''WE ARE ACTUALLY RAISING SOUTH AFRICANS''. RAISING IMMIGRANT FAMILIES: THE PARENTING EXPERIENCES OF ZIMBABWEANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in part, or in whole, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: S.T. Finos **Date: 11 February 2019**

ABSTRACT

South Africa is the most popular international destination for Zimbabwean migrants escaping the economic crisis of their country. It has been estimated that by 2016, one and a half million Zimbabwean nationals were living in South Africa. However, little research explores the lived experience of Zimbabweans in South Africa in the context of family. This is despite scholars highlighting an increase in family migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa in recent years. This study explores the parenting experiences of immigrant Zimbabwean parents raising their children in South Africa. Specifically, it investigates the ways in which raising children in a different country and cultural context influences parents' understanding of and approaches to parenting. Nine Zimbabwean mothers and fathers living with their spouses and children in Cape Town participated in a qualitative study, with semi-structured interviews. Data was collected and analysed using thematic analysis. The study found that the participants' overarching experience of parenting was that they were ultimately raising 'South Africans'. Participants framed their children's 'South African-ness' positively, identifying the children as cosmopolitan and empowered, which they celebrated. However, they also lamented the children's loss of identity as the most problematic aspect of 'South African-ness'. To navigate the resultant tensions, participants relaxed some of their existing beliefs while simultaneously implementing measures to reinforce some non-negotiable values and beliefs in their children. This dissertation argues that while parents' understanding of parenting is strongly rooted in their cultural background and values, they adapt their parenting styles and practices according to what they calculate will enable their families to thrive. The study adds to the body of knowledge on immigrant Zimbabwean families who have become part of South African society. This is especially relevant in light of the South African government's laudable initiatives towards regularising the stay of Zimbabweans in South Africa, such as the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP) of 2009 and its successive permits. This study can therefore contribute to the body of knowledge that informs the ways in which South Africa can continue to respond to the reality of migration from Zimbabwe.

Keywords: Parenting, parents, motherhood, fatherhood, mothering, fathering, family, children, parenting practices, parenting styles, culture, identity, immigration, migration, Zimbabwe, South Africa

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Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Sometime before the beginning of my Masters studies, my brother and I were travelling from the airport in Harare to our home town in Zimbabwe, en route from South Africa. Our father met us at the airport and as we settled in for the few hours' road trip ahead, we engaged in the elaborate inquiries after each other's health and well-being. As is customary, my father enquired after relatives of ours who were also based in South Africa. Conversation turned to the relatives' young child who had moved from Zimbabwe to join her parents. I was surprised to learn that in the few years since she had moved, our young relative was now reportedly more fluent in Afrikaans than she was in Shona, and that her spoken Shona had virtually disappeared. I was even more surprised to learn that this was the case even though her parents still communicated in Shona at home.

Having always assumed that children learnt language from home first and never 'lost' it, I was therefore intrigued by this dynamic. I wondered what other interesting dynamics existed in families who had young children in the diaspora. When the opportunity presented itself, I then turned my fascination into a full scale Masters dissertation to find out more.

I undertook this qualitative research in 2018 to explore the experiences of immigrant Zimbabwean parents who were raising their children in South Africa. I was particularly interested in the ways in which raising children in a different country and cultural context influenced their approaches to and understanding of parenting. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define culture as a system of interrelated values, active enough to influence and condition attitudes, perception, judgment, communication, and behavior in a given society (Airhihenbuwa & Webster, 2004). By 'cultural context' I mean the society within which a group's culture is practiced and reinforced.

I argue that parents' own culture, continues to influence how they raise their children in a different country, but parents adapt their parenting styles and practices to the demands of the new environment. My focus was on long term immigrants who, according to the United Nations (1998) are migrants who have been in the host country for a year or more, such that the host country has

become their country of usual residence. I conducted the research with Zimbabwean mothers and fathers who were long term immigrants living with their children in Cape Town South Africa.

1.2. Background to the study

South Africa is the most popular international destination for Zimbabwean nationals fleeing the economic crisis of that country which has been going on for the greater part of the last two decades. According to Polzer (2008), not only is South Africa the top destination for Zimbabwean emigrants, but Zimbabweans make up the largest proportion of international immigrants living in South Africa. Although purported total numbers of Zimbabweans in the country vary due to unreliability of present data, (Idemudia, Williams & Wyatt, 2013; Africa Check, 2013) there are an estimated one and a half million Zimbabweans living in South Africa (Thebe 2016).

