also shown by the phrase *managed to enroll him at Hartley 1 primary school, which I consider to be a notch higher than other schools in the locality*. It shows Mr. Mamvura unable to afford fees for his sister's university education but after getting remunerated from extra lessons, he is affording to. He is now able to send his child to one of the most prestigious schools in the town, Hartley 1 primary school. This shows the participant is now living a luxurious life after getting paid through his engagement in extra lessons.

In support of these views, Mr. Mhofu indicates that the extra lessons place the teachers at an economic advantage because the teachers are able to negotiate the charges for their services from the client. He says:

They can afford to build some homes, they can plan long term for themselves if they get an extra dollar and I understand our situation it is the US dollar that we are using and it has got value and even if it's a dollar in USA form it is of value and imagine what I have actually observed, a lot of children they would come as they are coming for a church service and they get taught whilst in the home. And the other point is that teachers can study in colleges and polytechnics after the school. In other words, teachers, normally from the remuneration, they can also do their advancement using the money because the money that they are currently getting at the moment, is not enough. But it's only lucky that it's coming but it's too small an amount to warrant a livelihood for most of our teachers. That's why you find this development has taken place in most of our urban centres particularly in the area of Chegutu.

The phrase *"can afford to build some homes"* demonstrates a change in living conditions of the teachers, most of whom have complained about their staying in rented accommodation (Tokwe, 2010). Some teachers stay in houses owned by parents of the learners they teach at the formal school. Further improvement in the status of the teachers is depicted in the phrase *"teachers can study in colleges and polytechnics after the school"*, as teachers are advancing their education through money earned from extra lessons. The same views were echoed by the parents, who indicate that secondary school teachers are benefitting economically from the extra lessons. Ms. Ndumo states that teachers are making extra income that is leading them to live a better life than before. Therefore, the amount coming towards the teacher conducting extra lessons is a welcome development as it is being used to raise the standards of living on the part of the teacher. Like other studies by Dawson (2009), Kalikova and Rakhimzhanova

(2009) and Bray and Lykins (2012), there is clear evidence to suggest that most teachers taking part in extra lessons to supplement their incomes, have had a transformed life bearing in mind that their normal salaries which are close to below the poverty datum line, are not able to sustain their lives. Hence, the belief that extra lesson activities are spurred by the need to uplift the living standards of the teachers (Bray and Lykins, 2012; Hartman, 2014).

4. Conclusions

From the above findings, it can be concluded that while extra lessons have had some positive economic gains on teachers, learners and their parents. They have negatively impacted on these groups of participants. On one hand, it has been established that extra lessons empower learners through enrolment into colleges and employment creation as the most intended beneficiaries of extra lessons pass examinations, enroll with colleges and become employable thereafter, or be creators of employment. Teachers are benefitting a lot from the extra lessons which assist them in the uplifting of their standard of lives through getting some extra earnings from extra lessons which are going a long way in improving their way of life. Extra lessons also assist parents to save on financial resources because their children would not repeat the same grade or form. On the other hand, extra lessons help breed corruption among teachers as some teachers underperform in the formal classroom so that the situation can force learners to attend extra lessons which are economically lucrative to them, thus creating a dent on teacher professionalism in the teaching sector. Extra lessons have also been blamed for straining parents of the financial resources that can be used to improve standards of living of the parents and guardians since that parents are pumping out extra money over and above that which they paid at the mainstream schools.

Recommendations

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

- Since some teachers have been accused of making financial gains at the expense of the actual teaching during extra lessons, it is, therefore, prudent that parents monitor work that is being given to learners during the extra lessons.
- Learners, who are the ultimate beneficiaries of the extra lessons, besides teachers, need to be wary of the extent to which they rely on extra lessons. At times teachers have taken to extra lessons for the monetary benefits that accrue to the activity.
- There is need to legalise the extra lessons and set standards for whoever requires to provide the service. This is against the background that extra lessons have been abused in some cases for monetary benefits at the expense of effective teaching and learning.
- Extra lessons need to be formalised because they could help government through funds to the national fiscas obtained from the taxes levied on the teachers practising the extra lessons.
- Government can also benefit from low disgruntlement from the teachers as they get remuneration out of the extra lessons rather than confront government each time they require salary increments.
- MOPSE should invest in extra lessons because they are assisting a lot in meeting the shortfalls of the mainstream education system, which include teacher remuneration.

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