

**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF GUIDANCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL**  
**COUNSELLING**

**ATTACHMENT, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL**  
**DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD MEMBERS OF TRANSNATIONAL**  
**FAMILIES.**

**PhD THESIS**

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**Nicosia**

**June, 2020**

**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF GUIDANCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELLING**

**ATTACHMENT, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
OF CHILD MEMBERS OF TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES.**

**PhD Thesis**

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**June, 2020**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that all information, documents, analysis and results in this thesis have been collected and presented according to the academic rules and ethical guidelines of Graduate School of Educational Sciences, Near East University. I also declare that as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced information and data that are not original to this study.

Gloria Manyeruke

...../...../.....

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

And I said to the Lord, ‘you are my God and apart from you, I have no good thing.’ Psalm 16.2. To the Lord who has brought me this far.

I would like to acknowledge my family for motivating me throughout my doctoral studies, their financial support and encouragement were an unwavering source of strength. Particularly I would like to thank my mum for her efforts in helping me mobilize the permits required for the research and participant. Special thanks to Maiguru Patie who was instrumental in identifying members of my target population.

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## **ABSTRACT**

**Attachment, psychological and educational development among child members of transnational families.**

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**Objective:** The current research investigated attachment styles, psychological wellbeing and academic development among children in transnational family arrangements in Zimbabwe.

**Methods:** Mixed method research was used to collect data from children in transnational family arrangements, teachers, Co-present caregivers and transnational parents. For the quantitative data, purposive sampling was employed to select 57 children in transnational family arrangements and 41 children in conventional two-parent households between 8 and 14 years old. Attachment Style Classification Questionnaire for latency age children, Stirling Children's Well-being Scale, Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire, Questionnaire for Evaluation of Development and Behavior were applied. The qualitative sample was chosen using snowball sampling.

**Results:** The results revealed that there were no significant differences in attachment styles, conduct problems, hyperactivity and academic development between the transnational and conventional family group. Social desirability and prosocial behavior were significantly lower in the transnational group. Children with both migrant parents had significantly lower scores for psychological wellbeing and higher scores for emotional symptoms and literacy problems compared to children with one migrant parent or conventional families.

**Discussion:** There was no difference in attachment styles and academic development which may be a reflection of the strength of the extended family in substituting parental

care. However, children in transnational family arrangements scored poorly on the prosocial subscale of psychological wellbeing which is associated with family cohesion. Parental migration negatively impacts family cohesion especially when both parents migrate. When both parents migrate the children exhibited emotional symptoms, literacy problems, poor prosocial behaviors and poor psychological wellbeing because children receive reduced social support. This study reveals that the child's age at parent's departure, family cohesion and economic security are integral to ensuring the wellbeing of children in transnational family arrangements.

**Keywords:** transnational families, children, attachment, psychological wellbeing, educational development

## ÖZ

**Uluslar ötesi ailelerin çocuk üyelerinin bağlanması, psikolojik ve eğitsel gelişimi.**

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**Amaç:** Bu çalışmanın amacı Zimbabvede yaşayan ülkeler arası aile düzenlemesi olan çocuklar arasında bağlanma stili, psikolojik iyi olma ve akademik gelişimi araştırmaktır.

**Yöntem:** Zimbabvede yaşayan, 8-14 yaşları arasında ülkeler arası aile düzenlemesi olan 57 çocuk ve iki ebeveyni ile geleneksel ev ortamı olan 41 çocuk, karma örneklem yöntemi ile araştırmaya alınmıştır. Katılımcılara, gizil dönemde çocuklar için Bağlanma Stilleri Sınıflama Soru Formu, Stirling Çocuklar için Duygusal ve Psikolojik İyi Oluş Ölçeği, Güçler ve Güçlükler Anketi, Gelişim ve Davranış Değerlendirme Ölçeği uygulanmıştır.

**Bulgular:** Bu çalışmada, ülkeler arası ve geleneksel aile grupları arasında bağlanma stili, uyum problemleri hiperaktivite ve akademik gelişim açısından anlamlı fark tespit edilmemiştir. Sosyal istenirlik ve prososyal davranış ülkeler arası grupta daha düşük bulunmuştur. Her iki ebeveyni göç etmiş çocukların bir ebeveyni göç etmiş veya geleneksel ailesi olanlara göre psikolojik iyi oluş puanları anlamlı olarak daha düşük bulunmuş olup, duygusal belirtileri ve okuma problemleri daha yüksek görülmüştür.

**Tartışma:** Bağlanma stili ve akademik gelişimde fark olmaması geniş ailenin ebeveyn bakımının güçlü şekilde yerini almasının yansıması olabilmektedir. Ancak, ülkeler arası aile yapısı olan çocuklar aile bağlılığı ile yakın ilişkili olan psikolojik iyi oluş prososyal alt ölçeğinden daha düşük puan almıştır. Aile bağlılığı ebeveyn göçünden, özellikle her iki ebeveyn birden göç ediyorsa olumsuz etkilenmektedir. Her iki ebeveyn birlikte göç ettiğinde çocuklar duygusal belirtiler, okuma problemleri, zayıf prososyal davranış ve



zayıf iyi oluş göstermektedir. Bunun nedeni çocukların daha az sosyal destek alması, yardım arayışına isteksiz olması ve orada bulunmayan ebeveynlerden kendilerini uzaklaştırmaları olabilmektedir. Sadece baba göç ettiğinde çocuklarda daha olumlu bir bakış tespit edilmiştir, çünkü anne aile bağıını korurken babanın yolladığı para da sosyal güvenliği garanti etmektedir. Bu çalışma ülkeler arası aile yapısında çocukların iyi oluşu için ebeveyn göçünde çocuğun yaşının, aile bağı ve ekonomik güvenliğin önemini göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** ülkeler arası aileler, çocuklar, bağlanma, psikolojik iyi oluş, eğitsel gelişim

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**LBC:** left behind children

**TCRA:** transnational child raising arrangement

**CHAMPSEA:** Child Health and Migrant Parents in Southeast Asia

**GMG:** Global Migration Group

**COFACE:** Confederation of Family Organizations in the European Union



## **CHAPTER I**

### **Introduction**

This chapter introduces the objectives and main problems motivating the research. It provides a contextual background, significance of the study for the study and presents research questions. Within this chapter the key terms are defined and the limitations of the study are explored.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Human beings are heavily dependent on learning in child development. Individuals learn from their environments to develop physically, emotionally, intellectually and socially. For most individuals learning begins in the family setting at home (Children's Bureau, 2017). A family is considered the basic unit of society, traditionally composed of two parents raising their offspring (Merriam-Webster, 2018). This definition has also grown to encompass various social units functioning as or equivalent to this traditional family structure such as single-parenting or blended families. The current study investigates child development within the transnational family structure. The transnational family structure is another variation of the traditional family structure. Mazzucato and Schans (2011) stated that methodologically and theoretically, the public has always defined families as nuclear and residing together in one country. Geographical proximity has always been seen as a prerequisite for family interaction. With the advent of globalization, international borders have been rendered irrelevant and this has led to large scale migration and an increase of the transnational family structure. McCarthy and Edwards (2011) define transnational families as the family ties, membership and kinship that is sustained by a network of members across multiple countries. Transnational families require the creation or maintenance of feelings of family connectedness, shared welfare and a sense of belonging extending across two or more national borders.

Transnational families have largely been considered temporary constructs because close family relations that transcend national borders are not considered as feasible (Mazzucato & Schans, 2008). Furthermore, often the desired outcome of such arrangements is the reunification of the family (Landolt & Da, 2005). The introduction

of new technologies in travel and communication has made transnational family connectedness more feasible than in earlier models of this family structure. Instant messages, emails, video calls and phone calls allow family members to maintain kinship and a sense of physical co-presence (Fesenmeyer, 2014). While the transnational family arrangement may largely be perceived as temporary, often the children left behind stay in foster care until they finish high school or tertiary education. Marking their adulthood and the beginning of independent life.

According to Erikson an individual's personality is continuously developing throughout the lifespan however latency age is important for the industry versus inferiority. At this stage individuals are asserting their competitiveness and competence through comparison of their performance in school and sports and other activities against the performance of their peers. Competitive performance at this stage refers to academic achievements, sporting and other competitive school and societal activities. Academic performance is positively associated with parental involvement in school activities (Mutodi & Ngirande, 2014). These concepts are closely linked to self-efficacy, academic performance and general competitiveness. Therefore, their personality is largely dependent on the nature of interactions in the transnational family arrangement.

The exact statistics on transnational family arrangements is unknown because of a scarcity of quantitative evidence caused by the lack of academic and policy attention to this phenomenon. However, reports by Save the Children and UNICEF indicate that approximately 25% of children in studied migrant-sending countries have at least one parent abroad (Mazzucato & Schans, 2008). In consideration of these statistics, it is imperative that more attention should be paid to this phenomenon especially in high emigrant sending countries. Transnational families are increasingly on the rise worldwide because of stringent migration policies in destination countries that hinder migration of the family as a unit and also personal preferences in societies that encourage child fostering, for example most African societies have a tradition of fostering children for their extended family (Schmalzbauer, 2008).

Zimbabwe has a population of 16.9 million people, of this population an estimated 4 million Zimbabweans reside abroad (Global forum of migration and development, 2019). According to Mugwagwa (2014), 50% of skilled labor has

migrated from Zimbabwe. It is the contention of Chikanda (2017) that Zimbabwe has become one of the leading sources of forced migration according to United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics after 2000. The economic and political instability has contributed towards economic migration from the country since parents felt like they had no choice but to migrate in order to secure better future prospects for their offspring (McGregor, 2010). Zimbabwe has gone through several economic crisis since it gained independence in 1980. The first major crisis in 1992 followed by the economic collapse of 2008 which led to the adoption of the American dollar to replace the national currency, the Zimbabwean dollar was abandoned because of hyperinflation when it reached a record high of 231 million percent inflation annually in 2008 (McGreal, 2008). Furthermore, Zimbabwe is currently facing an economic crisis since 2015 when the economic growth fell to 0.7 percent in 2016 (The World Bank, 2017). Some of the economic challenges faced by Zimbabwe are grounded in politics which has led to 141 entities and individuals in Zimbabwe being put under US and other international sanctions (Burke, 2018). Political instability is another reason for a high rate of emigration from Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans have been subjected to human and property right violations, political harassment and torture which has increased the adult attrition rate. Furthermore, as a result of the economic challenges faced by Zimbabweans, most industries have foreclosed leaving many unemployed. The unemployment rate in has reached 90% for formal employment (Davies, 2017). Against this background, there has been a large-scale migration of both skilled and unskilled labor.

Statistics from South Africa's migration offices suggests that only 43% of emigrant Zimbabweans migrate with their families against 45% who leave their families behind (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). This percentage is even higher for countries with stringent immigration laws. The current study will investigate the transnational family arrangements form when parents migrate leaving their children in their country of origin. As a result of voluntary and forced migration from Zimbabwe, child fostering practices have increased. Remittance from Zimbabwean emigrants account for 10% of the gross domestic product, an estimated 1.6 billion between 2008 and 2009. The money sent home by emigrant contributes to social remittance which includes skills and knowledge,

business network and investors. Most emigrant parents migrate with the intention of providing a better living conditions and opportunities for their children through financial support.

Political-economic factors also interact with family interactions and circumstances to encourage migration. According to Kufakurinani et al. (2014) migrant's accounts of migration decisions often describe their desire to study, have an adventure, buy property or even leave a bad marriage than political or economic factors.

Most migration in countries outside Africa is documented however most migration into Africa countries is illegal and undocumented which makes establishing the exact statistics of emigrants impossible (Akokpari, 2000). Despite the trading blocs established between African states that facilitate easy migration between their citizens, migration into other African countries is often illegal because most African countries are resistant to foreigner migration. This is because the perception that foreigners contribute to scarcity of employment opportunities as well as increase in criminal activities. The illegal resident status of parents also makes the migration of the family as the unit unfeasible. South Africa and Britain are the top importers of Zimbabwean labor (Akokpari, 2000). In 2013, 36.8% of permanent resident permits issued by the South African government were awarded to Zimbabweans (statistics South Africa 26 March 2013, p 15).

While reunification was mostly considered the goal of transnational families, however stringent immigration laws and financial factors may be a hindrance to reunification. Permanent emigration is constantly becoming a trend (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). Even when parents migrate permanently, some parents still prefer for their children to reside in their home country. Despite the political torture, human and property rights abuse and economic upheaval experienced in Zimbabwe, some parents prefer to leave their children in the home countries when they migrate (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). This may be a result of restrictionist policies in key destination countries such as South Africa, Botswana and UK. Decisions to leave children behind may also be motivated by financial challenges (McGregor, 2010). Migrants may also have illegal residential status in the host country or challenges with asylum application which may lengthen the time of separation.

Kufakurinani et al. (2014) assert that many parents consider the decision to leave their children behind positive because of the perceived expenses associated with raising children in these countries as well as their suitability. Some parents also prefer this family arrangement because of the cultural decay associated with raising a child in a foreign culture. Cultures of parenting, child rights and gender equality enshrined in most Western cultures is contrary to African values which emphasize patriarchy, discipline and parental authority (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). These cultural values are so important that some migrant families can send children back to Africa to be disciplined (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). Furthermore, factors like xenophobia, violence against foreigners and intolerance contribute to such decision making. Education in Zimbabwe is also affordable especially compared to the international student fees the parents would have to pay if they migrate with their children. This could motivate parents to opt to leave their children behind when migrating despite the disadvantages associated with family separation. Amid the upheaval being experienced in Zimbabwe, the education sector has managed to retain ranking as one of the best in Africa. The Global Information Technology Report prepared by The World Economic Forum in 2016 rates Zimbabwe fourth in Africa on the index of mathematics and science education and fifth on quality of Education.

Transnational families are a model of family units that maintain collectivism despite geographical dispersion characterized by international borders (COFACE, 2012). There are various types of transnational living arrangements including; both parents migrating and leaving the children with relatives or at boarding schools or at properties owned by parent under self-supervision or the care of an employed third party (Mazzucato & Schans, 2008). There are cases of single parent migration, where the remaining parent is the mother. She takes care of the child but often when it's the father, the children may be entrusted to a relative. According to Serra (2009), fostering is a familiar concept in Africa. Child fostering is the temporary transfer of child care responsibilities to a third party. In Sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated one third of non-orphaned children reside with non-parent individuals such as relatives. It is viewed as a mutually advantageous practice for the migrant parent and the fostering family. It is essentially the exchange of resources and services.

Child fostering is the transfer of responsibilities associated with child rearing from the biological parents to other people. This practice is common in Sub-Saharan African communities. It often involves sharing of parental rights and responsibilities among the extended family. In Sub-Saharan Africa fostering families are mostly relatives. According to Global Immigration Group (GMG, 2016), migrants often desert their home countries with the primary objective of supporting their family. Migrants support their families through the remittance they send home however, these remittances cannot resolve the social challenges faced by the family members that remained in their country of origin. According to the GMG (2016), social care systems do not have the capacity to provide the assistance required by such individuals. When both parents of the child migrate, the child might be left in the care of aging grandparents, extended family or left to fend for themselves (GMG, 2016). Recently there has been an increase in parents leaving their children in the care of schools or in the care of a paid non-relative guardian residing at properties owned by the parents.

According to Derby (2010), children who felt abandoned by their parents and in some cases responded by detaching themselves from the parent that left. Such feelings might lead to unwanted behavior such as quitting school or gang involvement. Therefore, for migrants who left to ensure better opportunities for their children, the unintended consequences of their migration might include a strained relationship with their children and a loss of educational opportunities for their children. Absence reduces child-parent attachment and closer supervision from the parents, the development of the child, especially as regards education is likely to be disrupted.

Various studies have characterized the ongoing parental absence associated with the transnational as having long term negative consequences on the social, academic and psychological development on the individual that perpetuate into adulthood (Jampaklay, et al., 2018). Often financial constraints influence parent's decision to migrate. Research by Farrell et al. (2017) revealed that poverty is one of the leading causes of maltreatment of children therefore parental migration for financial reasons is advantageous to the child. Poverty within the home was found to be positively correlated to abuse and maltreatment of children. Similar research also revealed absence of biological parents to be positively correlated to maltreatment as well as physical, verbal and other forms of

abuse. Father absence has been revealed to be a significant predictor of drug abuse, violence and anti-social behavior. According to Glynn and Addaction (2011), children of absent fathers are 80.3% more likely to take part in anti-social behavior, 76.4% more likely to be involved in crime and 69.1% more likely to become drug abusers. Children with absent mothers typically display anger manifested in mood swings, physical aggression and difficulties interacting with peers. Delinquency and hyper activity were the other effects discovered in the research by Hu et al. (2018) and Bakker (2009). According to the National Bureau of Economic research (2019), the two leading causes of maltreatment of children were poverty and absence of parents which leaves emigrating parents to make precarious decisions. The decision between staying with one's offspring or leaving to fend for their offspring in this light may simply be a matter of choosing a lesser evil.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This research aims the effects of the transnational family arrangement on left behind children. It focuses on child development during the latent years on the dimensions of attachment, psychological wellbeing and academic development. The research explores the advantages and disadvantages of the different types of transnational family arrangements such as transnational mother, transnational father and both migrant parents. The development of left behind children is measured against children in conventional two parent households. The study aims to provided a resource to aid parents making migration decisions and establish good fostering arrangements for left behind children. It also aims to serve as a resource to teachers and guardians of left behind children as well the society at large to help them understand the experiences of left behind children and support them effectively.

The sections that follow aim to provide an overview of the research question the study intends to address as well as the research parameters.

### **Research Questions**

1. What is the nature of the attachment styles of children living in transnational family arrangements?

2. What are the effects of the transnational family arrangement on the child's psychological wellbeing?
3. What is the effect of membership in transnational families on academic development?
4. What factors influence psychological wellbeing among children in transnational arrangements?
5. What measures can be taken to ensure the physical and psychological wellbeing of children in transnational families?

### **Significance of the Study**

This study aims to explore the nature of transnational families in Zimbabwe as well as investigate the effects of transnational family arrangements on developing children in Zimbabwe. There have been numerous researches into this phenomenon, however very few studies focused to the effect of the family structure on the developing children. This study also represents a comparison between different transnational family arrangements which is lacking in literature (Portes, 2001). It also compares the development of children in transnational family arrangements and children in conventional family arrangements. The research seeks to create awareness of the vulnerability and needs of children living in transnational family arrangements as well as the advantages of this family arrangement. The coping strategies used by children and parents to mediate the effects of separation will also be investigated. This information will be beneficial to both parents, guardians and educators. The increase of the population warrants an investigation into the welfare of such individuals.