South Africa is an attractive destination for immigrants from African countries for a number of reasons. When the racially segregatory system of apartheid ended in South Africa in 1994, the country set about promoting its new image of inclusiveness and guaranteeing basic human rights to all people within its borders. This was primarily done through the adoption of its progressive Constitution in 1996 (Bonyton, 2015). Simultaneously, South Africa removed its apartheid border controls and liberalized its economy. This facilitated migration into South Africa and as the country became a regional economic powerhouse, the number of immigrants increased significantly (Segatti, 2011).

Mawadza & Banda (2016) note that for Zimbabweans, immigration into South Africa is tied to hopes for a better life since South Africa is seen as the land of milk and honey (Bandeira, Higson-Smith, Bantjes, & Polatin, 2010) which affords opportunities for paid employment and better social services such as health, schooling and education. For many Zimbabweans who fled political persecution, South Africa's human rights guarantees also presents the country as a safe haven from the troubles at home (Bandeira et al, 2010).

Despite this reputation as the land of milk and honey, South Africa faces significant social problems such as high and growing levels of inequality, poverty and high levels of crime (Seekings & Natrass, 2006). Both petty and serious crime is commonplace around the country (CSVR, 2010)

and both adults and children are victims of crime across demographic profiles of the population (CSVR, 2010). While there have been fluctuations in the rates of crime around the country over the years, crime remains high and is an everyday reality for people living in South Africa.

Unemployment is another challenge South Africa faces. In 2018 the unemployment rate was 27.2% (Stats SA, 2018). Du Toit, De Witte, Rothmann & Van den Broeck (2018) note that from 2008 to 2017 the country's unemployment rates steadily rose on a yearly basis. Overal, unemployment in South Africa is regarded as concerningly high by scholars, for example Seekings & Natrass (2006) and Vermuelen (2017). Despite this however, immigration into South Africa, particularly from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region remains high. Some scholars have also found that international immigrants in South Africa enjoy high levels of labour participation and employment (Silubonde, 2014).

Cape Town specifically, is a major destination for migrants and visitors from around the world. The city is the provincial capital of South Africa's Western Cape province and it is also the country's legislative capital, where the national parliament is housed. According to World population review (2018) the city is one of the most multicultural in the world; containing people with diverse histories, from various places in the world, and is a reputable tourist destination on account of its natural beauty. As one of South Africa's eight major metropoles (South African government, n.d) Cape Town enjoys good infrastructure, a concentration of major economic activities and rapid urbanisation. Per the 2011 census, Cape Town had a population of 3.7 million people which represented approximately two thirds of the entire province's human population (Western Cape government, 2013). The city's booming tourism and hospitality industry is also a major employer for immigrants, who are employed in restaurants and as security personnel, tour guides and drivers (Silubonde, 2014).

For Zimbabweans, a number of factors have caused large-scale emigration from Zimbabwe, with the top cited causes being political and economic. De Jager & Musuva (2016) and Shemyakina (2014) cite political instability, violence and repression as political reasons for emigration. Idemudia et al (2013); Tevera & Crush (2003) and Munro & Miller (2015) attribute it to economic factors; and Burke et al (2014) cite increasingly challenging socioeconomic factors such as industry collapse, hyperinflation, unemployment and the shortage of basic commodities as some of the reasons why Zimbabweans have emigrated

Due to the considerable amount of time (18 years, counting from the year 2000) that Zimbabwe has been in crisis, Zimbabweans are increasingly beginning to think of long term settlement in South Africa for themselves and their families. This is evidenced by both the increase in overall numbers of people coming into South Africa, and particularly the increase in family and child migration from Zimbabwe from 2005 onwards (Crush, Chikanda & Tawodzera, 2015). To illustrate, in 1997, just over 600,000 Zimbabweans entered South Africa legally and in 2006, the number was closer to one million. By 2010 about one and a half million Zimbabweans had legally entered into South Africa (Crush et al, 2015). These figures speak to shifting trends from temporary to long term migration showing that South Africa is no longer just the source of temporary economic reprieve as in past decades but a home where families are thinking of settling over the long term.

With the significant number of Zimbabweans moving into South Africa and choosing to stay for the long term, family emerges as a key consideration migrants have to take into account. Long (2014) argues that family is central to migration as it can be both the reason and mechanism for movement, as well as the key context in which the effects of migration are felt. It is therefore common for parents to make the decision to have their children with them in the host country to mitigate against familial separation, and keep the family unit together (McGregor 2008).

