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Effects of Parental Migration on Educational Outcomes of Adolescent Children Left Behind in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts, Zimbabwe

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Abstract: This study sought to explore effects of parental migration on educational outcomes of adolescent children left behind. Educational outcomes of adolescents in both non-migrant and migrant households were analysed to check on any variations. This mixed method enquiry was illuminated by psycho-social and bio-ecological developmental views of Erick Erikson and Urie Bronfenbrenner respectively. The triangulated data was collected from 60 adolescents, 6 caregivers, 6 teachers and 4 nurses through questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews. Two hypotheses relating to several educational outcome sub-scales were tested. Surprisingly the study established that comparatively there was no association between adolescents' educational outcomes and the type of household they lived in. It was observed that there were no significant differences between educational outcomes of boys and girls from either household.

Keywords: Educational Outcomes, Children Left-Behind, Migration.

INTRODUCTION

Parental migration is a global phenomenon which has recently reached unprecedented levels largely due to heightened poverty and unemployment mostly in developing countries. At the turn of the millennium approximately one billion people on the globe lived and worked outside their country of origin (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). In addition, almost 3 percent of the global population lived outside their countries of origin in the first decade of the millennium (World Bank, 2012). As parents migrate they usually leave families behind thereby giving rise to children left behind. It is said that Philippines one of the largest supplier of migrant labourers had about 9 million children living with at least one parent due to migration (Bryant, 2005). Interestingly, one of the largest countries, China has over 61 million children left behind due to internal parental labour migration. Thailand and Indonesia are estimated to have about one million and half a million of children left behind due to parental migration respectively (Cortes, 2007). It has been observed that between 2000 and 2004 children left behind in Moldova increased from 16 to 31 percent (UNICEF, 2007). Similarly, in Ecuador it was estimated that between 1990 and 2000 the left behind children increased from 17 000 to 150 000 and by 2005 the number had reached about 218 000 (UNICEF, 2007). Fascinatingly, in 2007 one study uncovered that about two people per five migrants globally live in a developing country such as Zimbabwe (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). Furthermore, the same study revealed that nearly half of the migrants from developing countries lived in other developing countries whilst close to 80 percent of migrations occurred between neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa (Ratha *et al.*, 2007). Cortes (2007) observed that in South Africa a neighbour of Zimbabwe almost 25 percent of all households had migrant workers. In addition, in Tanzania about half of households in the country side had a member who migrated (Cortes, 2007). Furthermore, in 2010 there were almost 1.1 million and 1.8 million migrants in Nigeria and Ghana respectively (World Bank, 2010). Interestingly, the number of children left behind in Nigeria was said to have increased from almost 4.1 percent in 2003 to about 5.2 in 2008 (NDHS, 2008). In Zimbabwe, scholars concur that the economic meltdown which started almost at the turn of the millennium forced nearly a quarter or more of the population to leave the country (Zanawe & Devillard, 2010). It has however not been easy for scholars to ascertain exactly how many people migrated as well as how many children were left behind. In spite of this some South African journalists and Government officials have estimated that there were over 3 million Zimbabweans who lived and worked in their country (Zanawe *et al.*, 2010). Clearly this figure may not have included Zimbabwean migrants who entered South Africa using illegal routes. A study by Dube (2014) carried out in two districts of Bulilima and Beit Bridge in Zimbabwe uncovered that almost 80 percent of randomly sampled households had an average of two members living and working in South Africa. While all these figures do not necessarily show the exact