The study of the educational and psychological development of child members of transnational families is necessitated by the increase in the trend towards transnational family structures especially in countries facing crisis. Familial relations in this structure are complex including feelings of shame and guilt, abandonment, happiness and anger. These feelings would be even more confusing for the developing child. The needs of children in this family structure should be investigated to enable parents, guardians and teachers to provide adequate care for these developing individuals. Many researchers have found that parental involvement in their children's education contributes to



improved academic performance as well as discipline among the children (Mutodi & Ngirande, 2014; Morera, et al., 2015). This study investigates how migrant parents are meeting the need for involvement in their children's lives without being actually present. It will also highlight the role of the guardian in the transnational family structure. It also aims to investigate how the remittance sent back by migrant parents contribute to child development. The researcher believes the interaction between the effects of parental absenteeism and remittance should be studied to give a comprehensive understanding of the transnational family structure in countries in crisis.

Furthermore, emigration of a family member may lead to social vulnerability for the remaining family members. The remaining family members may be vulnerable to discrimination or disempowerment which is associated with a fall in academic prowess and vulnerability to human trafficking (GMG, 2016). This reveals the vulnerability of child members of transnational families and suggests that special care should be paid to ensure the health and safety of these children.

The preceding sections discussed emigration from Zimbabwe to give a background of the motivation of such family arrangements, it also highlighted the structure and effects of transnational family arrangements. All these concepts are further discussed in the literature review chapter.

### **Limitations**

The limitations of this study include the small sample size which limits the generalizability of the results. The results cannot be generalized to countries with different migration trends. Furthermore, concepts like attachment are largely viewed as cultural and it would be useful to conceptualize them for the African setting. Despite these limitations I believe this research still has merit and will contribute positively to the understanding of child development in the transnational family setting.

### **Definitions**

Transnational family: a family structure in which one or more members of the family reside outside national borders but continue to maintain close ties (Schmalzbauer 2004).

Migrant: any person who moves across a state or international border from where they habitually reside regardless of their legal status, cause of movement, length of stay or if the stay is voluntary or forced (International Organization for Migration IOM, 2020).

Fostering: the transfer of parental responsibilities from the biological parents to other people (Serra, 2009).

Remittance: a sum of money sent as a gift or payment (Lexico, 2020).

Conventional family arrangements: methodologically and theoretically, families that are nuclear, living together, and bounded by the nation state (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the background of the of study to reveal the significance of the research. The continued prevalence of this family structure reveals the importance of research into this phenomenon. The research questions are listed and the significance of the study is explained. Key terms were also identified and defined.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter is designed to give insight into transnational family dynamics and the different types of transnational family arrangements. It also looks into the institution of family in the African context as well as the child fostering. Effects of one parent absence, transnational father, transnational mother and the effects of migration of both parents is explored. The impact of the caregiver and the exchange of care within the transnational family on the developing child. The impact of parental migration on emigrant sending countries as well as transnational families in Zimbabwe are explored. The theoretical framework on which the thesis is based is explained and the chapter ends with the exploration of the results of similar studies in Sub-Saharan Africa and around the globe.

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### ***The transnational family***

There are various transnational family structures such as transnational couples, migrant parents and migrant children or siblings (Fesenmyer, 2014). Transnational couple have one spouse leaving abroad, migrant parents involve a single or both parents living abroad and their children living in their home country and lastly migrant children/sibling involve an offspring or sibling migrating from the family cluster in their home country. For the purposes of this research transnational families refer to parental migrants. According to the Confederation of Family Organizations in the European Union (COFACE, 2012), transnational families are characterized by separation of family members for some time or most of the time. Transnational families maintain a feeling of collective unity, welfare and familyhood despite their separation. The transnational family became common as more individuals migrate and leave family members such as partners and children in their country of origin, therefore, a new dimension was added to the family social unit that acknowledges that families can continue to exist void of physical contact.

Shih (2015) indicated that transnational families are created either voluntarily or involuntarily. Voluntary transnational family arrangements encompass those created as a

result of the desire for education or employment migration and the will to improve living conditions for the family unit especially the increased ability to improve the future trajectories of their offspring by working abroad or sending children to study abroad, however migration can also be forced. Involuntary transnational family arrangements are created by escaping violence, war or persecution and other uncontrollable factors (Mazzucato and Schans, 2011). The COFACE states that understanding the motivation of migration is key. Transnational Child Raising Arrangements TCRA (2014) highlighted that of the nine billion people that will be inhabited the world by 2050 up to 3% will be migrants. Reports by UNICEF and Save the children approximate that in certain emigrant-sending countries as high as 25% of children have at least one parent living abroad. Transnational families are created as a result of stringent immigration policies and the personal preferences of the parents (TCRA, 2014). Despite the transnational families accounting for such high percentages of emigrant sending counties, this phenomenon lacks both academic and policy interventions (Mazzucato and Schans, 2011).

According to Bryceson and Vuorela (2002), transnational families are capable of surviving multiple social mutations because they can redefine themselves. Their ability to reconstitute and redefines themselves depends on the practicality of family arrangement over distance and also their ability to meet each other's emotional and financial-material needs. Fesenmeyer (2014) highlighted that the transnational family provides evidence that co-residence is not necessary for family-making. Technology has provided travel and communication modes that are cheaper and readily available. Phone calls, instant text messaging, emails provide a quick way to communication while videocalls offered by skype, WhatsApp, Facebook or facetime provide an approximation of a sense of co-presence between the kinsmen. Cheaper and safer travel options allow families to visit each other more frequently.

### ***Transnational family arrangements***

According to Shih (2015), transnational families are physically separated by two or more state boundaries but still continue to maintain close relationships and ties. This type of family arrangement has been the subject of research since the 1900s.

Transnational families take various forms such as migrant fathers, migrant mother with children left in their home country. There might also be migrant children or any variation that separates the family members into two or more groups. The effects of transnational family arrangements are differentiated by legal regime, technology, gender, class and generation among other factors are influence this family arrangement (Carling, et al., 2012).

According to Landolt and Da (2005), transnational family arrangements have been largely considered temporary construct with the ultimate aim being reunification. However, recent research has revealed that immigration decisions are mostly made on the basis on the needs of the family members. Migration is believed to affect the migrant sending country in terms of the effects of the remittance being sent from abroad on the household (Adams & Page, 2005; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). Parental migration also affects the wellbeing of individual family members on the psychological, education and health indices (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011).

Transnational children are cared for by relatives, friends and at times payed caregivers but the arrangements allow the biological parents to maintain involvement in the raising of their offspring. There are also transnational family arrangements where one parent emigrates. Hugo (2002) in studies of transnational families in Indonesia highlighted that the success of the transnational family arrangement was influenced by the availability of extended family or friends to support and take up the task vacated by the migrant parent or parents. The fostering arrangements are important to mediating between the child and negative consequences associated with parental absence. There are four types of transnational family arrangements: children left in the care of extended family, those left in the care of non-kin caregivers, though raised by the non-migrant parent and transnational children who care for themselves.

According to Poeze et al. (2016), for the transnational families to function non-migrant and migrant members must both take part in productive and reproductive work. Reproductive work encompasses caring work and productive work refers to kin work in maintaining relationships and mutual obligations (Zontini, 2004). The need for kinwork suggest that kinship relationships does not automatically translate to being kin. Being kin is intentional, time-consuming and requires skills implemented on a daily basis

(Poeze, et al., 2016). In the absence of face to face interaction there is need for deliberate measures to be taken to overcome the distance challenge. New information technologies enable transnational families to recreate family ties and emotional togetherness despite being separated by distance. This reconstruction of family ties across borders is mediated by their access to transnational mobility, communication and resources. Transnational care arrangements and practices are based on the culturally appropriate family responsibility of care (Carling & Drotbohm, 2012; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011).

### *African families*

The discussion above was based on the stereotypical Western view of family however differences have been identified between the Western view of family and the African view. The families in Africa have certain distinct features such as the importance of the extended family, strong division of gender roles, multilocal residence of both married couples and their children as well as loyalty to lineal relationships over conjugal relationships (Beauchemin, et al., 2015). Pilon and Vignikin state that African Demographic and Health Surveys reveal that 9 to 35% of African households foster children.

In some Africa countries, filial relationships encompass both family and social bonds where child rearing is the responsibility of the entire village, kin and non-kin individuals (Poeze, et al., 2016). Biological parents and their extended family members share parental duties and rights. Such kinship fostering practices reinforce family ties and encourage collective cost sharing (Isuago-Abanile, 1994). In 2010, 16.4% of Ghanaian children lived in fostering arrangements (GSS, 2012). Despite a tradition of fostering in the African context, it is difficult to mobilize caregivers and establish a child care system in the transnational family arrangement.

The traditional fostering system was characterized by fostering children in rural areas when their parents were away in urban areas for work in the same country. Children in this arrangement are fostered by extended family members. There are also parents who send their children to be fostered by extended family in urban areas to enable them to have access to better opportunities for development. According to Alber (2003), fostering agreements are informal however they include rights and

responsibilities for each of the members. These rights and responsibilities are based on a trusting relationship and they are negotiable. However, for transnational family arrangements distance hinders the maintenance of trusting relationships is made difficult the expenses associated with regular visits and other disadvantages resulting from geographic distance. Furthermore, most caregivers in transnational family arrangements live in urban areas which limits their access to support from extended family members on childrearing practices unlike in rural settings. Furthermore, parents in transnational family arrangements object to their children being used for household help and focus on the benefits like high-quality education unlike parents in the traditional fostering system. Furthermore, migrant parents are perceived to be more economically affluent which increases the expected financial contribution to the fostering family.

Transnational parents send remittance to facilitate better opportunities for their children in the form of high-quality education as well as improved living standards. However geographic distance affords the caregivers freedom to mistreat the transnational child or utilize the remittance for personal gain. This challenge makes grandmothers the most preferred caregivers in both transnational and national fostering arrangements (Dreby, 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). The trust for this age group is based partially on the fact that they have few commitments or life goals that would interfere with the care of their grandchildren at this stage in their lives. Care encompasses both attention and resources invested in the transnational children by the caregiver. Often migrant couples prefer to send their children to be fostered by maternal grandmothers than paternal grandmothers (Poeze, et al., 2016). The choice of caregiver is also determined by the gender and age of the child for example grandparents are caring for younger children but lack disciplinary authority required by adolescents. Adolescents are generally entrusted to younger caregiver and adolescent boys would likely be left in the care of male relatives to ensure they receive proper discipline. Adolescent boys can even be moved from the care of their birth mothers. Choice of caregiver is also influenced by factors like proximity to quality schools, number of children in the household and level of education of the caregiver (Poeze, et al., 2016). Most research indicates the pivotal role of female relatives and grandparents in transnational family dynamics however, Kofman and Raghuran

(2012) advocate for research into interhousehold dynamics, communities, markets and also states when analyzing transnational family in the global south.

While fostering children of migrant parents is considered a kinship obligation there are also expectations placed on the migrant parents which range from financing construction of a house, capital to start a business and even financing the migration of the caregiver's children. In this light fostering children also improves the caregiver's social status. These expectations are often unspoken.

### ***Fostering challenges***

Caregivers often experience challenges that are associated with finances such that the remittances are not sufficient or do not meet the expectations of the caregiver. The complains children raise to their migrant parents over the quality of care they receive are also another challenge that caregivers experience.

Authority is another challenge experienced in the transnational family arrangement. Children in this family arrangement are free to report care behaviors of the caregiver to their parents which delimits the authority that the caregiver has. Parents remain involved in the daily life and decision making of their children's lives and this creates an inverted power relationship between the older children and their guardian (Poeze, et al., 2016). Power struggles within this family structure are influence by factor such as trust between the parent and the guardian as well as the relationship between the guardian and the child. Child who stay with the guardian from a younger become more attached to them and regular visits from parents helps create trusting relationships between parents and caregivers.

### ***Parental absence***

Research on the effect of transnational family arrangements on children investigated variables like economic outcomes, psychological effects, parent and child characteristics (Schmalzbauer, 2008). The transnational family can either comprise of one parent absence or both parents' absence. With both parents absent, female relatives accounted for 86% of the caregivers in transnational family arrangements. The sections below address the absence of one parent.



***One parent absence.*** Zhang et al. (2014) stated that a third of children in China have at least one noncustodial parent because of migration. Furthermore, half of this population have both parents who migrated. Zhang et al. (2014) indicated that parental absence is associated with increased earning which provides larger remittance to spent on education, household budgets and reduce child labor. Parental migration increases the migration prospects of the remaining children. Zhang et al. (2014) assert that children suffer a reduction of approximately 5.1% in their test score because of parental absence of both parents. On the other hand, there is much smaller difference child performance if only one parent is absence since the other parent can substitute the roles of the absent parent. According to Zhang et al. (2014), one parent absence impacts the educational inputs such as study time, enrollment and schooling attainment.

Most research focus on transnational mothers separated from their family for employment purposes (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Dreby, 2010; Parrenas, 2001). Transnational families are overrepresented in the care sector with most of the employees being woman and mothers. However, this profession has also increased its male membership. The emigration of care workers usually also corresponds to the drain of care in the emigrant sending countries. COFACE (2012) highlighted that most research focuses on the advantages offered by remittances without considering the impact of this loss. The care arrangements arranged for transnational children are discussed below.

Research suggests that there are gendered differences in the reasons of migration, conditions of migration as well as the effects of migration. These differences are discussed in the two subsequent subheadings. According to Caarls et al. (2018), the disparities between the social networks of women and men give the two group different propensities to migrate, motivations for migration as well as different migration experiences and opportunities in host countries.

***Transnational mothers.*** Caarls et al. (2018) state that transnational mothers are often single mothers who had children earlier in life and have children from multiple relationships. Dreby and Adkins (2010) state that although most literature on migration historically mostly focused on men, women accounted from almost 50% of international migration since the 1960s. Parrenas (2001) asserts that the main reason for the

increasing feminine nature of migration was the global division of labor which opened a market for cheap female labor as care and domestic workers primarily in the global north. Studies among Filipino women reveal that transnational mothers sometimes migrate to escape difficult marriages (Constable, 2003) while studies in Ghana revealed that when women migrate alone, this increase the chances of divorce than when a man migrates alone (Caarls & Mazzucato, 2015).

According to Malmusi et al. (2010) women from all social classes experience great financial deprivation, worse health status and worse working conditions than migrant men. Transnational mothers also have an increase likelihood of striving to send more remittances to their children despite the sacrifice it requires (Abrego, 2009).

Transnational mothers are believed to endure long and painful separation from their children in order to enable them to provide financial and other material resources required to facilitate better living and developmental conditions for their children. Factors that contribute to the infrequent visits include: the fear of losing steady employment, difficulties in taking time off and the expenses associated with international travel (Shih, 2015). When mothers migrate, children are often left in the care of other female kinsmen while their mothers are employed to care for other people's children. Shih (2015) asserted that transnational mothers experience ambivalent feelings of present absentness where they are physically present in the host country but mentally or spiritually absent. Hondageneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) stated that these ambivalent feelings is common to all members of transnational families.

Similar to conventional family arrangements, the transnational family abides to traditional gender expectations where motherhood is synonymous to caregiving responsibilities and fatherhood to financial responsibility (Parrenas, 2005a; Dreby, 2010). Transnational mothers are usually criticized by the society for abandoning their motherly duties. When this guilt is internalized, the transnational mother views themselves as bad mothers. They focus on their ability to provide financially while ignoring the emotional cost of this family arrangement. To cope with feelings of guilt and blame transnational mothers have to transform the meaning and role of mothers to accommodate for spatial and temporal separation from the offspring and family (Hondageneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parrenas, 2001). This represents a rejection of the

traditional view that biological mothers should physically see to their children's needs. They are actively involved in their children's lives even though they are absent and this differentiates transnational mothers from estranged mothers and mothers who abandon their offspring.

Transnational mothers offer financial compensation and they are involved emotionally with the caregivers fostering their children. The maintenance of good relationships with the individuals fostering their children is of utmost importance to securing the wellbeing of their children. Transnational mothers constantly worry about the emotional and physical wellbeing of their children. Abuse, proper nutrition, adequate educational support, moral guidance and neglect are also constant worries associated with being a transnational mother.

If the mother is the transnational parent the children are more likely to be left in the care of a mature female relative such as a grandmother or aunt (Shih, 2015). Contrary to that, according to Graham et al. (2012) indicated that when mothers migrate in Bangladesh, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia, the father assumes the mothering roles. According to Graham and Jordan (2011), children left in their father's care are less likely to suffer from conduct problem as compare to children residing with both parents. The effects of long-term separation on the structure of the family are unknown. Graham et al. (2012) also indicate that when the fathers take the nurturing role, another family member is also asked to provide assistance. The enlisted family member is usually female or a close female friend, this individual would assume the main caring duties in the absence of the mother (Parrenas, 2010). Mothers are also seen to try and continue the nurturing duties from a distance while transnational fathers do not accommodate for distance in the performance of fatherly duties from a distance (Parrenas, 2008).

According to Yeoh (2009) the migration of mother requires more adjustment to care arrangements within the family than paternal migration. Children are more likely to gain more economically when their mother migrates than their father however, children experience more emotional problems when their mother migrates than their father (Parrenas, 2005a). Children of migrant mothers are likely to experience anger, confusion, worry and feelings of abandonment or being unloved (Parrenas, 2005a). Battistella and Conaco (1998) state that the absence of the mother results in lower

academic performance as well as poor social adjustment. Overseas migration has become increasingly female creating a crisis of care in emigrant sending countries (Parrenas, 2005b) however, there is no scholarly consensus about the adverse social and emotional effects of the family that remains in the home country (Graham, et al., 2012).

80% of children left behind by transnational mothers in Indonesia were left in the care of their biological fathers. In the CHAMPSEA study more than 50% of transnational children were left in the care of their father rather than nonparental caregivers. This shows that the choice of caregiving arrangement differs according to cultural expectations. However, Turner (2008) states that the mobility that characterizes transnational family arrangements can create liminality and ambiguity or indeterminacy that forces how the family functions to change.

**Transnational fathers.** If the father is the transnational parent then often the mother is the parent taking care of the children. Emigration among male members of society are a way of minimizing social risk that would result from unemployment and poverty, also provide social security for their families. The family would experience long paternal absence alternating with short visitations in between work periods. Prolonged absence of the father-figure requires a renegotiation of social roles to enable the family to function effectively. In most countries, fatherhood is associated with being a bread winner however there is a growing diversity within family gendered roles (Fialkowska, 2019). Authority, economy, sexuality defense with aggression are characteristics associated with masculinity and fatherhood.

Transnational arrangement with migrant father were revealed to result in reduced study hours for the children as well as increased working hours (Antman, 2011). Cheng (2015) and Chang et al (2011) in studies on Chinese emigrants found that the children left behind spend more time on household chores. Paternal migration is associated with the nonmigrant family experiencing financial difficulties, reduced access to food (Simth-Estelle & Gruskin, 2003), more loneliness and isolation as well as discipline problems among the transnational children.

Research suggests that most transnational fathers slowly disengaged from emotional involvement with the family to function as nominal father also known as a

father by the cheque (Fialkowska, 2019). Maintenance of emotional connections between transnational fathers and their children was difficult. Despite the emotional disconnect children experience in their father's absence, when transnational fathers return, they take up authority positions without accounting for their prolonged absence and changes in family functions. Therefore, often their visits were viewed to be a disruption of the family's life which results in tension. In contrast, Carling and Tonnessen (2013) as well as Poeze and Mazzucato (2012) indicate that African and Latin American transnational fathers maintain involvement in child rearing if they remain married to the mother. Pribilsky (2004) and Waters (2009) asserts that separation from their children negatively impacts the psychological wellbeing of these transnational fathers.