For many immigrants however, there is a tension between the desire to keep the family unit together and navigating the various dynamics of raising this family outside one's country and usual cultural context. Examples of these tensions include children's rights in host countries which can be experienced as undermining parental control and discipline over children (McGregor 2008); children 'losing' their identity and culture to the host country (Epstein & Gang, 2010); and changing gender roles between men and women, due to socio-economic dynamics in the host country, which can cause marital strain and can be distressing for couples (Pasura, 2008). As Zimbabwean parents increasingly move with their children, or start their own families while in South Africa, they are confronted by these issues and have to adapt their parenting practices as they deal with them in their unique ways.

1.3. Research questions and objectives

In order to find out what the actual parenting experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa are and how they navigate them, I set out to explore the following primary research question using a qualitative research design:

How do Zimbabwean parents experience raising children in South Africa?

The sub-research questions to guide this exploration were as follows:

- *Why do parents decide to raise their children in South Africa?*
- *How does raising children in South Africa contribute positively to the life of the family?*
- *What experiences of raising children in South Africa do parents experience positively?*
- *What experiences of raising children in South Africa do parents find challenging?*
- *How do parents respond to their experiences of raising children in South Africa?*

My research objectives were as follows:

- *To understand why parents decide to raise their children in South Africa.*
- *To explore how raising children in South Africa contributes positively to the life of the family.*
- *To ascertain which experiences of raising children in South Africa parents experience positively.*
- *To investigate which experiences of raising children in South Africa parents found challenging.*

- *To explore how parents respond to their various experiences of raising children in South Africa.*

1.4. Significance of this study

The primary significance of my study is that it enriches the knowledge base on the lives of Zimbabwean families who have become part of South African society. Considerable research exists on families in South Africa, which includes colonial settler families, foster families and immigrant families, (Stanely, 2016; Thomas & Mabusela, 1991; Tarusarira, 2016). My study however focuses on the Zimbabwean immigrant family and is distinct from studies on internal migrant families and non-migrant families. In addition, much research on Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa has a primary focus on Zimbabweans experiencing xenophobia in different aspects of life such as health care (Crush & Tawodzera 2014) and accessing civil services (Anderson 2011). My research, while not excluding narratives that may touch on xenophobia, explores the lived experience of Zimbabweans in the context of family;

Secondly, although the Zimbabwean diaspora has been studied extensively, the bulk of studies which look at parenting experiences study Zimbabweans in England and a few other western countries. Examples of such studies include McGregor (2008); Madziva & Zontini (2012); Dune & Mapedzahama (2017); and Madziva (2011). This study provides an opportunity to add to the body of literature focusing on the parenting experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa, as that is where the bulk of international Zimbabwean migrants are based (Polzer, 2008).

Closely related to understanding Zimbabwean family lives in South Africa is the issue of social change and development. Ratha, Mohapatra & Scheja (2011) note that host societies interact with their new members (immigrants) and go through various processes of change as a result. South African society is already interacting with its new members, Zimbabwean immigrants, which means that the gradual process of change envisioned by Ratha et al (2011) may have already begun. Fang, Sun & Yueng (2016) also emphasise that immigrant children and young people are tomorrow's adults, citizens and workers, and the ways in which they live and experience the country today is crucial for the kinds of citizens they will be in future. Therefore to understand the

experiences their parents encounter while raising them is to understand what shapes tomorrow's adults. Where society understands tomorrow's adults, it is better positioned to prepare them to become the custodians of the country's sustained social change and development going forward.

In the South African legislative context, this study holds significance for recent and ongoing government initiatives to manage immigration. The most relevant of these initiatives is the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP) of 2009. The DZP was succeeded by two further permits and cumulatively they allowed DZP holders to extend their stay in South Africa for 11 years, from 2010 to 2021 (Bimha, 2017). Together these initiatives had the broad aim of regularising and giving amnesty to Zimbabweans who were living in South Africa illegally, or who had obtained South African documents fraudulently (Amit, 2011). This kind of initiative shows the government's awareness of and pro-immigration response to the realities of inward migration to South Africa. By exploring the lived family experiences of Zimbabwean immigrant parents, this study contributes to the body of knowledge that informs the ways in which South Africa can continue to respond to the reality of migration from Zimbabwe.

