Parents and caregiver support for schooling

Parents and caregivers in every region of the globe enthusiastically support their children’s education, but constraints related to poverty, mobility, doubts about school value or school safety, and myriad other factors can act to limit their positive engagement on a day-to-day basis. While enthusiasm for schooling fuelled the incredible increase in primary school enrolment over the past 25 years, more recent priorities highlight not just schooling, but learning. As the World Bank Education Strategy 2020 notes, “The driver of development will ultimately be what individuals learn, both in and out of school, from preschool through the labor market.”1 UNICEF’s 2016 State of the World’s Children echoes this sentiment: “Education is not just about getting through school; learning is what counts.”2

This focus on learning throughout life and the enthusiasm of parents and caregivers for education necessitates a new analysis of educational investment using a frame of lifewide learning,3 which not only encompasses the concept of lifelong learning but also suggests that children should engage in enjoyable, cognitively demanding activities both in school and their homes and communities.4 This Think Piece will detail the extent of parents’ and caregivers’ influence on learning and review evidence about efforts to proliferate ideas and mechanisms for concrete, feasible parent support by age group. We offer evidence of impact, propose best practices and end with a call to action.

1 World Bank, World Bank, Learning for All Investing in People’s Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development, Author, Washington, DC, 2011.
3 Lifewide learning refers to children’s engagement in enjoyable, cognitively demanding activities not only in school but also in their homes and communities. This term is used by Save the Children, World Vision and other colleague organizations to promote a broader view of and frame for investment in children’s opportunities to learn.
Parents and caregivers dominate opportunities to contribute to learning

The amount of time a child spends outside of school is greater than the time they spend in school, and it is parents and caregivers who shape children’s learning environments and opportunities during this time. Consider a primary school child in Malawi. When the child goes to school, she or he spends about four hours a day during eight months of a year in the classroom. School effectiveness research shows that during a quarter of that time, the teacher is not there; and during a third of the time when both the child and their teacher are in the classroom together, neither the child nor the teacher are attending to the task of learning. In the end, the child’s opportunity to learn is effectively two-and-a-half hours of on-task time a day for six months – or roughly 300 hours of in-school learning opportunity a year. In contrast, the child has over 2000 hours of opportunity to learn during waking hours outside of school. Assuming four of the 10 waking hours in a day could be time for learning via sharing books, singing, or telling and discussing stories, for example, then these hours can be used building vocabulary, literacy and social emotional skills as well as local and cultural knowledge. The 300 hours in school and on task in Figure 1 represent just over a tenth of a child’s lifewide learning opportunity.

In order to fully support children’s learning, we must leverage all available opportunities. Many programmes and policies prioritize the 24 per cent of time a child spends in school. Investments aim to reduce wastage in the 6 per cent of time the teacher is not present, decrease the 7 per cent of time teachers are not on task, or raise the quality of the 11 per cent of time teachers and students are jointly on task. Many such programmes include parents and caregivers only as schooling supporters or parent teacher association (PTA) participants and at most call for parents and caregivers to monitor learning, but the evidence shows that most often the impact of these community accountability efforts is on intermediate outcomes like social capital and parental advocacy, not on learning. These are worthwhile investments, but as Figure 1 shows, the opportunity to learn outside of school represents much more potential time on task to the direct benefit of children’s learning. Evidence from Eastern and Southern Africa suggests greater attention to parents’ and caregivers’ role in learning itself as a child’s first and constant supporters of learning can greatly benefit learning outcomes in the region. Parents and caregivers are central to facilitating lifewide learning and engaging children in enjoyable, cognitively demanding activities during the 76 per cent of the time when they are not in school.

Strategies to help parents and caregivers support learning throughout a child’s life

Parents and caregivers can improve children’s learning through concrete, feasible activities that they can implement at home, regardless of their own education level. Simple additions to daily tasks can transform children’s chores into teaching moments: helping with cooking can apply maths by counting vegetables or measuring ingredients; or expand vocabulary with a discussion of where each vegetable comes from or how and where it grows. Research has shown that the quantity of parental talk is directly related to children’s early vocabulary, and that gaps in early language skills vary by socio-economic status and widen over time. Promising evidence from Tanzania shows the quantity of parental talk can be manipulated through raising awareness among parents to the benefit of children’s development. Dissemination and modelling of such messages, as well as orchestrating groups through which neighbours can share their experiences as they test messages with their children, enable greater learning for parents, caregivers and children alike.

