

A Review of the Longstanding Ban on Private Supplementary Tutoring in Tanzania Mainland

William Anangisye
Dar es Salaam University College of Education &
School of Education, University of Dar es Salaam

E-mail address: wala261219@gmail.com

Abstract

Schools in general and private supplementary tutoring programmes in particular have both been concerned with the provision of basic education. The two can complement each other when effectively put into practice. However, in Tanzania Mainland private supplementary tutoring has remained banned. This paper revisits this ban, questioning why private supplementary tutoring has been banned on Tanzania Mainland when education is a basic right. It argues that, unless the forces which fuelled the dire need for private supplementary tutoring among pupils and teachers are adequately addressed, attempts to ban this practice will be futile since it continues to operate unabated largely underground or under the noses of the authorities. Moreover, *the paper advocates for a clearer rationale for private supplementary tutoring as an alternative approach to poor quality education in Tanzania.*

Keywords: ban; private tutoring; Tanzania Mainland; primary school; secondary school

Introduction

Ambivalence about the practice of private supplementary tutoring is widespread and cuts across countries in the north and south. Stakeholders the world over acknowledge the contribution of private supplementary tutoring to individuals' educational development. Despite people's general appreciation of this practice, attempts have been made both to promote and denounce it. Parents have been in the vanguard of obtaining private supplementary tutoring for their children. As Anangisye (2010, p. 126) observes, "Taking children to private tutoring classes is a strategy that some parents take as a reaction to the appalling state of basic education", because parents and children want an education which reaps dividends in the labour market. Like Sri Lanka and India, especially in Kerala (Bray & Kwo, 2014; Sujatha, 2014), the practice of private supplementary tutoring on Tanzania Mainland, although not on the same scale, is now evident in urban, semi-urban and rural areas. For many years since its inception, the practice of private supplementary tutoring in Tanzania has been associated with affluent families. Of late, however, evidence abounds that children from almost all socio-economic backgrounds are involved in this educational practice.

In fact, the continual growth in private supplementary tutoring in many parts of the world is making a mockery of efforts aimed at banning the practice in different countries, including Tanzania Mainland. On October 7th, 1998, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) through the then Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) banned the practice of

private tutoring on school premises on Tanzania Mainland with effect from January 1st, 1999 (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania [JMT], 1998). The ban on private supplementary tutoring came about two decades after its inception in the early 1980s. More than fifteen years later, the practice of private supplementary tutoring remains widespread and on the rise in many parts of the country instead of declining. This paper is aimed at stimulating dialogue on the ban on what is considered to be a panacea for *inter alia* the poor learning environment and demoralised teachers because of poor perks and remuneration. Specifically, the author argues that unless the forces which fuelled the dire need for private supplementary tutoring among pupils and teachers are adequately addressed, attempts to ban this practice will prove futile since it continues to operate unabated largely underground or under the noses of the authorities. Based on the experience of private supplementary tutoring in different countries in general and of Tanzania Mainland in particular, this paper focuses on three central lines of inquiry: (i) Why is private supplementary tutoring still banned in Tanzania's schools despite its acknowledged positive contribution? (ii) To what extent is the ban on private supplementary tutoring justifiable? (iii) Has the ban on private supplementary tutoring been successful?

The foregoing lines of inquiry sought to obtain information through documentary research. This method of inquiry, as scholars and/or researchers suggest, draws on written texts, i.e. documents (see, for example, Mogalakwe, 2006; Ahmad, 2010). Amongst others, the paper benefited from government documents, such as the Education and Training Policy of 2014 and education circulars and/or letters. Other relevant documents deemed necessary for this inquiry included previous research reports and theoretical books on education. Specifically, documents were found in schools, the Ministry of Education (Tanzania), and University of Dar es Salaam main library. In addition, using the Internet was deemed necessary for this paper. As a research tool (Ahmad, 2010; Khare, Thapa & Sahoo, 2007; Benfield, 2006), the Internet gave the author an opportunity to access web-based information relevant to private supplementary tutoring. Indeed, "In today's information age, Internet is a boon for researchers as it has brought information scattered all over the world within the easy reach of the researchers. Internet can help researchers to get the nascent information in their field without time lag and hence save their time, avoid duplication and improve the quality of research" (Khare, Thapa & Sahoo, 2007, p. 205). Through the Internet, the author accessed information about private supplementary tutoring that was global, regional and national in character. As indicated elsewhere, the review drew on documents in both hard and soft copy.

The global status of Private Supplementary Tutoring

Private supplementary tutoring is acknowledged as an educational phenomenon in many parts of the world (Bray & Silova, 2006; Bray, 2007; Dierkes, 2010; Heyneman, 2011; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Bray, Mazawi & Sultana, 2013; Lee, 2013; Das & Das, 2013). According to Bray (2007) in particular, the scale of private supplementary tutoring is, indeed, universal in nature and character. In the north, private supplementary tutoring has been reported in North America, France, Greece, Japan, and Italy (Bray and Silova, 2006; Campani, 2013). In an industrialised country such as Japan, for example, private supplementary tutoring, which endorses the

Japanese concept of *juku* (i.e. commercialised education) has a longstanding history. *Juku* attendance doubled between 1976 and 1993 at elementary education level (Bray, 2007). Today, private supplementary tutoring programmes are widespread in the country. The programmes are attributable to dissatisfaction with and concerns about education among the Japanese. As Dierkes (2010, p. 56) affirms, “[T]he Japanese public has been gripped by an education panic. This panic has led to widespread insecurity about conventional schools that has fuelled further *juku* attendance”.

