

Exploring the Intersection of Vulnerability and Resilience in the Educational Experience of Left-behind Learners at a South African School

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the nexus between vulnerability and resilience among left-behind learners following parental labour migration. This qualitative study provided those learners left behind by migrant parents with a platform to articulate their lived experiences in relation to vulnerability. The left-behind narrative is significant as it informs psychosocial support schemes aimed at improving the well-being and educational outcomes of these learners. A case study design was adopted, and eight left-behind learners were purposively sampled from a rural secondary school in South Africa. The study utilised Masten's resilience developmental model and Ncube's tree of life model to build a conceptual framework. Findings reveal that left-behind learners feel abandoned by their migrating parent(s) and marginalised from mainstream support. This occurs because they are perceived to have living parents, and those who could offer support assume that the migrating parent is responsible. Left-behind learners, particularly girls, felt exposed to physical and emotional abuse due to a lack of parental protection and guidance at home. This, in turn, affects their mental health and educational outcomes. However, through peer support and school-based assistance, some of the learners have developed ways to tolerate and absorb the challenges associated with parental absence.

External support also helps to complement hope, bravery, and optimism, enhancing the competencies of left-behind learners over time. The study recommends building support from the community, church, and school for sustainable learner support and resilience.

Keywords: Vulnerability, resilience, left-behind learners, learning, learner well-being.

1. Introduction

Labour migration is a survival strategy adopted by many parents in low- and middle-income economies, including South Africa, where it is regarded as one of the significant legacies of apartheid (Hall & Posel, 2019). As a result, the family unit becomes fluid, fragmented, and disrupted, with geographical proximity ceasing to be the defining feature of a family (Jaure & Makura, 2021; Hall & Sambu, 2017; Seepamore, 2015). A 'child-only family' is defined as a household in which all members are younger than 18 years (Hall, 2024). Some of the children left in the home country are supervised solely by other children and attend local schools, leading to their classification as 'left-behind learners' (Jaure & Makura, 2021). A UNICEF (2020) report indicates that this is a common practice in developing countries and countries affected by seasonal labour, resulting in millions of left-behind children. Statistics in South Africa indicate that up to 89% of children in child-only households have at least one living parent (Hall, 2024). Furthermore, up to 74% of children in child-only family setups have a living mother. Consequently, factors such as parental labour migration and the feminisation of migration may account for the fragmentation of families, leading to the growing population of this unique form of child-headed household. This study sought to explore the nexus between vulnerability and resilience among left-behind learners in this volatile family setup.

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The study acknowledges previous research that has explored vulnerability among children (Sitienei & Pillay, 2019). There are also studies that investigate resilience among children (Ungar, Connelly, Liebenberg & Theron, 2019). This study aims to contribute to existing literature by combining the two concepts: vulnerability and resilience. This process is intended to give the affected left-behind learners a voice to share their experiences in the context of vulnerability and resilience. According to Messiou (2019), learners' voices encompass the thoughts, emotions, and actions of those affected – in this case, left-behind learners in child-headed households. The voices of these affected and vulnerable learners are significant in exploring relevant psychosocial support to improve well-being and educational outcomes. The perspectives of the affected children are important because they are the 'experts' of being children and perceive the world differently from adults (Morrow, 1998; Faldet & Nes, 2021). The revelation of vulnerability indicators from the learners themselves would contribute to the development of relevant support schemes.

South Africa was considered for this study because it has a significant population of learners living in parent-child separation configurations. Parental labour migration, compounded by other social challenges such as divorce and single parenthood, accounts for a larger proportion of these separations (Jaure & Makura, 2021). The population distribution in South Africa, similar to several developing nations, reflects this divide, with more children in rural communities and more adults in urban areas (Hall & Sambu, 2017). This results in parents either neglecting their parenting duties or performing them from afar using information and communication technology (Seepamore, 2015).

The decision to leave children behind is often based on the parents' perception of labour migration as temporary, and the uncertainty surrounding the destination also motivates leaving children in the safety of their rural homes (Jaure & Makura, 2021). Consequently, these children are deprived of parental support, affection, supervision, protection, and guidance (Guo, 2012; author, 2021), making them vulnerable. Studies in China reveal that left-behind children have less favourable functioning across emotional, social, and academic domains compared to their peers (Tong, Yan & Kawachi, 2019). The challenges faced by left-behind children significantly impact their academic and social development. The growing population of such learners, who must cope without parental support, supervision, guidance, and assistance, highlights the need to explore support schemes. Sustainable support schemes are best developed when the affected individuals are involved in the processes.