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9 Townend, J. & Townend, D., What is the language environment of young babies in Tanzania, and can it, if necessary, be enriched? Zungumza na Mtoto Mchanga, Dar es Salaam, 2015.
Early childhood learning and development

Pre-primary enrolment is on the rise, but many children still do not have access to classroom-based learning. Fortunately, there are also many ways to reach parents and caregivers of young children with important messages that can strengthen early learning and development. For example: both community members and teachers in Rwanda as well as community members in Ethiopia were trained to deliver sessions to parents and caregivers about how to engage with their children in learning and play activities during their daily routines. Study results from Ethiopia showed the home-based learning led by parents and caregivers was as effective in improving children’s school readiness as the government supported O-classes. In Rwanda, similar results influenced the inclusion in the national pre-primary curriculum teacher training guide of a module on parenting education and the role of parents in early learning, as well as a module on these topics in the pre-service teacher training curriculum.

In Zambia and Rwanda interactive radio instruction has been used to encourage caregivers not just to attend community-based parenting sessions or send children to school, but has reinforced positive parenting practices. Clear and easy activities parents can do with their children focus more on the practical and actionable rather than mere sensitization on the role of parents. In addition, educating parents about quality media for children is increasingly important, as in Tanzania where four weeks of exposure to an educational cartoon significantly improved drawing skills, shape knowledge, number recognition, counting and English skills. Media interventions, whether targeted at parents and caregivers or children should be carefully tested and costed as they hold promise for effectively and efficiently shifting learning for those without access to learning institutions in the earliest years, as well as for children in humanitarian settings.

All of these initiatives take advantage of the many hours of lifelong learning opportunities available to young children.

In pre-primary settings, increasing parental awareness and capacity to support children’s foundational academic and life skills can boost the learning outcomes of millions of children currently without access to centres. As noted in the Think Piece on quality pre-primary education in the region, social mobilization may be needed to address parental attitudes and understanding of learning in the earliest years. For example, Figure 2 offers messaging about promoting key emergent numeracy skills in simple daily activities.

Figure 2: Emergent Literacy and Math at Home Card: Example parent education card for use in spreading messages about concrete activities with young children to expand early learning

The use of this card and two dozen additional cards with parents in Ethiopia promoted learning impact comparable to that of centre-based early childhood development (ECD) classes; while similar cards used to promote quality in ECD centres also optimized children’s learning (see Figure 3). Raising ECD centre quality using these cards has also been documented in Malawi and Rwanda. Figure 4 implies that the greater gains in learning for children who do not have access to early childhood centres may relate to their parents’ and caregivers’ uptake of everyday, lifelong learning inputs to their children’s development.

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As can be seen by the baseline values in both Figures 3 and 4, the children whose caregivers were receiving messages about how to support learning at home were also the children who were the most at risk for starting formal education behind their peers who had greater access to formal early learning opportunities. With intervention, the risk of starting so far behind is diminished. Further, to address equity, ongoing inquiry asks not just whether children are learning more and parents are interacting in support of learning, but follows up with analysis of who is still struggling and how well they are supported in order to inform programme and policy improvement options. For example, a recent Rwandan study found that among children not in early childhood centres, those with literate fathers gained 18 percentage points in early literacy over the course of a child's schooling, while those with illiterate fathers gained only eight percentage points.\(^{17}\)

This finding suggests that greater equity will be achieved by increased effort in centres to support children without literate parents and/or innovative support for stimulating parenting skills in illiterate fathers themselves. In this way, such programmes leverage lifelong learning to achieve an equity impact and use ongoing inquiry to pursue learning for every child.

The collective evidence to date suggests that for children aged four to six years, the greatest impact on learning and development comes from a combination of quality ECD centres and quality parenting approaches – and that in the absence of realistic ECD centre coverage, working to ensure parenting practices that support learning of foundational academic and life skills can substantially improve children’s school readiness.

### Primary school-aged children’s learning

As children grow, the simple teaching opportunities between caregivers and children found in early childhood can easily extend in their complexity. But support for children’s learning during the school years need not be limited only to academic activities that require special materials, like reading a book with a child. Showing children maths in daily market chores or herding animals, telling stories to expand vocabulary and content knowledge, or even just encouraging children to attend school consistently and to do their homework is valuable as well. Beyond this, life skills and competencies like communication, collaboration, creativity and team work can also be developed with support from parents and community members through participation in community projects, read-a-thons, reading and maths contests, having study buddies outside school, etc.