In Eastern Europe, especially among the former Socialist republics, private supplementary tutoring is also widespread. According to Silova and Bray (2006), private tutoring has dramatically increased in central and south-East Europe and the former Soviet Union. In particular, Silova and Kazimzade (2006) indicate that private tutoring had been in existence in Azerbaijan since 1918. In Bosnia and Herzegovina (the former Yugoslavian socialist states), the practice of private tutoring was evident among education stakeholders even before the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Husremovic & Trbić, 2006). According to Matiashvili and Kutateladze (2006), private tutoring is a widespread educational phenomenon in Georgia as well. Therefore, private tutoring has been an educational feature that takes place at all levels of education, from elementary to general secondary education. Like other countries in the region, private tutoring in Georgia was regarded as a viable approach to passing examinations. In Slovakia, private tutoring is also widespread at all levels of the country’s education (Kubánová, 2006).

The practice of private supplementary tutoring is also evident and widespread in many other countries, including Hong Kong, Sri Lanka and the Republic of Korea. Comparatively, the Asian continent appears to lead in terms of the widespread nature of private supplementary tutoring programmes in the world. In Pakistan, “The poor learning situation at government schools ... acted as a push factor” (Chuadhry & Javed, 2012, p. 109) for private supplementary tutoring in many private tuition academies scattered throughout the country. In India, private supplementary tutoring is actually the order of the day. There is little doubt that a large number of pupils in primary and secondary schools receive private supplementary tutoring in different parts of India (Dangre & Tewary, 2015; Sujatha, 2014). Indeed, “... there has been an increase in prevalence of private tutoring but the increase is not dramatic [and] Thus it could be precluded that private tutoring is only a recent phenomenon, it is in fact entrenched into [the] Indian education system” (Azam, 2015, p. 8). Similarly, Bray and Kwo (2014) indicate that private tutoring is also expanding in south-east Asian countries such as Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

In Africa, private tutoring programmes are also evident in many countries including Egypt, Guinea, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (Bray, 2007; Mogari, Coetzee & Maritz, 2009; Lee, 2013). In Egypt, much of the available literature reports a mushrooming of private tutoring which cuts across all strata of Egyptian society (Hartmann, 2008). It must, however, be noted that private tutoring in Egypt is and/or was available for all Egyptians who

could afford it. According to Hartmann, private tutoring accommodated children from both urban and rural areas. In the early 1980s, stakeholders had already raised concerns over the practice of private supplementary tutoring in the country. In Mauritius, private supplementary tutoring was common among pupils in primary schools. Pupils' involvement in private tuition programmes was an increasing trend (Foondun, 1992). According to Foondun, private tuition was a means of finding a place in 'five-star' (prestigious) secondary schools in Mauritius.

In East Africa, private supplementary tutoring is manifested on a wide scale in primary and secondary schools in Kenya, Tanzania Mainland, Uganda and Zanzibar. In Kenya, the practice dates back to the 1980s (Mburugu, 2011; Mboi & Nyambedha, 2013). According to Jeruto and Bernard (2014, p. 2) "private tutoring in primary schools has in the recent past been a valuable tool used by teachers to prepare students for KCPE (Kenya Certificate of Primary Education)". In Zanzibar, private supplementary tutoring is entrenched. According to Bray (2007), about 44 per cent of Grade Six pupils involved in the survey participated in extra lessons. Of particular importance is the fact that in Zanzibar (the Isles part of the United Republic of Tanzania) private tutoring programmes are acknowledged by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar: "The Government has officially allowed government schools to charge a small fee for extra tuition provided by teachers after the official working hours in situations where parents are willing to do so" (The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 1998, p. 32). On Tanzania Mainland, like many other countries in East Africa and other parts of Africa, private supplementary tutoring is widespread (Mosha, 1995; Osaki, 1996; Sambo, 2001; Mbelle & Katabaro, 2003). Arguably, as empirical evidence illustrates, private supplementary tutoring on Tanzania Mainland is just part of global efforts to provide quality education to all and sundry.

The foregoing global experience, as Husremovic and Trbić (2006) assert, demonstrates that "private tutoring is inextricably linked to the mainstream education system" (p.143). As indicated elsewhere (see, for example, Sambo, 2001), the argument is that if the mainstream education system fails to provide pupils with the required quality of education, parents feel obliged to look for an alternative. Though this problem is global in scope, it is more pronounced in the developing world, perhaps because of the obvious erratic nature of the provision of quality education in poor countries.

The birth and development of Private Supplementary Tutoring

According to Bray and Silova (2006), private supplementary tutoring has been in existence in the world for centuries. Specifically, in the United States, the practice dates back to the 1880s (see, for example, Chuadhry & Javed, 2012). Likewise, as observed elsewhere, private supplementary tutoring has a longstanding history in Tanzania. According to Osaki (2000) and Puja (1981), the genesis of private supplementary tutoring dates back to the 1980s. In its infancy, private supplementary tutoring was identified as an urban educational practice. Today, the practice is no longer limited to cities. It has spread its tentacles to both semi-urban and rural parts, as the craving for quality education cuts across all social strata. Also, private supplementary tutoring was initially the concern of primary and secondary school pupils from

affluent households (Mosha, 1995). Today, the practice takes on board pupils from all socio-economic backgrounds. Similarly, Osaki (2000) indicates that in the 1980s private supplementary tutoring was mainly concerned with science subjects (physics, chemistry and biology), mathematics and English. Today, there is evidence that the practice involves all subjects taught in school, including Kiswahili, the national language.