The relationship between the migrant father and children are predictive of educational outcomes (Nobles, 2011). When the father migrates this increases the work load for the mother since she has both caring and productive responsibilities (Hugo, 2002). The increase of responsibilities for the mother also results in increased responsibilities for children such as chores. Furthermore, this decreases the quality of care provided by the mother and also the children may feel a lack of attention because the co-present parent is always busy. These mothers also struggle to discipline their children (Graham, et al., 2012).

Effects of father absence is also dependent on the cultural norms and context for example children of migrant fathers in Thailand and Indonesia were revealed to suffer negative psychological effects from the separation but in Vietnam and the Philippines there was not significant difference between children of migrate fathers and children of nonemigrant fathers (Graham & Jordan, 2011).

### ***Caregiver***

According to Mazzucato and Schans (2011), the caregiver is a factor that is of pivotal importance to the study of the wellbeing of children in transnational family arrangements. According to Mazzucato et al. (2015), caregivers enable the effective function of the transnational family by mediating between the child and the parent. It is expected that parental migration will cause reconfiguring in child-care arrangements and

overtime the child would form attachment to the caregiver (Schmalzbauer, 2004). According to Smith, Lalonde and Johnson (2004), changes are also expected in the child's perception of authority figures. Caregiver may be relatives such as maternal or paternal grandmother and paternal or maternal aunts (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). Caregivers can also be non-kin relations such as friends, pastors or other fellow church members or even hired help (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). These new members should also be added to the nuclear family when considering the transnational family arrangement. Lahaie et al. (2009) highlighted that children left in self-care are three times more likely to exhibit academic and behavioral problems than children in other care arrangements.

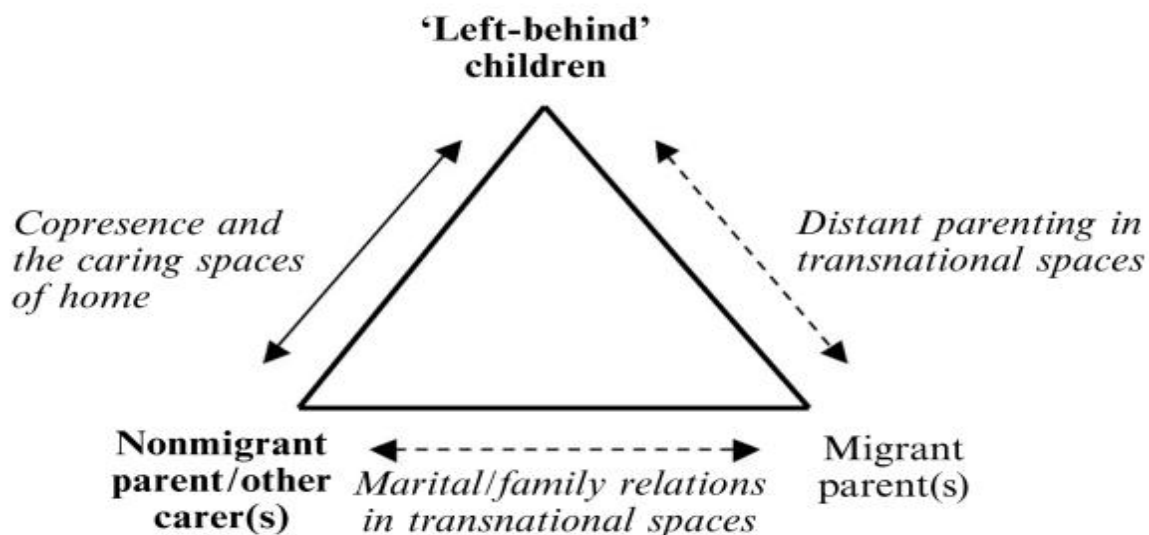
The fostering parents provides care, financial and emotional support for the children in the absence of the birth parents, these factors are believed to help the child understand their parent's absence (Dankyi, 2014). According to Fresnoza-Flot (2009), caregivers are key factor influencing the functioning of transnational families. Dreby and Adkins (2010) assert that geographic distance may disrupt power dynamics within the family which result in conflict and inequality. Frequently migrant parents worry about potential child abuse or neglect, misuse of finance, loss of authority, maternal status and even decision-making power (Akeson, et al., 2012; Bernhard, et al., 2005; Dreby 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Moran-Taylor, 2008). On the other hand, caregivers are concerned with the insufficiency of remittances, authority problems and protracted care arrangements (Dankyi, 2014; Dreby, 2010; Moran-Taylor, 2008). Parents and caregivers maintain a relationship of reciprocity and trust which are informal. The stability of the fostering and living arrangement of the child is one of the factors influencing child wellbeing (Mazzucato, et al., 2015)

### ***Exchange of care in the transnational family arrangement***

Relations in the transnational family are centered around 3 main players: the child left-behind, migrant parent(s) and co-present carer(s).

Figure 1

*The care triangle in Graham et al. (2012)*



Each side of this triangle represents a variety of sociospatial practices as well as material space which can be transitory or continuous. The three groups have to negotiate local and transnational factors that influence the experience of exchange of care in transnational families.

COFACE (2012) stated that transnational families engage in the exchange of care as is common in nuclear families that reside together however the arrangement of these exchanges is different. According to Baldassar (2007a), care in the transnational family arrangement includes provision for financial needs, practical help as well as emotional and moral support however Parrenas (2005a) states that the greatest challenge faced by the transnational family members is maintaining intimacy (Baldassar, 2008). Transnational family members dependent heavy on telephones to reconstitute their role as an effective parent. Madianou and Miller (2011) refer to this phenomenon as ‘Mobile phone parenting’. Communication technology advancement allow parents especially mothers to micro-manage their children’s lives from a distance. This communication empowers transnational parents to manage their children’s homework, meals and even disciplinary issues.

Through the different modern-day communication modes facilitated by mobile phones and other communication devices such as video calling, instant messages and

voice calls, transnational family can maintain caring relationships like conventional family arrangements. Emails, photos, videos and letters are also other forms of communication that facilitate the exchange of care in transnational family arrangements. While technology has facilitated easier communication between transnational family members, it has also created expectations such that failure to communicate with the family left behind may be interpreted as abandonment and lack of care (Graham, et al., 2012). This increased pressure on migrant mothers who may be expected to maintain their nurturing role from a distance in addition to their productive role. These expectations differ according to the family's financial status where more affluent families expect regular communication but poorer families consider regular communication a luxury (Graham, et al., 2012).

Graham et al. (2012) state that communication within the transnational family arrangements may be limited by financial resources, restrictions emanating from migrant parent's employment setting as well as the control exerted by the co-present adult. Emotional pain associated with constant communication may also hinder this mode of exchange of care for example children who are constantly pleading with their parents to come home. According to Wilding (2006) and Baldassar, (2007b), phone communication can also create expectations for visits or gifts which are not feasible.

Another way in which transnational families exchange care is through communication. The lack of co-residence and face to face conduct, long-distance communication becomes the primary means care exchange and intimacy. However, communication is also carefully managed in transnational families, parents select information to diverge to their children as well as the caregiver. Migrant parents stress the importance of communication in this family structure since what the children say is used to measure the quality of the care-giving arrangement. Maltreatment and negligence may require the parent to change the care-giving arrangement where possible. However apart from grandmother, most caregivers feel that if transnational children are in constant contact with their parent, this will limit the care-giver's decision-making authority since the parent expect to be consulted on every decision concerning the child.



In contrast with child-rearing national where the foster parent makes decisions about the child, in transnational family arrangements the parent retains control and influence over the child-care (Mazzucato & Schans 2011). This may result in the care-giver feeling unappreciated and distrusted especially if the parent makes decisions about child-care without consulting the care-giver. Feelings of being distrusted may cause the care-giver to hide the insufficiency of funds or deviant behavior of the child and only discuss the benefits of the arrangement. As the child goes older the migrant parents would seek to improve communication by buying a phone for their child to ensure unsupervised communication with their child. This is a particularly disadvantageous position for the care-giver since all events would be only reported from the child's perspective.

Transnational families are an evolving institution of human interdependence (Bryceson, 2019). The interdependence is based on the fulfillment of individual members' material and emotional needs. Support in this family structure should be multi-dimensional, spatial and temporal support. It should also provide motivation for the individual members to progress in their divided lives. For example, the needs and aspiration of family members in the home country provide motivation for the emigrants to work while the migrant family members provide motivation and strategic assistance for those in the host country to work towards their aspiration or migration.

Financial remittance is one of the ways in which the transnational family sustains emotional and material needs. These remittances are a symbol of the migrant parent's continued presence in their absence. They enable the caregiver to provide for the child's needs such as clothing, food, tuition and even medical costs. The migrant parent remains financially responsible for their child. Remittance are used by migrant parents as a means of maintaining intimacy, control and influence of the children left behind such that they can be used to discipline the child (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). However, the exact amount of remittance associated with this financial responsibility are not addressed or discussed caregiver (Poeze, et al., 2016). This partly the result of the expectation versus the actual financial rewards of migration on both the migrant parent and the caregiver. Caregivers shy away from negotiating financial contribution because they do not want to seem greedy since fostering is a social obligation for kinship (Dankyi, 2014).

Interviews with school teachers attest that some of the material things provided by parents to compensate for their absence are more detrimental than beneficial to their development. For example, iPods and play stations which were mostly only used in class by these children (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014).

The relationship between the child and the spatially proximate caregivers is a key factor that influences the experience of family (Graham, et al., 2012). Affection and expressions of love are often sort from the co-present carer by the child left-behind.

### ***Effects of child membership in transnational family arrangements***

Schmalzbauer (2008) indicated that the benefits of parental migration are dependent on the characteristics of the parent and the child. Several studies have investigated the effects of parental migration on the developing child (Mazzucato, et al., 2015; Wen & Lin, 2012; Graham & Jordan, 2011). Studies in Ghana and Nigeria did not report any differences in psychological health between children in transnational family arrangements and children in living with both parents. Several research studies suggest that children experience more challenges when the migrant parent is the mother than when the father is the migrant parent (Graham & Jordan, 2011).

Qualitative researches carried out in Asia and Latin America have revealed that child members of transnational families often suffer from anxiety, anger, feelings of abandonment as well as shame. In some cases, transnational children might feel abandoned by their biological parents, feelings of rejection may cause them to distance themselves from the absent parent (Dreby, 2007). It also increases the likelihood of these children quitting school or getting involved in undesirable gang activities (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). Transnational parents also worry about the children left behind becoming drug addicts, emotional distressed or spendthrift (Asis, 2006). Studies of transnational families in Indonesia revealed that children in transnational family arrangements reported to be less happy than children in conventional family arrangements. Filipino transnational children were more likely to do nothing if they were feeling sad or lonely than children with co-present parents (Graham, et al., 2012). A study by Graham et al. (2012) interviewed transnational children and discovered that most children in transnational family arrangements were vulnerable because of lack of emotional support

or reluctance to seek social support in the absence of their parent(s) especially the mother.

Mazzucato and Schans (2011) state that the nuclear family should not be assumed to be the best family structure. Transnational family arrangement may be a preference based on child rearing norms in the native country (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). Bledsoe and Sow (2011) stated that parents sometimes send their children back to their country of origin because of disciplinary issues. This move is intended to reconnect the child with their home culture and family. Socialization norms are one of the reasons why the transnational family arrangement may be the preferred family structure. While cultural norms are important however these norms are also changed as a result of this family structure.

According to Smith et al. (2004), transnational family arrangements are believed to produce negative effects on the child's behavior and self-esteem as well as the ties between the parents and the child. Other psychology symptoms have been noticed later in life as noted by Morgan that there was separation from parents increase an individual's susceptibility to psychological disorders in adulthood.

Research by TCRA (2014) suggests that there is no real danger in leaving children behind when migration, this is contrary to popular Western beliefs that separation from parents is detrimental to the child's wellbeing. These results are believed to be based on three key factors: a stable care arrangement, characteristics of the child and parents and visitation and good living conditions. Olwig (2002) indicated that transnationalism may represent social mobility for all the family members that may or may not be linked to family reunification.

Children in transnational family arrangements often detach themselves from the parent that left which is another reason why migrant parent struggle to maintain emotional ties with the children left in their home countries (Graham, et al., 2012). Research done among children in transnational family arrangements in Mexico revealed that children were resentful of their emigrant parents and they also experienced higher levels of depression than children living with both parents (Dreby, 2007). As adolescents, children left behind, experience a sense of abandonment and powerlessness which is believed to be the antecedent of increased antisocial behavior, school dropout,

rebelliousness, risky behaviors such as alcohol and drug abuse among children left behind (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). Adolescents in transnational family arrangement were also revealed to experience depression and anxiety. They also have low self-esteem, higher likelihood of teenage pregnancy and precocious sexual relationships (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012).

According to Asis (1995; 2003) the removal of parental control which naturally restrict child independence may result in the learning of important skills. For example, when there is one co-present parent and they have increased responsibilities, children may have to problem-solve on their own not to overburden their caregiver (Graham, et al., 2012).

According to Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie (2002), transnational families are believed to be traumatic and to have long-term effects especially in Western culture which emphasizes attachment and parent-child bonding.

### ***Immigrant sending countries***

While emigrant receiving countries have different policies about family reunion, Yeoh and Lam (2006) state that migrant sending countries have almost no policies to aid the family left-behind. The economies of migrant sending countries benefit economically from the migration of their citizens. 12% of GDP is attributed to remittance sent from citizens employed abroad in the Philippines (McKay, 2015). Remittance are a significant source of income for the family left-behind. They help to improving nutrition, accommodation, access to health care and also educational opportunities.

Family reunification may be difficult, expensive and also time-consuming. Ethnic and racial attitudes of people in the host country also influence family reunification decisions (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). It should be noted that the success of transnational families in the long-term has significant implications for the host country as well as the country of origin (TCRA, 2014). Most studies on transnational families were carried out in host countries after reunification however some transnational families have no prospect of reunification. This type of transnational family is associated

with pain of ambiguous loss (Suarez-Orozco, et al., 2002), where parent-offspring relationship are inherently uncertain.

### ***Transnational families in Zimbabwe***

The above study of transnational family mainly cover migration from West Africa and Southeast Asia. West Africa transnational family arrangements were most characterized by limited ability for parents to visit their children in their home country while Southeastern migrant parents tended to visit after every short-term contract before renewing their contract for work. In Zimbabwe there are two main types of migrant parent: parents who migrate to other African countries mainly South Africa and those that migrate to overseas countries mainly the UK. High attrition rate from Zimbabwe because of numerous crisis faced by the country led to restrictions set up by key migrant receiving countries. Lack of legal rights as well sufficient resources to migrate as a family causes increases in transnational family arrangements. Political-economic factors interact with family and personal factors to influence migration decisions such that adventure, studying, desire to build a house or even escape a bad marriage can influence migration decisions (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014).

Despite the negative effects associated with transnational family arrangements the decision to leave children behind was largely viewed as a positive decision in light of undesirable cultural influences that children may experience in foreign countries as well as the expense of raising children abroad. Particularly the Western ideals of parenting, gender equality and child rights which run contrary to African values of patriarchy, parental authority and child discipline (McGregor, 2008). Some families prefer to have their children complete their education in Zimbabwe to instill cultural values in the child, furthermore, unruly children can be sent back to Zimbabwe (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). The family arrangements are decided based on what is best for the child (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). For instance, single mothers would migrate to improve their ability to provide financially for their offspring because of inadequate financially support provided by the children's fathers.

Kufakurinani et al. (2014) termed children in transnational family arrangements in Zimbabwe 'diaspora orphans. The term implies that loss and lack are associated with

this type of family arrangement and also reveals the negative stereotypes associated with this type of family arrangement despite the fact that the children's parents are alive and make an effort to care for them from afar and some of the children reside with one of their parents. Diaspora orphans refers to with both or one parent residing abroad.

Diaspora orphans was a term first used to refer to Zimbabwean child in transnational families from the 1990s to describe the emotional and practical challenges associated with this family arrangement (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). The transnational family arrangement was believed to create feelings of abandonment that make the child potentially vulnerable in ways financial abundance could not offset. 'Diaspora orphans' are viewed as delinquent, reckless, disrespectful, snobbish and profligate. Their care arrangements are associated with neglect, emotional deprivation and abuse (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). These negative behaviors are often associated with ineffective disciplinary models, lack of role models and a life of financial excess. Kufakurinani et al. (2014) state that sometimes even the mothers left behind could not adequately fulfil the authority roles vacated by the migrant fathers. Similarly, older siblings left in charge of younger siblings were also described to experience authority challenges. The flow of money was a particular challenge when children were fostered by extended family who depended on remittance sent by the children's parents.

Researches into transnational family arrangements in the African context often highlight the strength of the extended family in perpetuating family care in the absence of the child's biological parents as opposed to Western cultures where family care is concentrated in the nuclear family (Akesson, et al., 2012). Kufakurinani, et al. (2014) state that the perpetuity of crisis in Africa is causing social breakdown of the family structure. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities hinders the transition of youth to adulthood. This leaves adult social roles with limited manpower and also increases criminality and violence (O'Brien, 1996; Honwana & De Boeck, 2005). Against this background, Kufakurinani et al. (2014) assert that analysis of Zimbabwe's urbanized middle-class family should primarily be based on nuclear family interactions with fellow members of religious group taking a role more central than the extended family. Maxwell (2006) states that kinship relations diminish as individuals exert more efforts on the nuclear family. Kufakurinani et al. (2014) also allude that the tension created in

this situation emanates from the co-existence of contemporary nuclear family ideal alongside tradition extended kinship expectation of fostering.

Furthermore, child headed families are more common in Sub-Saharan Africa because of HIV and AIDS epidemic. Such that children can be viewed increasingly as care-givers than recipients of care (Robson, 2004). Child headed homes and stories of neglect by both migrant and proximate parents or guardians are also typical for children in transnational families in Zimbabwe (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). Some parents especially fathers would settle in a foreign land and forget the families they left behind such that the children would have to be sustained by social welfare however the social welfare only covers the tuition cost for the children (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). According to Kufakurinani et al. (2014), teachers attested that material and emotional care declines depending on how distant the relative is. Children fostered by relatives are withdrawn, easy agitated and are often not as secure as children raised by their parents (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014). Their educational development is affected by the lack of interest, acknowledgement and encouragement from guardians when the child attains good grades (Kufakurinani, et al., 2014).

When children were left in the care of the father, Kufakurinani et al. (2014) indicated that discipline problem could still be apparent because single fathers tended to resist and not dedicate time to child caring roles because they are associated with being emasculated. Research by Kufakurinani et al. (2014) revealed that the shame behind caring role led fathers left behind to depend on older child for these caring roles or depend on an extended family female relative. The gender norms of the family are perpetuated through the help of extended family members and the extended family also help mitigate the negative effects of migration (Parrenas, 2005b).

