CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATIONAL NEEDS, EXPERIENCES, CHALLENGES AND EDUCATIONAL WELFARE OF LEARNERS LEFT BEHIND BY EMIGRANTS

This chapter offers a critical and comprehensive review of related literature available in the canon or body of knowledge. For this purpose and following the research sub-questions, the chapter is divided into six sections. The first section conceptualises the literature review and outlines its purpose in general. The second part relates the problem to its setting; hence, an articulation of circumstances leading to the emergence of learners left behind is done. Further, the nature and demographic profile of learners left behind are provided in this section too. Educational needs, experiences and challenges relating to these needs are conceptualised and articulated in the third section of this chapter. Devotion to the role of parents and parenting styles is done in the fourth section of the chapter. The fifth section of the chapter expounds on the responsive measures and learners' coping strategies. As such, policies and programmes for the education of learners left behind are articulated. A further point to note is that the implications of the literature review to the present study are articulated as the discussion on literature review progresses, hence, there is no section dedicated to the implications of literature review alone. The summary section thus concludes the chapter.

Though the present study sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the role played by various stakeholders in the provision of educational needs with regard to the Mwenezi District in Zimbabwe, reference is made to other countries across the globe to give a broader picture of the phenomenon. To achieve this goal, the literature reviewed is reported starting with global trends before an analysis of what obtains

locally is done. The literature review was intended to respond to the following questions:

1. How do learners with parents in the diaspora experience schooling in Mwenezi District?
2. What are the educational challenges faced by learners whose parents live in the diaspora in Mwenezi District?
3. How do parents in the diaspora cater for the educational needs of their children back home in the Mwenezi District?
4. How are learners whose parents live in the diaspora assisted in the home to meet educational needs in Mwenezi District?
5. How are educational welfare policies and programmes implemented in Mwenezi District?

Accordingly, the sub-topics in this section are derived from the stated research sub-questions to ensure that the literature read relates to the study.

Tanczer (2014) conceptualises a literature review as a critical and analytic narration of the existing research on a given topic aimed at summarising, synthesising, analysing the arguments of other researchers, uncovering similarities and differences, identifying gaps within research and helping one to generate and justify research questions and hypothesis. In a related conceptualisation, Creswell (2014) says the literature review is a search for studies related to one's topic and is done to provide a framework for establishing the significance of the study and the springboard for comparing the results with the findings of other studies. Since through reviewing the literature, one can see gaps regarding the topic that needs attention, the exercise improves the quality of the research report. It makes researchers aware of what is in their chosen area of study, hence, a large part of it should be from dissertations (Creswell, 2014; Western Sydney University Library, 2017). APU Writing Center (2015) comments that a good literature review identifies areas of controversy, raises questions and identifies areas which need further studies. In the

current problem of educational needs of learners with parents in the diaspora, analysis and synthesis of various research studies were done showing both contrasting and complementary ideas. Reviewing literature helped the researcher to modify the research questions and methodology of the study after analysing approaches adopted by predecessor researchers on topics related to this one. Patently, the quality of this book is to a greater extent attributed to works done before by others. Though the present study examines the educational needs of learners left behind in Zimbabwe, literature is reviewed from studies done elsewhere to show the general picture of the problem of learners left behind.

Migration of people within and between countries has been there everywhere since the history of man (Hornby, 2000; Lane, 2000; Engel *et al*., 2006; Joanna, 2006; Dobrova, 2014; Mwoma & Pillay, 2016; Fillipa, 2011; Shaw, 2008). In the process of migration, some people would settle permanently in the new places while for others links with the places of origin remain, hence, the possibility of living between places or between countries (Dobrova, 2014). According to SAMP (2002), the process whereby people establish and maintain sociocultural connections across geopolitical borders is what is referred to as transnationalism. Zontini (2007) observes that transnationalism results in transnational families in which members of one family live in different countries but maintain social, cultural, reproductive and economic links.

Transnational families may assume several forms and hues that include; fathers leaving families behind to work abroad and unite with wives and children later on; children going to boarding schools outside their country, single women working abroad, and one family member returning to care for the elderly, or a child being sent away to live with relatives (SAMP, 2002; Zontini, 2007). In the case of the Mwenezi District where this study was conducted, transnational families involve

families with absent parents (biological father or mother absent or both absent) because of migration to other countries (*injiva)* (Runhare & Gordon, 2004; Dube, 2014) and children who are left behind under the care of either grandparents, self-care or with other relatives. Based on the situation seen by the researcher on the ground as a resident of Mwenezi District, the identified groups were deliberately selected to put the study into context because these are the ones that largely manifest in Mwenezi District transnational families.

All countries experience migration. According to the IOM (2009), in 1965, the world`s population of migrants was 75 million but the figure jumped to 175 million by 2002. Europe lost around 17 million people between 1846 and 1890 due to emigration to the new world (Hochschild, 2002). The period 1846 to 1890 also marked the intense colonisation of Africa (Chimanikire, 2005). IOM (2009) argues that soon after World War 2, some European countries offered soldiers in their countries residential status and Britain offered 90 000 such permits. Blangjardo (2009) observes that Peru a country of destination up until the 1960s had since become a sending country since then and to the present, 10% of the Peruvians live in other countries and mostly in Italy with about 55% of the Peruvian staying in the Italian regions of Lombardy and Emilia Romagna. The author further argues that, 48% of Peruvian women had all their children in Italy. UNESCO (2018) reports that by 2017, 258 million people were international migrants representing 3.4% of the world population. The trend seems to point to the fact that migration will continue. This reality motivated the researcher to want to critically analyse its effects on children left behind in Mwenezi District where parents rarely return.

In a more intriguing scenario, Rojas and Taylor's (2013) document that 1.1 million children in the Philippines have been left behind by parents working overseas. Ecuador had by the year 2000, 36% of its women and 40% of men who had left their children to seek greener pastures in

the diaspora while in Moldova 17.1% of children were left behind (Skeldon, 2006). Botezat and Pfeiffer (2014) in their study in Romania established that the rate of children left behind was increasing noting a jump from 60 000 in 2006 to over 92 000 by 2008 and these figures represented statistics from parents who have officially notified authorities about their leaving children behind. The numbers could, therefore, have been bigger than these.

In South Africa, Kautzy (2009) reveals that under 40% of children aged five and under were living in households with both parents absent due to migration. In the same study, the author also established that less than 50% of children in rural South Africa lived with their fathers while less than 80% lived with their mothers. These statistics show the prevalence of children left behind because of migration. How these children experience schooling is the subject of the present study.

Generally, Zimbabwe and Mwenezi District have no statistics of learners left behind (Zirima, 2016). By the year 2000, UNICEF reported that as many as 200 000 children were approximated to have been left without parental care in Zimbabwe (UNICEF, 2009). However, the irony of statistics with regards to the population of children left behind to date is that they do not reveal and categorise these children with respect to whether they were enrolled in school or not at the time of parental migration (Guendell *et al.*, 2013; Antman, 2012, Botezat & Pfeiffer, 2014). Due to this gap, one estimates only the probable number of learners left behind judging from the children's age. Though the present study was not meant to establish statistical figures about learners with parents in the diaspora, a general analysis of the prevalence of migration by the productive age group helped in motivating the study whose key goal was to evaluate the role of biological parents, government, teachers and guardians in the provision of educational necessities for learners left by parents who have migrated to other countries.