Often parents and caregivers who cannot read and write themselves are doubtful about their own ability to support children’s learning, but messages encouraging their concrete oral support\(^{17}\) as well as mechanisms for other community members to provide support\(^{18}\) are crucial. Indeed, parents and caregivers do not need to know how to read in order to prioritize time for homework and create spaces for reading. Further, a recent study from Rwanda showed that from children’s perspectives, they were likely to read if they had good books and if parents and caregivers gave them time – an important point in a region where children often do chores both before and after school.\(^{20}\) These supportive attitudes and the actions they promote are crucial to pursue with all parents and caregivers in support of both girls and boys equally. Encouraging local conversations about whether chores might keep boys from practising reading while herding or girls from doing so while gathering wood are invaluable because these barriers to greater learning are not universal and their solutions are similarly local.

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\(^{17}\) Pisani, L., Dusabe, C., & Abimpaye, M., First Read Rwanda: Children Aged 0-6 years, Save the Children, Kigali, 2016.


\(^{19}\) Save the Children, Literacy Boost Community Action Creating a Culture of Reading Outside School Walls, Author, Washington, DC, 2011.

Primary school interventions aimed at ensuring learning need to consider how to promote practice opportunities outside of school as well as the array of delivery mechanisms they have available for spreading these messages. Interactive radio instruction has been effectively used for this in Malawi for students in grades 1 to 4. As children age, supporting attendance at community learning events like read-a-thons, establishing time each day for homework, and creating a reading corner at home with materials are all opportunities for parents and caregivers to enhance their child’s learning. Of course, the mechanisms reviewed above in the ECD realm apply, but given the strength and omnipresence of schools, parent teacher associations as well as district outreach offer additional resources to bring to bear in leveraging investment for lifelong learning.

During primary school years, a stronger culture of reading and discussion in and around the home supports greater learning. Community reading activities like meeting in groups to read and discuss stories, reading in pairs in which one reader is more skilled than another, borrowing books, and participating in literacy celebrations represent practice time as well as modeling the importance of literacy outside of school.

Implementation of these activities alongside teacher training in five sites in the region show a positive relationship to gains in reading comprehension (see Figure 5 from Malawi, Rwanda, and Ethiopia). A randomized control trial in Rwanda tested the added value of including these types of community reading activities alongside teacher training on how to teach reading and found greater gains for children who had quality opportunities to learn both inside schools and out in the community. Such investments can level the playing field as evidenced in Malawi, where investment in learning at school and in the community led to the greatest gains for children for low literate households. But a hostile home environment can negatively affect learning of a child in any context. Examples from rural Rwanda and Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya show that academic learning is mediated by factors at play in the socio-emotional environment, with more negative perceptions of that environment and more negative behaviors linked to lower skills. Promoting lifelong learning via parent and caregiver-focused programmes, policies, and advocacy requires grappling with the reality that parents and caregivers are often stressed or in crisis too. It is essential to adapt to the learners’ context by considering both how best to respond to children’s learning needs as well as how to support parents and caregivers.

Taking the importance of reading outside of school hours to scale has been a recent shift in USAID-funded reading programmes in Malawi, Ethiopia and Rwanda – moving away from solely school-based investments to those that acknowledge the importance, prominence and potential of the opportunity to learn outside the school walls. Indeed, the 2018 World Development Report proclaims, “Communities can leverage the many hours spent outside the classroom to boost learning.” Education sector planning efforts and consultations should include investing in this way as well as collecting data on the cost benefit of parent support programmes so that ministries of education can make informed choices that marry primary sub-sector provision with broader parent and community-led learning support.

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27 RTI, Assistance to Basic Education: All Children Reading (ABE ACR) MERIT: The Malawi Early Grade Reading Improvement Activity Annual Progress Report, October 1, 2016, to September 30, 2017; USAID, Washington, DC, 2017.
28 Save the Children, USAID READ Community Outreach (READ CO) Quarterly Report (Q2 Y1), USAID, Washington, DC, 2015b.
29 World Bank, LEARNING to realize education’s promise, Author, Washington, DC, 2018.
Learning for young people

Strategies for supporting the learning of secondary school and out of school young people in the region reflect the need to support academic progress and also to support parents and caregivers as they encourage social and emotional competencies. In addition, strategies should also reinforce linkage to employment opportunities and networks of local skilled tradespeople. This view of positive youth development engages parents, caregivers and community members to mobilize an enabling environment in which youth maximize assets and agency, access to services and opportunities and promote their competence in avoiding risks, staying safe and being protected.30 Again, the context must be considered and in this case the programme and policy stakeholders must ask whether all youth are being supported, as sometimes parents’ and caregivers’ norms favouring boys’ education or approving early marriage can act as barriers to learning support.