1.5. Overview of chapters

In the following chapter summaries, I give an overview of the complete dissertation by highlighting the purpose of each chapter and the main points raised therein.

1.5.1. Chapter 1

This chapter introduces my dissertation. It explains the research purpose and questions. The chapter points to Zimbabwe's political and economic instability as main reasons for out-migration. It also showcases South Africa's political and economic stability as main reasons driving Zimbabwean migration to the country. The chapter justifies why this research is important by pointing to its addition to family studies in South Africa, and to topical immigration initiatives by the South African government, such as the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP).

1.5.2. Chapter 2

This chapter contains the literature review which highlights the gap in the literature that my study covers as its own niche. In it, I demonstrate the scarcity of research on immigrant families in the African context. The chapter delves into current parenting literature and the Zimbabwean Shona family, to provide context to the actual research enquiry. It also places these realities within the greater context of globalisation and migration to show how parents end up raising families in another country.

1.5.3. Chapter 3

This chapter explains and justifies the qualitative research methodology used for this study. It gives a detailed account of the sampling, data collection and ethics of this research. Altogether it shows the ways in which the research process worked well and challenged me as I gathered my data.

1.5.4. Chapter 4

This chapter is the discussion and findings chapter which presents what my research unearthed. The chapter's main finding is that parents' overarching experience was that of 'raising South Africans' which they experienced both positively and negatively, and to which they adapted their parenting practices accordingly. The chapter ultimately highlights that parenting is a social process influenced by background and mediated by the environment.

1.5.5. Chapter 5

This final chapter is the conclusion and findings chapter. It summarises the key findings of the research and suggests further areas of research inquiry, such as longitudinal studies with Zimbabwean immigrants and research on children's experiences. It closes off with reflections on the study's limitations.

1.6. Conclusion

In introducing the family conversation which sparked my interest in the topic, I demonstrated how Zimbabwean migration to South Africa is both mine and my family's lived reality. I noted the main reasons why Zimbabweans have migrated in numbers, namely the country's political and economic crisis. The statistics presented showed a current increase in family and longer term migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa than in previous decades. This justifies a closer look at some key family experiences of immigrants. The chapter explained the significance of the study, primarily its contribution to the literature and broad relevance to South Africa managing migration and its future development. The next chapter is the literature review which delves deeper into the context of family migration and Zimbabwean families. The chapter provides a background within which to understand this dissertation, and is the basis on which the findings of the research will be analyzed.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This literature review is divided into four sections. The first section gives an overview of what has been studied on immigrant families, to highlight the gap that exists in the literature pertaining to immigrant Zimbabweans' parenting experiences. The second section introduces the concepts of parenting and family and situates them within the Zimbabwean context. In so doing, it highlights how these concepts influence Zimbabwean society's understanding of what family and parenting mean. The third section looks at globalisation and migration, highlighting their advantages and challenges to Zimbabwean society. The notions of home, belonging, culture and identity are explored in light of these realities. The fourth section looks at the theoretical frameworks that underpin the study. Overall, this literature review exposes the existing gaps in the literature, which my study will cover as its own niche. It concludes by emphasising that the participants' experiences will be informed by the theoretical, global, social and cultural context outlined in this chapter.

2.2. Research on immigrant families: An overview

It appears that much of the research previously undertaken on immigrant families was done in the global North, pertaining to immigrants to the global North (Spitzer, 2018). To illustrate, Glick (2010) titled her research, 'A decade of research on immigrant families', which led me to believe that the article presented an overview of research on immigrant families across the world. However, it turned out to be a study on a decade of research into immigrant families in America. Similarly, Pflegerl (2002) wrote on family migration studies in Europe and illustrated the nuances in family research across the world by comparing Europe to the USA, Canada, Latin America and South-East Asia. Both articles though offering an overview of immigrant family research in significantly large portions of the world, notably exclude family migration to the African continent. This is notwithstanding the fact that Africa is the most popular destination for African migrants (Shimeles, 2010).

Studies on international Zimbabwean migration have also followed suit, and examples include Madziva (2011); Madziva & Zontini (2012); Kufakurinani et al (2014); Pasura (2010); McGregor (2008); McGregor (2007); Dune & Mapedzahama (2017) which all look at Zimbabweans in the UK and Australia. This observation is not a criticism of the studies mentioned here, but rather an illustration of the Africa gap that exists in the geography of much of the existing research on family migration.