Vulnerability as an outcome is better explored through qualitative approaches that allow affected learners to provide detailed insights into the indicators of their vulnerability, which in turn can facilitate the provision of relevant support. Additionally, the learners' voices can illuminate nuances of resilience as a coping strategy, which can be integrated into support schemes. In this context, resilience refers to coping and adaptation mechanisms specifically designed to address the prevailing challenges that threaten functioning, viability, and development (Masten, 2018). It follows that resilience cannot be imposed externally but is cultivated by those affected in response to their unique circumstances. Therefore, it is essential to provide learners whose safety and well-being are at risk with a platform to share their narratives.

1.1 Problem statement

Many parents resort to labour migration as a survival strategy, raising increasing concerns regarding the well-being of learners who are left behind. This issue is particularly pressing given the absence of clear policies in most countries to address the well-being of these learners. This study aims to bridge the existing gap by exploring the vulnerability and resilience in the coping strategies of learners who are left behind. By investigating these aspects, the research seeks to highlight the challenges they face and the mechanisms they employ to adapt to their circumstances.

1.1.1 Research questions

The following are the research questions that guided the study:

- What are the experiences of vulnerability among left-behind learners in child-only families?
- What coping mechanisms do left-behind learners develop, and how do these reflect their resilience?
- How effective are the existing support schemes for left-behind learners in enhancing their well-being and educational outcomes?

1.1.2 Theoretical framework

To capture the narrative of left-behind learners coping with vulnerability, the 'tree of life model' was utilised (Ncube, 2006). This provided the learners with a platform to share their lived experiences of separation, their understanding of vulnerability, and their coping mechanisms (resilience). This model is considered a helpful tool for learners in adversity, allowing them to "connect to their values, morals, relationships and life experiences" (Ncube, 2006, p. 9). The roots symbolise a child's past history, highlighting what they take from their past experiences that can facilitate adaptability. The trunk represents the skills and abilities that can be applied to foster resilience. The branches signify a person's hopes and goals, while the leaves represent each important person in the lives of the vulnerable learner. The gifts from the interacting partners are symbolised by the fruits, which come in various shapes. As the world continues to globalise, statistics of parent-child separations continue to rise, thereby necessitating the exploration of coping strategies and the creation of environments that foster resilience.

Masten's Resilience Theory (Masten, 2014; Masten & Obradović, 2006) provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the complex interplay between risk, vulnerability, and resilience among left-behind learners. This theory posits that resilience emerges from the dynamic interaction between individual, family, and community factors. According to Masten (2014), individual factors such as intelligence, temperament, and self-regulation skills play a crucial role in fostering resilience among left-behind learners. Those with adaptive coping strategies, problem-solving skills, and positive self-concepts are better equipped to navigate the challenges of parental absence (Werner, 1993). Masten's theory emphasises the significance of family relationships and support in promoting resilience (Masten & Obradović, 2006). For left-behind learners, the presence of supportive caregivers, stable family environments, and open communication can mitigate the negative effects of parental migration.

1.1.3 Vulnerability as a concept among left-behind children

Vulnerable children are those whose safety, well-being, or development is at significant risk (USAID, 2008). These threats also have the potential to create further risks that could affect behaviour and educational outcomes. The prevailing circumstances in which these children find themselves put them at risk, threatening their safety and well-being. Weichselgartner (2001) views vulnerability in children as a situation where the weight of disadvantageous circumstances exposes them to abuse. In this context, the circumstances resulting from parental labour migration have the potential to expose children left behind to potentially abusive situations, thereby threatening their well-being and development. This definition acknowledges the relative nature of vulnerability. According to Faldet and Nes (2021), the definition of vulnerability is specific because some individuals are at greater risk of harmful situations than others. From the definitions provided, vulnerability is negative, relative, and has the potential to trigger other adverse living conditions. The vulnerable child is thus at a disadvantage, as they are not safe and are threatened both physically and/or emotionally. Left-behind learners lack parental guidance, protection, and support, which exposes them to a heightened level of vulnerability.