### ***Attachment***

The attachment theory will be used in this research. The attachment theory is centered around the child's initial attachment experiences as determinants of the child's social, cognitive and emotional development (Bowlby, 1969). It focuses on the child's attachment to the mother and the long-term effects on deprivation and separation that are characteristic of transnational family. There are three basic types of attachment types

secure, anxious and avoidant. The severing of primary attachment to the parents is predictive of negative attachment styles in the child's future. The thrust of the issue is if foster care can adequately resemble or translate to the secure relationship the child was accustomed with their parents (Ainsworth, et al., 1978). Secure attachment is based on the child's trust that their primary caregiver will attend to their needs and if they leave the caregiver will come back. This trust is often broken when the parent migrates. According to Bernhard et al. (2005) the psychological consequences of parental migration are largely influenced by the sociocultural climate of the home country and are especially favorable in countries when extended-families are highly involved in child rearing.

Attachment theory is focused on the relationships and bonds between people, particularly long-term relationships including those between a parent and child (Bowlby, 1999). Failure to maintain this attachment leads to considerable distress for the child and may result in a dismal future for such young people, including juvenile delinquency (Bowlby, 1999). As a feature of natural selection and motivation, proximity to an attachment figure provides comfort and protection which increase the infant's chances of survival into adulthood. The attachment theory has been found as being dominant in the understanding of early social development in children (Schaffer, 2007). This research will also look into the maternal deprivation theory this secure relationship should be with a number of care givers to improve normal social and emotional development.

### **Related studies**

The UNICEF (2011) states that millions of left behind children (LBC) remain in the home country as one or both parents emigrate in search for employment, further studies as well as greener pastures. The transnational child-raising arrangement (TCRA) affects the LBC's development, wellbeing, economic status and opportunities in either a positive or negative way. Parents are recommended to establish care arrangements that assist the child in the psychosocial development. Teachers, healthcare professions and caregivers can be used to provide psychosocial support. The wellbeing of LBC requires the combined efforts of emigrant parents, community and co-present caregivers. One of the key factors determining LBC's access to psychosocial support are the remittance



sent by emigrant parents. remittance have to be enough to enable the co-present caregiver to focus primarily on childcare. Remittance also benefit LBC's healthcare and educational care.

Battistella and Conaco (1998) studied the impact of parental migration on left behind elementary school children in the Philippines. The research concentrated on children between the fourth and sixth grades from provinces with the highest migration trends. The search was dominantly qualitative with short questionnaires were also administered. The study revealed that migration did not pose a big disruption to child development especially if the mother remains in the home country. If the mother migrates efforts should be made by the family to compensate for her absence. The researchers suggested training in child rearing for left behind fathers, counselling and social support to enable them to sufficiently fill the gaps in care created by the migration of the mother.

Schmalzbauer (2004) studied transnational parenting in Honduras. The study revealed the difficulties parents have maintaining emotional ties with LBC. This is especially difficult if the child was very young when the parent migrated. LBC who were young when the parent migrated are less likely to understand the rationale motivating parental migration and they also have little recollection of their parents. The parents also have difficulties addressing questions about the timeline of the parent's return or the migration of the LBC to join the parents and most parents would revert to lying to the LBC, reassuring them that they would be reunited soon. LBC would also be indifferent to their parents regardless of having been anxiously awaiting their return as a way of passively punishing the parents.

Asis (2006) carried out a research into the experiences of LBC in the Philippines. The study is based on data collected a country-wide study in 2003. In examines how children and adolescence cope with parental absence. Asis revealed the social cost of parental migration on the LBC. The study states that the child's agency and independence were some of the possible benefits of the TCRA.

Dreby (2007) studied children in transnational families. The research employed multisite ethnographic fieldwork and interviews to gather the effects of child membership in TCRA. The sample comprised of 141 transnational family members in

Mexico which included LBC, migrant parents and caregivers. The results suggest that LBC are simultaneously influential and powerless in the transnational family arrangement. The influence and power of the child differs according to their age for example preadolescent children look up to their co-present caregivers and seem to respect their opinion as compared to their migrant parents. They also feign indifference when the migrant parent visits despite having looked forward to their visit and they are more likely to resist attempts by migrant parent to reunite by having the LBC join them in the host country. As the child grows older, they become more resentful of their parents as opposed to younger children who are subtle in their attempts to make their parents regret leaving them behind. During adolescence caregivers often find it difficult to retain authority over the LBC because the child resists their continued authority. LBC often turn to their migrant parents who are often more lenient since the parents use friendship to win their children's affection in the absence of physical contact. Adolescent LBC were revealed to be sad about the ambiguity of authority in the TCRA, there is no one who disciplines them and scolds them and they feel that no one cares about them. The LBC begin to act out in frustration because they feel abandoned. 41% of the adolescents interviewed had dropped out of school and behaved aggressively. While the child was powerless about migration decision, they are powerful in determining the family dynamics in the TCRA.

Parrenas (2008) conducted a study of transnational fathers in the Philippines, it revealed that transnational fathers have difficulties maintaining intimacy with the family than do transnational mothers. Transnational fathers were revealed to maintain the stereotypical fathering roles which did not compensate for their geographic distance from the family. This creates emotional distance within the family. The study had a qualitative design and was carried out using interviews with adult LBC in the home country.

Lahaie, Hayes, Piper and Heyman (2009) investigated the effects of the transnational family arrangement on LBC in Mexico. The results indicated when a caregiver migrates the household has an increased likelihood of having a child that has behavioral, emotional or academic problems. The researchers advocated for increased family support for individuals in transnational family arrangements.

Abrego (2009) explored the differences in TCRA experiences according to the gender of the migrant parent. 40% of children in El Salvador are estimated to grow up with one or both absent parents as a result of migration. The data was drawn from a sample of 130 Salvadoran emigrants living in America, LBC and caregivers in El Salvador. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out between 2004 and 2006. Gender of the migrant parents principally affected their opportunities in the host country which would also in turn affect their remittance. The research also revealed engendered parental responsibilities and remitting behaviors. Transnational fathers were revealed to have more advantages in the labor market in America as compared to transnational mothers however transnational mother sacrifice more to send money back home to their children. Transnational fathers were revealed to be inconsistent remitters, spending more money on entertainment and drinking as well as investment and saving opportunities in the host country. The sacrifices made by transnational mother range from uncomfortable living, abusive working environments, self-deprivation and physical abuse from partners. However, children experience more emotional problems when their mother migrates compared to when their father migrates because of traditional gender norms related to child care.

Hugo and Ukwatta (2010) studied the impact of maternal migration on LBC in Sri Lanka. The study focused on domestic workers who often work on two-year contracts which implies they would not be able to see their family until the end of the contract. Survey and qualitative data from this study were collected from left behind families and communities. The results suggest that if parents migrate earlier own in the child's life there is an increased chance that the birth is unregistered which in turn increases chances of violations of the child's right. The sample also had a large number of fathers taking up primary care roles for LBC after maternal migration.

According to Derby (2010), children who felt abandoned by their parents and in some cases responded by detaching themselves from the parent that left. Such feelings might lead to unwanted behavior such as quitting school or gang involvement. Therefore, for migrants who left to ensure better opportunities for their children, the unintended consequences of their migration might include a strained relationship with their children and a loss of educational opportunities for their children. Absence reduces

child-parent attachment and closer supervision from the parents, which negatively affect the development of the child, especially as regards education is likely to be disrupted.

Antman (2012) researched the effects of parental migration on LBC in Mexico. The data was derived from the Mexican Migration Project. The results suggest that paternal migration significantly improved the educational trajectories of female LBC. Increased educational funding increased educational opportunities for girls.

Jordan and Graham (2012) conducted an empirical study based on data collected in 2008 in South-East Asia for the CHAMPSEA project. The results suggest that LBC are less likely to report being happy especially if the mother is the emigrant parent. The research also revealed that over longer periods of separation children develop more resilience such that LBC separated from their transnational mothers for longer periods of time are more likely to report being happy as compare to those separated for shorter among of time. The study also reported no negative outcomes on educational performance of enjoyment resulting from parental migration.

Research by Dankyi (2014) explores the caregivers in the Transnational Child Raising Arrangement (TCRA). The study employed ethnography as the research methodology. 15 caregivers were sampled from Ghana and the study was a longitudinal study conducted over 2 years. The study revealed that 88% of co-present caregivers were of kin-relations and most of them were female. There were a small number of men who held primary caregiver positions and hired caregivers were viewed to be an emerging trait in the TCRA. Caregivers were seen to experience difficulties raising children in the TCRA because they have no control over the left behind children (LBC). The emigrant parents retain the rights to make decision about childcare in their absence which is facilitated by technology. This power dynamic disadvantages the caregiver. Dankyi (2014), suggest that the expectation and terms of caregiving should be clearly stated before the arrangement is set for example, remittance and duration of care should be specified to make the caregiver's experience more positive. This would in turn positively impact the LBC's experience as well.

Mazzucato et al. (2014) investigated the effects of transnational family arrangements of children in Angola, Ghana and Nigeria. The data was gathered through the survey method. In Angola and Nigeria, the transnational family arrangement was

revealed to have negative consequences however in Ghana the effects were mediated living conditions. Unstable care arrangements were associated with more challenges for the child. The transnational mother arrangement was associated with poorer wellbeing for the child especially if the father was the caregiver.

Kufakurinani et al. (2014) studied transnational parenting in Zimbabwe. The research explores psychological and everyday problems experienced by LBC in Zimbabwe. The study is based on qualitative data collected from interviews with co-present caregivers, youths left behind, teachers and LBC termed 'diaspora orphans' in their research. The results show that parental migration from Zimbabwe since the 2000s was motivated by economic difficulties resulting from loss of formal employment. Political violence and seeking for better opportunities also motivated migration. Migration was dominantly to South Africa, Botswana and the UK. The study reveals that LBC are often deviant and indisciplined because of the gap in authority figure created by parental absence. They were described by teachers as being students who do not care about their studies and being spend drift. While grandparents were the preferred caregiver, their age and health may be a hinderance to the provision of care such that the child may end up as the caregiver to the ailing grandparent. Grandparents were also revealed to have difficulties with discipline issues as the LBC grow older. The LBC reported feeling abandoned and lacked social support and encouragement in academic work and other achievements because of the absence of their parents.

Hoang et al. (2014) investigated the effects of changing care arrangements on the LBC in South-east Asia. The study employed mixed method research data collected during the CHAMPSEA project in Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam. The results show how LBC are active social actors who exert their influence on family dynamics and personal development in the transnational family environment. This research suggests the child goes through three stages which are resistance, resilience and reworking. LBC work to accommodate themselves in the new family context and even though they require adult care they also acquire autonomy. Therefore, parental migration gives the child more opportunities for independent to assert their agency. For example, LBC may begin to take an active role in determining their living arrangements in the absence of their parents, they may decide what activities are valuable to them as

individual despite environmental constraints or they may manipulate the guilt the parent feels because of their absence for financial gain. Similar finding can be drawn from Graham et al. (2012).

Haagsman et al. (2015) studied transnational families from Angola and Nigeria who reside in Netherlands. While this study focuses on the effects of the transnational family arrangement on the developing child, it also shows that the negative effects of the transnational family arrangement are not limited to children. The study revealed that transnational parents scored lower on wellbeing measures such as happiness, life satisfaction and psychological wellbeing.

Chereni (2015) investigated transnational family arrangements in Zimbabwe. The study employed a qualitative interpretivist design and ethnographic methods which included participant observation and interviews. The research was conducted at multiple sites, in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. The results suggest a reconfiguring of family relationships such that the non-emigrant parents takes the roles of both parents is essential especially after the migration of the father. Transnational fathers were seen to maintain conventional fathering roles which are centered around economic provision and the breadwinning ideology. Transnational fathers were revealed to become emotional distant and uncaring towards children. They often establish authoritarian rule. Although the transnational fathers reported being less involved in the family, they also expressed a desire to nurturing close present and future relationships with the family left behind. In addition to their economic duties, the transnational fathers also believed they had a duty to make their family feel loved.

Graham et al. (2012) studied the wellbeing of children in transnational families in the Philippines. They conducted a mixed methods research with a sample of children under the age of 12 located in the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. They used the Children's Depression Inventory to screen LBC for depressive symptoms. The results revealed that 24.8% of the population exhibited depressive symptoms. Environmental factors like family income, age, grade, transnational family arrangements and frequency and nature of child's communication with the emigrant parent influenced the prevalence of depressive symptom among the LBC population. Children 16-17 were more prone depressive symptoms than all other age groups. The protective factors discovered during

this study were frequent communication between emigrant parent and child via telephone about topic related to emotions, learning and school.

Jampaklay et al. (2018) investigated the impact of parental absence on child development in Thailand. The research was based on UNICEF funded research carried out between 2013 and 2014. The sample was purposively chosen from the population of children under 36 months with both or one migrant parent. 923 LBC were included in the sample. The Denver II screening tool was employed to assess delayed development. The results suggest that as long as the mother is around, no developmental delays were observed. Father absence did not produce difference in child development. Mother were important to creating an environment that stimulate the child to develop language and also the attachment between the mother and the child was revealed to be important to ensuring the general healthy development of young children. The effects of separation from the mother were believed to have long-term effects which continue into adulthood.

Bai et al. (2016) studied how TCRA affect the LBC's academic performance. Their study sample comprised of LBC in North Western China. Although the study focuses on children left behind when parents migrate within the country, it sheds light in the academic impact of parental migration. The data was from 13 000 students in rural China by different authors. The results reveal that parental migration has positive effects on the academic performance LBC especially the students who had not been performing well before. Bai et al. (2016) attribute this improvement to the increase in educational input that is afforded by remittance from the migrant parent.

Research by Cuffe (2017) explored the experiences of three transnational families in Zimbabwe, South Africa and the United Kingdom. The research attempts to conceptualize migration with a context of crisis. A pilot study was carried out in 2000 which lead to the division of the sample into Zimbabweans of Shona, Ndebele or White origin. Interviews were used to collect data about the experiences of the three families, a method known as linked life stories which is believed to provide intergenerational, cross-gender and multisite data. The study looks back to the 1990s when the Zimbabwean economy first started experiencing difficulties. Some of the participants migrated for economic reasons while others fled to save their lives from political violence. A key function of the family was practical and economic support for struggling

members. It emphasized the influence of the extended family. Experiences in the transnational family arrangement were different according to gender, age and generation.

Cebotari et al. (2017) investigated the effects of the transnational family arrangement on child development in Ghana and Nigeria. The data used was generated in a survey carried out in 2010 to 2011. Samples were drawn from urban areas, 2760 students in Ghana and 2168 students in Nigeria. Stratified sampling was used to select the members of the population. The results indicate that migration and the dissolution of the parent's marriage were predictors of poor psychological wellbeing scores in both countries. When a parent migrates after divorce, there is an increased likelihood that they would start a new family which negatively affects their input to the LBC.

Mazzucato and Cebotari (2018) conducted a study in Ghana on the psychological wellbeing of children in transnational family arrangements. They used a sample of 2760 secondary school children in a study carried out in 2011. The sample included children who reside with both their biological parents and children with at least one emigrant parent. The measure used were children self-reports. Twenty-two schools were randomly selected using stratified sampling. The schools ranged from low quality and high quality as well as public and private schools. The 20-item total difficulty score included in the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire was used to assess psychological wellbeing on the subscales of emotional symptoms, conduct problems and peer relations. The study revealed that children in transnational family arrangements only score lower on measure of psychological wellbeing if their parents are divorced or separated. In this study the caregiver and the nature of the relationship between the parents and the caregiver had no significant impact on the child's psychological health. Bad relationships between the father and the child are associated with poor wellbeing scores. Children left in the care of their grandparents suffer less psychological distress.

Zhao et al. (2018) conducted a research on the mental health of children in transnational family arrangements in China. Zhao et al. (2018) assert that children may feel rejected or abandoned when their parents migrate which may lead to disordered behavior. The child's ability to cope is determined by their personality, family functioning as well as the support granted by extended family members.



Lam and Yeoh (2018b) explored the effects of parental migration among LBC in Southeast Asia. The research revealed that some LBC were able to assert their agency and contribute to parental decisions about their care-arrangements and family dynamics. The research included participants from the Philippines and Indonesia. The research utilized data from CHAMSEA in 2008 which is a research project that studied the effects of parental migration on aspects of the child's wellbeing like physical health, social, psychological and academic wellbeing. The research also included qualitative data gathered using semi-structured interviews. As the child grows older they influence the functioning of the transnational family through both their intentional and subconscious actions. These actions change as the child grows up and develops different feelings because of newly assimilated information.

Fellmeth et al. (2018) examined the effects of parental migration on children and adolescents in low and middle-income countries. They used a systematic review and meta-analysis of databases including Popline, MEDLINE, Embase, CINAHL, Web of Science and others. The sample included studies published before 2017. It revealed that children in TCRA were at risk of poor health which encompasses poor nutrition leading to underweight, stunted growth, overweight and obesity as well as anemia. Risk and prevalence of psychological problems was also high among children in TCRA including depressive disorder, conduct disorders, anxiety disorder, self-harm, suicide and substance abuse.

DeWaard et al. (2018) explored the effects of parental migration in Latin America. They used harmonized surveys in eight Latin American countries as well as Puerto Rico in their study. A nationally representative sample was collected in each one of the 9 countries. The results indicated that children whose parents were absent as a result of emigration were less likely to reside with their extended family and were less privileged in terms of family asserts. Migration was also revealed to be the leading cause of parental absence even more than divorce or parental mortality.

Jordan et al. (2018) investigated TCRA in 3 global regions which are Africa, America and Asia. A longitudinal, mixed method research was used to collect the data, initially interviews were held with LBC and co-present household members in Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand for the Asian sample. Asian data was collected

between 2008 and 2009. Data from the African sample was collected between 2010 and 2011 in Angola, Ghana and Nigeria. The survey used in the African context was a school-based measure. A sample of Mexican individuals was also used for the American sample. The survey was carried out in 2006 and 2010. In general, the combined sample included children between the ages of 9 and 14 years. Approximately 700 children were sampled. They highlight how advances in communication technology has enabled emigrant parents to function as engaged family members in the TCRA. Time reserved for school homework, chores at home and leisure differed according to the involvement of the emigrant family in child-raising activities. The child's gender also had an impact on parental involvement and time distribution. For girls the time distribution did not seem to change as they spend more time on household chores than boys. Gender of the transnational parent also determined their engagement for example transnational fathers were less engaged in the TCRA. However, in the Philippines emigrant mothers were revealed to be less likely to maintain family engagement. In Indonesia and Vietnam, paternal migration linked to negative psychological effects than maternal migration. In the Philippines parental migration did not lead to psychological distress when their LBC's psychological wellbeing was compared to children in nonemigrant households.