While most parents migrate to other countries leaving children under the care of other relatives, the scope of parent-child separation due to migration in South Korea is slightly different from other scenarios discussed above in that it involves the migration of children into other countries for schooling reasons leaving the parents in South Korea (Young-ee Cho, 2007). How the educational needs of such learners may be fulfilled could therefore be different from the other scenarios in which parents leave children in their countries of origin to seek employment elsewhere. The South Korean scenario is mentioned here for the sake of interest and illustration purposes to the reader that parent-child separation could be driven by the interest of the child, the parent or both. Again, to illustrate that it could be a result of family arrangement when resources are available to facilitate such. The circumstances under the present study are however different from the South Korean scenario in that it is the parents who are deserting their children in response to negative effects of the country's economy and some instances political instability within Zimbabwe.

The phenomenon of left-behind learners is more popular these days than ever before, particularly in less developed countries (Graham & Jordan, 2011; Antman, 2012; Portner, 2014). Research studies show that socio-economic and political underpinnings largely either demotivate or motivate people to migrate from one place to the other (UN-DESA, 2013; Guendell, Saab & Taylor, 2013). In most cases, however, emigrants leave children alone or under the care of other relatives in their countries of origin (Filippa *et al.*, 2013; ACPF, 2012; Moreno, 2013; Kurebwa & Kurebwa, 2014).

According to Skornia (2008), political violence in the Peruvian Highlands followed by economic crises which resulted in high levels of poverty and inequality in the 1990s led many Peruvians to leave their country for the United States of America, Spain and Italy to seek political safety and better employment opportunities. Contributing to

the subject of migration IOM (2009) commend that, migration is largely from developing nations to developed nations due to economic disparities that have emerged between these two. In a study on factors propelling migration in Latin American countries, Cave (2012) argues that large numbers of people run away from economic woes in countries such as Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru into Argentina, Brazil and Chile where economic fortunes are comparably better.

To illustrate the differential economic outlook of developed and developing countries as a key factor that propels migration and subsequently transnationalism, research studies show that economies of countries such as Ecuador, Philippines, Mexico, Jamaica, and Bolivia among others, depend on remittances from their citizens in the diaspora (Dobrova, 2014; Calero, 2009; Dreby, 2007; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Heymann, 2006). As Calero (2009) notes, education and health systems in Ecuador are largely dependent on remittances since they are the second-largest source of external financing after oil revenues. Arango (2013) also commends that, Spain received close to 5 million people between 2000 and 2009 for economic reasons from North African countries. The major reasons cited for Africa's loss of its population to developed countries are to do with economic and political development failures, immigration and refugee policies in Europe and the United States, globalisation and interaction of the world economy and colonial background (Chimanikire, 2005; SIRDC, 2003).

The socio-economic and political landscape in Zimbabwe since the early 1990s largely forms the basis on which transnationalism can be discussed today. According to Tevera and Zinyama (2009), more than 70% of Zimbabweans in South Africa by that time had gone there for economic reasons. Most Zimbabweans emigrants are victims of economic reforms introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the early 1990s that spelt mass economic disaster as

companies downsized and closed shop resulting in massive loss of employment (Kawewe & Dibie, 2000). The situation was further worsened by the Fast Track Land Reform program of 2000 which also resulted in the decline of operations in most companies that were agro-based since the program had weakened productivity in agriculture (Hlungwane, 2018).

Resultantly, family members had to engage in cross-border trading or seek employment elsewhere beyond the Zimbabwean borders. Unfortunately, not all those emigrating could take their children with them to foreign countries due to restrictive migration laws in the destination countries and high accommodation costs (Dube, 2014). Even those who managed to smuggle their children into some destination countries such as South Africa, could not stay with their children there since the South African Immigration Act of 2002 prevented undocumented migrants from enrolling in schools, more similarly to laws in Cote d` Ivoire that require proof of nationality for one to have access to education in that country (UNESCO, 2018). Some children were, thus, left under the care of grandparents, other relatives or self–care so that they could receive some education in their home country (Chinyoka & Naidu, 2013). However, Kurebwa and Kurebwa (2014) opine that leaving children under the care of older relatives is akin to child abandonment since these grandparents' health and advanced age may not help in monitoring the children. Once again cultural systems that used to accommodate such arrangements have been eroded by modernity, western cultural practices value the nucleus family type that even the children themselves would not feel comfortable being cared for by old grandparents (Giddens, 2010).

Globalisation also facilitates the emergence of transnationalism. Giddens (2006:1018) defines globalisation as, "growing interdependence between different people, regions, and countries in the world as social and economic relationships come to stretch

worldwide.'' Giddens (2006) further provides factors facilitating globalisation as the rise of information and communications technology, economic and political. In addition to that, Chimanikire (2005) and World Bank (2010) argue that globalisation has been perpetuated by its network factors namely; free flow of information, improved global communication and faster and lower-cost transportation. Due to the network factors of globalisation, brain drain has been made easier too (Giddens, 2009; Zanamwe & Devillard, 2009). Mazzucato and Schans (2011:707) commend;

> Modern production relations and greater and cheaper travel and communication technologies make it easier for people to move and maintain linkages with the regions they come from and other regions they pass through. These linkages result in flows of people, goods, money and ideas that affect the way migrants conduct their lives in the new country and the lives of people back home.

In a related analysis, globalisation is seen as facilitating the emergence of learners left behind through global care chains in which care and love are imported from poor to rich countries in a gendered fashion where women are hired to work in the service industry thereby altering family care structures because women who historically cared for children now leave them under the care of others (Hochschild, 2002).

The other determinant of the emergence of learners who live without biological parents is brain drain. SIRDC (2003) refers to brain drain as the loss of skills by one country or from one industry to another. In a more specific conceptualisation, Chimanikire (2005:8) defines brain drain as, the "migration of professional people (as scientists, professors or physicians) from one country to another, usually for higher salaries or better living conditions." In the context of the present study, loss of skills has been facilitated by the ease of travel and communication as enunciated above. Thus, it is not out of place for one to observe that globalisation and brain drain perpetuate each other. As long as the

world remains globalised, the problem of brain drain and subsequently learners left behind will remain upon us.

In a study carried out to establish causes of brain drain and to identify measures to reduce or stop it in Zimbabwe, SIRDC (2003) found the following results; 479 348 Zimbabweans were in the diaspora though some could not be contacted. Also the study found that, the population of the diasporas included PhD, master's, bachelor's and diploma holders. The work-related reasons for emigrating given by 34.5% of the respondents were low salaries in Zimbabwe. The study further revealed that there was an increasing trend in the number of people leaving Zimbabwe and that also saw more Zimbabwean-born scientists and engineers working in the diaspora than there were in Zimbabwe.

In the same study, SIRDC (2003) revealed that Africa was losing 23 000 university graduates and 50 000 executives annually to the developed world but commended that most of these African expatriates continued to have links with family members in their home countries because they had left children in their home country since they preferred African child parenting styles to either American or European styles where the parents work. IOM (2013) observes that African scientists and engineers working in the United States alone outnumbered engineers and scientists in all African countries put together.

For Zambia, IOM (2013) argues that the population of practising doctors had dropped from 1600 to 400 in 2012. Transnationalism is therefore a reality. In South Africa, 7 400 graduates and professionals left the country for greener pastures while large numbers of both skilled and unskilled jobless Africans were flocking into South Africa (SIRDC, 2003, Chikanda, 2005). While brain drain is symbiotic to posh life hence seemingly irrelevant to discuss in the present study that

focuses on circumstances of learners who are sometimes left behind in poverty, it found its place in that there are some Zimbabwean professionals who for reasons best known to themselves would prefer leaving their children learning in the country to exposing them to foreign culture (Dube, 2014). This had resulted in the professionals also leaving their children behind under the watchful eyes of schools, grandparents or relatives. The educational needs of such learners hence needed to be scrutinised as well.