In addition to the aforementioned scarcity, research on immigrant families has been a 'blind spot' in the field of migration studies. Migrants were typically studied as individuals driven only by economic motives (Bonjour & Kraler, 2015). Over time however, research broadened in scope to include family (Pflegerl, 2002). European research places an emphasis on the effect of migration on families (Pflegerl, 2002) and this is similar to this study which inquires into migration and parenting. American research on the other hand centred its focus on the role of culture versus structure in shaping outcomes (Glick, 2010). This study is different because its interest lies in experiences rather than outcomes.

Of the literature reviewed on Zimbabwean families in South Africa, none focus on parenting experiences in the same way as this study does. The available literature looks at parents and families negotiating language, (Katsere, 2016); transnationalism (Chereni, 2015); educational access (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011) and a variety of migration experiences (Crush et al, 2015). This study's focus on parenting experiences will undoubtedly touch on some of these issues but only insofar as they relate to parenting experiences.

In conclusion, this study stands unique when compared to other research on immigration as shown above. It looks into African family migration to Africa and focuses on parenting experiences, which is distinct from the shared examples. I now turn to the second section of the literature review which explores the concept of family in greater detail.

2.3. The concept of family

2.3.1 Family structure: Nuclear and extended

My research inquires into parenting experiences, which locates my study squarely within the realm of family studies. Family structure is therefore a perfect starting point for this section of the literature review. The family structure I am most interested in is the nuclear family, since parenting for my purposes is the two-generation relationship between one generation and its offspring. This idea comes from the writings of notable family sociologist Ernest Burgess (cited in Bengtson, 2001). Burgess conceptualised the nuclear family as a two-generation family consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children; with the companionship between the married couple being the foundation of this family form. The other kind of family structure often juxtaposed with the nuclear family is the extended family, which Bengtson (2001) defines as a multi-generational family which can include grandparents, as well as a wider network of kin beyond one couple and their children.

While the Burgess and Bengtson ideas neatly summarise the common understanding of families as either nuclear or extended, a number of scholars, such as Murray (1980); Smit (2001); and Bengtson (2001), are in agreement that there is no single neat picture or definition of family. Instead, the concepts of nuclear and extended family do not always fully capture the variations in different family setups. Moyo (2007) corroborates Bengtson (2001), recognising that families in Zimbabwe are constantly mutating and that 'typical' families do not exist. Therefore, although it is convenient to categorise certain family forms as 'nuclear' or 'extended' it remains important in this research to allow the participants to explain what their respective nuclear family structures look like. This will provide the right context within which to understand the participants' parenting experiences.

2.3.2. The family economy

The family economy is a family process that is important to understand in this particular study. Family economics refers to the application of economic principles to the study of the family

(Neuwirth & Haider, 2004). Families and households are engaged in economic processes such as resource acquisition, distribution, production and consumption (Neuwirth & Haider, 2004). Understanding family economies is important because these economic processes interact with non-economic features of families to lead to certain outcomes in the processes of family functioning (Alesina & Guiliano, 2010). Indeed Neuwirth & Haider (2004:7) point out resource allocation as a key influence on family decisions such as family formation, fertility and family dissolution.

Having presented family structure and the family economy as a background, I now turn to a discussion of Zimbabwean families and what their structure and economies look like.

2.3.3. Family in the Zimbabwean context

Although I am researching parents who live in South Africa, it is crucial to first understand what the family looks like in Zimbabwe. This is because these parents who are raising families in South Africa have themselves been raised in Zimbabwe. They will therefore hold a lot of their knowledge and assumptions about parenting and family from that context. Furthermore, although they identify as Zimbabwean while in the host country, South Africa, they are creating a slightly different kind of Zimbabwean family, due to the very fact that they are raising their children in a different country. It is good then, to first explore the nature and dynamics of the family in their home country. This exploration will provide a baseline from which to understand their stories.

2.3.4. The Zimbabwean Shona family

I restricted my study to Shona-speaking Zimbabwean parents who were raising their children in South Africa. The literature therefore focuses on Zimbabwean Shona families. More detailed reasons for restricting the sample in this way are given in the methodology chapter of this study.