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figures of children left behind in Zimbabwe they at least give insight into how extensive labour migration is in the country. Although migration maybe an important survival strategy for citizens of developing countries especially in the wake of rising global unemployment and poverty levels it is often associated with family break-ups, and severe change in families daily lives (Newman *et al.*, 2011). Indeed, it is common for migrants to leave behind one parent or care giver and one or more children behind, (Mazzucato *et al.*, 2014). Scholars agree that parental absence can cause some serious changes and disruptions in how children are cared for hence concerns over what happens when children are left behind (ECMI/AOS Manila, SMC & OWWA, 2004). Adolescents were preferred in this study because their outcomes are likely to be different from other children left behind. According to Swartz, de la Rey, Duncan, Townsend and O'Neill (2011) in almost all cultures adolescence is a stage epitomised by turbulence. On the other hand, Erickson in (Lahey, 2009) describes this stage as one in which adolescents experience identity crisis. This crisis can better be managed by healthy micro relations likely to be fostered by a whole available family, failure to which may predispose adolescent children to stress and emotional turmoil, drug abuse, teenage pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections inter alia (Kapolo, 2014). Besides the stressful life events or chronic strains associated with adolescence the strains caused by absence of one parent and shouldering double parenting duties by the remaining parent, may create ecological situations which may uniquely affect the psycho-social functioning of adolescent children left behind. Migration induced strain may erode the remaining parent's coping behaviour, creating emotional distress and marital disharmony, which may result in parenting practices that are uninvolving and harsh a situation seen to be occurring within child headed and poor families (Collins, 2009; Bronfenbrenner, 2008; & Ganga & Maphalala, 2013). All such situations may negatively affect the educational outcomes of left behind adolescents. On a more positive note having parents abroad may ensure the availability of better health opportunities, technology, additional educational material within the family due to increased disposable income thereby positively influencing the development of adolescent children left behind leading to better educational outcomes (Salah, 2008).

It is in the backdrop of such concerns that several researches have been conducted to try and uncover the effects of labour migration on educational outcomes of children left behind (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2011; Antman, 2012; Kandel & Kao, 2001; & Chen *et al.*, 2009). In some cases, scholars have uncovered positive effects of parental migration on while others discovered mixed consequences (Gao, 2010; Li *et al.*, 2010; Battistella & Conaco, 1998; & Nobles, 2007). It is interesting to note that parental migration has often been linked to an increase in household income for the family left behind. It is this additional income that has been seen to benefit children left behind as it helps to afford them better educational opportunities (Hanson, 2003, Demurger, 2015). Notwithstanding such benefits researchers concur that labour migration involves serious disruptions in traditional roles of parenting and care giving practices which may negatively affected left behind children's educational outcomes (Lam *et al.*, 2013). While like many other developing countries Zimbabwe has arguably experienced a surge in parental migration little research has been done to uncover the effects it has on educational outcomes of children left behind. There is a big challenge in carrying out research of this nature globally and in Zimbabwe due to lack of official comprehensive migration data, (World Bank, 2011). The IOM and Save the Children (2011) observed that the number of children left behind due to parental migration as well as the effects on children left behind are currently not fully known. However, there are a few national records which may help give insight into the magnitude of this phenomena. For example, it is said that about 9 million children in the Philippines have at least one parent living in a foreign country abroad, while it is about 259,00 in Kyrgyzstan. It is in light of these observations that this study was carried out in an attempt encourage formulation of home grown policies and systems to deal with the negative and positive consequences of parental migration. The inquiry focused on the effects of labour migration on educational outcomes of adolescent children left behind. Adolescents included in the study were those enrolled in secondary schools.

Experimental Section

This study focussed on two districts in Plumtree, Bulilima and Mangwe, Zimbabwe. These research locations were selected because of the long history they have of labour migration to neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Botswana (Dube, 2014). The mixed method research approach was adopted in trying to understand the multifaceted effects of migration on educational outcomes of left behind adolescents. The researcher preferred this approach because of its inherent prospects to afford researchers an opportunity to look at a research problem from various positions (Creswell, 2008). Using the pragmatic paradigm suitable for use in mixed method studies (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008) the researcher sought to seek practical solutions to human dilemmas such as those related with parental migration. In the study quantitative (QUAN) and qualitative (QUAL) data strands were kept independent throughout the research process and analysis while at the same time being given equal priority (QUAN/QUAL). Quantitative data on the effects of migration on educational outcomes of adolescent children left behind in both left behind and non-migrant households were collected through closed ended questionnaires while at the same time qualitative data was being collected from adolescents and stakeholders through focus group discussions and interviews on the same topics. It was only in the final data interpretation

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phase that both data strands were integrated to check on convergence and divergence. Data from the left behind households was compared with that from non-migrant households to check on any variations. Quantitative analysis first involved converting raw data into a computer decipherable format using SPSS version 16. Before subjecting quantitative data to further analysis it was subjected to data cleaning procedures such as item analysis and missing value analysis. Thereafter two hypotheses were tested and verified using the chi-square test and t-test statistical procedures. The rest of quantitative data was coded by calculating responses and grouping it with an objective of showing its occurrence and frequency. Qualitative data was analysed using Tesch's iterative open coding data analysis technique to identify themes and sub-themes. Prior to visiting schools and households, the researcher sought approval to carry out the study in Bulilima and Mangwe districts. Using a letter giving initial permission to carry out the study from Zimbabwe Open University further permissions were sought and granted from the District Administrators, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Two hypotheses below were formulated and tested;