Vulnerability is a multifaceted outcome in which those affected experience physical, emotional, social, and economic harm. This can also trigger other educational effects that may adversely affect the well-being of vulnerable learners. Vulnerability is regarded as a threat to positive educational

outcomes (Maringe & Sing, 2014). Conversely, learner well-being is viewed as an important determinant of positive educational outcomes. This implies that by addressing issues of vulnerability, we will indirectly be attending to challenges related to well-being and educational outcomes.

1.1.4 Significance of resilience in the coping mechanism of vulnerable learners

Resilience is defined as the capacity to 'withstand' and 'recover' from challenges that threaten development, stability, and viability (Masten, 2014). Resilient individuals can return to normative functioning after being exposed to stressful situations. Left-behind children are considered to be at risk, as they are without parental care, which is detrimental to their psychosocial well-being (Sitienei & Pillay, 2019). This capacity can be facilitated from within the affected individual or drawn from external sources. External support largely comes from interacting partners who provide strength. In the context of parental migration, this support enables the left-behind learner to withstand and recover from the challenges associated with coping in the absence of their parents. In such circumstances, the left-behind learner may continue to engage academically even when exposed to risky factors.

1.1.5 Available support for left-behind learners

From exploring the challenges affecting left-behind children related to a lack of physical, emotional, and social support, it becomes important to examine the available schemes of support. The UNICEF (2020) report on left-behind children affirms that the existing policies on migration management and labour migration are silent on the care of these children. Thus, with no clear policies to ensure their well-being, left-behind learners often fail to reach their full potential. As parents migrate for work, they frequently leave children behind at a critical stage of their development, which adversely affects their growth, economic status, and well-being (Youlu, 2019). The support is intended to assist left-behind children concerning their education, behaviour, and psychological health. In China, researchers from the Beijing Migrant Workers Home sought support for left-behind learners from both the private and public sectors, believing these children are at risk due to a lack of family intimacy and social support (Youlu, 2019).

The community plays a significant role in facilitating resilience; it is not simply an individual's responsibility but a shared social responsibility (McAllister & Brien, 2020). The community contributes to addressing the circumstances that cause adversity in the first place. This suggests that the community, represented by schools, churches, or neighbours, can help build resilience among left-behind learners. Therefore, resilience as an outcome may be facilitated by the support systems available within the community. One significant source of support for left-behind learners comes from migrating parents who provide remittances and maintain continual contact with their children (UNICEF, 2020). This indicates that migrating parents can still play a visible role in the lives of left-behind children through constant communication via mobile phones or social media platforms. This type of support has the potential to address the behavioural and psychological health needs of left-behind learners.

2. Materials and Methods

To uncover the subjective meanings attached to the experiences of left-behind learners, this study was rooted in the interpretive paradigm. Interpretivism assists the researcher in understanding the complexities of these experiences, as it posits that reality is socially constructed (Cohen et al., 2011). Qualitative data was collected to give left-behind learners a voice to articulate their lived experiences in the context of vulnerability. To gain an in-depth understanding of these experiences, this study adopted a case study design. Eight left-behind learners were purposively sampled to share their life experiences of separation. The participants were selected on the condition that they had been left behind by a parent or guardian due to labour migration. The Tree of Life model (Ncube, 2006) was

employed as a tool to capture the lived experiences of left-behind learners. Through the Tree of Life, the learners were afforded the opportunity to share their life experiences and create a strengths-based picture of hope (Ncube, 2006). During this process, discussing the challenges was not the end; the researchers maintained curiosity and asked questions aimed at building on the strengths of the left-behind learners. As a result, these strengths were highlighted, making them more noticeable to the vulnerable learners and thereby building resilience.

The criteria for purposive sampling included that the children were in grade nine and had been left behind for periods exceeding two years. Such participants were considered information-rich for exploring vulnerability in relation to resilience. The relatively longer period of absence from their parents contributed to richer narratives. The school was selected based on the presence of a proportion of learners from child-headed households. Data was analysed using thematic analysis.

2.1 Ethical consideration

Permission to conduct the research was granted following ethical clearance from the Central University of Technology (21/18) and approval from the Department of Education, Free State. Participation in the study was voluntary, and participants were informed that they could withdraw at any time. The researcher relied on informed consent and assent for minor participants, with assent forms signed by school authorities or guardians. To protect the privacy of research participants, the researchers assigned codes to each participant, and no real names were used.