However, the basic question worthy of pursuit relates to possible explanations for the genesis and development of private supplementary tutoring, as discussed below.

Perceived poor quality of education: Like other countries in the world, the evolution of private supplementary tutoring has to do with the failure of the government education system in general and of schools in particular to provide pupils with the quality education expected. Private tutoring was, therefore, a means of addressing educational gaps in the mainstream education system. Thus people's increasing concern about the poor quality of education opened the door for private supplementary tutoring. In this regard, private supplementary tutoring was initially the concern of economically advantaged households—families that could afford the costs. As Mosha (1995, p. 9) puts it, "...affluent parents had discovered that primary schools were no longer providing quality education for their children". However, over time private supplementary tutoring programmes began to attract children from all geographical and socio-economic backgrounds as quality education is a concern of all parents and/or guardians and children (Sambo, 2001).

Teachers' need for supplementary income: Much of the available literature advances the economic factor as a prime reason for the development of private tutoring in Tanzania. The economic factor can largely be seen from the teachers' perspective. The involvement of teachers in private supplementary tutoring is made possible for one major reason—income. Teachers who engage in the assignment are motivated by payment. Sometimes, teachers engage in private tutoring at the request of pupils or parents. Teachers may use their premises or pupils' homes to conduct private tutoring lessons. Generally, teachers are attracted to private supplementary tutoring because they are in dire need of money to supplement their meagre income. It should however be noted that besides cash, depending on the family's economic position, teachers may be given material things, such as furniture, grain or clothes.

Shortage of teachers: The shortage of qualified teachers in some specific subjects also necessitates the provision of private supplementary tutoring. The government acknowledges the shortage of teachers in some subjects in many schools (JMT, 2014). The problem has a longstanding history in the country. As indicated elsewhere, since the 1980s the subjects of science, English and mathematics have been facing a severe shortage of teachers. As a result, in some primary and secondary schools pupils have gone untaught in these particular subjects. This sad development compelled school managements to look for teachers or experts to teach the subjects. Parents and/or guardians also took the initiative by looking for teachers or individuals with expertise in the subjects for which their schools did not have teachers. On

several occasions, from six or four leavers were involved in teaching private supplementary tutoring classes. Usually, these students had performed very well in their final examinations (i.e. Certificate of Secondary Education Examination [CSEE] and Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination [ACSEE]).

Desire to excel in examinations: The rise of private supplementary tutoring is also attributable to parents' definition of the concept of high standards in education (Osaki, 2000). For many parents, one of the indicators of high standards in education is good performance in the final examination. As Osaki (1996) puts it, "to increase the chances of children passing the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) and moving upwards, many parents, especially the middle class in urban areas, began to hire private tutors" (p. 15). The private supplementary tutoring culture was embraced to boost the prospects of attaining excellence in examinations. Initially, as indicated elsewhere, the private supplementary tutoring culture was limited to a few academic disciplines, *inter alia*, mathematics, science and English. However, as time went on private supplementary tutoring was extended to all other academic disciplines taught in Tanzania's primary and secondary schools.

The basic question at this juncture is whether the foregoing reasons for private supplementary tutoring justify condemnation of the practice by any authority or individual. The desire of parents is concomitant with the desire of the United Nations to provide all children with quality education. Since 1948, following the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), efforts have been made globally to make quality education available to- all people.

The Government Approved forms of Private Supplementary Tutoring

According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* of 1995, the term 'form' refers to "the socially accepted way of doing something" (Hornby, 1995, p. 464). In this sense, the forms underlying the practice of private tuition are reflected in the proposal by the then Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Education and Culture (Tanzania). Specifically, there are four forms underlying the practice of private tuition in Tanzania. According to the *Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (JMT)* (1991, pp. 1 - 2) the forms of private supplementary tutoring that can take place on school premises are of a different nature but include:

Remedial tuition: Remedial tuition is a form of private supplementary tutoring which, in principle, allows teachers and pupils to participate in private tuition programmes. According to Pretorius (1999, p. 93), "extra remedial classes...can be scheduled to improve these students' ability and understanding". As the concept suggests, remedial tuition is a deliberate process, through which schools or simply teachers intentionally select academically weak pupils or those students who are slower at learning than others (see, for example, Hornby, 2010, p. 1245). Remedial classes are aimed at raising academically weak pupils or slow learners to the level of the rest of pupils as regards academic achievement.

According to the JMT (1998), several different characteristics can be deduced as regards this form of private tuition:

Private tuition classes are arranged by the school management through teachers in charge of the academic disciplines concerned.

Private tuition classes for the category of pupils identified take place after official school hours, mostly in the evening or some other time in the school timetable.

Pupils who attend organised private tuition classes come from all socio-economic backgrounds.

Teachers involved in private tuition classes are compensated by the school, not necessarily in the form of cash.