Caarls et al. (2018) conducted a cross-country study of transnational families in Africa. Three data sets were used, the TRCA and TCRAf-Eu as well as MAFE projects data. The TCRAf-Eu projects investigated transnational family arrangements between Africa and Europe. The TCRA studied transnational families between Ghana and the Netherlands. MAFE research investigated migration between Africa and Europe. TCRA and TRCf-Eu studies focused on migrants from Angola, Nigeria and Ghana, the destination countries were Portugal, Ireland and the Netherlands. The MAFE projects focused on DR Congo, Senegal and Ghana. The destination countries were The Netherlands, Italy France, and Spain. The results of the study indicate that the effects of parental migration differ according to who the migrant parent is. Transnational mother arrangements were revealed to be associated with more negative consequences for the LBC but transnational mothers were seen to be mostly single and unwed with children from multiple relationship. This blended family structure introduces confounding variable that may account for the difficulties experienced by the LBC. Furthermore,

being single accounts for their need to take up economic roles which are stereotypically male and when they migrate, essentially both parenting role are left vacant.

Zhang et al. (2019) conducted a study in China with participants between 3 to 16 years old. A sample of 4187 using the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire. No statistical significance was found between the LBC sample and non-left behind child NLBC on psychological health. More communication with emigration parents were seen to predict better psychological wellbeing of the child.

Tong et al. (2019) studied LBC in China. They carried out multilevel analysis to investigate the prevalence of the transnational family arrangement in China. The Transnational child-raising arrangements (TCRAs) were popular in families that had low monthly income.

Studies on Mexican migrants in the USA revealed an increase in school attendance for their children and also better performance. However parental migration also reduced the children`s aspirations for higher educational levels (Kandel & Kao, 2001). Studies in Guatemala revealed that remittances from migration grants these households access to better quality education which enables their children to get better results than non-remittance-receiving households (Adam, 2005).

## **Conclusion**

The review of literature above highlighted the effects of the TCRA, the studies suggest that the family context and cultural context is important in determining the effects of the transnational family arrangement. In the African setting most children suffer negative effects of the transnational mother arrangement and less when the father migrates. In the South-East Asia, the transnational father arrangement also has negative consequences. The psychological problems commonly experienced by LBC include depressive disorder, conduct disorders, anxiety disorder, self-harm, suicide and substance abuse.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **Methodology**

The current chapter explains the methodology employed for this study. The research design, population, sampling strategy, measures and data analysis methods are discussed. The ethical principles appropriate for the study.

#### **Research design**

Mixed methods research is employed for the study. The research was carried out as a cross-sectional study using the explanatory sequential design. Quantitative data was collected in the initial stage of the research. Structured questionnaires were used to collect data from teachers and primary age student between the ages of 8 to 12. Child members of transnational families were the population and children in conventional two-parent household were used as the control or comparison group. In the second phase of the study semi-structured interview schedules were employed to collect data from young adult LBC, caregivers and transnational parents. Unlike most studies that concentrate on the views of adults involved in this family structure, this study also considered the view of the child.

#### **Participant**

##### ***Sampling for quantitative data***

The research population was all children primary age LBC in Zimbabwe. To collect data, 3 schools were purposively selected from Masvingo district in Zimbabwe. Masvingo province was chosen for its convenience because that is where the researcher is based. These schools were selected based on the assumed homogeneity of student population. Homogeneity was considered in regards to socioeconomic background and recruitment criterion. The participants are children who attend to schools that cater for urban middle-class families. Middle class families were chosen to minimize the effect of poverty as an extraneous variable. A sample of 57 LBC and 47 students from conventional households were purposively chosen from the student population. Purposive sampling is when the researcher uses prior knowledge about the population to select members of the target population (Lavrakas, 2008). The selection criteria was

membership in a transnational family or conventional two parent household and consent to participate in the study from both the teacher and the parents or guardians.

Participants were selected based on information gathered by schools about children's family information. The experimental group includes children with either, a migrant mother, father or both parents as emigrants and the control group included children in conventional two co-present parent households. Table 1 depicts the sample's demographic information.

The class teachers for both the research sample and comparison group were asked to fill in questionnaires for each of the sampled students.

Table 1

*Demographic data of the participants*

		LBC	Conventional family	Total n	%
Gender	Male	33	21	54	55.1
	Female	23	21	44	44.9
Age	8	2	2	4	4.1
	9	10	11	21	21.4
	10	8	2	10	10.2
	11	18	4	22	22.4
	12	13	19	32	32.7
	13	6	2	8	8.2
	14	0	1	1	1.0
Family arrangement	Transnational			57	58.2
	conventional			41	41.8
	Mother			8	14
Transnational family member	Father			24	42.1
	Both parents			25	43.9
Fostering arrangement	Boarding school			22	22.9
	At home with relatives			73	76.1

The participants had an age range of between 8 and 14 years. 55.1% of the sample were female and 44.9% were male. The sample comprised of 57 (58.2%) children

in transnational family arrangements and 41 (41.8%) in conventional two resident parent family arrangements.

14% of children in transnational family arrangements had their mothers as the migrant parent, 42.1% had fathers as the migrant parent and 43.9% had both parents as migrants. 76.1% of children in transnational family arrangements lived at home with relatives while 22.9% lived at boarding school.

### ***The qualitative phase***

In line with the explanatory sequential research the researcher designed the measures for the qualitative phase based on the results of the quantitative phase of the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the migrant parents, caregivers and young adult LBC to provide a comprehensive view of relationships in the transnational family arrangement. Semi-structured questionnaires were chosen because of their flexibility which enables the research to ask follow up questions but the interviews schedule also keeps the interview focused on core issues. The research focused on the views of transnational mothers in consideration of the results of the quantitative phase, literature as well as social norms since mothers are viewed as central features in child care.

**Sampling for qualitative data.** Four transnational mothers were selected from the pool of LBC and others 11 others were selected through snowball sampling. Fifteen caregivers were selected from the sample of LBC using convenience sampling as the research interviewed any caregivers who were willing to contribute to the study. 15 youth adult LBC were selected using snowball sampling. The profiles of these participants can be found in tables 12, 13 and 14.

Semi-interviews were also be conducted the guardians of children in transnational family arrangements in consideration of the triangle of care shown in figure 1 which suggests that the co-present caregiver is a key figure in the TCRA dynamic. Interviews were also conducted with young adults who grew up in TCRA. This age group was chosen because of their ability to shed more light into their experiences throughout a longer time with enables the research to consider multiple

developmental stages at the same time. This is designed to explore the daily challenges experienced by the children as well as to collect information about the children's attachment style, academic development and psychological health.

## **Data Collection Tools**

### ***Demographic form***

The demographic variables to be considered in this study will include: age of the child, gender of the child, how often they are in physical proximity with emigrant parent, age at parent's departure, nature of foster family arrangement, gender of emigrant parent, occupation of parent, presence and number of resident siblings as well as stability of child rearing arrangement. These questions will be addressed in the demographic section of the questionnaire.

### ***Measures in the students' questionnaire***

#### **Attachment style classification questionnaire for latency age children (2000).**

The attachment style classification questionnaire was designed by Ricky Finzi-Dottan. It has 15 items with a 5 choice Likert scale. It measures attachment style of children age 6 to 12. The researcher chooses this scale because, the attachment theory is a major contributor to analyzing the effects of parental migration on the child remaining in the home country (Bowlby, 1958). The scale categorizes attachment in three way secure, anxious and avoidant attachment. This scale has a reliability coefficient of 0.733 Cronbach Alpha. Items include: I make friends with other children easily and I don't feel comfortable trying to make friends. For more examples see appendix C. This instrument was employed by Obikoya and Awujo (2017) in a study in Nigeria who used measures of internal consistency to assert the reliability of the instrument. It has been proven to be reliable in both Western and Non-Western settings. The reliability test conducted for this study revealed 0.55 for the secure, 0.55 anxious and 0.51 Cronbach alpha for the avoidant subscale.

**The Stirling Children's Well-being scale (SCWBS).** The Stirling Children's Well-being scale was designed by Liddle and Carter in 2015. It is a 15 item, self-

administered measure of psychological and emotional wellbeing scored on a 5-point Likert type scale. It has four subscales which are optimism, cheerfulness and relaxation, satisfying interpersonal relationships, positive functioning which encompasses thinking clearly and competence. Items on the questionnaire include: I think good things will happen in my life and I have always told the truth. For more examples see appendix C. It can be applied to children between the ages of 8 to 15 years. It has a reliability score of 0.75 Cronbach Alpha. In the current study the positive emotion subscale had a reliability of 0.79, positive outlook 0.70, social desirability 0.55 and general wellbeing 0.86 Cronbach alpha.

### ***Measures in the teachers' questionnaire***

**Strengths and difficulties questionnaire (Questionnaire for teachers).** The Strengths and difficulties questionnaire is a behavioral and emotional screening questionnaire that can be used for children between the age of 3 to 16 years. It is a 25-item questionnaire with 5 subscales which are emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity or inattention, peer relationship problems and prosocial behavior (Goodman, 1997). It also measures internalizing and externalizing reactions. Examples of items on this scale include: Considerate of other people's feelings and Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long. For more examples see appendix D. It has three response categories ranging from zero to two. The scale also includes supplement items. The scale has good validity and reliability. Reliability coefficients of between 0.59 and 0.81 Cronbach Alpha. The SDQ was also used in research in Ghana and Nigeria.<sup>13</sup> For the current study the emotional symptom subscale had a reliability of 0.79, conduct problems 0.69, hyperactivity 0.58, peer relations 0.19 and prosocial behaviors 0.74 Cronbach alpha.

**5-15R: Questionnaire for evaluation of development and behavior (Teacher's questionnaire).** This 5-15 R was formulated by Kadesjo, Janals, Korkman, Mickelsson, Strand, Trillingsgaard, Lambel, Ogrim, Bredesen and Gilberg (2017). The questionnaire is designed to measure skills and behaviors of students on various developmental domains. It is applicable to children between the age of 5 to 17 years.



Cronbach's Alpha was between 0.86 and 0.96. In this research the acquisition of academic skills subscales was used to measure educational development among the sampled students. Four acquisition of academic skills subscales were used to measure educational development among the sampled students. The subscales are problem-solving, reading and writing, arithmetic ability and general learning. Sample items include: Acquiring reading skills is more difficult than expected considering his/her ability to learn other things and has difficulties to understand what he/she is reading. For more examples see appendix D. In the current study reading and writing had a Cronbach alpha of 0.86, arithmetic 0.91, general learning 0.70 and problem solving 0.86.

### **Data collection**

Quantitative data was collected using three standardized questionnaires administered among children in transnational family arrangements as well as two questionnaires administered among the teachers of these children. The control group of children in conventional two-parent homes and an identical measure is filled in by children in transnational family arrangements.

To collect data from teachers and students, permission was sought from the Ministry of Education, the headmaster as well as the teachers. Please see appendix B for approval from Ministry of Education. Permission from the headmasters has been excluded from the write up because it contains letter heads, school names and signatures that identify participating schools. Teachers could only collect data from students with the consent of the family. The questionnaires were administered by the class teachers giving the students breaks as appropriate for their age.

### **Data analysis**

Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS. The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that the data was non-parametric. Descriptive statistics were used to examine the frequencies for demographic data. In response of research question 1, Chi-square was used to compare the attachment styles used by LBC and children in conventional families. To examine the second research question, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to compared the psychological wellbeing of LCB and children in conventional family arrangements.

the second and third research questions required a comparison of the psychological wellbeing and academic development of children in different transnational family arrangements.

To accomplish this goal the researcher used the Kruskal-Wallis test was employed, followed by pairwise analysis. For the fourth research question, the Mann-Whitney U test also enabled a comparison of the psychological wellbeing and academic development of LBC whose parents departed before the age of five and the over 5 years group. The Spearman's correlation analysis was used to measure the correlation between the child's age at departure and psychological wellbeing as well academic development.

The qualitative phase of the study sort to explain the results attained from the quantitative phase of the study by exploring the experiences of emigrant parents, co-present caregivers and young adults who grew up in TCRA in order to triangulate the functioning of the transnational family. Qualitative data was collected from online interviews conducted with transnational parents and guardians of children in Transnational family arrangements. Interviews were carried out using telephone calls and video conferencing or audio calls facilitated by applications like WhatsApp, Skype or Facebook. The audio from these interviews was recorded and transcribed before analysis. The researcher also keeps a research diary detailing the nonverbal cues and feelings expressed by the interviewees. Interviews were also carried out with young adults who grew up in TCRA as well as guardians of the LBC.

Data from the qualitative phase of the study was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a process of identifying themes and patterns that important when analysis specific qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis involves 6 steps that do not necessarily have to carried out in linear sequence. The first step is familiarizing one's self with the data by reading and reading the transcribed data. The second step is to generate initial codes, this is done by categorizing data systematically into meaningful chunks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Theoretical thematic analysis was used to code that answered our research questions. Open coding was used to create codes since there were not preset codes for analysis. The theme are the patterns identified from the codes addressing my research questions. The third step involves identifying the significant patterns of data. The fourth step is reviewing themes where

one modifies and further develops preliminary themes. The fifth step is to define the themes which involves a final refinement of the themes to analyze the significance of the theme in relation to the main theme and final stage is preparing a write up of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The interviews with parents and the ones with the guardian and LBC were interpreted separately and independent write-ups were prepared for each one of the groups.

### **Ethics**

The research was carried out in adherence to the ethical principle associated with human and child participants according to the APA as well as the research guideline set by Near East University. At the commencement of the study the research submitted an ethical application to the Near East University upon receiving permission to conduct the study from the ethical board, I applied for permission the headmasters of the school with their consent we applied for approval from the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe to conduct the research at the three selected schools. Following that I class teachers to collect student data. All data was anonymized, no names of people or schools were given in the text. The data is stored in a password protected personal computer and will be destroyed 6 weeks after the completion of the project.

### **Reliability & Validity**

The validity of the quantitative measures was discussed in the measures section. The teachers' and students' measures overlapped to enable the study to triangulate and get a comprehensive view of the wellbeing and development of left behind children. Similarly, in the qualitative phase the overlaps between themes emerging from interviews with transnational mothers, co-present caregivers and LBC were analyzed to give a reliable view of transnational family dynamics, experiences and coping strategies.

**Conclusion**

The current study was conducted as a mixed method research. It employs an explanatory sequential design. The population of interest are LBC and a comparison group of children in conventional family arrangements is used. The sampling method used was purposive sampling and thematic analysis is used to analyze qualitative data while SPSS is used to make statistical analysis of quantitative data.

## CHAPTER IV

### Findings

This current chapter aims to provide tabulated and transcribed results from the data collected on this research according to each research question. The chapter first presents the results of the quantitative phase of the study which was the primary data and then at the results of the qualitative phase of the study. The objective of this research was to explore the effects of the transnational family arrangement on development. It focused on the psychological wellbeing on children raised in transnational family arrangement, their attachment style as well as their academic development. The relationships between all demographic data and the research variables was explored but only the relationships that produced significant results are tabulated below. The results of the research are described below with the aid of tables and figures.

#### *Quantitative data analysis*

The table below depicts the fostering arrangements chosen according to the family member that migrated.

Table 2

#### *Fostering arrangements*

	<b>Guardian</b>	<b>N(%)</b>
Migrant father	mother	17(70.8%)
	grandparents	2 (8.3%)
	Aunt/uncle	3 (12.5%)
	siblings	2 (8.3%)
	Hired help	0
		24
Migrant mother	father	1 (12.5%)
	grandparents	5 (62.5%)
	Aunt/uncle	1 (12.5%)

	<b>Guardian</b>	<b>N(%)</b>
Migrant mother	Siblings	1 (12.5%)
	Hired help	0
		8
Both parents	grandparents	11 (44%)
	Aunt/uncle	7 (28%)
	Siblings	3 (12%)
	Hired help	4 (16%)
		25

The results reveal that it is more common for fathers to be the migrant parent (42.1%) than mothers (14%). Transnational family arrangements where both parents are emigrants are also more popular than migrant father or migrant mother arrangements (43.9%).

When the father was the migrant parent 70.8% of the children were left in the care of their mothers. 8.3% with their grandparents, 12.5% with an uncle or aunt and 8.3% with their siblings.

When the mother is the migrant parent, none of the sample children were left in the care of their fathers, 62.5% were left in the care of their grandparents, 12.5% were cared for by an uncle or aunt and another 12.5% were cared for by siblings.

When both parents migrate 44% of the children were left in the care of their grandparents, 28% with an aunt or uncle, 12% by siblings and 16% in the care of hired help.

### ***Results from the first research question***

Table 3

*Crosstabulation of attachment styles and family living arrangement*

	Attachment style			
	secure	anxious	avoidant	undefined
Transnational family arrangement	29 (53%)	5 (9%)	15 (27%)	6 (11%)
Conversional family arrangement	23 (56%)	8 (20%)	6 (15%)	3 (8%)
total	52	13	21	9

The table above reveals that the dominant attachment style for both family arrangements is secure attachment, followed by anxious attachment and avoidant attachment style was the popular style. Chi-square analysis was carried out and no significant difference was found between the attachment styles of children in transnational family arrangements and those in conventional family arrangements ( $\chi^2=3.638$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p = 0.162$ ).

### ***Results of the second research question***

Table 4

*Mann-Whitney U comparison of self-report measure of psychological wellbeing according to family arrangements.*

The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that the data was non-parametric. For positive emotion for the LBC ( $p=0.00$ ) and 0.191 for the comparison group, positive outlook for the LBC ( $p=0.001$ ) and for children in conventional family arrangements( $p=0.155$ ), social desirability for LBC ( $p=0.035$ ) and for children conventional family arrangements ( $p=0.000$ ) and the composite score of wellbeing for LBC ( $p=0.144$ ) and for children in conventional families ( $p=0.000$ ).

		n	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	p
Positive emotions	Transnational family arrangement	55	45.59	2507.50	967.50	0.317
	Conventional family arrangement	40	51.31	2052.50		
Positive outlook	Transnational family arrangement	56	52.04	2914.00	922.00	0.140
	Conventional family arrangement	40	43.55	1742.00		
Social desirability	Transnational family arrangement	56	43.47	2434.50	838.50	0.035*
	Conventional family arrangement	40	55.54	2221.50		
Wellbeing	Transnational family arrangement	55	48.09	2645.00	1095	0.970
	Conventional family arrangement	40	47.88	1915.00		

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The results of this research reveal that there is no significant difference in psychological wellbeing scores between children raised in transnational family arrangements and children raised in conventional family arrangement on the subscales of positive emotion, positive outlook and general wellbeing. However, children raised in conventional family arrangements score significantly higher on the subscale of social desirability ( $p=0.035^*$ ).

Table 5

*Mann-Whitney U comparison of teacher-report measure of student psychological wellbeing according to family arrangements.*

The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that the data was non-parametric. On the subscale of emotional symptoms ( $p=0.000$ ) for the LBC and 0.000 for children in conventional family arrangements, for conduct problem ( $p=0.000$ ) for both groups, for hyperactivity ( $p=0.000$ ) for the LBC and 0.001 for the comparison group. On the subscale of peer problem ( $p=0.072$ ) and ( $p=0.001$ ), prosocial ( $p=0.004$ ) and ( $p=0.000$ ),



for externalizing ( $p=0.000$ ) and ( $p=0.008$ ) and for internalizing ( $p=0.002$ ) and ( $p=0.006$ ) for LBC and children in conventional family arrangements respectively.