Hypothesis 1:

H_0: *There is no association between adolescents' educational outcomes and type of their households.*

H_1: *There is an association between adolescents' educational outcomes and type of their households.*

Hypothesis 2:

H_0: *There is no significant difference between educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls.*

H_1: *There is a significant difference between educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls.*

In testing hypothesis 1 the researcher conducted a chi-squared test at 5% significance level as shown on the contingency table below.

Table 1. Contingency Table Showing Household Type and Educational Outcomes ***n=798***

Type of household	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Migrant	49	119	33	117	90	408
Non-migrant	51	62	49	117	111	390
Total	**100**	**181**	**82**	**234**	**201**	**798**

α=0.05; 4 degrees of freedom; Critical value =9.49 and Test statistic = -43.03

The null hypothesis (H_0) *there is no association between adolescents' educational outcomes and type of their households* was accepted since the value of the test statistic, -43.03 was way below the critical value of 9.49. Consequently, the researcher rejected the alternative hypothesis (H_1). This means that educational outcomes of adolescents under study were not necessarily influenced by migration status. It was necessary to study the relationship between type of household and educational outcomes of children left behind and those in non-migrant household side by side in order to assess and record whether being left behind influenced adolescents' educational outcomes. The findings above were quite inconsistent with observations by Demurger (2015) who concluded that adolescents in migrant households may have better educational outcomes since migrant parents are likely to have stronger preferences for investment in education thereby improving outcomes the of children left behind. Similarly, the findings were at variance with findings by Yu *et al.* (2009) whose studies in China concluded that remittances from migrated parents were used for performance-enhancing expenditures by families with poorer performing learners, such as, remedial tutoring or additional books or learning software and associated computer hardware. Such investment was then seen to improve educational outcomes of left behind children in comparison with children from non-migrant households. Perhaps this is brought to some clarity by observations made by Makina (2007) whose studies of Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg revealed the lack of significant remittances back to Zimbabwe since most migrants earned very little to sustain themselves and children left behind.

Table 2. Educational Outcomes of Boys and Girls in Migrant Households

	Educational outcomes test subscales	Sex	N	Mean	S	Df	t	p-value	
1	Never missed school	Boys	12	2.92	1.564	28	.154	.879	>0.05
		Girls	18	2.83	1.383				
2	Feeling after missing school	Boys	12	2.92	1.311	28	-1.178	.249	>0.05
		Girls	18	3.50	1.339				
3	Can always miss school	Boys	12	2.67	1.435	28	-.786	.438	>0.05
		Girls	18	3.11	1.568				
4	Always motivated to attend school	Boys	12	3.17	1.115	28	-.656	.517	>0.05
		Girls	18	3.44	1.149				
5	Performance in school always	Boys	12	3.50	1.446	28	-.117	.908	>0.05

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	Pleasing	Girls	18	3.56	1.149				
6	School fees always paid for in time	Boys	12	3.42	1.379	28	1.975	.058	>0.05
		Girls	18	2.50	1.150				
7	Getting good results important	Boys	12	4.08	1.084	28	-.946	.352	>0.05
		Girls	18	4.44	.984				
8	Passed at least 5 subjects last term	Boys	12	3.33	1.303	28	-3.442	.002	<0.05
		Girls	18	4.50	.514				
9	Living with parents helps in doing	Boys	12	2.83	1.528				
	at school	Girls	18	2.56	1.381	28	.517	.609	>0.05
10	Involved in disciplinary cases at	Boys	12	2.00	.739	28	-2.390	.024	<0.05
	school	Girls	18	2.83	1.043				
11	I have received merit awards at	Boys	12	3.17	1.467	28	.530	.601	>0.05
	School	Girls	18	2.89	1.367				
12	I aspire to proceed to tertiary	Boys	12	3.50	1.087	28	-2.257	.032	<0.05
	education	Girls	18	4.39	1.037				
13	I get assistance at home in doing	Boys	12	3.33	1.775	28	.774	.445	>0.05
	Homework	Girls	18	2.89	1.367				