Remedial tuition in schools is a professional teacher's endeavour to enhance the learning of all pupils. It is the desire of a professionally trained teacher to provide students who fail to follow lessons during normal school hours with academic assistance. In Africa, remedial classes to address pupils' academic problems is evident in different countries, *inter alia* Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa (see, for example, Eric, Peprah & Cann, 2014; Udosen, Udofia, Ekukinam & Akpan, 2010; Pretorius, 1999).

Compensatory private tuition: The literature suggests the widespread existence of compensatory classes in both developed and developing countries (Allington, 1980; Allington, 1985; Mohanty, 1985; VanScoy, 1997). Compensatory classes seek to address pupils' different academic needs or problems, which may include issues regarding numeracy and literacy. The classes are not limited to just one academic discipline. The question however is: What do we mean by compensatory classes or programmes for any academic discipline in the school milieu? Writing from the United States, Allington (1980), in his article, *Teaching Reading in Compensatory Classes: A Descriptive Summary*, defines compensatory reading "...as supplemental to regularly scheduled reading instruction" (p. 181). In the Tanzanian context, compensatory tuition or classes are less noticeable. There are two types of compensatory tuition in Tanzania (see, for example, JMT, 1991, pp. 2 - 3). The first type involves teaching using the compensatory tuition approach and takes on board pupils who, due to an emergency or an unavoidable reason, fail to attend classes. In this sense, an emergency may take different forms, *inter alia*, bereavement, accident or illness. Teachers are not paid for this kind of teaching. The second type takes into account the situation when pupils miss classes or lessons simply because the school has a shortage of teachers or does not have anyone at all for some academic disciplines. School teachers engaged in this kind of teaching are paid according to the terms agreed upon by them and their respective management.

Private tuition during vacation: Besides other arrangements for private supplementary tutoring, parents and/or guardians may engage their children in private tuition programmes

during vacations, either during long vacations or mid-term breathers. Usually, the arrangements for such programmes are made between parents and/or guardians and a teacher or teachers if they plan to receive tutoring in more than one subject. On going home for a vacation, children are linked with teachers. According to JMT (1991), two reasons necessitate private supplementary tutoring during vacations. Parents want to foster their children's learning, especially in subjects they believe have been poorly taught in school or handled by the mainstream education system or those in which they believe their children are weak or have been underperforming. Also, private supplementary tutoring programmes help to keep children busy and hence out of trouble. Indeed, these programmes are seen by many parents as a way of avoiding the bad influence of peers and others. Payment for this kind of private tutoring is usually arranged between the teacher and children's parents or guardians. The Government of Tanzania allows this type of private tutoring to take place in the school setting provided the school management is made aware of the arrangement. This is important to ensure the safety of school equipment and the environment.

Private tutoring to prepare for examinations: Writing from the Malta experience in their dissertation, *Preparing for the 11+ Mathematics Benchmark Examination in a Private Tuition Class*, Bajada and Debrincat (2014, p. 72) indicate that "there was clear evidence that the private tuition lessons in this class were geared mostly towards helping students obtain good results in this examination". Private tuition as extra teaching and learning is in some schools deployed to prepare pupils for their final examination. As Foondun (1992, p. 32) suggests, private tuition is a direct manifestation of examination pressures. The approach is motivated by the desire of the school management to promote academic excellence in examinations. At its discretion the school management may make arrangements for this kind of private tuition. According to JMT (1991), this modality of private tuition has the following characteristic features. First, it is for all students who are being prepared for examinations. In secondary schools, this form applies to students who are preparing for the form two examination, CSSEE and ACSSEE. In primary schools, on the other hand, the focus is on Standard IV and VII pupils. Like the remedial tuition form, schools organise this kind of private tutoring after normal or official school hours or at weekends. Secondly, prospective candidates attend these programmes free of charge. Thirdly, the school management has to find ways of motivating or rewarding teachers who are involved in such programmes. There is little doubt that the practice of private tuition is largely associated with the desire to excel in examinations. As Bray (2003) points out, "private tuition seems to be more evident in the systems in which success in examinations can easily be promoted by investment in private supplementary tutoring..." (p. 26). Success in examinations is crucial as it helps to determine one's future in the competitive world of employment.

However, the approved forms underlying the practice of private supplementary tutoring did not last long. On October 7th, 1998, the Government of Tanzania Mainland through the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a Circular number 12 to completely ban private supplementary tutoring in the school setting. The Circular (see, for example, Ref. No. ED/OK/C.2/4/11) was addressed to all heads of secondary and primary schools in Tanzania

Mainland. The basic question however is why private supplementary tutoring in schools was banned when it is regarded as ideal for quality learning.

Reasons for the Government's 'attempted' Ban on Private Supplementary Tutoring

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Convention (UDHRC) clearly spells out that education in whatever form is a basic human right. However, efforts have been made in different countries to ban the practice of private tutoring despite the difference it makes to many hopeful students. So far, the available literature has reservations about the practice in different countries such as India, Kenya, Korea and South Africa (see, for example, Foondun, 1992; Bray & Suso, 2008; Mburugu, 2011; Mboi & Nyambedha, 2013; Mogari, Coetzee & Maritz, 2009; Ministry of Law and Justice [MoLJ], 2009; Lyer, 2012). Specifically, in India, the Government through Article 28 of *The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education, Act 2009* states: "No teacher shall engage himself or herself in private tuition or private teaching activity". Way back in the 1990s, the Government of Tanzania (Mainland)¹ through the then Ministry of Education and Culture (now Ministry of Education and Vocational Training) issued a circular to ban private supplementary tutoring in the school setting for various reasons (JMT, 1998):