SAMP (2002) revealed that, in a 1951 census, Zimbabwe had 246 000 foreign Africans with 40% of them coming from Mozambique. However, in the same survey, SAMP reported that about 400 000 immigrants from Zimbabwe were staying in South Africa alone. Zanamwe and Alexander (2009) also revealed that 114 848 illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe were repatriated from South Africa.

In the wake of continued economic challenges in Zimbabwe, the migration of able-bodied people into countries where a better living could be realised may continue (Shaw, 2008). According to Koser (2007), migration is a central dynamic in the process of globalisation that is inextricably linked with other important global issues including development, poverty and human rights. There is a link, therefore, between globalisation and migration, hence, the suitability of the concept in this analysis that sought to evaluate the effectiveness of psychosocial, moral and socio-economic support systems for the educational needs of learners who were made vulnerable by parental migration (Bommes & Morawska, 2005; Faist, 2003; Karen, 2012).

Research indicates that most of the learners left behind are from poor families (Portner, 2014). Besides that, largely the parents of the affected learners had low educational credentials. Both boys and girls are left behind (Filippa, 2011). However, in most families, older girls are left to look after other children. Studies also show that the population of

learners left behind are higher in towns than they are in rural areas (Makina, 2010). However, this observation could be contested since the disparity could probably be because most research on the topic of learners left behind was largely conducted in towns and cities. Botezat and Pfeiffer (2014) in a study in Albania established that most learners were left under the care of their fathers as more mothers out migrated than fathers. The Albania scenario could however be different from what obtains in Zimbabwe where studies show that fathers migrate more than mothers (Filippa, 2011; Dube, 2014; McGregor, 2010; Shaw, 2008).

Generally in Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, most people who migrate out of the country are from regions that share boundaries with destination countries (Dube, 2014). Such areas in Zimbabwe include the Matebeleland regions and part of the Masvingo region since these are closer to Botswana and South Africa, two countries where most Zimbabwean emigrants live (Makina, 2010; Dube, 2014). Mwenezi District where the present study was conducted is in Masvingo Province and close to South Africa. The issue of proximity to the border could be one of the reasons why there are so many migrants from the district (Hlungwane, 2018). The other group of those who live children behind in Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, are politicians in the opposition who usually run away from political persecution (Makina, 2010).

Antman (2012) articulates the fact that the other category of emigrants who live children behind is the ethnic minority and those who speak a language regarded as minor in the country of origin. The present study was also conducted in Mwenezi District which houses some ethnic minorities namely the Shangani, the Venda and the Pfumbi. Therefore, besides the predicament of being parentless, the learners left behind, thus, sometimes further face other challenges related to their gender, political affiliations of their parents, ethnicity, the language they speak

and residential status. All these challenges affect most people even those living with both parents, hence, for the learners left behind it becomes a double-edged sword.

While the phenomenon of leaving children behind is growing the world over, the decision to do so is largely a prerogative of the parent emigrating (Sanduleasa & Matei, 2015). These authors commend that in Romania, children left behind are largely not given a choice as to where and who will take care of them when the parent is away. It is like that despite the proliferation of child rights some of which give the children the power to make decisions regarding how they should be cared for. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child (UNCROC) article 12 observes that the views of the child should be considered when effecting decisions that affect the child (Fagbeminiyi, 2011). Related to this article, article 13 further expands and observes that children have the right to express their views and to access information. Despite the existence of these international laws which many countries ratified, Wang (2013) in a study in China established that the learners left behind had no choice regarding where they would stay when their parents left for the city. Also, it is unknown if the decision to leave learners alone or under the care of other family members in the Mwenezi District involves all family members including the concerned learners as guided by child rights and family systems theory principles articulated elsewhere in this book.

This part outlines the role of parents in educating their children. However, while the object of the present study is to evaluate this role relating to the type of education the learners get from formal schools, it should also be acknowledged that the word education has a wide meaning. It also incorporates what the parents teach at home, the teachings regarding societal norms and values, sanctions and other related issues (Gwirayi, 2010). Therefore, parenting styles and roles regarding the way the parents raise and prepare their children for

school are articulated too. Again a global picture regarding this is given.

The way children are socialised or made to learn the language and the moral ethics of society vary depending on the culture of the family and community into which a child is born (Gwirayi, 2010). According to Antman (2012), whilst in the western world, children are more autonomous, the opposite holds for some other places such as Africa and Asia. The differences are so glaring despite the existence of global child rights conventions to which most countries in the world inclusive of Africa and Asia have ratified. Socialisation patterns thus largely explain the differences in the way children be must a very large extent (Haralambos & Horlborn, 2013). If all nations would abide by the guidelines as provided in the global child rights as articulated in the said conventions, the differences in parenting would be very minimal. However, the emergence of the diaspora means that children no longer assimilate what has been passed on from their ethnic forefathers only but are also exposed to a hybrid of cultures that they learn from their parents who have emigrated or from the media (Banks, 2010). Essentially, the behaviour of the modern child can loosely be described as unpredictable. An analysis of the behavioural traits of learners left behind by emigrants is accordingly therefore done with this background in mind.

As Dreby (2007) commends, diasporans are socially enriched due to overseas contacts that they have. While the guardians may socialise learners in the local cultural way, the learners may be exposed to hybridisation of culture since their biological parents may impose culture experienced in the countries where they stay through telephone contact with their children (Kufakurinani *et al.*, 2014). Smith *et al.* (2004) carried out a study on the effects of parental separation on Caribbean children focusing on problems encountered by those children following a reunion with their parents and noted that most

children felt abandoned by their parents, hence, developed negative attitudes towards their parents. Engel *et al.* (2006) in a study on the academic performance of children whose parents were on military deployment in the United States of America found that the children had a lot of challenges since they could not have anyone to assist with homework. In a related study, Codjoe (2007) established that home environment and parental encouragement contributed to the academic success of Canadian–Caribbean adolescents. The child's behaviour and educational outcomes are thus to a greater extent influenced by the child's primary socialisation experiences.

While some emigrants may become competent providers of both material and emotional resources via tele-parenting, a scenario where the parent plays parental guidance through the phone. Smith *et al.* (2004) argue that being a good parent from afar still cannot fully compensate for the physical absence of the parent. The telephone cannot replace physical contact like hugging, smiling, and frowning among other gestures that can communicate and teach learners important lessons (Flouri, 2006). Child socialisation is effective when there is regular face-to-face conduct between the parent and the child (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013). From this view, therefore, the impact of socialisation from afar through the telephone becomes a subject of debate hence this study adopted a qualitative approach that involved key participants and focus group interviews to generate comprehensive qualitative data on the experiences of learners with parents who have migrated from Mwenezi District.

Though we are living in a multi-culturally dominated society, there is a need to understand the cultures we are to embrace to limit cultural clashes (Banks, 2010). Without dismissing socialisation patterns from other cultures outside Zimbabwe, it should be noted that parenting from afar needs to be evaluated to see how much the phenomenon is helping learners left behind to cope with schooling and such research

is currently not available in Zimbabwe let alone in the remote rural area where the present study was carried out. The effects of the influence of parental socialisation from afar on the satisfaction of educational needs of the learners left behind thus ought to be interrogated.