It is important to emphasise that although I will speak of 'Shona' families, the Shona are a diverse group comprising of six main groups, namely the Karanga, Kalanga, Korekore, Manyika, Ndau and Zezuru (Bourdillon, 1976). According to Mancuveni (2011:3), the name Shona has come to be accepted as a national identity name for the people of Zimbabwe comprising of these diverse groups. Although these groups are geographically concentrated in different parts of Zimbabwe and enjoy varied and different cultural practices, they also enjoy common, shared

beliefs and practices, and Kay (1970) notes that in spite of their diversity they consider themselves a distinct ethnic and cultural group.

On the basis of a study done on Zimbabwean society and literature, Mberengwa & Johnson (2003) describe two kinds of African[1] families, namely the traditional African family and the modern African family. The traditional family represents 65% of black families in Southern Africa and typically lives in a rural area, where its homestead is among a cluster of kin homesteads. In this family, the mother stays at home with an average of six children while the father works in a city or town roughly 320 kilometres away.

The modern family on the other hand, is quintessentially a family of two parents and three children, that lives in the city where both parents have paying jobs (Clignent & Sween, 1971). Like the traditional family, this family maintains close ties with their kin in the rural areas and has another homestead there for farming activities (Mberengwa & Johnson, 2003:20). In both kinds of families, the father is the head of the household and tends to make the major decisions pertaining to the family (Chirozva, Mubaya & Mukamuri, 2007). This description of traditional and modern African families is representative of Zimbabwean Shona families.

Although the advent of modernization has resulted in the so-named 'modern African family' the role of the extended family kin is still present in the ways that Shona families relate to one another (Taringa & Maphosa, n.d; Mberengwa & Johnson, 2003; Bray & Dawes, 2016). Taringa & Maphosa (n.d) note that the Shona family is a large, closely-knit community of blood relatives wherein all family members relate to each other and understand their own personhood in reference to their place in that family.

Although Shona families are diverse in their origin, geographical locations and practices, they do share certain traditions and practices deriving from a common cultural ethos. Madziva (2011) points out that within the Shona family structure, the father's brothers and male cousins are referred to as fathers and likewise all the mothers' sisters and female cousins are referred to as mothers. In similar fashion, peers close to one's own age are brothers and sisters. It is notable that this structure goes beyond the biological family. Shona children are socialised to regard elderly men as uncles;

[1] Mberengwa & Johnson's article refers to 'African families' although the authors indicate that their information is based largely on the study of Zimbabwean society per literature and interviews in Zimbabwe

the women as aunts and younger people as brothers and sisters, just as they would their own biological family members (Bray & Dawes, 2016). Therefore within the extended biological as well as societal network of kin, the entire community is imbued with some kind of familial responsibility for one another. In this setup, children owe adults the duty of respect and adults owe young people the duty to contribute to their good upbringing and appropriate socialisation into responsible and mature adults (Madziva, 2011).

2.3.5. The importance of children

Another shared cultural feature among the diverse Shona groups is that marriage is traditionally understood as having two main purposes, namely, producing offspring and creating familial ties and alliances between two families (Madziva, 2011). Taringa & Maphosa (n.d:137) indicate that offspring will add to the extended network of kin which is the basis of Shona society and community. These offspring will continue the lineage, as well as provide labour for the family in the form of agricultural and other work.

Although social change is inevitable and views on marriage and family practices evolve, the centrality of children in the Shona family remains salient to the present day. Spouses and in-laws get concerned when a newlywed couple delays their procreation (Madziva, 2011). Bray & Dawes (2016) highlight that this expectation that a productive marriage produces children has remained an important part of Shona family culture and practice, although other beliefs around marriage and family have evolved over time. Therefore, one can expect that whether a family is the archetypal traditional or modern one as described earlier, the expectations around having children and the extended family's collective responsibility for those children remain somewhat intact.

Having presented this introduction to the Shona family structure and system, I now turn to the subject of parenting where I explore what it means and how it has been understood in literature and in practice.

2.4. Parenting

Parenting is the social process through which parents turn children into certain adult human beings (Gebrekidan, 2010). It is therefore universal in the sense that its purpose everywhere is to turn the child into a 'culturally valued adult person' in that community or society (Quinn, 2005). This means that parents everywhere have similar aims when they parent their children, but the differences lie in the methods they use to achieve these aims, which vary by culture and context.

These methods are known as parenting practices and parenting styles which parents use in child rearing. The nature of parenting is that it is an informal family relationship between the older generation and the younger generation (Furedi, 2002). For this research, I intend to find out how living in a different country with children affects the parents' experience of turning children into certain adult human beings. In this section, I discuss the Adaptive Adult theoretical framework, social class, parenting styles and practices to show how they affect parenting.