The differences between educational outcomes of boys and girls in the two types of households were verified using the t-test as shown on Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 shows differences between educational outcomes of boys and girls in migrant households. For ten of the fourteen educational test subscales on table 2, no significant differences were found between the outcomes of left behind adolescent boys and girls. Consequently, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This implies that for the ten educational outcome subscales, there is no ample evidence to sustain the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls. Male and female left behind adolescents in this case were found to have the same level of educational outcomes relative to the ten subscales. Of the three educational outcome subscales in which a significant difference was found between the educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls left behind there was one subscale in which left behind adolescent boys were found to have better outcomes than their female counterparts. The subscale related to educational achievement in terms of passing at least five or more subjects. For this subscale, a t-value of -3.442 with $p<0.05$ was found. The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected at the 5% level of significance. The mean of the boys was 3.33 while that of the girls was 4.50. This means that adolescent boys left behind are more likely to perform better in school than their female counterparts.

Table 3. Educational Outcomes of Boys and Girls in Non-Migrant Households

	Educational outcomes test subscales	**Sex**	**N**	**Mean**	**S**	**Df**	**t**	**p-value**	
1	Can always miss school	Boys	16	3.00	1.301	28	.690	.496	>0.05
		Girls	14	2.62	1.628				
2	Always motivated to attend	Boys	16	3.36	1.008	28	-.550	.587	>0.05
	school	Girls	14	3.56	1.031				
3	Performance in school always	Boys	16	4.29	1.188	28	-	.215	>0.05
	pleasing	Girls	14	3.81	1.125		1.267		
4	School fees always paid for in	Boys	16	3.57	.929	28	-	.000	<0.05
	time	Girls	14	3.62	.911		4.327		
5	Getting good results	Boys	16	2.07	.426	28	.940	.355	>0.05
	important	Girls	14	1.50	.500				
6	Passed at least 5 subjects last	Boys	16	2.64	1.204	28	1.040	.307	>0.05
	term	Girls	14	3.75	1.276				
7	Living with parents helps me	Boys	16	4.36	1.505	28	-.102	.919	>0.05
	to do well at school	Girls	14	3.75	1.360				
8	Involved in disciplinary cases	Boys	16	2.07	1.385	28	1.360	.185	>0.05
	at school	Girls	14	1.50	.894				
9	Have enough uniforms and	Boys	16	2.64	1.336	28	-	.023	<0.05
	school instruments	Girls	14	3.75	1.183		2.407		
10	My parents have an interest in	Boys	16	4.36	.929	28	1.597	.121	>0.05
	my school work	Girls	14	3.75	1.125				
11	My parents attend school	Boys	16	3.50	1.506	28	-.814	.423	>0.05
	activities	Girls	14	3.94	1.436				
12		Boys	16	4.07	1.141	28	1.311	.200	>0.05

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	Aspire to proceed to tertiary education	Girls	14	3.44	1.459				
13	I get assistance in doing homework at home	Boys	16	2.93	1.328	28	-.658	.516	>0.05
		Girls	14	3.25	1.342				

Table 3 shows that for eleven of the fourteen educational test subscales, no significant differences were found between the outcomes of left behind adolescent boys and girls. Consequently, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This implies that for the eleven educational outcome subscales, there is no sufficient evidence to sustain the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls living in non-migrant households. Male and female adolescents in this type of household were found to have the same level of educational outcomes relative to the eleven subscales. According to Table 3 there were two educational outcome subscales for which a significant difference between the educational outcomes of adolescent boys and girls in non-migrant households was found. The first subscale for which gender differences in educational outcomes were found related to the payment of school fees. This subscale is based on the assumption that educational performance is determined by the promptness and consistence in the payment of schools fees for the adolescent child which may be influenced by socio-cultural conceptions of gender. These perceptions may determine whose school fees are paid for consistently and on time between a boy child and a girl child and this has potential to influence academic performance for either child. A t-value of -4.327 with $p<0.05$ was obtained. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 5% significance level.

The results suggest that girls, whose mean was 3.75, are more vulnerable to late fees payment based on the promptness of school fees payment subscale than boys who had a mean of 2.64. This implies that female adolescents in non-migrant households are more vulnerable to late school fees payment than their male counterparts and hence this has the potential of negatively affecting their academic performance whereas boys are better placed to perform better.