Education is a basic right of every child on earth (UNICEF, 2013; African Child Policy Forum *et al*., 2013). In this regard, every nation-state, parent and community must do everything possible to ensure that all school-going age children are accorded the right to education (Save the children in Sri Lanka, 2006). In the 21st millennium, the right to education has been redefined to incorporate the component of quality (Antman, 2012; Mandina, 2012). This means that it is no longer enough to send children to school without an analysis of the quality of education the child will receive. Quality education means that type of education whose value to the learner and the nation is in sync with the learner`s needs and each country's object of establishing learning institutions, one that serves its purpose. It is thus a broad phenomenon which every learning institution thrives to achieve and its measurement encompasses such things as the type of curricula offered, teacher characteristics, school infrastructure, learning materials, time for learning, parental support and involvement, school discipline among other things (Fagbeminiyi, 2011; Brown & Ginter, 2014).

Boler and Carroll (2003) opine that educational needs in the context of vulnerable children can be better understood by looking at aspects that are of concern to these children namely enrolment, hunger and anxiety, missing classes to look after family, educational progression, repetition and learning outcomes. All these attributes to quality education characterise the major discussion points of this book. Thus reference is constantly made to the attributes in parts of the discussion with respect to how they individually or collectively manifest in the

education of learners left behind by biological parents who have migrated out of the Mwenezi District.

Parents ought to be involved in their children's education for without their involvement children will largely not achieve (Fagbeminiyi, 2011). IFFD (2017) commend that, families have the primary responsibility for the development, education and socialisation of their children. Han and Jun (2013:1) define parental involvement as "parents' interaction and engagement in a child's life that promote some aspects of development." The authors further explain that involvement encompasses three dimensions which are;

> EI- leisure, fun and play, companionship, sharing activities/interests, caregiving, and promoting emotional, social, physical and spiritual development; developing responsibility and independence, encouraging ethical/moral and career development, providing income, discipline, being protective, and concern about school or homework; and developing competence, mentoring/teaching, advising, and intellectual development.

Connor and Scott (2007) cite four dimensions of parenting as presented by Baumrind (1966) that are characterised by warmth (as opposed to conflict or neglect) and control strategies. These dimensions are authoritative (high warmth, positive /assertive control and high expectations); authoritarian (low warmth, high conflict and coercive, punitive control attempts); permissive (high, warmth coupled with low control attempts); and neglectful/disengaged (low warmth and low control attempts). In relation to these dimensions of parenting, Connor and Scott (2007) further observe that children's behavioural and emotional problems often co-occur where those who show high rates of aggression, truancy and oppositional behaviour also tend to experience higher levels of depression and anxiety, and educational underachievement and reading difficulties.

Epstein (1990) provides a comprehensive analysis of how parents can be involved in their children's education.

Table 3.1: Parents' type of involvement in their children's education *(Epstein, 1990; Fagbeminiyi, 2011; Moreno, 2013)*

Type of involvement	**Specific parental responsibilities**
1. The basic obligations of parents	Child's health and safety preparing a child for school supervision, discipline, guidance provision of positive home conditions that support learning and appropriate behavior
2. The basic obligations of schools	Communications from school to home e.g. memos, notices, report cards, conferences
3. Parent involvement at school	assisting teachers, administrators, and learners in a class watching learners participating in sports
4. Parent involvement in learning activities at home	assisting learners with homework initiating schoolwork-related programs for the learners
5. Parental involvement in governance and advocacy	taking up decision-making roles at school participating in school committees monitoring schools for improvement
6. Collaborating with the community	identifying and integrating resources from the community to strengthen school programs, family practices, and student learning and development

While the above table is devoted to parents with respect to how they should partake in the education of their children, the responsibilities seem to encompass roles supposedly played by others such as schools and communities. Learner achievement can only be realised if all facets of involvement as given above are combined and practised. It is in this respect that this study above interviewing the learners affected by parental migration also sought views from the guardians and teachers who interact with the learners often.

Fagbeminiyi (2011) in a study in Nigeria on the role of parents in early childhood education noted that there was a positive correlation between parental involvement and educational achievement. The author cited parental interest and engagement in supportive learning activities such as rhyming and shared book reading as a key to learner motivation and subsequently attainment of high grades later in schooling life.

There is strong agreement among researchers that fathers need to be involved in the education of their children (Bhamain, 2012; Forgarty & Evans, 2009; Moreno, 2013; Mancini, 2010). According to the Fragile Families Working Paper (2011), paternal involvement encompasses three domains namely; accessibility which refers to fathers' availability for interaction with their children; engagement which involves fathers' direct contact with their children through child care and play activities and responsibility which refers to the role of fathers in ensuring that their children's needs are taken care of. Related to the above analysis, Forgarty and Evans (2009:1) describe father involvement as "direct interaction between a father and a child when needed, responsibility for managing and providing resources for a child and building of social capital or how fathers provide a support network for children as they grow up to contribute to society." The above analyses point to the fact that there is a need for a child -father contact for a child to develop positively. In addition to that, Trahan and Cheung (2012) commend that, involved fathers provide practical support in raising children and serve as role models for their development. The authors further argue that children with loving fathers are significantly more likely to do well in school, have healthy self-esteem, and exhibit empathy and pro-social behaviour compared to children who have uninvolved fathers.

Research on Syrian refugee youths in Jordan established that a father's absence affects the youth in three ways namely family functioning, health and economic well-being (IFFD, 2018). With respect to health,

the Jordan study revealed that a father's presence fosters healthy psychological development, self-concept and enhancement of personal values throughout one's entire life. Furthermore, Bhamain (2012) also says;

> Children raised in involved father families tend to do well in school, less school readiness issues, have a higher intelligence quotient, are less likely to fail examinations, have higher self-regulation, fewer coping and competence issues, self- management problems, and are better in handling stress, more resilient, positive peer relationship, better liked by others, team builders and participate well in social events.

Goldman (2005) observes that children with distant caring and committed fathers tended to behave well at school and were less likely to be suspended or expelled from school due to cases relating to misbehaviour. Goldman's analysis mirror results obtained in a study in Romania by Botezat and Pfeiffer (2014) who also found that a father's absence and less commitment to children's education increased the chances of dropping out of school for their children, girls and rural children being the most affected. The argument for such results is that a household without a father tends to lack child discipline. In this light, one would want to establish how the referred contact can be possible in the case of families that live separately due to migration. Also, there is a need to see how the bond between a child and a surrogate parent can achieve positive results as enunciated above.

The motive to want to seek the forested comes considering the works of some scholars such as Carlson (2006) who commend that, resident fathers tended to have much higher levels of involvement than non-resident fathers. Related to this view, ACPF (2012) also observes that, transnational fatherhood becomes difficult as common cultural notions of the relationship between fathers and children built on respect and not a very close bond are difficult to uphold over long distances. To further worsen father-child relationship outcomes Moreno (2013) and

Dreby (2005) observe that in the case of migrant fathers who are failing to send remittances home, this failure may embarrass them and they may subsequently avoid regular communication thereby aggravating children's sense of loss.