	Family arrangement	n	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	p
Emotional symptoms	Transnational family arrangement	49	40.15	1967.50	742.50	0.392
	Conventional family arrangement	34	44.66	1518.50		
Conduct problems	Transnational family arrangement	49	40.77	1997.50	772.50	0.562
	Conventional family arrangement	34	43.78	1488.50		
hyperactivity	Transnational family arrangement	49	40.87	2002.50	777.50	0.602
	Conventional family arrangement	34	43.63	1483.50		
Peer problems	Transnational family arrangement	49	42.86	2100.00	791.00	0.695
	Conventional family arrangement	34	40.76	1386.00		
Prosocial	Transnational family arrangement	49	36.45	1786.00	561.00	0.011*
	Conventional family arrangement	34	50.00	1700.00		
Total	Transnational family arrangement	49	40.22	1971.00	746.00	0.420
	Conventional family arrangement	34	44.56	1515.00		
Externalizing	Transnational family arrangement	49	40.78	1998.00	773.00	0.576
	Conventional family arrangement	34	43.76	1488.00		
Internalizing	Transnational family arrangement	49	41.33	2025.00	800.00	0.759
	Conventional family arrangement	34	42.97	1461.00		

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The result shows no significant differences between children in transnational family arrangements and children raised in conventional family arrangements according to psychological symptoms on the subscales of emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems as well as the overall psychological wellbeing score. A significant difference is seen on the prosocial subscale where children raised in conventional family arrangements score higher on this subscale than children raised in transnational family arrangements ( $p=0.011^*$ ).

Table 6

*Kruskal-Wallis test comparison of student reports of psychological wellbeing according to the migrant parent.*

The Shapiro Wilk test was carried out to determine if the data is normality distributed. On the subscale of positive emotion ( $p=0.421$  for the migrant mother group, 0.345, migrant father, 0.013 for both emigrant parents group and 0.191 for children in conventional families) on the positive outlook subscale ( $p=0.023$ , 0.086, 0.036, 0.155) for the migrant mother, transnational father, both emigrant parents and conventional family groups respectively. On the social desirability subscale ( $p=0.11$ , 0.265, 0.002, 0.035) for the emigrant mother, transnational father, both emigrant parents and conventional family groups respectively. On the cumulative score of psychological wellbeing ( $p=0.002$ , 0.117, 0.414, 0.021) for the emigrant mother group, transnational father, both emigrant parents and conventional family groups respectively. The data was not normally distributed therefore the Kruskal Wallis test was used for analysis.

<b>Subscales of the SCWS</b>	<b>Migrant parent</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>x<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>df</b>	<b>p</b>
Positive emotions	Migrant mother	9	41.33	13.509	3	0.004**
	Migrant father	23	60.61			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	32.24			
	Conventional family	40	51.31			
Positive outlook	Migrant mother	9	54.33	14.768	3	0.002**
	Migrant father	24	65.63			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	36.96			
	Conventional family	40	43.55			
Social desirability	Migrant mother	9	59.50	17.394	3	0.001*
	Migrant father	24	52.50			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	27.78			
	Conventional family	40	55.54			
Wellbeing	Migrant mother	9	46.56	13.569	3	0.004**
	Migrant father	23	63.33			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	33.46			
	Conventional family	40	47.88			

p≤0.05\* p<0.001\*\*

The research reveals that there are significant differences in psychological health scores in the Stirling children's wellbeing scale on the subscales of positive emotions (p=0.004\*\*), positive outlook (p=0.002\*\*), social desirability (0.001\*\*) and the cumulative score of psychological wellbeing (p=0.004\*\*). The migrant father group scores highest on the subscale of positive emotion, positive outlook and the cumulative score of psychological wellbeing, followed by the migrant mother and the both parents group scores the least. On the subscale of social desirability, the migrant mother group

scores the highest followed by the migrant father and the both parents group scores the least.

Pairwise comparison reveal that significant difference exist between the position emotion scores of children with both parents as migrants and both children in conventional family arrangement ( $p=0.048$ ) and children of transnational fathers ( $p=0.003$ ). the both migrant parent

On the subscale of positive outlook, the significant differences are between children of transnational fathers and children with both parents as migrants ( $p=0.002$ ) and children in conventional family arrangement ( $p=0.021$ )

On the subscale of social desirability there were significant difference between with both parents as migrants and all other family arrangements, transnational father group ( $p=0.013$ ), children in conventional family arrangements ( $p=0.001^*$ ) and children of transnational mothers ( $p=0.021$ )

On the overall score of wellbeing, significant difference was between the both migrant parent group and the transnational father group.

Table 7

*Kruskal-Wallis test comparison of teacher's views on psychological wellbeing according to the migrant parent*

The Shapiro Wilk test of normalcy revealed that on the subscale of emotional symptoms ( $p=0.021, 0.011, 0.007, 0.000$ ) for the transnational mother, father, both emigrant parents and conventional family groups, conduct problems ( $p=0.119, 0.001, 0.005, 0.000$ ), on the subscale of hyperactivity ( $p=0.826, 0.003, 0.016, 0.001$ ), peer problems ( $p=0.692, 0.398, 0.0905, 0.001$ ), prosocial ( $p=0.201, 0.135, 0.085, 0.000$ ), general wellbeing ( $p=0.314, 0.048, 0.098, 0.012$ ) for the transnational mother, transnational father, both emigrant parents and the conventional family groups respectively. The data was not normally distributed therefore the Kruskal Wallis test was used for analysis.

Subscales of the SCWS	Migrant parent	n	Mean rank	$\chi^2$	df	p
Emotional symptoms	Migrant mother	6	27.83	8.477	3	0.037*
	Migrant father	20	32.53			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	50.00			
	Conventional family	34	44.66			
Conduct problems	Migrant mother	6	37.08	4.838	3	0.184
	Migrant father	20	33.35			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	48.17			
	Conventional family	34	43.78			
hyperactivity	Migrant mother	6	43.83	5.923	3	0.115
	Migrant father	20	31.30			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	48.41			
	Conventional family	34	43.63			
Peer problems	Migrant mother	6	35.67	1.001	3	0.801
	Migrant father	20	42.00			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	45.48			
	Conventional family	34	40.76			
Prosocial	Migrant mother	6	55.75	15.477	3	0.001**
	Migrant father	20	41.93			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	26.65			
	Conventional family	34	50.00			
Total	Migrant mother	6	34.83	5.857	3	0.119
	Migrant father	20	32.30			
	Both parents as emigrants	23	48.52			
	Conventional family	34	44.56			

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The table above reveals that there is significant difference between the psychological health of children in transnational families according to migrant parent on the subscales of emotional symptoms ( $p=0.037^*$ ), and prosocial ( $p=0.001^{**}$ ) However, there is no significant difference on the subscales conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems and the cumulative score of psychological health.

Further analysis using pairwise comparison reveals that the significant difference on the emotional symptoms subscale result from the both migrant parents group scoring significantly higher than the migrant mother group ( $p=0.40$  and transnational father group ( $p=0.015$ ). on the prosocial subscale the significant difference is because the both emigrant parents group scores significantly lower than all three other family arrangements.

### ***Results of the third research question***

Table 8

*Kruskal Wallis comparison of academic development according to the migrant family member.*

The Shapiro Wilk test for normality was carried and revealed that on the subscale of problem solving ( $p=0.314, 0.001, 0.70, 0.002$ ), reading and writing ( $p=0.006, 0.000, 0.002, 0.000$ ), arithmetic ability ( $p=0.006, 0.000, 0.001, 0.000$ ) and general learning ( $p=0.006, 0.000, 0.009, 0.000$ ) for the emigrant mother, transnational father, both emigrant parents and conventional family groups respectively. The data was not normally distributed therefore the Kruskal Wallis test was used for analysis.

Subscales of the academic development questionnaire	Migrant parent	n	Mean rank	$\chi^2$	df	p
Problem solving	Migrant mother	6	41.25	2.697	3	0.441
	Migrant father	19	36.08			
	Both parents as emigrants	24	46.63			
	Conventional family arrangement	31	38.32			
Reading and writing	Migrant mother	5	25.90	6.208	3	0.102
	Migrant father	18	35.17			
	Both parents as emigrants	21	46.19			
	Conventional family arrangement	30	34.75			
Arithmetic ability	Migrant mother	5	31.90	4.593	3	0.204
	Migrant father	18	35.58			
	Both parents as emigrants	21	44.93			
	Conventional family arrangement	30	34.38			
General learning	Migrant mother	5	34.10	5.894	3	0.117
	Migrant father	18	32.78			
	Both parents as emigrants	21	45.02			
	Conventional family arrangement	28	32.93			

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The table above reveals that there is a no significant difference in academic development according to which family member migrates in the transnational family on the subscales of problem solving, arithmetic, reading and writing as well as general learning.

### ***Results of the fourth research question***

Table 9

*Spearman's analysis of correlation between age at departure and self-report psychological wellbeing.*

Shapiro Wilk test of normality revealed that on subscale positive emotion ( $p=0.046, 0.001, 0.255, 0.146, 0.347$ ), positive emotion ( $p=0.001, 0.514, 0.139, 0.017, 0.443$ ), social desirability ( $0.441, 0.272, 0.047, 0.115, 0.394$ ) and the cumulative score psychological wellbeing ( $p=0.009, 0.007, 0.593, 0.031, 0.146$ ) for the ages of 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 years.

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1.	Age at departure	r	0.409	0.478	0.386	0.464
		p	0.003*	0.000**	0.005*	0.001**
2.	Positive emotion			0.848	0.476	0.968
				0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
3.	Positive outlook				0.480	0.954
					0.000**	0.000**
4.	Social desirability					0.496
						0.000**
5.	Psychological wellbeing					

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The table above reveals that there is a significant positive correlation between the child's age at parent's departure and positive emotion ( $p=0.003^*$ ), positive outlook ( $p=0.000^{**}$ ), social desirability ( $p=0.005^*$ ) and the cumulative score of wellbeing ( $p=0.001^{**}$ ). The table also show the high correlation between the different subscales of the Stirling children wellbeing scale.



Table 10

*Spearman's analysis of correlation between age at departure and teacher reports of psychological health.*

The Shapiro Wilk test of normality was carried out, it showed that on the subscale of emotional symptoms ( $p=0.276, 0.013, 0.000, 0.000, 0.005$ ), conduct problems ( $p=0.072, 0.062, 0.000, 0.000, 0.001$ ), hyperactivity ( $p=0.109, 0.132, 0.009, 0.007, 0.055$ ), peer problems ( $p=0.257, 0.73, 0.367, 0.29, 0.468$ ), prosocial ( $p=0.602, 0.515, 0.032, 0.000, 0.482$ ) general psychological wellbeing ( $p=0.810, 0.225, 0.001, 0.007, 0.224$ ) for the ages of 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 years.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Age at departure	r	-0.409	-0.426	-0.382	-0.291	0.423	-0.443
		p	0.005*	0.004*	0.010*	0.053*	0.004*	0.002**
2.	Emotional symptoms			0.732	0.657	0.451	-0.552	0.852
				0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
3.	Conduct problems				0.644	0.604	-0.624	0.886
					0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
4.	hyperactivity					0.577	-0.708	0.851
						0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
5.	Peer problems						-0.664	0.776
							0.000**	0.000**
6.	prosocial							-0.754
								0.000**
7.	strengths & difficulties							

$p \leq 0.05^*$   $p < 0.001^{**}$

The table above reveals a negative correlation between the child's age at parent's departure and emotional symptoms ( $p=0.005^*$ ), conduct problems ( $p=0.004^*$ ), hyperactivity ( $p=0.010^*$ ), peer problems ( $p=0.053$ ), and the cumulative score of strength and difficulties ( $p=0.002^{**}$ ).

There is a positive correlation between the child's age at departure of parents and prosocial behavior ( $p=0.004^*$ )

Table 11

*Spearman's correlational analysis between age at departure and academic development.*

Shapiro Wilk test of normality revealed that on the subscale of problem solving ( $p=0.399, 0.033, 0.004, 0.000, 0.008$ ), reading and writing ( $p=0.513, 0.048, 0.000, 0.000, 0.000$ ), arithmetic ability ( $p=0.240, 0.185, 0.000, 0.000, 0.000$ ) and general learning ( $p=0.808, 0.019, 0.000, 0.000, 0.000$ ) for the ages of 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 respectively.

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Age at departure	r	-0.242	-0.310	-0.254	-0.258
		p	0.109	0.052*	0.113	0.108
2.	Problem solving			0.776	0.577	0.789
				0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
3.	Reading and Writing				0.778	0.845
					0.000**	0.000**
4.	Arithmetic					0.637
						0.000**
5.	General Learning					
		$p \leq 0.05^*$ $p < 0.001^{**}$				

The table above reveals that the age of the child when the parent depart is negatively correlated to the children's challenges reading and writing.

### ***Qualitative data analysis***

***LBC (left behind children).*** The LBC interviewed for this study viewed the transnational family arrangement as a disadvantageous arrangement for the entire family. They highlighted the lost bonds, care and time that can never be recovered. They also indicate the financial resources that their migrant family could afford for them but the financial resources were viewed less important or incomparable to the emotional cost of parental migration.

What are your thoughts about the transnational family arrangement? (Interviewer)

I think about separation, loss, you lose time you can never get back, loneliness emotional detachment, losing bonds with the family members who are away.

(LBC11)

The research also indicates the importance of parental communication prior to migration. Despite the time that had passed, most LBC seemed to remember their parent's departure. All the LBC had difficulties accepting parental migration even though they understood the reason for migration, but those who did not have the rationale motivating migration reported feeling that their bond with their parents was broken as soon as they left. The LBC whose parents had explained migration prior to their travel reported being excited about parental migration at the beginning because they anticipate the material gain that had been promised.

I was excited that my mum was going to the UK and I would be following her soon. And thoughts of getting nice clothes. (LBC1)

I was sad because he left and he didn't even say goodbye. I was a young but I did understand that when people leave you should say goodbye. The bond was broken. (LBC14)

Caregiver arrangements different widely from one co-present parent, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Mirant parents also employed boarding schools as care arrangements especially when the child had an opportunity to visit the parent during the school holidays. The participants particularly mentioned the attention to detail that grandparents show when caring for their grandchild, co-present mother as well were also indicated to be attentive caregivers in the absence of the family. The co-present mother was often viewed as both a mother and a father.

my grandmother cared for me; she was very thorough. I remember every day after school she would check our entire bodies if we were hurt. She would even ask about my toilet activities for the day and I felt that I could tell her all my concerns and problems. She was also very patient; she was strict but she could always be gentle in her approach. She would never hit me. (LBC7)

**Results for research question 2: Emotional effect of transnational family arrangement.** One of the emerging themes from the interviews with LBC was the constant feeling of not being happy. This feeling was described to increase as the child grows up. As young children the LBC expressed, they particularly actively sort out a mother figure in their mother's absence but as they grew older, this substitution of care had decreasing effect. the LBC reported feeling angry at their parents and also feeling that the migrant parent owed them an apology for wrong done. They also reported feeling isolated from friends because they cannot relate to stories about family so they withdraw from the group of their peers during such conversation. They reported having longing for parental care like they would see at their friend's conventional families especially the interactions between mothers and children. Even LBC who got reunited with their parents report harboring resentment towards their parent even though they are very close to their parents.

it made me sad. (LBC6)

you are never quite happy when your family is like that. (LBC1)

LBC felt alone, these feelings of lonely extended into adulthood and even after reunification. Most LBC reported feeling that their parents did not know anything about them because of the time they missed out together. They reported feeling that they are still on the outskirts of society with no one who truly knows and understands them. The feelings of loneliness were felt especially by individuals who transnational mothers or both parents as migrants. Even when both parents were migrants the LBC often expressed that they had problems because their mothers were not there. Even though consciously they said both parents were important, their reports emphasized the need for a mother.

LBC with transnational father reported growing up they did not feel that anything was wrong with their family but that their mother was both a mother and a father. Visits by the father were often described to bring discord to the father structure. They describe his as a normative father with no real relationship with the children. The LBC reported not making an effort to nurture good paternal relationship and the transnational fathers were also described as distant.

How LBC deal with emotions associated with parental absence:

I would cry myself to sleep or I would cry when my mother called. (LBC1)

I spoke to my mum on the phone every day. (LBC12)

**Results for research question 3: Academic development.** LBC reported feeling demotivated in school because their parents were not attentive to their performance. Particularly difficult time would be closing days when their parents would not be there to review their performance. Some reported that the parents would forget to ask about their school report and made their efforts in school feel meaningless. Consultation days at school were also indicated as unpleasant day even if a relative came for the consultation, the experience was reported to not be the same as having the biological parent come for consultation. Some of them dropped out of school during adolescence despite their actual performance in school. Two reasons emerging from interviews which explain their resistance towards school. LBC reported feeling isolated and angry at the friends from conventional families which made school a place where they felt vulnerable and they would react emotionally towards their peers. Demotivation because of parents not being involved in education what another reason LBC may decide to drop out of school.

I wanted to go home but I was alone at home. I was afraid and I had to learn to cook for myself and spend nights alone because my father was not around. And teach myself to do laundry. It was like a child-headed home. (LBC11)

I had to learn a lot of things by myself, laundry (LBC7)

**Results for research question 4: Child agency.** LBC reported having developed a high level of independence as a result of parental migration. Despite the different care arrangements set for the LBC they reported often having to teach themselves most things like laundry, cooking and other self-care chores. This reveals a gap in caregiving within the transnational family arrangement. Child agency can also be seen in how the child increasingly influences their care arrangements as they grow older. Declining instructions about who to stay with, forcing transnational parents to reconsider their choice of caregiver. When a mother figure was not provided for example if the

child is placed in a boarding school the LBC reported actively seeking out a mother figure.

I asked one of the student teachers if she wanted to be my mother and I would go and talk to her and cry whenever I had a problem or when I missed my mum. (LBC1)

**Support for LBC:** What systems of people supported you through that experience?

My extended family did everything they could, visit, send money, buy cereal, call to check up. (LBC6)

I would go to our neighbor's house when I got scared. (LBC1)

The other students would help me with my homework. (LBC5)

I became friends with one of the student teachers, she would let me use her phone. I asked her to be my mum. (LBC1)

**Results for research question 5: LBC recommendations.** The LBC recommended that in the absence of biological parents, children should spend more time with their extended family and allow them to help them. Another recommendation is that the LBC should spend more time with the migrant parent whenever they are around and foster close relationships.