A significant difference was also found between the adequacy of uniforms and school instruments/resources for male and female adolescents in non-migrant household's subscale. A t-value of -2.407 with $p<0.05$ was found. Consequently, the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5% significance level. Girls had a mean of 3.75 while boys had a mean of 2.64. This implies that with regard to adequacy of uniforms and school instruments/resources, girls are more likely to have less uniforms and learning resources than boys and this has potential to negatively affect their performance when boys are more likely to perform better because of adequacy of uniforms and learning resources.

From the results above it can be concluded that there is largely no difference between educational outcomes of boys and girls across the two types of households. In other words, migration status does not appear to influence the educational outcomes of adolescent children left behind in the area under study. This however does not overlook the observation that in either case an adolescent girl is likely to perform less than her counterpart due to gender. The quantitative findings above were confirmed by qualitative data obtained from interviews with caregivers, stakeholders and adolescents. While there were mixed views on the effects of migration on education, participants appeared to conclude that within their settings there were minor differences between the performance of children in migrant and non-migrant households.

Caregivers observed that close parental monitoring and presence had indeed a positive effect on educational performance particularly of adolescents while some stakeholders noted the lack of concern for school work for adolescents in both types of households due to a common dream of going to South Africa to seek employment after school. Some adolescent's acknowledged that while household status could influence educational performance it was an individual's attitude and character which determined performance. Of interest is an example given by one adolescent of a girl who grew up in a migrant family and has done well to the extent of enrolling for a degree in medicine at a local University. These views are similar to those echoed by three participants below;

> *"Ukusala labantwana ikakhuklu abafana wena ungumama kunzima. Kukhona ukuthi bale ukuya esikolo ngoba bebona kungeko muntu olebhonga egumeni. Kodwa njalo abanye bayenza kuhle ngoba bethola izinto zokusebenzisa esikolo".*
>
> (Taking care of children whose father is away and especially boys is difficult. It is easy for them to drop out of school for no apparent reason. However, some do well in school especially that their father can afford to meet most of their educational requirements). **(Participant ZCM; a caregiver)**

> *"I think the performance patterns of adolescent children are the same across the households. What I think influences performance most is the shared community dream of leaving for Egoli when one grows up…… Thus why you see their aspirations and role models are linked to South Africa and Injiva kind of life*". **(Participant ZRT$_2$; a teacher in rural Plumtree**

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responding to a question on educational outcomes)

"Sir while living in a non-migrant family may promote passing at school I think it has more to do with the commitment and attitudes of the person. Some children in migrant families have done exceptionally well in school". **(Participant YUN$_4$; an adolescent living in a non-migrant household responding to a question on educational outcomes)**

These findings are consistent with the bio-ecological theory which advances that human development is a collaborative outcome of four central elements namely; the person, context, process and time, (Ettekal & Mahoney, 2017). Person factors here refer to individual characteristics such as age, gender and competency which all interact with the adolescent's ecology to affect development. The findings are also consistent with observations by Cortes (2007) that while it is generally accepted that before migration boys in poor families are usually involved in some work activities for income and while girl's help with domestic tasks, after migration girls may have more household load thereby negatively affecting their academic performance.

However, the findings contradict findings of some studies which reveal that added resources available to migrant households may help to overcome one or more of the educational obstructions that were restraining the performance of the once poor performing learners Yu *et al.* (2009). Remittances from the migrated parents are also used in enhancing performance through remedial tutoring, additional books, learning software and associated computer hardware. Results of the current study are also not in agreement with a study carried out in Ecuador which uncovered that left behind children's academic performance particularly of girls was far worse than that of children from non-migrant households (Catrinescu *et al.*, 2011).

Interesting were findings of a study carried out in Zimbabwe in an area with similar circumstances as the one under current study which revealed that educational outcomes of children in either household were influenced more by poverty (Dube, 2014). Migrants were said to be to unable to sustain even themselves due to meagre wages and hence could not afford to remit money for the education of the children left behind. Concretising on the lack of consistent and significant remitting of funds back to Zimbabwe was a study by Makina (2007) carried out in Johannesburg which revealed that most Zimbabwean migrants earned very little to sustain themselves and children left behind. The study's findings are summarised on figure 1 below. From figure 1 it is apparent that migrant parents working in South Africa from the region of interest hardly earn enough to sustain themselves let alone the households left behind. This situation has the effect of negatively affecting educational outcomes of adolescent children left behind as they are likely to drop out of school and engage in some sort of paid labour or join those across the borders to escape poverty.