In recognition of the importance of fatherhood on the welfare of children, the United States government through the Department of Health and Human Services initiated programmes such as the Responsible fatherhood grants, Effective parenting, Access, Visitation, Paternity and Child Support among others whose key responsibilities include setting aside funds for activities that promote fatherhood such as counselling, mentoring, marriage education, and collection of child support to provide non-resident parents with access to their children (Trahan & Cheung, 2012). All these programmes were mooted after the realisation that children with involved fathers were more likely to do well in school, had healthy self-esteem and exhibited empathy and pro-social behaviour in comparison to their counterparts whose fathers were not involved in their lives (Trahan & Cheung, 2012). From all this evidence, the need for father involvement in the education of their children cannot, therefore, be debatable hence the need to see how learners left behind by their biological fathers in Mwenezi District experience education.

Mothers have been known as key figures in providing primary socialisation to their children since time immemorial (Fagbeminiyi, 2011). Mazzucato and Schans (2011) in their study discovered that the caregiving roles of emigrant mothers were passed on to other female caregivers such as grandmothers even when the father was present. This could be due to traditional beliefs held in most societies that caregiving roles were feminine. Probably influenced by such thinking, Moreno (2013) says, among the responsibilities a mother should provide, child protection, valuables for children such as food, clothes, shelter and health, ensure that school provisions and schoolwork are

done, interact with the child's teacher, disciplining the child, shaping morality, advising the child and selecting entertainment for the child are key.

In a study in the Caribbean in 2009, Bakker, Elings-Rels and Reiss found that learners with absent mothers were susceptible to sexual abuse and exploitation (ACPF, 2012). ACPF 2012; Parrenas, 2005; Schmalcbauer, 2010) further noted in their studies done in different countries that, learners in families where mothers have migrated tended to have more schooling challenges such as absenteeism, dropping out of school, academic failure and truancy than in those in paternal emigrants. Caregivers in Sri Lanka revealed that children undergo emotional and behavioural changes in response to the migration of mothers and exhibited such signs as weight loss, loss of appetite, bouts of anxiety, lack of interest in school, absenteeism, bed wetting, low concentration level, use of drugs, isolation from other children, temper tantrums, vandalism, disobedience, joining gangs and peer groups (Save the Children in Sri Lanka, 2006). The impact of mother absence and less involvement in children's education with respect to Mwenezi District where the present study was done was largely unknown due to limited research studies in the area.

Parenting using technology is new but growing rapidly in various parts of the world (Taylor, 2008; Parrenas, 2005). According to Mazzucato and Schans (2011), as many as 25% of children living in migrant serving countries are monitored by their parents from afar using the telephone. Tele-parenting (the system of monitoring children by use of the phone) ensures that the migrant parent is involved and attached to the child's experiences whilst they are apart and usually involves the creation of an extended network of surrogate caregivers that include guardians, relatives, and educators (Brown & Grinter, 2012).

In a study in Jamaica, Brown and Grinter (2014) cite three motivations by migrant parents for use of mobile phones which are: triangulating the truth where parents phoned teachers to verify information conveyed to them by children; remote household interaction and micromanagement in which parents called to make sure that children completed chores or homework, complied with rules they had set, or to ease guardian-child tension and mediated access to their child's care network where for instance, a child may initiate a phone call while at school and then ask the teacher to talk with the parents.

Bacigalupe and Lambe (2011) refer to a cell phone as a new family member in families where members live apart in that it facilitates instant communication through phone calls or messaging thereby creating a feeling of co-presence. Earlier on, Parrenas (2005:328) had commended, "The children who receive constant communication from migrant parents are less likely to feel a gap in intergenerational relations." From this view, therefore, it shows that the mobile phone reduces anxiety to some extent since it helps both the parent and the child to exchange messages and assure each other of the commitment they both must each other. The phone removes the ambiguity that could be there if parents and children separate and cut communication.

Furthermore, the mobile phone plays roles that could be undertaken by real parents (Moreno, 2013). Dreby (2010) observes that in Mexico, parents assist their children to do schoolwork and offer advice over the phone. The mobile phone is thus used as a tool to instil discipline in children.

However, despite this huge and important role, Miranda (2003) in a study in the Philippines noted that communication between members in families that lived in rural places had been a challenge due to infrastructural unavailability or dilapidation. The present study was

done in a rural community where communication infrastructure pause challenges likely similar to the situation experienced by Miranda in the Philippines. It is unknown how much communication is done between parents and children who were left under the care of guardians in the Mwenezi District where the present study was done.

Once parents migrate to distant countries leaving children behind, somebody is usually entrusted with the responsibility to look after the children (Dube, 2014; Zirima, 2016, Antman, 2012). In some circumstances, children are left at the parental home and a relative is asked to keep an eye and advise as much as they see fit. Alternatively, the children must leave their parental home and go to the guardian's place of residence depending on the age of the children left behind and the quality of the relationship between the children's biological parents and the guardian (Guendell *et al*., 2013). Filippa *et al.* (2013) observe that when the guardian is much trusted and viewed as honest and responsible, the children will be transferred to the guardian's home and similarly when the children left behind are viewed as mature and responsible, they are usually left at the biological parental home. In either case, the guardian should monitor the education of the children left behind. How much are the guardians able to fulfil this role is the topical issue in this part of the book.

Brown and Grinter (2014) observe that the non-biological parents' role in looking after children left behind is centred on two issues, namely, the ability to assume authoritative roles and proficiency in the use of communication technologies. Authority ensures that the children are guided and adhere to those guidelines with less or without hitches while proficiency in technology enables the guardians to communicate with the children's biological parents from afar using such devices as cell phones, YouTube, e-mails, and WhatsApp among others (ACPF, 2012). However, in a study in Thailand, Jampaklay *et al.* (2012) observed that children's caretakers in households where both parents

have migrated had high risks of suffering from psychological health problems because of responsibility pressures that also emanate from an inability to control the children entrusted to them. The authors noted that children were less independent and less happy when under the custody of grandparents whose life priorities were different from those preferred by the young due to generational gaps. An analysis of this type of relationship may lead one to conclude that educational learner outcomes may be negative since the social environment of the learner is compromised. ACPF (2012) observe that in Shanghai, China where for instance 90% of grandchildren live under the custody of grandparents children end up engaging in misdemeanours that cause them to perform badly in school. However, on the part of the grandparents, ACPF (2012) asserts that they feel better when they take care of grandchildren since it compensates for their feelings of loneliness.

In their study in Zimbabwe, Filippa *et al.* (2013), participants (adolescents) complained that it was difficult to stay under the control of grannies who imposed a rigid code of discipline such as denying girls to put on trousers, going out with friends at night and confiscating gifts which the grannies consider as spoils. Elsewhere Kurebwa and Kurebwa (2014) blamed the influence of westernisation which they say had weakened extended family ties resulting in the breakdown of traditional authority thus children no longer respect elders although, in the long run, it is them who lose out and end up in destitution. From the evidence given here, therefore, the extent to which guardians manage learners left behind remains debatable. To some extent and in certain situations, yes but largely imperfect.

Schools are mandated by either international or national law to provide quality education to all learners irrespective of the learners' socio-economic or political background (Moreno, 2013; Brown & Grinter, 2014; OECD, 2015). The ways through which schools achieve

this goal include ensuring that all learners who need some education are enrolled without obstacles. Boler and Caroll (2003) writing for the UK working group on education and HIV&AIDS lament that schools ought to provide inclusive education to learners which should involve: valuing all learners and staff equally, restructuring the cultures, policies and practices in schools so that they respond to the diversity of learners in their locality, learning from attempts to overcome barriers to access and participation of particular learners, to make wider changes for the benefit of learners, viewing the difference between learners as resources to support learning, and learners as problems to overcome, acknowledging learners' rights to an education in their locality and improving schools for staff and for learners.