I would advise them to spend as much time as they can together whenever the emigrant parent is around to fostering good family relationships. (LBC3)

They should spend more time with their extended family. (LBC1)

### ***Migrant parents***

Transnational parents describe economic reasons as being the main reason for migration. Political reasons as well as the search for better opportunities were also indicated as reasons for migration.

economic hardships, politics and greener pastures (MP9)

The sample comprised of individual who had previously migrated with their children and some who had left children behind from the initial move. The reasons for

sending the child back included to offer the child better educational opportunities and also to ensure the child's safety. Leaving the child from the initial move was associated with stringent migration policies and the cost of migration.

educational reasons, a good education system, sometime you are not sure if the foreign systems are as good as back home. It's not familiar and you cannot trust it. (MP1)

the children had problems at school in the host country, drugs, especially. They threatened with a knife to make him smoke. He was always afraid and anxious because of that he preferred to go back to our home country. (MP2)

It just was not possible for me to migrate with my children, migrating by myself was difficult but to take my children with me was impossible especially considering the cost. (MP8)

The interviews with transnational parents revealed that the preferred co-present caregiver was the grandparents because they were believed to be more caring and experienced in child care. However, other TCRA would have to be made if the grandmother was too old or lived far how good schools.

What were your feelings about living your child behind? (Interviewer)

You are afraid and anxious about your child's safety and you are not around to support them emotionally. You doubt if your decision is in your child's best interest. (MP1)

A child needs their mother's care, it is scary and stressful to leave your child behind. You have things you want to do for your child, until your heart is satisfied. And you want to listen to them. (MP3)

A child needs his mother's care. It is my responsibility to give him love but I must also provide for him. It pains me but I have no choice. I want to see him. I worry that he is being abused. I cannot express myself, my love as a mother. I want to be able to go and see his teachers and talk to them about homework bullying. I want to be involved in his education. (MP12)

I worry he may be overlooked, if he is sick and he doesn't say anything, will they notice that he is not himself or that he is not happy. He complainers about my absence and that we do not leave as a family.'(MP11)

It feels like my child is going out into the cold but at least I know he is safe. He walks to school in a safe environment. They are less exposed. (MP7)

**Results for research question 2: Emotional Support for LBC.** Transnational parents provided emotional support for their LBC by improving communication between them. The parents reported calling every day or every other day and communication was also aided by video chats, WhatsApp messaging and sharing of pictures. Most parents also used lies to help the child cope with separation.

You try and improve communication; you get them a cellphone so you can call every day. (MP1)

When I talk to them, I tell them I am coming soon and we will stay together forever. We make plans on WhatsApp and we talk of our hopes. (MP4)

**Results for research question 3: Academic development.** Transnational parents also sort to aid their children's academic development by paying for good schools and making sure the child was provided with all school requirements. To make-up for their inability to help with homework, most of the transnational parents sent their children to extra lessons to get additional support. Academic performance was described to decline after the parent migrates but it increases as the child becomes accustomed to the arrangement.

I send him for extra lesson since I cannot help him at home, so to help him catch up. (MP8)

**Results for research question 4: Child agency and coping strategies.** Transnational parents reported that children sought out their own preference in support structure, these range from neighbors, relatives, teachers or even friends that the child grows to depend on. The children were described as being independent even when their parents came around. One of the participants explained how her woke-up by himself and got himself ready for school. The boy had fully dressed himself for school however, he was shorts and no jersey even though it was cold outside. There we notice that the child is independent although he does not seem fully equipped for the responsibility.



He relied a lot on his relatives. He would always ask to leave the boarding school and be with his relatives for the weekends. (MP7)

He learnt to cope and do things for himself, make his own decisions and he relies on his friends. (MP5)

He has become very independent; he does things for himself even when I am around. He dresses himself and makes his own decisions. (MP3)

He became more self-reliant and it takes time for him to open up about things. (MP1)

Deferred care: Transnational parents indicated that when they visit their children even though the child is pleased to see them, they would still communicate their needs and desires to their co-present caregivers instead of their parents. Transnational parents reported feeling replaced and unneeded, this may represent the reconfiguring of the family in the absence of biological parents.

### ***Co-present caregivers/Guardian***

**Caregiver's view of the transnational family arrangement.** Caregiver in the TCRA understood and accepted the circumstances leading to the migration of parents. While all of them, stated that this was not the best family arrangement and the importance of the biological parents to the wellbeing of the child, they still respected the decision made by transnational parent.

It's unfair for me to be expected to care for someone else's child but everyone has to do all that they can to secure their children's future. (CG1)

In my old age I have to start being a parent again but I want my child to be able to work for their child and give them the life they deserve. (CG2)

It is not a good thing to leave your child behind, there are things only a parent can give the child but sometimes there are also money and work opportunities to be considered. That would enable you to take better care of the child. (CG11)

It's risky to leave your child but the parent has to do it for the future of their child and to be able to provide for the child. The child is in pain and does not understand why their parents left them. Material things are not more important than love and care. (CG13)

There will be no alternative, you see that this is the only way to give your child a better life and meet their needs but there so much lost. (CG10)

**Results for research question 1: Relationship between caregiver and the LBC.** Most caregivers reported have a good rapport with the child however they did express that the relationship was of an other mother not a replacement of the biological mother. When parents are not involved in the child's life, the caregivers reported the child feeling untethered and unattached to the fostering family despite the present of children of similar ages.

He sees me as his mother and calls me mum and tell me all he wants.'(CG 7)

The child knows I am the aunt and sometimes he misses his parents even though I try my best to be there for him. (CG8)

We are very close; we are always together (CG3).

At first, we treated her like the rest of our children with the rights that our children have but she tells people that I am not her real mother. If you go to other people's house she might not want to leave. (CG6).

**Results for research question 2: Emotional reactions.** The interviewed caregivers reported that the LBC existing anger sometimes or withdrawing from family interaction. They require special attention to get them to talk about their feelings and often the caregivers have to lie to LBC that they parents would visit soon to help them cope. Caregivers reported that LBC sometimes substitute the caregiver for biological parents calling them 'mum' or insisting on engaging in activities they used to engage with their parents. regression was another coping mechanism the caregivers reported among the LBC population. Acting out behavior exhibited by LBC included isolating one's self, anger, hostility or defiance as well as stealing.

He acts like a baby and refuses to sleep alone. He follows me around everywhere and demands all my attention. (CG3)

He goes quiet sometimes and I have to persuade him to tell me what is wrong. Often, he struggles to tell me what he wants but we work together with his mum so he can tell what he wants to whomever he feels free to talk to at that time. (CG5)

**Results for research question 3: Academic achievement.** The co-present caregivers stated the importance of biological parents in motivating the child to pursue their education. In situations where the biological parent was not supportive including financial and emotional support, LBC were reported to have diminished interest in education and even going to school was undesirable for the child.

She steals from home and school, goes to school late and comes home from school late but my children come on time. She falls behind and does not seem to value school. She tears textbook or loses them. She does not seem to care about a lot of things perhaps because her parents do not seem to pay attention to her. She does not have a sense of belonging, she seems troubled. She used to stay with her grandmother but she came to stay with us because of discipline problem. (CG6)

**Challenges of the TCRA.** Most of the caregivers expressed feeling inadequate to secure the child's wellbeing. They were afraid the child was unhappy and wished to be with their parents. This fear also affected their ability to discipline the child, all interviewed caregivers expressed a reluctance to punish the child especially the grandparents.

Sometimes at school you feel that he needs his parents to motivate him. You can only do so much for a child but if you are not the parent it is not the same. Disciplining the child is also difficult. As an aunt you are limited to how much discipline you can give the child. (CG8)

You worry if you are doing enough as a grandparent. The child sometimes shows anger especially when I try to discipline him. He says he will leave me and go to his parents. I think he is sad because he imagines his life would be a lot better living with his parents. (CG9)

**Results for research question 5: Caregiver recommendations.** The caregivers recommend more parental interaction with the child.

The child should spend more time with their parents for example during the holidays. (CG10)

I wish the parents would be more involved to encourage her with school and talk to her discipline. (CG6)

An environment where the child does not feel limited because their parents are absent. (CG1)

## **Discussion**

### ***Transnational family arrangements***

The study explored the nature of transnational families in Zimbabwe. Interviews with parents in transnational family arrangements revealed that the common cause of migration from Zimbabwe was economic hardship and difficulty in securing employment. Political factors were also mentioned by the parents as reasons for migration. This is similar to the findings by Kufakurinani et al. (2014) and Cuffe (2017). Most of the parents interviewed mentioned educational factors as being the key factor motivating the separation of family. Educational factors included trust for the educational system in the home country and also experiences of bullying in foreign schools. Moral decay was another concern that motivated the parents to leave or send their children back to their country of origin. Parents described situations where children were pressured into drugs and smoking among the bullying experiences and moral degradation.

The structure of the transnational families derived from the results shows that the most common type of transnational family arrangement was both parents as migrants which represents 44% of the transnational family sample, followed closely by the transnational father arrangement. The prominence of transnational arrangements where both parents migrate can be seen as an attempt to preserve the institution of marriage within the transnational family arrangement. Castanedo and Buck (2011) suggest that migrant father emotional disconnect from the family left behind resulting in less remittance and less sacrifices being made for the family. The migration of both parents

can be a way of mitigating this challenge. The second most popular structure was the migrant father type 42% and the least common arrangement was the migrant mother arrangement representing only 14% of the sample of transnational families. This can be viewed as the perpetuating of traditional gender roles in the transnational family arrangement where fathers hold economic responsibilities while mothers are responsible for care. It can be assumed that the majority of migrant mothers are single mothers performing productive roles which would traditionally be for men. This is congruent with migrant mothers as described by Caarls et al. (2018).

Most migrant parents preferred to have their children reside with relatives than at boarding school this shows the value of family in child rearing.

### ***Fostering arrangements***

The results showed that when the father was the emigrant parent, more than 70% of the children were left in the care of the mother however when the father was the emigrant parent only 12.5% were left in the father care. These results also reaffirm the engendered roles in the transnational family arrangement. This is supported by the results of interviews with individuals who grew up in transnational families. The sampled individuals emphasized the importance of presence of a mother or a mother figure. Individuals with both parents as migrants constantly spoke about maternal absence and very little mention was made about paternal absence. Where a mother figure was not provided the children would seek out a mother figure for themselves.

a mother should not leave her children. (LBC 2)

I asked one of the student teachers if she wanted to be my mum. (LBC 1)

When the mother was the migrant parent, most children were left in the care of the grandparents (62.5%). During the interviews with migrant parents they expressed that they favored to have their children staying with grandmothers because they have more experience in child care for example just by looking at the child, they can tell the child is not feeling well but younger people would not be able to do this. Grandparents are also the most common fostering arrangement when both parents migrate. This is in line with research by Poeze et al. (2016) who indicated that grandmothers are trusted to treat the child like their own than any other extended family member. They also have

few productive and reproductive obligations which gives them more time and opportunities to care for the child left-behind.

Poeze et al. (2016) indicated that the choice of caregiver was guided by the following consideration: proximity to good schools, guardian's level of education and the number of children in the guardian's household. Similarly, the parent interviewed for this study indicated that proximity to good schools, accessibility of the location as well as the prospective guardian's willingness to help were the factors they considered when choosing a guardian for their children.

### ***Differences in attachment styles according to family arrangement.***

The results show no significant difference in attachment styles according to family arrangement, for both family arrangements the most common attachment style is secure attachment. This is contrary to research by Zhao et al. (2018) that suggests that the emotional toil created by long-periods of separation would result in disruptions in attachment. It would be expected that children in transnational families would have anxious or avoidant attachment styles after the migration of their primary caregivers. The attachment styles employed by children reflect how children perceive parental migration and family separation (Zhao, et al., 2018). Children are more resilient when they understand the reason behind the absence of their parents.

During interviews with LBC, the importance of explaining parental migration is emphasized because the explanations given by the parents help the children to cope and without being provided with one the child feels abandoned and uncared for. This emphasizes the importance of the child understanding the context of parental migration. Furthermore, the child's perception of parental migration may be influenced by how the society views parental migration and their own understanding of the meaning and circumstances influencing the migration decision. Sub-Saharan Africa has a long history of child fostering and considers child rearing to be a communal responsibility (Serra, 2009). An ancient African proverb states that, 'it takes a village to raise a child'.

Older children are more likely to have a more positive perspective of their parent's migration. Zhao et al. (2018) asserts that age at departure of the parent was crucial to determining the attachment style of the child. According to Zhao et al. (2018),

when parents migrate later in childhood, the children are more resilient and maintain strong emotional attachment bonds. The results of this study also support this assertion since there is a positive correlation between the age of the child when the parent migrates and psychological wellbeing on the subscales of positive emotion, positive outlook, social desirability and the cumulative score of psychological wellbeing. These results are supported by a negative correlation between age and emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems and the cumulative score of strength and difficulties but a positive correlation between age at departure and prosocial behavior.

The results could also indicate the effectiveness of the coping mechanisms employed by transnational families to maintain close family ties. The migrant parents interviewed revealed that they try maintain parental bonds with their children by being in constant communication with their children. Most of the parents stated that they try to call their children every day. Technology also enables children to maintain constant contact with their migrant parents through video and voice call as well as instant messaging (Fesenmeyer, 2014). The interviews with caregivers and LBC revealed that when parents did not make an effort to maintain close relations with the child, the LBC were reported to express diminished attachment with their parents and also with caregivers. One of the caregivers explained that the LBC told everyone that she was not the biological parents and also the child sometimes refused to leave other people's houses when they visited. This shows that the child does not feel attached to the caregiver. The caregiver also mentioned remittance as another way migrant parent show affection for the child. Remittance are a mode used by migrant parents to provide care to the LBC (Poeze, et al., 2016). This helps transnational families maintain a sense of togetherness.

Furthermore, to foster oneness relationships in the transnational family are reconfigured such that the extended family or co-present caregivers becomes a member of the nuclear family. Most parents however indicated that they observed that their children became more independent and also that when they visited it would take a while before their children felt free to confide in them.

The parents also indicated a transfer of affection, attachment and responsibility that was noticeable when they visited their children. This reveals that the children left

behind establish a new bond with the co-present caregiver. Interviews with LBC emphasize the importance of creating these new bonds. However, Falicov (2007) attests that in cultures where extended family involvement in childrearing is an encouraged social norm, the attachment models designed in the Euro-American context may not be applicable. In this light, while the migration of the biological parents represents a loss in care and secure attachment bond, this loss is mediated by existing extended family bonds that are strength upon the parent's departure.

when I visit, I notice that my child seems to love their sister more than me. They constantly ask the sister when they need something even when I'm around. I asked him why he asks his sister and not me and he says because that is what he is used to doing. (MP 14)

The transfer of attachment is aided by the preexisting bond the children already have with extended family members who are left as their guardian. Most of the children left behind are left in the guardianship of relatives they already had close relationships with like their grandmother or an aunt or uncle. This is congruent with the African view of family. Makiwane and Kaunda (2018) state that in African society, household and family are words that can be used interchangeably because it is common for member of the nuclear family and the extended family to function as a single close unit.

when my parents went away and I started staying with my grandmother, there was not much difference because I frequently stayed at my grandmother's house and I was quite close to her. (LBC 12)

### ***Psychological wellbeing according to family arrangement***

The results of self-reports of psychological wellbeing indicate that there was no difference in positive emotion, positive outlook and general wellbeing between children in conventional families and children in transnational family arrangements. Similarly, teachers' assessments also indicate that there were no significant differences between children in transnational family arrangements and their conventional family counterparts on the subscales of emotional symptoms, conduct symptoms, hyperactivity, peer problems and the total score of psychological wellbeing. This is in contrast to research in most parts of world such as the South-Eastern Asia (Graham & Jordan, 2011) Latin



America, however, some research in Sub-Saharan Africa family reveals that the psychological wellbeing of children in transnational family arrangements does not differ from that of children in conventional family arrangements (Mazzucato & Cebotari, 2018, Mazzucato, et al., 2015; Caarls, et al., 2018). This suggests that psychological wellbeing of children in transnational arrangements is affected the sociocultural context in the country of origin (Benhard, et al., 2005). The culture of child fostering in Sub-Saharan Africa which normalizes parental absence might account for these results. Furthermore, this may result from the effective coping mechanisms employed by both the children and the transnational family at large for example the agency of the child seeking a figure to substitute the lost care and establishing their independence. The extended family and community also provide social support for the LBC for example teachers, pastors and friends. Constant communication and remittance from emigrant parents also help ensure the proper functioning of the transnational family which positively affects LBC's psychological health.

The results revealed that children in transnational family arrangements scored significantly lower than children in conventional family arrangements on the social desirability subscale of the psychological wellbeing scale. This scale is associated with providing socially acceptable responses. Similarly, when teachers were asked to assess the psychological wellbeing of their students, significant differences were only found on the subscale of prosocial where children in transnational family arrangements scored significantly lower than children in conventional family arrangements. This subscale focuses on prosocial behaviors and prosocial feelings towards others. According to Chernyak et al. (2018) prosocial behaviors in children include helping others achieve their goals, meeting other's emotional needs, comforting, co-operating and sharing resources while prosocial feelings entail caring about other people's feelings. These actions are associated with peer acceptance, self-confidence and empathy. They also impact academic performance and key developmental skills such as problem solving and moral reasoning. The development of prosocial behavior is linked to genetics, early moral development and the environment. As the child learns to trust the parent because of constant provision of food, sleep, safety, attention and loving care, they increasingly want to please the parent or caregiver. Wen and Lin (2012) suggest that family cohesion

and supervision promote prosocial behavior in children. Porta and Brown (2016) define family cohesion as the affectional bond shared within the family. It is a key feature of family functioning which is associated with closeness and togetherness. When parents migrate children may lose their sense of family cohesion resulting in low scores of the prosocial scale as can be seen in the sampled child members of transnational family arrangements.

Furthermore, interviews with members of transnational family arrangement revealed that there is a crisis in discipline because no one feels free to take up disciplinary roles for different reasons. The caregivers do not want to make the child unhappy and make them wistful for their parents and transnational parents do not wish to antagonize their children because their relationship seems fragile. The child essentially becomes a self-governing entity when they are not ready for such responsibility. This may be another reason why LBC score poorly on prosocial behaviors.

When comparing the different transnational family arrangements, children with both parents as emigrants scored the lowest scores on the subscales of positive emotion, social desirability and general wellbeing. Significantly lower than both children in conventional family arrangements and other transnational family arrangements. Similarly, the results of teacher assessments of student wellbeing reveal that children with both emigrant parents score significantly higher than transnational father and transnational mother groups on the subscale of emotional symptoms and lower on prosocial behaviors. These results are congruently with reports of sadness among LBC provided by both interviewed LBC and the co-present caregivers. Children with either one of their parents as emigrants cope better with parental absence than when both parents migrate (Zhao, et al., 2018). This may result from the trade-off between parental time-input and financial input. Zhao et al. (2018) alludes that parental migration negatively impacts the child's psychological health because of the emotional toll caused by parental absence. This substitution of care for material gain negatively affects the psychological development of the child.