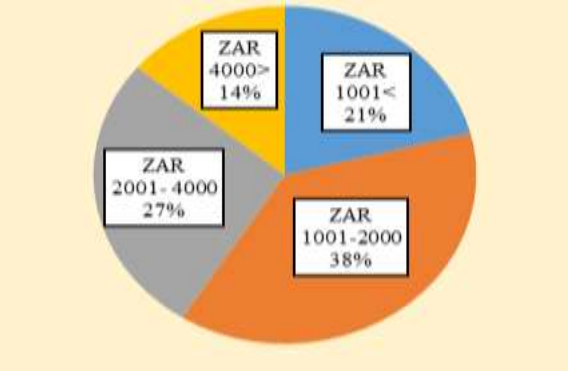

Figure 1: Gross Monthly Earnings by Zimbabweans Working in Johannesburg (adapted from Makina, 2007)

Some teachers interviewed in this study commonly averred that labour migration had a negative effect on adolescents across the community irrespective of the household in which they come from in that children left behind since there was a general community perception that migration is a better option than education. In his study Dube (2014) also revealed that adolescent learners admired and were inspired by migrant relatives and friends who appeared to be doing well in South Africa as they come back home driving and yet never attained any higher educational levels or passed even ordinary level. This admiration was seen to blur learner's perception on the value of education leading to poor educational outcomes. Several scholars have shown that role models provide youths with vital information and motivation in pursuing both educational and career goals (Valero *et al.*, 2019; & Bahman *et al.*, 2016). It therefore follows that role models can either help to promote academic achievement or hinder it.

CONCLUSION

Ecological effects of labour migration on adolescent children's educational outcomes appear to be complex and varied depending on various factors, such as gender, societal values and competencies to manage turbulences associated with adolescence. Additionally, effects of migration on adolescents left behind equally depend on migration features such as who migrates, whether the migrant parent is legally or illegally resident in the host country, whether parental migration is seasonal or long term as well as family dynamics such as the size of family and existence of the extended family. This empirical study revealed that adolescents left-behind appear to encounter and are exposed to more adverse developmental experiences than their counter parts in non-migrant households. Inversely, they also accrue a few developmental benefits from parental migration compared to their counterparts from non-migrant households. Educational outcomes of

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adolescents under study did not appear to be influenced by migration status. This was quite inconsistent with findings from earlier studies such as by Demurger (2015) and Yu *et al.* (2009) which revealed that additional income from migrant parents helped to produce more positive outcomes for adolescents left behind. This paper asserted that this inconsistence could be accounted for by the meagre remittances sent back home by migrant parents' whom Makina (2007) proved earned too little to sustain themselves and families left behind. Whereas it was uncovered that there were generally no variations in adolescents' educational outcomes relative to gender the insignificant variations where accounted for by that while girls helped with domestic tasks before migration they appeared to take up more work in the household after migration, thus compromising their educational outcomes. Disparities in educational achievement relative to gender were also been observed in earlier studies such as by Cortes (2007). The research challenged the long standing migration equals remittance narrative. In light of these findings and in pursuit of improving child care practices it might seem logical to suppose that there might be no need to take any meaningful action since there seem to be little or no measurable variance in educational outcomes of learners from either household. Indeed, it might be tempting to conclude that migration may not have any meaningful effect on school performance of adolescent children left behind. In spite this and in light of literature reviewed in this study it might be prudent to recommend that all stakeholders come aboard in trying to improve the care of children left behind and improve their learning outcomes where;

- Government can review social protection services (for example BEAM) and migration policies in line with regional and global trends and the child rights conceptual framework with a view of improving learning outcomes.
- Key community stakeholders can work together in reviving the traditional roles played by extended families in the care and protection of children in order to improve their learning outcomes.
- Schools and community institutions can include within their curriculums teaching of parenting skills to children left behind and offer tailor made guidance and services to children left behind with an objective of improving learning outcomes.
- Future studies can consider focusing on ways of improving learner views of education in the region and building resilience among children in abandoned households as well as bridging the gap in educational outcomes of girls and boys.
- Caregivers must guide adolescents in choice of role models.

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