Secondly, the method of instruction should accommodate all levels of learners. Unfortunately, according to results of surveys conducted by OECD (2015) in various countries, strategies and programmes meant to assist learners in migration situations are largely done in developed and destination countries with little being done in developing countries where many migrants come from. What this means is that the few learners who migrate with their parents find assistance so that they can quickly integrate into their new school communities while those left behind rarely get help from specific school programmes.

In Zimbabwe, learners are supposed to be taught in their mother tongue from Early Childhood Development (ECD) up to Grade Three as a means of trying to motivate them and improve understanding (Nziramasanga, 1999). This, however, is far from being an initiative from schools but a government policy. The content learnt in schools and homework given by teachers should also be indiscriminate of the learner's home background. As such learners with parents in the diaspora are supposed to receive similar treatment in schools just like the other learners with resident parents.

However, though equity as far as educational provision is expected, it will be fool hard to ignore the plight of those learners with absent parents. Accordingly, schools ought to respond to the needs of this group of learners with full knowledge and acknowledgement that they are special in that the absence of their parents causes them to experience schooling differently. Schools should, thus, consider the ability of learners left behind to meet such school demands as parental attendance to consultation days, completion of mandatory homework, school uniform availability, attendance patterns, health reports, home counselling, availability of educational materials, and motivation among others (Dube, 2014). Schools' responses to the said needs can be divided into two categories for analysis purposes, an administrative role where school policies regarding the factors are scrutinised and implementation of those policies by teachers. The literature one may need regarding this subject, thus, should look at what is obtaining in various countries and various schools pertaining to school policies and implementation mechanisms.

Some schools recognise the presence of learners left behind and the challenges these learners face. To mitigate such challenges, school-based programmes are in place that aim to improve the educational welfare of the learners. In Jamaica, schools create social spaces that bring migrant parents, caregivers, educators and learners left behind together to ensure and increase visibility (Brown & Grinter, 2014). According to these authors, visibility encompasses three aspects namely, the educator's access to the learner's home environment and living conditions, the educator knowing migration status (whether the child was expected to migrate or their parents intended to return) and knowing the nature of the parent-child relationship. Schools should put in place psycho-social programmes such as guidance and counselling sessions to cater for the needs of learners with absent parents (Brown & Grinter, 2014).

Handling of challenges faced by learners left behind varies from country to country and from school to school (Brown & Grinter, 2014). As a strategy to motivate the learners left behind to develop positive attitudes toward education, teachers in Romania avoid punishing the home alone learners as they are known in that country by giving them lower marks in examinations thereby increasing the chances of the learners progressing to higher educational levels (Botezat & Pfeiffer, 2014). The higher marks they get in examinations are additional incentives for educational materials and resources that the learners get from their parents. The learners are, thus, motivated to emulate their parents, hence, quite often work extra hard in school so that they can also successfully go abroad upon completion of their studies. However, elsewhere studies show that learners left behind and who have better prospects of joining their parents abroad rarely concentrate on schoolwork since they might be aware that their destinations have nothing to do with education (Jampaklay *et al.*, 2012).

The successfulness of school-based programmes, therefore, rests on the socio-emotional family environment and the country under investigation (Botezat & Pfeiffer, 2014). However, in a study in Zimbabwe teachers had difficulties assisting learners left behind because of the perception of communities that education was less important since teachers were poor as compared to *injivas* who came driving from South Africa (Dube, 2014; Filippa *et al.*, 2013). Though counselling is not an exclusive preserve for learners left behind in Zimbabwe, all educational institutions including primary schools are compelled by education policies to implement it in schools (Ganga & Maphalala, 2014; Zirima, 2016).

Schooling experiences of learners under surrogacy can largely be assessed with reference to educational access, school attendance, dropout rates, performance and general behaviour of the orphans.

Studies on the educational experiences of orphans in Zimbabwe have been extensively carried out on the aforementioned dimensions with respect to orphans whose status was occasioned by parental death (Ganga & Maphalala, 2014; Dzimiri & Gumbo, 2016; Makoni, 2007; Kurebwa & Kurebwa, 2014). However, Artico (2003) argues that when an important attachment figure like a parent is detached from a child, the child will face feelings of abandonment, loss of identity and loneliness hence a period of mourning is experienced by both the parent leaving and child left behind, similar to experiences one has when bereaved.

Parents in the diaspora are not dead and most have gone there with the hope of finding something better for their families, hence, are largely expected to send remittances back home to their children who are under the care of non-biological parents. This study, therefore, sought to assess the effectiveness of surrogate parenting to see how much this new parenting arrangement helps children left behind access education, attend school, complete schooling, perform at school and behave as expected by society in the district of Mwenezi which is affected by high migration into other countries such as South Africa and Botswana.

Research shows that some emigrants leave children home alone, and take older children out of school to care for the younger children thereby denying older children access to education (Artico, 2003; Heymann, 2006; Dobrova, 2014; McGregor, 2010; Castenada & Buck, 2011). United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2007) noted that in Mexico, the academic performance of girls was compromised by obligations of caregiving which they meet as they look after young siblings. Also, studies on the link between schooling and remittances from migrant parents in Latin America and Asia have shown that children largely perform below their standards if their biological

parents do not directly monitor the children (Mckenzie, 2006; Yang, 2004). Observations in Haiti were that left-behind children had high rates of absenteeism and dropping out of school simply because quite often some of these children would assume parental roles (parentification) to make up for the missing income from parents who migrated or to supplement school requirements which could not be offset by remittances (Bakker *et al.*, 2009).

Following parental migration, children left behind in Thailand were reported doing worse in school, drinking alcohol more, less satisfied with where they lived, less independent and less happy (Jampaklay *et al.*, 2012). Botezat and Pfeiffer (2014) in an urban-rural comparative study in Romania in which they assessed four aspects of experiences of learners left behind namely; being bullied, involved in the conflict, being depressed, and having any illness, established that rural learners were negatively affected more than their urban counterparts in all the four aspects with rural learners 44% more likely to be sick and unattended to when the biological parents were away.

Despite the overwhelming evidence outlined by IOM, (2009); SIRDC, (2003); Fillipa, (2010) and Kufakurinani *et al*., (2014) about the emergence of diaspora orphans also called learners left behind in this study in Zimbabwe, little was done to focus studies on the effectiveness of parenting styles currently in use. The information about how the emigrants' children cope with schooling is therefore scanty. The present study was done to evaluate the effectiveness of parenting styles for the educational needs of learners who are living in rural areas where knowledge about the schooling experiences of the learners remains largely unclear.

Studies in Zimbabwe show that children under social parental care lack discipline, a strong factor to explain their poor performance in

schoolwork (Kufakurinani *et al*., 2014; McGregor, 2008; Makoni, 2007). Dube (2014) in a study carried out in Beitbridge, a place which borders Zimbabwe to South Africa revealed that out-migration into South Africa by the rural residents of the area was not helping improve the educational prospects of the learners left behind because the emigrants could hardly send anything home since they were predominantly earning meagre wages in South African Farms. While these studies reveal some challenges faced by the children, they are silent on what could be done to redress the challenges. This study, thus, built on what has been researched before by exploring factors that weaken parenting from which measures that could be instituted to improve the parenting styles were suggested.