3. Presentation of Results

The first research question sought to explore vulnerability through the voices of the left-behind learners at a South African school. Participants' narratives identified the left-behind learners as constituting a unique form of child-headed household. Through the use of the tree of life metaphor of the roots, participants were able to share their lived experiences of separation, highlighting the sources of their challenges. A general theme of psychosocial malfunctioning due to economic and social deprivation emerged.

Participant coded SALR 3, a learner whose parents have been working and residing in Smithville for three years, shared:

We are living alone as children not because we are orphans; we live as children only because my father and mother work in Smithville and cannot live with us. They send us money and sometimes make return visits.

Participant SALR 6 also affirmed that there is a growing population of this unique form of child-headed household at their school:

Yes, parents are forced by circumstances to migrate to urban areas because there are no jobs here. We remain here at home, and we manage with the money that they send. We also get support from the school.

The participants also pointed out economic deprivations e.g. SALR3:

It is common to run out of supplies such as food or even money for electricity. We sometimes go for days without electricity in the home.

Several participants viewed themselves as being emotionally at risk due to the absence of the parents; SALR 3 remarked:

It is not easy to live alone as children; I miss the presence of my parents; it is not the same, and I wish they were here. I sometimes talk on the phone with my mum, but it is not the same as having her here.

A gap was also felt in terms of guidance:

...there is no one to give guidance and exercise authority in the home. My young brothers just behave the way they want, and they tell me I can't tell them what to do. I have since given up...

This was also affirmed by SALR1:

Sometimes, the neighbours and relatives just blame our parents who are away, but they do nothing to help. They see us as misguided, but they do nothing to help. When my sister got pregnant, the pressure was so much that we ended up thinking it was better to have an abortion. When I run out of supplies, I cannot even go to my uncle, who lives very close to our home.

While some gaps were exposed that depicted vulnerability, further probing by the researcher using the tree of life revealed strengths that could facilitate coping and resilience among participants. These strengths included remittances, return visits, and the use of social media platforms such as WhatsApp. Learner SALR 3 responded:

... yes we receive money and groceries from the parents, it's better than if they were here not working.

Some of the left-behind children said they had designed ways to fend for themselves to supplement the resources remitted by their parents. SALR 1 said:

I have learnt to hustle. I do piece jobs and sometimes I do buying and selling which gives me money.

Though the participants could not confirm this, views shared by some of the teachers and the local police indicated that such children are sometimes engaged by drug peddlers to sell drugs. A general theme of learner misbehaviour and delinquency among the left-behind learners could be discerned.

In response to the second research question, which constituted the trunk, participants pointed to several sources of support.

Yes, in the first days, I was very worried, but now I am used to living alone. We take care of each other as a family. Sometimes mum returns for a few days with groceries. They also sent money that we use to buy grocery items.

Support was also envisioned by the school structures:

We get support from the school; teachers always support us, and they talk to us and give us support. They sometimes make sure that we get food.

Peer support was also considered valuable, and it enabled them to cope, SALR5 remarked:

The advantage is that when we go to school, we are so busy with school activities and with friends that we forget all our problems. Being in the school soccer team is also helpful, I see myself joining Liverpool later.

Participants, for example, SALR3, SALR4 and SALR7, also revealed the significance of cellular phones and social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook. Participant SALR3 pointed out that she occupies herself with the phone and is a member of several groups that keep her entertained.

I am only worried when I do not have bundles; when my phone is on I entertain myself with games and watch movies.

Nevertheless, SALR7 saw the mobile phone as important for communication. He mentioned that he is always in touch with his father in Cape Town and his mother in Bloemfontein. He stated that they communicate through audio messages and update each other with pictures shared on WhatsApp Status and Facebook.

Participant SALR7 remarked:

We do have time to connect; I always chat with my mother over the phone. She has also created a group in which we update each other every day. We send pictures and voice messages.

He, however, pointed out that he misses his father more, as he last saw him over five years ago. The long period of separation was attributed to the fact that the parents were divorced. It was also revealed that some of the left-behind learners were not receiving adequate supplies from their parents and did not own a phone. Participant SALR2 mentioned that communication with parents was rare, and when it did occur, it was through a neighbour's mobile phone.