Exploitation of students: Private supplementary tutoring is considered to be an educational practice which perpetuates the exploitation of students and parents and/or guardians and the extent to which this happens. The authorities believe that the practice constitutes a betrayal of the spirit of the *ideology of Socialism and Self-Reliance* ushered in by the 1967 Arusha Declaration (which has now been officially abandoned despite proclamations to the contrary). The ideology, which sought to foster egalitarian principles, was opposed to the exploitation of one person by another person or one group by another. In this regard, teachers have the obligation to teach their respective students. The available literature on private tutoring in Tanzania suggests that teachers exploited their students to supplement their low income. Specifically, the exploitation takes different forms:

Teachers do not effectively and adequately teach their students to create room for private tuition.

Teachers exert little energy teaching normal classes during official hours as they spare their energy for private tuition.

Teachers charge their respective students who want to receive private tuition exorbitantly without considering their socio-economic background.

¹ As indicated elsewhere in this paper, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (RGT) approved the practice of private tutoring in primary and secondary school premises in 1998. Since then this educational practice has been officially and legally acknowledged in the Tanzanian Isles.

However, the question in this respect is whether the teachers who undertake private tuition classes are aware of the exploitative nature of this practice. For the clients, there are two explanations. The pupils do not have an alternative to fill the knowledge gap created by their teachers' failure to teach properly or complete the syllabi. In this respect, private tutoring remains the only possible means of addressing this. Also, as long as pupils' academic desires are fulfilled, the question of exploitation is immaterial. After all, it is the parents' decision that their children receive private supplementary tutoring (see, for example, Sujatha, 2014).

Pro-pupils from affluent families: Globally, the practice of private supplementary tutoring has in most cases favoured children with better-off parents and/or guardians. Parents who thought that the schools were ineffective in providing their children with quality education and could afford to pay opted for private tutoring lessons. As Bray and Lykins (2012, p. 16) assert, "... the proportions of children receiving tutoring were greater in richer households than in poorer ones, and in addition the richer households paid more per child than did the poorer households". As indicated elsewhere, in the 1980s, private supplementary tutoring on Tanzania Mainland was identified with children from affluent families (Mosha, 1997). Indeed, this was the trend throughout the country for a number of years. However, as the mainstream education system hardly offered what people wanted, private supplementary tutoring started attracting children from all socio-economic backgrounds. Parents and/or guardians from average or low income households or those with no income at all sacrificed the little at their disposal so that their children received private supplementary tutoring. The number of children from this category of pupils however remains insignificant.

Accentuation of inequality: Private tuition creates inequality between pupils in a school, as only pupils from economically stable families can attend private tuition classes comfortably and without barriers, and so the gap between the *haves* and *have-nots* grows substantially. In this regard, those who cannot afford lose out. As Bray and Lykins (2012, p. 36) affirm: "... there is enough evidence to indicate that tutoring can make a significant difference in learning achievement, even if it does not always do so". In other words, private tuition contributes to academic performance. By implication, children from affluent families are more likely to excel in academics as they can afford and so have access to private tuition. As the South African experience of supplementary tuition in learning mathematics suggests, "... learners' participation in supplementary tuition is driven by an urge to acquire good results and enhance opportunities to study what may be referred to as financially rewarding science-related careers (e.g. engineering; actuarial science; medicine and so on)..." (Mogari, Coetzee & Maritz, 2009, p. 44). Unfortunately, children from economically disadvantaged households do not have this option. As Anangisye (2010, p. 133) reports:

Unfortunately, while children whose parents have a strong economic background enjoy this right, the majority from destitute households are without the power to competitively struggle for quality basic education. Arguably, if the situation is not properly addressed, there is a possibility of perpetuating social and economic inequality.

Indeed, in this context, this educational practice sounds like a betrayal of the international community's efforts to educate every child in the world. Specifically, it is also a betrayal of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy (ESRP), which right from its inception in the 1960s was aimed at the democratisation of education in Tanzania. As such, the policy was entrenched in the ideology of Socialism and Self-Reliance that was aimed at promoting socialist values and equality. Thus, the ban on private tutoring on school premises was destined to reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots.

Encouragement of rote learning (mechanical drilling): Although there is the conviction among parents that private tuition can offer their children what schools cannot, scholars in Tanzania (see, for example, Mosha, 1995) argue that the practice of private tuition encourages rote learning. Specifically, Mosha (1995, p. 9) indicates that private tuition tends to involve "mechanical drilling of students in order to pass examinations without necessarily internalising a body of knowledge and skills for lifelong learning". In the same vein, Osaki (1996) indicates that private tuition does not make some of its recipients creative or critical thinkers, because the pedagogical approach to the teaching and learning process does not create a teaching and learning environment that promotes students' critical thinking. Rather, pupils are prepared to cram facts as part of preparing for examinations, which is done through exposure to already worked-out solutions of past examination papers. In mathematics or physics, for example, students do not have to understand how to do equations to get the answer or solution. It is the *diploma disease syndrome* strategy which would appear to push parents into the sub-stream system of education, i.e. shadow education instead of the zeal for knowledge or skills for life.