2.4.1. The Adaptive Adult Theory

The Adaptive Adult theory is a theoretical framework that closely speaks to the aims of parenting. The adaptive adult is a concept that reflects parents' ideal image for how their children should be as adults (Roer-Strier & Rosenthal, 2001). This concept recognises that in parenting, regardless of where in the world or at what point in history, parents have implicit ideas about the ideal kind of person they would like to raise. Additionally, parents do not necessarily hold the adaptive adult image of their children consciously, even though it guides their approach to child rearing (Roer-Strier & Rosenthal, 2001).

Within the context of migration, parents can hold adaptive adult images that differ from generation to generation. This means that the adaptive adult image the parents were raised on may differ from the one into which they socialize their own children. This change is the result of the unique circumstances that different generations face, which inform their hopes and fears for the future. Degni, Pöntinen & Mölsä (2006)'s study on Somali parents raising children in Finland illustrates this aspect of the Adaptive Adult theory in the context of migration. The study found that after settling in Finland, Somali parents increasingly started prioritising girls' education in ways they would not have done while living in Somalia. This suggests that the image parents had of their girl

children changed now that they were in Finland. The parents needed to raise 'culturally valued' adult women in the Finnish context, which meant educated women. That would have been different from the 'culturally valued' adult woman in Somalia whose cultural value would have emphasised another quality over 'formal' education.

A scholar who has used this framework in a study similar to mine is Rezania (2015) who looked at the challenges of cultural adjustment for refugee fathers raising children in Canada. Rezania (2015) highlights that the adaptive adult theory can be used to understand the underlying norms and beliefs in the parent's culture of origin. While these beliefs influence what parents understand as the appropriate way to raise children, they can also cause anxiety and difficulty when they are challenged by a new environment. Therefore, parenting as a universal social process ought to be understood with the adaptive adult image in mind, because it informs what parents are guiding their children towards.

2.4.2. Social class

In addition to the ubiquitousness of parenting and the adaptive adult image, social class is an important factor that influences parenting experiences. Social class is typically measured through indicators of socioeconomic status such as income, occupation and education (Wyatt-Nicol & Brown, 2011). Therefore, although parenting is a personal and intuitive experience, it is also infused with classed values and behaviours (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016).

Social class influences the daily lived experiences of the family (Risman & Damaske, 2012). For example it influences the level of fathers' involvement in childrearing, (Risman & Damaske, 2012). Fathers' involvement will affect the experiences of both the father in question as well as the co-parent; who, for my research purposes is the mother. Social class and any of its components, for example high levels of education and high incomes are therefore family and parenting resources which further determine what other resources are available to the family; both cultural (Mäenpää & Jalovaara, 2014) and material (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2009). Therefore social class will influence certain parenting values, styles, practices as well as outcomes for the children and the family. I now turn to a discussion of parenting styles and practices.

2.4.3. Parenting styles and practices

Although closely related, parenting practices and parenting styles are distinct from one another. Parenting practices are specific behaviors parents use to socialize their children, while parenting styles are patterns of parental behaviour, or the emotional climate in which parents raise children (Spera, 2005; Gebrekidan, 2010). Both have been found to have an impact on children's behaviour and wellbeing in the short and long term (Yu & Gamble, 2008). For this reason, it is worthwhile to consider them in light of this study.

2.4.3.1. Parenting practices

Parents utilise certain practices as socialisation tools or strategies to instill the values and traits that they want to see in their children (Bisin & Verdier, 2000). Hitlin & Vaisey (2013) define values as lasting beliefs or ideals shared by members of a community about what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable. These values influence behaviour and attitude, serving as a guide for how to respond to different situations (Hitlin & Vaisey, 2013). The practices parents use in everyday interactions with their children are strongly influenced by their cultural values and beliefs (Thomas, 2012). Zhou & Lee (2008) give an example of a study on Korean immigrant families in America, who were found to value academic achievement as a means of securing their children's futures in the host country, America. This consideration was a determining factor in the parents' decisions on which neighbourhoods to live in, (close to good, affordable public schools) as well as the type of extracurricular activities the parents chose for their children. These practices were found to directly influence the children's outcomes, namely high academic achievement and entry into highly skilled technical professions post-graduation. This example also illustrates the relationship between parenting practices and the universal aim of parenting, which is to mould a culturally competent adult who can thrive in a given society.