Diaspora parents largely support their families through both social and financial remittances and it is documented that diaspora remittances are raising the economies of developing countries (Lane, 2006; World Bank, 2003; Silver, 2006). UNESCO (2018) documents that in 2017 alone, international remittances stood at US$ 613 billion from which US$466 billion went to families in low and middle-income countries. Dobrova (2014) observes that, in Ecuador, remittances are the second-largest source of external financing after oil revenues and Calero (2009) argues that, in Ecuador, remittances recipients reported that they use most of the remittances for education, food, health and rent and only a small part is used for construction and property investments, settlements of debts, savings, business investments, household assets acquisition of vehicles and other forms of consumption. In a draft paper presented by UNICEF (2013) on the results of studies undertaken in various countries to establish the impact of remittances on the education and health of children left behind, more positive outcomes than negatives were noted. A selection of the countries reported on is given here for illustration purposes.

Table 3.2: Impact of remittances on education and health for some selected countries *(UNICEF, 2013; UNESCO, 2018)*

Name of country	**Impact of remittances on the education of children left behind**
Philippines	increased school attendance by more than 10% children sent to private schools reduced child labour by three hours a week students show better academic performance involvement and participation in schoolwork and extra-curricular activities improves
Mexico	increased school attendance rate among young children decrease in schooling among 16-18-year-old children improved literacy rate poor education outcomes among rural children left behind
Ecuador	•increased school attendance
Guatemala	increased expenditure on education poor education outcomes among rural children left behind
Jamaica	education and health were the second set of uses boys dropped out of school and showed a marked decline in performance than girls left behind
Ghana	•no differences in patterns of expenditure compared to other households that do not receive remittances
Moldova	a decline in educational performance due to household responsibilities for girls psychological suffering due to lack of parental care and support

In addition to the effects of remittances as postulated by UNICEF above for various nations, Antman (2012) also observes that remittances have both positive and negative effects on learners left behind depending on the type of migration with maternal migration having more negative effects than paternal migration. Wang (2013) in a study in China established that an increase in family income results in improved family nutrition, better access to educational supplies, less housework and subsequently better educational outcomes. Further, it was noted that remittances were injected into the education of learners through remedial tutoring, additional books, learning software, and associated computer hardware. Of much interest were these authors' findings that students with mothers who owned at least junior high school degrees had their children's academic scores going down while those of less-educated mothers were improving especially immediately after parental out-migration due to a phenomenon they called parental care-household resources trade-off. By parental care-household resources trade off. Sawyer (2014) illustrates and says, it is like when an educated parent who used to assist his or her child with schoolwork separates from the learner such that the learner experiences a gap when there is no one to assist while on the other hand, those less educated parents who had never assisted their children before because of both financial incapacity and academic shortcomings would now hire tutors to assist their children back home as soon as they get employed in the foreign land.

Most Zimbabwean migrants were affected by the economic reforms that were introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and adopted by the Zimbabwean government which spelt mass economic disaster exacerbated by the HIV&AIDS devastation of the most productive population of society and the fast track land reform program that left most agro-based companies closing shop due to shrinking products supply because of low farm production (Kawewe & Dibie, 2000; SIRDC, 2003; McGregor, 2010;

Kurebwa & Kurebwa, 2014; Fillipa, 2011; Shaw, 2008). As far back as 2004, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe introduced 'Home Link', a facility intended to ease the sending of money by the diasporans to their families through the banks (World Bank, 2009; Kufakurinani *et al.*, 2014). Though the home link facility was shelved, another similar facility in the name of 'Mukuru' is operational and such initiatives are testimonies that diasporans are sending money home to support their families (Fillipa, 2011; Kufakurinani *et al.*, 2014). However, though financial remittances are sent, literature on their effectiveness in supporting children left behind is scarce. Therefore, by focussing on the relationship between the learners left behind's socio-economic support and their educational outcomes, this study could help in adding valuable literature to the education of learners with absent parents.

In some studies, in Zimbabwe on the experiences of children of diaspora parents, it was noted that most of these children do not properly plan how to use financial remittances (Fillipa, 2011; McGregor, 2010; Shaw, 2008; Kufakurinani *et al.*, 2014). Despite such revelations, no studies have been conducted to establish the reasons for such failures by the children to manage the remittances for educational purposes. The present study should, therefore, above establishing the level of financial support children left behind receive, also inquire from the concerned children about the motive for using the money in the way they do.

While some studies reveal a lot of negative effects of child-parent separation, Lichard (1999) found that Zimbabwean families where one or more members work outside the country tend to have higher levels of educational attainment as compared to households without migrants. In a related analysis, Lu and Treiman (2006) report that, receipt of remittances significantly increases the chances that children attend school in three ways namely, increased household educational

spending, the diminished incidence of child labour and easing of the negative effect of parental absence due to out-migration.

Countries, non-governmental organisations, communities, schools, families and individuals all respond to issues of learners left behind though in various ways (UNICEF, 2013). Accordingly, in this section of this report, ways by which the identified institutions respond to the welfare of learners left behind by emigrant biological parents are articulated.

Various nations have enacted policies and programmes in line with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) meant to address challenges faced by learners who live apart from their biological parents (Moreno, 2013). However, Garza (2010) reporting in a working paper for UNICEF, noted that government agencies viewed learners left behind by emigrants as more privileged than non-remittance recipient learners and hence tended to exclude them from the main target groups of interest in traditional social protection policies. Furthermore, Garza (2010) laments that there tended to be a policy dilemma, should governments institute policies specifically targeted at learners left behind and other policies for other vulnerable learners without such actions viewed as discriminatory and thereby dampening the spirit of inclusivity? Drawing lessons from such possible dilemmas, however, UNICEF recommend the following as possible point of departure on which every nation-state may address challenges faced by learners left behind;

- Strengthening of policy to secure children's basic social and economic rights. This could be enhanced by putting child welfare monitoring mechanisms and a framework for punishing those who violate children's rights.

- Acceptance by governments that it is their responsibility to ensure that there are policies and institutional frameworks that address exclusion, inequalities and the provision of social services irrespective of the availability of remittances.
- Paying due attention to the effects of the economic crisis on children and families left behind to redress negative impacts through the establishment of family development-oriented policies in the medium and long term.
- Assisting families and caregivers of children left behind through formulating policies that support them in their child-rearing responsibilities. Such policies should incorporate guidelines on parenting skills, gender sensitivity, and mitigation of risky behaviours and management of peer relationships of course following migrant communities' cultural values.
- Ensuring that educational institutions develop training programmes that capacitate staff to recognise traits associated with the psycho-social effects of parental migration (Garza, 2010).

In line with UNICEF guidelines, the Sri Lankan government promulgated the National Plan of Action for Children 2004-2008 whose goal was to ensure adequate care and a safe and healthy environment for Sri Lankan children of migrant mothers (Save the Children in Sri Lanka, 2006). To achieve its goal, there was compulsory registration at the Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment at district level centres for all migrant women. The initiative was also in line with guidelines as provided in the International Convention on Protection of the Rights of All migrant workers and members of their families Article 64(2) which compels the state to pay due regard not only to labour needs and resources but also to the social, economic, cultural and other needs of migrant workers and members of their families and to the consequences of such migration for communities concerned (Save the Children in Sri Lanka, 2006).

Related to the Sri Lankan government initiative, the Philippines government also enacted into law the Migrant Workers and Overseas Philippines Act of 1992 whose goal was to establish high standards of protection and promotion of the welfare of Filipino workers and their families (ACPF, 2012). In line with the provisions of the enacted law and partnership with UNICEF, the Philippine government introduced a variety of programmes meant to ease harsh challenges exposed to families and children left behind by emigrants. The table below outlines some of the programmes and their mandates.