Private tuition is associated with leakage of examinations: The available literature suggests a relationship between private tutoring and leakage of examinations (Osaki, 2000; Sambo, 2001). Specifically, in his paper, *The Role of Private Tuition in Secondary Schools in Tanzania*, Sambo (2001) found that secondary school teachers linked private tutoring to examination leakages in the country. However, the question relates to the extent to which examination leakage and private tutoring are linked. It is possible that for teachers to attract more students to their private tutoring classes or centres performance is very important. In this respect, looking for examination papers or clues would make teachers who undertake private tutoring teach their clients by concentrating on what is expected to appear in the examinations. Certainly, this will make his or her clients perform well in the examinations, making the teacher more popular than others (Osaki, 2000). It must however be noted that the association is not limited to Tanzania. In different countries, especially on the Asian continent, there are widespread allegations of private tutoring teachers being associated with examination leakages.

Exploitation of school or government resources: According to the JMT (1998), there are several concerns over the use of school or government resources by private supplementary tutoring teachers for personal gain. More specifically, the exploitation of school resources takes different forms. First, teachers who are involved in private tutoring programmes use official or

government hours. As such, school pupils suffer (go without being taught) when teachers fail to teach the lessons indicated in the school timetable due to being involved in private tutoring. Second, the teachers use classrooms for private tutoring. On several different occasions there have been reports that classrooms or school premises are used by some teachers to conduct private tutoring classes. This practice is common and evident during afternoons and evenings, at weekends and during long vacations. Third, there were teachers who undertook private tutoring using school equipment and chemicals. This was the case of teachers who taught science subjects such as physics, chemistry and biology. They exploit resources which in principle are meant for all pupils enrolled in their respective schools and not just a few pupils whose families can afford to pay for private tuition. As a result, the vast majority lose out from using resources that are meant for them. Sometimes even pupils who do not belong to the school where a private tutoring teacher works benefit, while those from the school lose out. The question worthy of pursuit here is whether teachers use government resources for their personal use. The allegations overlook the benefits that pupils get through private supplementary tutoring.

Central to the foregoing is the question of whether the explanations advanced justify the ban on the educational practice whose benefits to the country in general and the education sector in particular cannot be overlooked. As the experience of Azerbaijan suggests, “given the strong linkage between education and the employment market, private tutoring is often seen as one of the best investments that parents can make for their children’s future” (Silova & Kazimzade, 2006, pp. 113 – 114).

Has the Government’s attempted Ban on Private Tutoring Been Successful?

Central to this section is whether the ban on private tutoring in Tanzania has been successful. To begin with, success, in this sense, implies a halt in the practice of private tutoring on school premises. However, as indicated elsewhere, there is evidence of the proliferation of private tutoring classes in different parts of the country. In cities, towns and villages, teachers and pupils are persistently engaging in private tutoring programmes in the school setting. This is in line with the studies by Sambo (2001) and Anangisye (2010), in which it is clearly acknowledged that despite the ban, private tutoring is still on the increase in many parts of the country. Thus, a response to whether the ban is successful is a definitive NO. There is one major reason for that response: the teaching and learning environment in the mainstream education system does not guarantee the provision of quality education (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2014). However, it must be noted that the persistence of private tutoring in Tanzania should not come as a surprise. Globally, much of the available literature suggests that, despite the ban, private tutoring has been flourishing in several countries. For example, experience indicates that the practice of private tutoring is widespread and on the increase in different parts of India. Specifically, as indicated elsewhere, the practice of private tutoring in India is against Section 28, RTE Act 2009, which prohibits all teachers from being involved in private tutoring programmes. Yet, the prohibition does not mean a hundred percent cessation. For illustration purposes, one can also look at Kenya’s experience where “schools still conduct extra tuition” for

money despite the government's statement that private tutoring is illegal (Mboi & Nyambedha, 2013, p. 2).

Based on the experience of other countries in general and of Tanzania in particular as indicated in this section, it is apparent that as long as the material conditions which led to the evolution and development of private tutoring still exist any attempts to ban it will certainly be unsuccessful. In fact, the persistence of private tutoring in different parts of the country serves as a reminder that something is seriously wrong with the current education system. Certainly, it has failed to deliver or simply put it has failed to meet clients' expectations in terms of providing quality education. On the whole, the quest for quality education to ensure that the recipients of education are able to compete in the labour market is at the heart of parents' and children's persistent involvement in the private tutoring enterprise. The implication is that, unless the government provides the recipients with the kind of education they want, private tutoring will continue to flourish.

Conclusions

This article has revisited the ban on private supplementary tutoring on Tanzania Mainland. It has attempted to re-initiate the dialogue on the ban. In this respect, several conclusions are drawn. Any attempt to ban private supplementary tutoring in primary and secondary schools is bound to fail as long as parents and/or pupils remain dissatisfied with and raise concern over the poor quality education in the mainstream education system. In fact, schools dogged by poor pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning, poor or unavailable teaching and learning materials, and an inhospitable teaching and learning environment has led to the flourishing of private supplementary tutoring. Also, since private supplementary tutoring produces graduates, who in the long run get placements in government departments and private sector companies, the concept and/or practice should be redefined along Dang and Rogers' thinking, which extends the concept "to cover special tutoring programs financed by other sources, including the government (for example, remedial education programs)" (Dang & Rogers, 2008, p. 163).