Drop-out rates for secondary school students (and in some contexts upper primary as well) remain high in Eastern and Southern Africa and data display that this is largely driven by the cost and quality of schooling, as well as early marriage.31 Overall, early marriage disproportionately affects girls, but recent data from the region suggests that different trends exist in different communities, which affect both girls and boys. While additional research is needed to identify more concrete strategies for decreasing early marriage, current evidence suggests that promoting education, including reducing cost and increasing quality, is one of the best ways to prevent early marriage.32 In addition, studies find that programmes which include conditional cash transfers and community engagement are the most likely to be successful.33

For secondary school students and out of school young people, families determine participation in formal and non-formal education and support use of skills in developing their livelihood. For example, evidence from a partnership between Save the Children and The MasterCard Foundation aimed at improving the socio-economic status of 40,000 rural out of school boys and girls in Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ethiopia, Malawi and Uganda,34 found that families in all five countries magnified the support that youth received from the programme by providing additional financial, emotional, and material support. This support actively involved relationships in the immediate community and offered youth the opportunity not only to learn but also to establish a reputation for being hard-working and responsible. The programme concluded that having more strategic and explicit involvement of the family in development programmes for adolescents can determine not only how well the adolescents use the skills they have learned but also the longer-term sustainability of the livelihoods that the adolescents select. While high quality evaluations of positive youth development programmes are scarce and tend to be mono-sectoral (showing impact on health knowledge or financial behaviours), lessons to date point to the need to include youth and local community involvement from the design.

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34 D’Sa, N., Gebru, E., Scales, P.C. & Wu, C., Effect of Youth in Action on Work Readiness and Socioeconomic Outcomes: Findings from Uganda, Save the Children, Washington, DC.
How can education ministries support lifewide learning for all?

The planning and policy implications of greater support for lifewide learning are that ministries and donors alike should ensure their early childhood and education systems investments no longer ignore children’s opportunities to learn outside of classrooms. Investments must include action points that assist parents and caregivers to support children’s learning outside of institutions – be they preschools, primary schools, secondary schools or non-formal settings (see Figure 6 for summary by age).

For example, in Rwanda following the mid-term review of the Education Sector Plans as well as other sector analyses in 2015-2016 there is now a stronger emphasis on the role of parents and community in learning. The Education Sector Strategic Plan\textsuperscript{35} emphasizes the engagement of parents and community. It includes an output on parenting education and sensitization under one of the strategic areas. The Rwanda ECD policy also includes a strategic focus on parenting education and commitment to roll out a national parenting programme. In addition, the draft Literacy Policy emphasizes the use of children’s out of school time for activities such as participation in reading clubs. At school and teacher level teachers have been trained using the new competency based curriculum teacher guide which includes a specific module on the role of parents. Similarly, at pre-service level, there is a module on roles of parents and parenting education. Save the Children Rwanda has also developed for the Government of Rwanda a training for PTAs which can be used to train parents on how to support children’s learning; and at coordination level, local leaders are expected to include sensitization of parents and parenting education in district plans as well as in their own performance contracts.

For older children, relevant actors may also include employers and skilled trades’ professionals with apprenticeships. Look around the planning and policy tables at which you sit and consider additional partners who affect children’s learning. Make a start by defining the steps to take to bring them to the table.

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\textsuperscript{35} Education Sector Plan 3 final draft
Attention to lifewide learning in Education Sector Plan preparation can be promoted via the use of the many Eastern and Southern African examples in this Think Piece for how to promote and ensure that parents and caregivers can play an effective role as learning supporters. Countries can also follow Rwanda’s blueprint for thinking about intentionality by including parenting in different strategic documents and plans both at policy level and for implementation; by developing dedicated tools like parenting curricula, teacher training modules, and a PTA training guide and by ensuring budget for these activities. Ensuring that all children learn requires setting out how these investments help children furthest behind make progress so our efforts reduce equity gaps. Effective policy should develop and test innovative supports for parents and families struggling to enable their children’s educational success, engaging local researchers and universities to build an evidence base around the costs, impact and equity associated with these efforts. Including lifewide learning in national education plans leverages the power of an additional 76 per cent of opportunity to learn in a child’s life; it fuels a powerful partnership with parents and caregivers to address the current learning crisis.
Further reading


List of Acronyms

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<tr>
<td>ECD</td>
<td>Early Childhood Development</td>
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<td>International Development and Early Learning Assessment</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent Teacher Association</td>
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Contact: UNICEF ESARO, Basic Education and Gender Equality Section, UNON Gigiri, Nairobi, Kenya. This research in its latest edition, as well as all materials, are available online for free download at https://www.unicef.org/esaro/EducationThinkPieces_3_ParentsAndCaregivers.pdf