According to Graham et al. (2012), children in transnational families report to be less happy and feel lonely. They are also more vulnerable because of lack of emotional

support or are reluctant to seek social support in the absence of their parents. The children are likely to detach themselves from absent parents which also decreases social support (Dreby, 2007). This is congruent the term diaspora orphans, a term used by Kufakurinani et al. (2014) to describe children in transnational family arrangements. The term depicts their vulnerability and emotional struggle. Children with both parents as migrants are likely to experience less family cohesion (Wen & Lin, 2012) and support than any of the other family arrangements which may account for their low social desirability scores. When both parents migrate, the child loses more elements associated with family such as the house, furniture, neighbors and even the parents themselves which represents a significant disruption to their sense of belonging.

Furthermore, most children with both parents as migrants lived with their grandparents, while grandparents put greater effort in childcare, the generation gap between them and their grandchildren may be a barrier to effective communication which in turn negatively impact the emotional connection between the child and caregiver. Furthermore, the frailty of the grandparent's health maybe a hinderance of the provision of care such that children may become the caregiver to their grandparents (Zhao, et al., 2018).

Sometimes it would be difficult to tell my grandparents what I want or share my thoughts because they don't know a lot of the latest trends. They don't understand the way I think unlike when I talked to my parents. So sometimes I felt lonely. Also, if there are sports matches or things, I wanted to attend sometimes I knew that would be too much to ask my grandparents because it would be a lot of work for them. (LBC2)

Children with both parents as migrants score significantly lower than all the other family arrangements on the subscale of social desirability. Similarly, the results of the teacher assessment of student wellbeing showed that children with both parents as migrants scored significantly lower on the subscale of prosocial behavior. Children with both parents as migrants are likely to experience less family cohesion and support than any of the other family arrangements which could be the reason why they have low score on the social desirability scale (Wen & Lin, 2012). When both parents migrate,

child lose more elements associated with family such as the house, furniture, neighbors and even the parents themselves.

The results reveal that children with transnational fathers scored significantly higher on the subscale of positive outlook, than children in conventional family arrangements and children with both parents as emigrants. According to Jampaklay and Vapattanawong (2013), children are more likely to have a positive outlook if they perceive the family to be functioning well and supportive. Children do not view paternal absence negatively as long as their mother is around to care for them (Jampaklay & Vapattanawong, 2013). Furthermore, society is more accepting of paternal migration as compared to maternal migration which helps children of migrant fathers to maintain a sense of a well-functioning family life. Positive outlook and resilience are also associated with economic status of the family. The economic difficulties experienced by conventional family in Zimbabwe can account for why children with transnational fathers scoring higher on the subscale of positive outlook. It can be argued that the gendered roles of care in the family as well as the effects of remittance enable children of transnational fathers to maintain a higher positive outlook.

These results are also indicative of the challenges that are being faced by families residing in countries in crisis. Hurungundo (2019) stated that children in Zimbabwe are experiencing economic anxiety because difficulties they hear their parents talk about. In the studies the children's responses revealed their understanding of parental unemployment and economic hardship. LBC in the transnational father arrangement reported feeling economically secure since the transnational father often emotionally detach from the left behind family to function as a nominal father. Remittance provided by the emigrant father increase family income and changes how family income is distributed (Jiang & Yang, 2019). Jiang and Yang (2019) assert that migration increases the father's bargaining power over family resources resulting in decreased investment in child related expenses, however Fialkowska (2019) states that transnational fathers slowly disengage from emotional involvement with the family to function as nominal father also known as a father by the cheque. Furthermore, mothers are more likely to invest more family income in quality education, nutrition and healthcare for their children. According to Fialkowska (2019), the fathering role in the family is associated

with authority, economy and defense. These characteristics are threatened by the children's awareness of the unemployment and poverty prevalent in Zimbabwe. Positive outlook and resilience are associated with economic status of the family, flexibility and effective communication (Boss, 2006).

On the other hand, there are no significant differences in conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems as well as the combined score of psychological wellbeing according to teacher reports. Similarly, Ling et al. (2017) found no difference in friendship quality and peer acceptable when comparing LBC and children in conventional families despite LBC reporting loneliness. This suggests the internalizing of problems by the LBC. Hu et al. (2018) indicated that LBC are more likely to internalize problems than externalizing them however in this research no significant differences were found in internalizing and externalizing behaviors of LBC and children in conventional families.

**Academic development.** The results of teacher's assessment of individual students' academic development revealed no significant differences between the scores of children in transnational family arrangements and children in conventional family arrangements. These results are similar to research by Jordan and Graham (2012). This may indicate an improvement in the quality of educational support provided for the children. Zhang, et al. (2014) indicated that parental absence is associated with increased earnings spent on education, and reduced child labor. The interviewed transnational parents reported that they now send their children to better schools and also to extra lessons to make-up for their inability to help them with homework like co-present parents. These results may represent the effectiveness of coping strategies used in the transnational family arrangement.

However, there is a significant negative correlation between age at departure and problems reading and writing. Many researches link parental involvement to improved academic performance since parents provide motivation and support for learning (Lara & Saracosti, 2019). Parents are encouraged to read with the child and teach them which is linked to the acquisition of literacy skills (Dawson, 2012). This correlation reveals the importance of parent's involvement in early childhood literacy activities. During

interview with LBC, they mentioned the importance of parents' involvement to motivate them in school. The interviewed caregivers also indicated that the importance of the biological parents motivating the children towards better academic performance.

There is no significant correlation between age at parental departure and problem solving, arithmetic ability and general learning. This suggest the strength of the child's agency since parental migration makes LBC accustomed independent problem solving and independent learning (Graham, et al., 2012). Despite the age of parental departure, LBC experience the same adjustment and learning problems. The interviewed LBC expressed they had to learn to do most things independently even when they had extended family members residing with them.

## **Conclusion**

The results and discussion presented above reveal that there are no significant differences between the attachment styles employed by LBC and children in conventional family arrangements which may result from the reconfiguring for family relations in the transnational family. No significant differences were found between the psychological health and academic development of LBC and children in conventional family arrangements which reveals that not all transnational family arrangements effect the LBC negatively. However, significant differences were found in psychological wellbeing when the sample is divided into different transnational family arrangements. The data revealed that children are least able to cope when both parents migrate than when either one of the parents migrate. Furthermore, when the father is the migrant parent, children perform better than children in conventional families on positive outlook. A correlation was found between the child's age at parent's departure and psychological health and academic development.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The current chapter is designed to provide a conclusion to the current research by summarizing the findings, the implications of the findings for practice and also providing recommendations for further research.

#### **Summary of Findings**

The current research investigated the attachment styles, psychological wellbeing and educational development of children in transnational family arrangements. In comparison with children in conventional family arrangements, the attachment styles of children in transnational family arrangements did not differ significantly. This suggests that LBC have a positive perception of their parent's migration. The age of the child at departure and the society's perception of parental migration may contribute to the resilience evident in the LBC attachment styles and academic development. In consideration of psychological wellbeing, LBC were revealed to have challenges with prosocial behaviors because of loss of family cohesion especially when both parents migrate. The migration of both parents has more negative effects on the child's psychological wellbeing than when either one of the parents migrate. As a result of social norms and gendered roles, children cope better when their fathers migrate. Paternal migration is also associated with upward social mobility and financial security. The central issue arising is that parents should consider the social norms, emerging transnational family structure as well as the age of the child because it influences the child's ability to cope with separation and the acquisition of literacy skills.

#### **Implications for practice**

The study reveals the positive aspect of parental migration which is based on the context of migration and effects of migration. The research suggests that parents should consider social norms when considering family arrangements in relation to migration. Social norms determine how the child would cope with the parental absence. Social norms include social perception of child fostering, economic and political situation and general acceptance of leaving children behind in the country of origin. A child's age at

parental departure is important because the child understanding the reason for parental absence is a key factor influencing how the child copes with the transnational family arrangement. It shows the importance of children understanding the rationale behind parental migration and maintaining constant communication across national boundaries. Interviews with the members of the transnational family suggest the importance of parental involvement and opportunities for interaction should be maximized. Both online communication and physical proximity through frequent visits.

**Recommendations for Further Research.**

Further research should be carried out comparing LBC at different ages to examine their coping strategies and wellbeing at the different developmental stages in more detail and in order to transfer them to transnational families in various situations.



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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### Permission from Ministry of Education



## Appendix B

### Permissions Regarding the Use of Scales

Attachment style classification questionnaire for latency age children

Dear Gloria,

Hereby is a file with the questionnaire and it's psychometric properties  
Now, according to Prof. Mikulincer advise and the view of dimensions  
(instead of types) I use only the anxious and avoidant dimensions (you can  
see it marked in yellow), and calculate the mean score.

Also, you can see in the file which item "belong" to each style.

Goode luck

Ricky

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The Stirling Children Wellbeing scale can be reproduced as long as the Key reference is included in the text. The copyright obligation has been met.

The Strength and Difficulties questionnaire is permitted for use free of charge, provided there are charges or translations made to the measure and no electronic version are created. To meet this requirement the measure has been excluded from the write up.

The 5-15R Questionnaire for evaluation of development and Behavior is free of charge provided the user registers. This requirement was met.

## Appendix C

### Turnitin Similarity Report

#### Thesis

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##### ORIJINALLIK RAPORU

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<b>%6</b>	<b>%4</b>	<b>%3</b>	<b>%4</b>
BENZERLİK ENDEKSİ	İNTERNET KAYNAKLARI	YAYINLAR	ÖĞRENCİ ÖDEVLERİ

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##### TÜM KAYNAKLARI EŞLEŞTİR ( SADECE SEÇİLİ OLAN KAYNAĞI YAZDIR)

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%1

★ [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov)

İnternet Kaynağı

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Alıntıları çıkart	üzerinde	Eşleşmeleri çıkar	Kapat
Bibliyografyayı Çıkart	üzerinde		

## Appendix D

### Ethical Approval



BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK

KURULU



22.01.2019

Dear Gloria Manyeruke

Your application titled “The Attachment, Self-Efficacy, Psychological And Educational Development Of Children In Transnational Families” with the application number YDÜ/EB/2018/282 has been evaluated by the Scientific Research Ethics Committee and granted approval. You can start your research on the condition that you will abide by the information provided in your application form.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

*Direnç Kanol*

## Appendix E

### LBC questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. For the questions below, try to answer only what you feel. Everyone has his or her own answer. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. Read each sentence carefully. Then filling the gaps with an answer that best describes you.

Student number:			
1.	age		
2.	Gender	a.	male    b. female
3.	Mother's occupation		
4.	Father's occupation		
5.	Which of your family members leaves abroad?	a.	mother    b. father    c. siblings
6.	Do you stay with your siblings?	a.	yes    b. No
7.	Number of siblings		
8.	When did you last see your migrant parent/s?		
a.	Last month		
b.	3 months ago		
c.	6 months ago		
d.	One year ago		
e.	More than a year ago		
9.	How old were you when your parent/s moved to live abroad?		
10.	How often do you speak to your parent who lives abroad? _____		
11.	Where to you stay?		
a.	At boarding school		
b.	At home with relatives		
c.	Other. Specify where _____		
12.	Who do you stay with while your parents are abroad? _____		
13.	How long have you been staying with your current guardian? _____		
14.	Have you had another guardian before?	a. yes	b. no
15.	Who helps you with your homework? _____		

### ASCQ (Attachment Style Classification Questionnaire for Latency Age Children)

How true is each of the sentences for you?

	All wrong	Wrong	A Bit wrong	A bit right	Very right
1. I make friends with other children easily.					
2. I don't feel comfortable trying to make friends.					
3. It is easy for me to depend on others, if they're good friends of mine.					
4. Sometimes others get too friendly and too close to me.					
5. Sometimes I'm afraid that other kids won't want to be with me.					
6. I'd like to be really close to some children and always be with them.					
7. It's all right with me if good friends trust and depend on me.					
8. It's hard for me to trust others completely.					
9. I sometimes feel that others don't want to be good friends with me as much as I do with them.					
10. I usually believe that others who are close to me will not leave me.					
11. I'm sometimes afraid that no one really loves me.					
12. I find it uncomfortable and get annoyed when someone tries to get too close to me.					
13. It's hard for me to really trust others, even if they're good friends of mine.					
14. Children sometimes avoid me when I want to get close and be a good friend of theirs.					
15. Usually, when anyone tries to get too close to me it does not bother me.					

Statements	Never	Not much of the time	Some of the time	Quite a lot of time	All of the time
1. I think good things will happen in my life					
2. I have always told the truth					
3. I've been able to make choices easily					
4. I can find lots of fun things to do					
5. I feel that I am good at some things					

6. I think lots of people care about me					
7. I like everyone I have met					
8. I think there are many things I can be proud of					
9. I've been feeling calm					
10. I've been in a good mood					
11. I enjoy what each new day brings					
12. I've been getting on well with people					
13. I always share my sweets					
14. I've been cheerful about things					
15. I've been feeling relaxed					

## Appendix F

### Teacher's questionnaire

#### Academic development

	Does not apply	Applies sometimes/to some extent	applies
1. Acquiring reading skills is more difficult than expected considering his/her ability to learn other things			
2. Has difficulties to understand what he/she is reading			
3. Difficulty reading aloud at normal speed (reads too slowly, too quickly, or fails to read fluently)			
4. Does not like reading (e.g., avoids reading books)			
5. Makes many guesses while reading			
6. Difficulty spelling			
7. Has difficulties shaping letters and to write neatly			
8. Difficulty formulating him/herself in writing			
9. Difficulty acquiring basic math skills (addition, subtraction; i.e., plus, minus)			
10. 2. Difficulty with math problems given in written form			
11. Difficulty learning and applying various mathematical rules			
12. Difficulty learning and use multiplication tables			
13. Difficulty with mental arithmetic			
<b>Learning new things and applying knowledge in school</b>			
14. Difficulty understanding verbal instructions			
15. Difficulty understanding or using abstract terms, e.g., terms relating to size, volume, spatial directions			
16. Difficulty participating in discussions with other children			
17. Difficulty learning facts or acquiring knowledge about the surrounding world.			
18. Exceptional knowledge or skills in some area			
19. Is good at artistic or practical things (playing an instrument, drawing, painting, construction work)			



<b>PROBLEM SOLVING IN SCHOOL AND APPROACH TO NEW LEARNING SITUATIONS</b>			
<b>20.</b> Difficulty planning and organizing activities, (e.g., the order in which things should be done, how much time is needed to manage a specific task)			
<b>21.</b> Difficulty shifting plan or strategy when this is required (e.g., when the initial approach failed)			
<b>22.</b> Difficulty comprehending explanations and following instructions given by adults			
<b>23.</b> Difficulty solving abstract tasks (i.e., is dependent on learning material that can be seen or touched)			
<b>24.</b> 6. Difficulty keeping on trying and completing tasks, often leaves them half finished			
<b>25.</b> Unmotivated for school work or comparable learning situations			
<b>26.</b> Learning is slow and laborious			
<b>27.</b> Does things too quickly, hastily, or in a hurry			
<b>28.</b> Can/will not take responsibility for own actions, needs a lot of supervision			
<b>29.</b> Very much in need of support, wants to know whether he/she is performing well			

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE	PRETTY MUCH	VERY MUCH
Do academic problems or learning difficulties interfere with your student's daily functioning?				

**Further comments about the student's academic performance (class position, performance of individual subjects etc)**

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## **Appendix G**

### **Interview schedule for LBC**

1. What is your general view of transnational family arrangements?
2. What were your expectations in relation to having your parents based abroad?
3. Your initial experience after your parent's departure
4. Nature of Fostering arrangement  
(attachment type to co-present caregiver.)
5. Benefits, challenges and emotional experience of being in this family arrangement
6. Attachment to parent(s) abroad  
(Communication, remittance)
7. Support system? How would you improve the experience of children in transnational family arrangements?

## **Appendix H**

### **Interview schedule for emigrant parents**

1. What is your general view of the TCRA?
2. What made you decide to migrate?
3. What made you decide to leave your child behind?
4. What were your fears leaving your child behind?
5. What difficulties do you encounter because of the TCRA?
6. How do you deal with these problems?
7. How has your migration affected your relationship with your child?
8. How do you help the child cope with your absence?
9. What advantages or disadvantages are associated with the TCRA?

## **Appendix I**

### **Interview schedule for co-present caregiver**

1. What I your general view of the TCRA?
2. How has your relationship with the child changed since they came to stay with you?
3. What challenges do you experience caring for the LBC?
4. how is the child affected by parental absence?
5. How do you help the child cope with parental absence?
6. How does the child help themselves cope with parental absence?
7. What would you recommend to improve the TCRA?

## **Appendix J**

### **Biography**

Gloria Manyeruke was born in 1991 in Masvingo the ancient city in the south of Zimbabwe. She is the last of four children of four children. She went to Zimuto high school and completed her undergraduate studies at the University of Zimbabwe and continued her masters at Near East University in Cyprus. After that she proceed with her PhD studies at the same institution. She enjoys chess and writing. Her research interests are in social psychology, particularly migration studies.

**Appendix K**  
**CURRICULUM VITAE**

Name and Surname	Gloria Manyeruke
Gender	Female
Date of Birth	09/10/1991
Educational background	<p>PhD Guidance and Psychological Counselling (Near East University) 2016-2020</p> <p>Msc General Psychology (Near East University) (2014-2016)</p> <p>BSc (Hons) in Psychology (University of Zimbabwe). (2010-2013)</p> <p>Executive certificate in Monitoring and Evaluation (University of Zimbabwe) (2013)</p>
Work History	<p><b>Position:</b> Research Assistant, Near East University, Psychology department 2018-present</p> <p><b>Position:</b> Near East Counselling Centre Intern, Near East University 09/2017- present</p> <p><b>Position:</b> Assistant, Cyprus Recruitment and Placement Consultancy (CRPC) 03/2015- 2018</p> <p><b>Position:</b> Teacher, Ministry of Education Zimbabwe 01/2014-08/2014</p>
Previous Research	<p>Manyeruke G. &amp; Cakici E. (2017). Ethnic identity formation, self-esteem and psychological symptoms among third culture individuals. <i>Ponte International Scientific Research Journal</i>, 73(8). DOI: 10.21506/j.ponte.2017.8.21</p> <p>Presented at 4<sup>th</sup> Global Conference on psychology researches. Antalia, Turkey.</p>

	<p>Cerkez, Y., Manyeruke, G., Oduwaye, O. &amp; Shimave, S. (2018). Ethical issues in counseling: a trend analysis. <i>Quality &amp; Quantity</i>, 52, 223-233. doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0604-6</p> <p>Shimvave S. &amp; Manyeruke G. (2017) The influence of individual student beliefs on student performance. Presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> Anglo-American Publications 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on Multidisciplinary Studies. 19-20 June, Girne, Cyprus.</p> <p>Manyeruke, G., Cerkez, Y., Kiraz, A. &amp; Cakici, E. (2020). Attachment, psychological wellbeing and educational development among child members of transnational families. <i>Anatolian Journal of Psychiatry</i>, 21(5). DOI: 10.5455/apd.106486.</p>
Research Interest	Social psychology, identity, culture, migration studies, child development and education.