References

- Ahmed, J. U. (2010). *Documentary research method: New dimensions*. Indus Journal of Management & Social Sciences, 4 (1), 1-14. Retrieved on May 22nd, 2016, from <http://indus.edu.pk/RePEc/iih/journal/4%281%292010-%281%29-DocumentaryResearchMethodNewDimensions-Jashim.pdf>
- Allington, R. (1980). *Teaching reading in compensatory classes: A descriptive summary*. The Reading Teacher, 34 (2), 178 – 183.
- Anangisyee, W. A. L. (2010). *Revisiting the alternative responses to the perceived quality "decline" in basic education in Tanzania*. Korean Educational Development Institute Journal of Educational Policy (KJEP), 7 (1), 115 - 138.

- Azam, M. (2015). *Private tutoring: Evidence from India*. Retrieved on June 14th, 2015, from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp8770.pdf>
- Bajada, J. & Debrincat, C. (2014). *Preparing for the 11+ mathematics benchmark examination in a private tuition class*. Unpublished Bachelor in Education, University of Malta, Malta. Retrieved on March 19th, 2015, from <https://www.um.edu.mt/library/.../14BED016.pdf?>
- Benfield, J. A. (2006). Internet-based data collection: Promises and realities. *Journal of Research Practice*, 2 (2), 1 – 15. Retrieved on March 19th, 2015, from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ805689.pdf>
- Bray, M & Lykins, C. (2012). *Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia*. Mandaluyong City: Asian Development Bank. Retrieved on February 23rd, 2015, from <http://adb.org/sites/default/files/pub/2012/shadow-education.pdf>
- Bray, M & Silova, I. (2006). *The private tutoring phenomenon: International patterns and perspectives*. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 27 - 40
- Bray, M. (2003). *Adverse effects of private supplementary tutoring: dimensions, implications and government responses*. Paris: international Institute for Educational Planning.
- Bray, M. (2007). *The shadow education system: private tutoring and its implications for planners*. 2nd Ed. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved on February 23rd, 2015, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001184/118486e.pdf>
- Bray, M. and Kwo, O. (2014). *Regulating private tutoring for public good: Policy options for supplementary education in Asia*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre
- Bray, M; Mazawi, A. E; & Sultana, R. G. (2013). *Introduction: Situating private tutoring*. In M. Bray, A. E. Mazawi & R. G. Sultana (Eds.), *Private tutoring across the Mediterranean power dynamics and implications for learning and equity*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. Retrieved on February 23rd, 2015, from <https://www.sensepublishers.com/media/1634-private-tutoring-across-the-mediterranean.pdf>
- Bray, M. and SUSO, E. (2008). *The challenges of private supplementary tutoring: Global patterns and their implications for Africa*. Retrieved April 14, 2015, from www.adeanet.org/.../Session%204D%20Doc%201%20IIEP%20ENG.pdf
- Campani, G. (2013). *Private tutoring in Italy: Shadow education in a changing context*. In M. Bray, A. E. Mazawi, and R. G. Sultana (Eds.), *Private tutoring across the Mediterranean: Power dynamics and implications for learning and equity*. Rotterdam: Sense publishers, pp. 115 – 128
- Chuadhry, W, & Javed, F. (2012). *History and culture of tuition academies: voicing native's perspective*. *Asian Journal of Management Sciences and Education*, 1(3), 101 – 110
- Dang, Hai-Anh & Rogers, F. H. (2008). *The growing phenomenon of private tutoring: Does it deepen human capital, widen inequalities, or waste resources?* *The World Bank Research Observer*, 23 (2), 161 – 200. Retrieved February 25, 2015, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPUBSERV/Resources/Dang_private_tutoring.pdf
- Dangre, A & Tewary, V. (October, 2015). *Impact of private tutoring on learning levels*. *Economic & political weekly: Special article*, L (41), 72 – 80. Retrieved on March 12th, 2015, from

http://www.cprindia.org/sites/default/files/articles/Impact_of_Private_Tutoring_on_Learning_Levels.pdf

- Das, G. C. & Das, R. (2013). *An empirical view on private tutoring in school mathematics of Kamrup District*. International journal of scientific and research publications, 3 (5), 1 - 8
- Dierkes, J. (2010). *Supplementary education: Global growth, Japan's experience, Canada's future*. Education Canada, 48 (4), 54 – 58. Retrieved on February 24th, 2015, from <http://www.ceace.ca/sites/default/files/EdCan-2008-v48-n4-Dierkes.pdf>
- Eric, O. O, Peprah, C. Cann, P. (2014). *The role of remedial schools in the development of education in Ghana*. Journal of education and practice, 5 (36), 71 – 82
- Foondun, A. R. (2002). *Private tuition in Mauritius: the mad race for a place in a 'five-star' secondary school*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning
- Hartmann, S. (2008). *The informal market of education in Egypt: Private tutoring and its implications*. Retrieved on March 28th, 2015, from <http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/Dateien/AP88.pdf>
- Heyneman, S. P. (2011). *Private tutoring and social cohesion*. Peabody journal of education, 86: 183–188
- Hornby, A. S. (2010). *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary: International student's edition*. 8th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Hornby, A. S. (1995). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. 5th edition. London: Oxford University Press
- Husremovic, D. and Trbić, D. (2006). Bosnia and Herzegovina. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 143 - 167
- Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (2014). *Sera ya elimu na mafunzo*. Dar es Salaam: Wizara ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Ufundi
- Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (1998). *Mafunzo ya Ziada (Tuition) katika shule za Sekondari na Msingi*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education and Culture
- Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (1991). *Mafunzo ya ziada (Tuition) katika shule za secondary*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education and Culture
- Jeruto, T. B. and Bernard, C. (2014). *Effects of ban on private tuition in primary schools on academic performance in private primary schools in Rongai district*. International Journal of Education and Research, 2 (3), 1 – 10. Retrieved on April 8th, 2015, from <http://www.ijern.com/journal/November-2013/51.pdf>
- Khare, S. K., Thapa, N., & Sahoo, K. C. (2007). *Internet as a source of information: A survey of PhD scholars*. Annals of Library and Information Studies, 54, 201-206. Retrieved on May 21st, 2016 from, <http://nopr.niscair.res.in/bitstream/123456789/3242/1/ALIS%2054%284%29%20201-206.pdf>
- Kubánová, M. (2006). Slovakia. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 279 – 303. Retrieved on 12th, April, 2015, from https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/hidden_20070216.pdf