Table 3.3: Philippines government responsive measures on the welfare of migrant families and children left behind (*UNICEF: Draft 2B DPS, 2013)*

Administrative policy	**Mandate of the policy**
Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA)	supporting the development of modules around the psychosocial reintegration of migrants and their families and children
The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration	managing a trust fund to support workers and their families ensuring that workers who contribute have their children have access to education and training programmes e.g Tuloy-Aral or Continuation of education project meeting educational expenses of school students in financial need by providing them with $100.00 per annum for books and other stationery requirements
NGO Atikha	training children and families left behind to be self-reliant department of education has since included Atikha modules in the school curricula in regions with large populations of children left behind

The National Action Plan on Children Left Without Parental Care 2010-2011	established social services for children at the community level awareness among the general public on the potential negative impact of migration on children strengthened capacity building for professionals working with children e.g. teachers, psychologists, police, and health workers among others on the vulnerability of children left behind and protection of their rights envisaged introduction of life-skills education in school curricula monitoring and evaluation system of children left behind

According to UNICEF (2013), the Moldova government through technical support they got from UNICEF established the 2008-2011 National Development Strategy whose mandate was to identify causes of exclusion among children left behind and create mechanisms that ensured that children with inadequate parental monitoring get special attention in school and identification of a nationwide network of community-based social workers created by the Ministry of Social Protection, Families and Children in 2007 to address the challenges faced by children left behind.

Wang (2013) observes that apart from ratifying the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991, the Chinese government went further to enact the People's Republic of China Law on the Protection of Minors which among other child welfare issues recognises all left behind children under the age of 16 years as vulnerable hence mandate the state to protect such learners from any form of abuse including neglect.

Zimbabwe`s framework to respond to the needs of learners left behind is in the country's Constitution especially chapter 2 on national objectives which compels the government to attend to children (section 19); protection of the family (section 25); education (section 27) and social welfare (section 30). To illustrate the core principles that guide

the government in attending to the welfare of children in Zimbabwe, national objective 19 of the Constitution on children thus states:

The state must adopt policies and measures to ensure that in matters relating to children, the best interest of the children concerned is paramount.

The state must adopt reasonable policies and measures within the limits of the resources available to it, to ensure that children-

a) enjoy family or parental care or appropriate care when removed from the family environment

(b) have shelter and basic nutrition, health care and social services; (c) are protected from maltreatment, neglect or any form of abuse; and (d) have access to appropriate education and training.

3. The state must take appropriate legislative and other measures- (a) to protect children from exploitative labour practices; and

*(b) to ensure that children are not required or permitted to perform work or provide services that are inappropriate for the children's age; or place at risk the children's well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development (*Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No 20 of 2013, Chapter 2, Section 19).

Drawing from the above-stated objective and normative provisions of the Constitution and in recognition of the growing number of national challenges related to migration and the migration development nexus, the Zimbabwe government responded by mandating a ministerial task force to look into migration issues and the task force produced a Draft National Migration Management and Diaspora Policy which cited the following seven key areas to be attended to; brain drain, remittances, labour migration, migration and health, migration and gender, irregular migration and trafficking in persons (Zanamwe & Devillard, 2009; IOM, 2009). The content of the task force's draft seems to downplay the impact of migration on the education of the learners left behind since there is no reference to education except for mentioning brain drain.

Again, while there is recognition of learners left behind in the National Strategic Plan for the education of girls, orphans and other vulnerable children (2005-2010) in Zimbabwe (Ganga & Maphalala, 2014), it is not as explicit as the cases in China, Philippines, Moldova and Sri Lanka in terms of spelling out how these learners should be identified and assisted. It is against such background that this study sought to evaluate the role played by the government of Zimbabwe in the provision of educational opportunities to learners whose parents have out-migrated from the Mwenezi District especially given the fact that parental migration leads to both positive and negative schooling experiences for the learners left behind.

It is undeniable as revealed by literature elsewhere in this book that parental migration leads to both positive and negative experiences for learners left behind (UNICEF, 2013; Sanduleasa & Matei, 2015; Dube, 2014). Accordingly, learners left behind must adapt to some 'life without parents' regardless of the consequences brought about by migration since responsibilities naturally change in response to parental absence. Filippa *et al.* (2013) define coping as psychological devices individuals employ when they are in stressful or difficult situations. In a study in Romania by Botezat and Pfeiffer (2014), the researchers observed that adaptation mechanisms vary depending on the socio-economic status in which the learners find themselves upon losing their parents to migration, and individual learners' perception of the loss, length of loss among other variables. Again, it depends on the type of orphanhood, is it maternal, paternal or both (Kurebwa & Kurebwa, 2014).

In a study in Jordan, it was found that some male youths cope by leaving school and joining the workforce to ensure that there is food on the table while female youths also adopted early marriage as a coping mechanism (IFFD, 2018). However, while opting for work makes the family left behind have something on the table, Sanduleasa and Matei

(2015) in their study in Romania noted that learners who did so deprived themselves of the right to education, leisure and play resulting in cyclic poverty since those employment opportunities tended to pay less and only lasted for limited periods.

Dube (2014) in a study in Beitbridge and Mangwe in Zimbabwe noted that although learners left behind despised teachers for low salaries, their parents were also incapacitated to send them meaningful financial remittances since they were poorly paid in South Africa due to their engagement in menial jobs such as picking oranges due to lack of education. From this view, therefore, coping with parental migration by engaging in migration by the children left behind is largely not beneficial in the long run to the government, individuals and the families involved. Zirima (2016) in a study in Mwenezi, Zimbabwe established that coping mechanisms were gendered where boys externalised their pain of missing parents by engaging in anti-social behaviour while girls internalised their pain.

Filippa *et al.* (2013) in their study in Zimbabwe in which they interviewed adolescents aged between 11 and 21 years about their coping mechanisms in response to stresses brought about by parental migration got the following:

- Justifying the absence of the parents-adolescents stated that it was necessary that their parents left them by going into the diaspora where they could get something to sustain the family since the local economy was not supportive
- Denial- participants stated that they were used to staying alone hence there was no need to worry as everything was normal
- Seeking support- the respondents stated that they turned to friends for help when in traumatic problems

- Acting as if the guardians were real parents by accepting every command they gave and trying to show in a way that they were not real parents
- Phoning the parents and interacting with them via Facebook, Instagram, You tube and Whatsapp.

The chapter has cited socio-economic, political, stringent migration laws and globalisation as key drivers to the emergence of learners who are left without parents in some developing countries today. Parenting styles that emerge in response to the new status of children after parental migration were also outlined in the chapter notably tele-parenting, self-care and use of guardians. Challenges relating to how these children learn in the absence of their biological parents were articulated with special attention given to the capacity of guardians to provide psycho-social incentives to the learners. Also discussed were learners' needs, the role of teachers, government and the learners' coping strategies in the presence or absence of remittances. Generally, literature revealed that little was being done in developing countries such as Zimbabwe in pursuit of strategies that could help learners left behind realise educational opportunities in the same manner as most other learners. It was also evident from the literature that there were divergent views regarding the treatment of learners left behind. While some recommended that these learners deserved special treatment and have programmes specifically for them, others opined that would be tantamount to labelling them and hence needed to be considered in the same bracket as other vulnerable children such as victims of HIV&AIDS