4. Discussion of Findings

4.1 Risky behaviours and vulnerability

Parental migration was noted to contribute to risky behaviours among the left-behind learners. This is attributed to a lack of parental protection and guidance (author, 2021). When children are left in child-only homes, there is no firm hand to regulate behaviour in the household. The children lack family intimacy and social support, which are critical sources of physical and psychological assistance (Youlu, 2019; UNICEF, 2020). The indiscipline observed includes early experimentation with sex, alcohol abuse, and drug abuse. These risky behaviours can also trigger further vulnerabilities such as early child marriage, school dropouts, sexual abuse, date rape, and HIV and AIDS, among other health-related problems. Parental labour migration has been revealed as a contributing factor to loneliness, a condition that triggers other negative vices such as early experimentation with sex and drug and alcohol abuse. Findings from this study justify the need to establish lines of support to build resilience among left-behind learners. This support is important considering that policies on migration management and labour migration remain silent on the care of left-behind children (UNICEF, 2020).

From the findings, the cellular phone was noted to have both positive and negative aspects. The cellular phone was seen as taking up much of the time of left-behind children, bordering on the risk of addiction. The idea that they join various groups on social media is viewed as potentially harmful. Research also indicates that the unsupervised use of cellular phones could adversely affect educational outcomes, particularly when one becomes addicted.

The gendered dimensions of vulnerability were also pertinent, as left-behind girl children face heightened risks of physical and emotional abuse in the absence of parental protection (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2009). A lack of parental protection exposes left-behind girl children to abuses such as sexual abuse. These gendered dimensions of vulnerability have far-reaching implications for the girl child, affecting their mental health and well-being (Sirin & Gupta, 2015). The effects on mental health and well-being, in turn, affect educational outcomes (Graham & Yeoh, 2013), making it critical to develop targeted interventions.

4.2 Risk of physical and emotional abuse

The absence of the primary caregiver also has the potential to expose left-behind children to physical and emotional abuse. Participants affirmed that they were vulnerable to various forms of abuse, including sexual abuse, due to a lack of guidance and protection. Research indicates that the risk of abuse increases when the primary caregiver is distant (Hage & Pillay, 2017). This risk is compounded by the fact that most of the left-behind learners are adolescents, who are largely emotional beings and may need their parents' support to navigate this developmental stage. Adolescent children are easily affected by peer pressure, which may expose them to further harm.

Some parents were noted to be neglecting their caregiving roles by failing to remit money for the upkeep of the left-behind children. This neglect affects the children emotionally and economically, leading some to seek jobs to make ends meet. This situation carries the potential to expose children to abuse, as most of the children in the study were still underage for formal employment.

Left-behind learners lack emotional connectedness with the primary caregivers who have migrated. This contributes to feelings of moodiness, sadness, and anxiety, which are associated with loneliness

following the migration of their desired interacting partners. Mund and Neyer (2019) associate emotional loneliness with outcomes such as moodiness and withdrawal from social interactions. With such traits, left-behind children may find it difficult to make friends, leading to further loneliness. Isolation can sometimes contribute to physical abuse. However, it was noted that the environment was also viewed as a source of negative stereotyping, with left-behind learners being associated with negative vices such as petty theft, promiscuity, drug use, and behavioural problems in schools. This negative stereotyping and labelling tended to compound the challenges faced by left-behind learners, affecting their ability to cope. This situation highlighted narratives of abandonment, as some left-behind learners felt abandoned and marginalised from mainstream support.

4.3 Nuances of resilience in adversity

Findings from this study acknowledge the development of resilience that enables learners to cope in the absence of their parents. In this context, resilience is viewed as a process that can be facilitated through relevant support and supportive environments rather than merely as a trait. Resilience, in this case, is attributed to time, individual character, and external support (Masten, 2014). It involves active interaction between the learners' individual resources and those drawn from their environment (Foster, 2020). Participants felt that the first few days were more difficult, but after some time, they became accustomed to their situation and managed to cope. Thus, the left-behind learners develop a capacity to handle the challenges associated with family disruptions driven by parental labour migration. Masten (2014) framed the threat in terms of stability, viability, and development. Resilient children cultivate the ability to move forward in the face of such threats. Learners can self-regulate, allowing them to cope with adversity (Masten, 2018).