- Lee, Ji Yun (2013). *Private tutoring and its impact on students' academic achievement, formal schooling, and educational inequality in Korea*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Columbia University, Columbia
- Lyer, R. G. (2012). *Government ban on private tuition irks teachers, parents*. The New Indian Express. Retrieved on April 8, 2015, from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/education/student/article1368094.ece>
- Matiashvili, A. and Kutateladze, N. (2006). Georgia. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 191 - 210
- Mbelle, A. and Katabaro, J (2003). *School enrolment, performance and access to education in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Nyota and Mkuki Publishers Ltd
- Mboi, P. A. & Nyambedha, (2013). *Implication of extra tuition in primary schools on pupils' social life in Kisumu municipality, western Kenya*. International Journal of Education and Research, 1 (11), 1–12. Retrieved on April 8th, 2015, from <http://www.ijern.com/journal/November-2013/51.pdf>
- Mburugu, H. N. (2011). *The status of private tuition in public secondary schools in Miiirigamieru West Division, Imenti North district*. Retrieved March 13, 2015, from <http://etd-library.ku.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/123456789/2735/Mburugu%20Hellen%20N..pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>
- Ministry of Law and Justice (2009). *The right of children to free and compulsory education, Act 2009*. Retrieved on March 18th, 2015, from <http://ssa.nic.in/rte-docs/free%20and%20compulsory.pdf>
- Mogalakwe, M. (2006). *The use of documentary research methods in social research*. African Sociological Review, 10 (1), 221-230. Retrieved on May 21, 2016 from, www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Research_Report_-_Monageng_Mogalakwe.pdf
- Mogari, D; Coetzee, H. & Maritz, R. (2009). *Investigating the status of supplementary tuition in the teaching and learning of mathematics*. Pythagoras, 69, 36-45.
- Mosha, H. J. (1997). *Ethical and moral attributes of an effective teacher/educational administrator*. Valedictory Lecture Series, Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.
- Mosha, H. J. (1995). *Primary Education Policies in Tanzania*. Papers in Education and Development, 16, 1–16
- Osaki, K. M. (2000). *Quality of education in Tanzania: a focus on curriculum, standards and accountability in schools*. A paper presented to the headmasters conference on education held at Arusha International Conference Centre, 11 – 12 October, 2000. Retrieved on March 22nd, 2015, from <http://www.tzonline.org/pdf/educationconference-7.pdf>
- Osaki, K. M. (1996). *The changing forms, content and interpretation of the curriculum in Tanzania*. Papers in Education and Development, 17, 8 - 19
- Pretorius, J. (1999). *The future of graphical communication education in the New South Africa*. Journal for Geometry and Graphics, 3 (1), 93 – 98.

- Puja, G. K. (1981). *The effects of socio-economic family background of class seven urban pupils on their school performance*. Unpublished Master of Arts (Education) dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.
- Sambo, W. A. L. (2001). *The Role of private tuition in secondary schools in Tanzania*. *Papers in Education and Development*, 21: 96 – 110.
- Silova, I. and Bray, M. (2006). Introduction. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 17 – 23. Retrieved on 12th, April, 2015, from https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/hidden_20070216.pdf
- Silova, I. & Kazimzade, E. (2006). Azerbaijan. In I. Silova and M. Bray (Eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring – overview and country reports*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 113 – 141. Retrieved on 12th, April, 2015, from https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/hidden_20070216.pdf
- Sujatha, J. (2014). *Private tuition in India: trends and issues*. *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*. Retrieved on March 18th, 2015, from <http://ries.revues.org/>
- The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. (1998). *Prospective stocktaking review of education in Africa: The Zanzibar case study*. Paris: Association for the Development of Education in Africa; Zanzibar: Ministry of Education. Retrieved on March, 2015, from <http://www.adeanet.org/portalv2/en/biennale-1999#.VQ4opo7D3IV>
- Udosen, A. E, Udofia, N. A, Ekukinam, T and Akpan, L. P (2010). *Empowering primary school pupils through literacy remediation project in Uyo local government area*. *African Research Review*, 4 (3b), 55–70.
- Van Scoy, L. J. (1997). *A study to determine the effects of in-class and pull-out instruction for title 1 students in reading*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Salem-Teiko University, West Virginia. Retrieved on March 17th, 2015, from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED408564.pdf>