Resilience was also attributed to external support that builds on individual traits. The left-behind learners reported receiving support from their peers, schoolteachers, and other community members. This kind of support provided the learners with the strength to manage in the absence of their parents. The school environment included teachers and peers who offered different forms of support to the left-behind learners. The dual role of the school, in terms of resources and relationships that nurture resilience among learners, was highlighted (Masten, Lucke, Nelson, & Stallworthy, 2021). Peers provided companionship and playtime, which facilitated coping. Similarly, teachers played a significant role through guidance and counselling, stepping into the role of the migrating parent. By using the leaf on the tree of life (trunk, branches, and leaves), the left-behind learners were made aware of the available support in the community and at school that could enhance their coping abilities. Effective schools with robust support systems are expected to parallel effective families (Masten, 2018). Support that may be lacking from the family could be obtained from the school.

4.4 Efficacy of available support schemes

Through the use of the Tree of Life, participants were made aware of the sources of support available, which constituted the ground and the tree trunk. Learners who pursued their hobbies, such as SALR 5, found it easier to cope. He held hope of becoming a professional football player later in life, which would counterbalance the hopelessness and loneliness that negatively affected some of the left-behind learners. Through pursuing their hobbies and other extracurricular engagements, left-behind learners developed the capacity to cope in the absence of their parents.

The use of mobile phones and social media platforms was also identified by participants as a potential source of support. Through phones and social media, left-behind learners could connect with their migrating parents, thereby facilitating resilience. Constant communication with their parents provided them with ongoing support. This concurs with findings from Youlu (2019), who asserts that establishing a continuum of care through continual communication is critical for the psychological health of left-behind learners. However, those without access to such devices felt even more isolated, which adversely affected their psychosocial development. The opening of

communication channels between migrating parents and left-behind learners is considered significant in facilitating coping. Left-behind learners experienced hope, which translated into resilience. The study reveals that these learners feel abandoned and vulnerable. Their situation is exacerbated by the lack of mainstream support, as policies and societal expectations often assume that the migrating parent should take responsibility. Nonetheless, social support and assistance from schools can facilitate resilience and help learners cope in the absence of their parents.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The study sought to give left-behind learners a voice as it explored the interplay between vulnerability and resilience among these learners at a South African secondary school. The findings exposed narratives of abandonment, marginalisation, and exposure to abuse, thereby qualifying them as vulnerable. The lack of parental support, protection, and guidance further exposed the left-behind learners. Thus, having parents living separately was not enough, as more is expected from being a parent in terms of care, guidance, and protection. Some of the left-behind learners also felt neglected and overlooked by mainstream support systems that assist other vulnerable children. The learners were found to be deficient in psychological, physical, social, and academic well-being, similar to other vulnerable learners. However, through the tree of life metaphor, left-behind learners were encouraged to appreciate sources of support that include the school, the migrating parents themselves, ICT, and peers. Support from the migrating parents, school, and peers fostered hope and bravery that facilitated coping in the face of adversity. This external support contributed to their resilience.

The study recommends implementing schemes of psychosocial support for left-behind learners. Strengthening existing support systems involving migrating parents, the community, and the school could significantly aid adaptability. These psychosocial support schemes need to be integrated with teaching and learning activities at the school. The school should develop parallel family qualities to nurture resilience for learners facing adversity. Left-behind learners need to be categorised as vulnerable, similar to orphans, as they live without parental support, guidance, and protection. Classifying these children as vulnerable would enable them to benefit from policy and government support channels.

6. Declarations

Author Contributions: Conceptualisation (R.J. & A.H.); Literature review (R.J.); methodology (R.J. & A.H.M.); software (N/A.); validation (A.H.M.); formal analysis (R.J.); investigation (R.J. & A.H.M.); data curation (R.J. & A.H.M.) drafting and preparation (R.J. & A.H.M.); review and editing (R.J. & A.H.M.); supervision (A.H.M.); project administration (R.J.); funding acquisition (R.J.). All authors have read and approved the published version of the article.

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Conflict of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Data availability: The data supporting the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request. Access will be granted to researchers who meet the criteria for data sharing established by the institutional review board or ethics committee.

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