Another important practice parents and particularly immigrant parents use to socialise children is encouraging adherence to and participation in a religion. In the context of an unfamiliar country where families are removed from their home community, together with their shared cultural values, religion provides moral guidance and an unfalsifiable worldview to guide behaviour and life choices (Verkuyten, Thijs & Stevens, 2012). It therefore serves as a powerful connection to the values important to parents and these usually mirror those from their home country, which

immigrant parents typically strive to promote (Verkuyten et al, 2012). Parents themselves have been found to be the key socialisation agent for children's religiosity. This means that children's identification with a religion and its practices will be significantly influenced by the parents' own religiosity (Maliepaard & Lubbers, 2013). Zimbabwean Shona parents are also engaged in the ongoing socialisation of their children and I now turn to explore Shona parenting practices and show how the concept applies in the cultural context of the participants in this study.

2.4.3.2. Shona parenting practices

As in all societies, parenting practices among Shona people are rooted in their culture, since as previously mentioned, the universal aim of parenting is to produce certain culturally valued individuals (Quinn, 2005). Shona culture therefore informs the behaviour of parents and the expectations surrounding a child's birth, infancy, childhood, adolescence and the way the children will grow up and ultimately parent as adults (Gwemende, 2006).

Among married Shona mothers, some of the child rearing practices informed by culture include the following: During her first pregnancy, a woman leaves her marital home to go and live with her own parents from the seventh month of pregnancy until the child is born (Chinyoka & Ganga, 2017). This is done so that the expectant woman's parents can administer some herbs which make the birth easier. There is an official ceremony marking this where the husband presents two goats to the wife's parents as a celebration of her fertility (Chimbandi, 2014).

While this may have happened easily in previous times, social change such as urbanisation has seen women taking up paid employment in urban areas. This means that this practice may no longer be feasible for many families. Where a woman is employed, for example, her employer's provisions for maternity leave can be an important factor determining where a woman can be based at certain times during her pregnancy. In the context of international migration under discussion, it may not be feasible for a woman to relocate from, say, South Africa to Zimbabwe in the final two months of pregnancy, if, for example her parents live in Zimbabwe while she lives in South Africa. In addition, due to modernisation and the use of modern medicine, administering of herbs and other forms of antenatal care for a pregnant woman is likely to have been taken up by health care professionals in clinics or hospitals, rather than family members.

Due to these and other reasons, there are some shifts in the way this child rearing practice is practiced. As a Shona person who has grown up and lives among Shona people, I have observed that in some families, the formal acknowledgment of a woman's first pregnancy will still happen, together with the ceremony to mark it. However, the woman may only stay with her parents for a few days and return to her marital home soon after. This indicates that while preserving culture remains important to families, people adapt some aspects of their culture to suit the prevailing social and other macro and micro level realities.

Cultural norms also follow the parenting of adolescent children, who are defined by Gray & Dawes (2016) as young people aged between the ages of 12 and 21 years. Chiweshe & Chiweshe (2017) highlight that there is a very specific 'cultural script' in Zimbabwean society that informs high levels of parental denial about the sexual behaviour of their adolescent children. The Chiweshes' (2017) study found that in a community where adolescent pregnancy was on the rise and all the parents interviewed confirmed their awareness of this, none of the parents reported that they believed their adolescent children were sexually active. Instead they pointed to their neighbours' children and blamed other parents for being too lenient; attributing better and more vigilant parenting practices to themselves. The majority of parents in this study also remained adamant that regardless of the rising rates of adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections in their community, they would still not talk to their children about sex. Such would lose them respect from the children and would encourage the children to experiment with sex (Chiweshe & Chiweshe, 2017). This example is relevant because the quality of parental communication about sex has been found to be a protective factor that influences adolescents delaying vaginal sex (Bersamin, Todd, Fisher, Hill, Grube & Walker, 2008). It is highly likely that parents practicing denial also influenced the risky sexual behaviours among the adolescents in this study. This example powerfully illustrates the importance of culture and tradition in influencing the practices parents employ while raising their children.

In light of the thrust of Airhihenbuwa & Webster (2004)'s definition of culture which focuses on underlying interrelated values, the Chiweshes' (2017) use of the term 'cultural script' suggests that parenting practices will align with specific traditions deriving from underlying values which may sometimes trump modern 'knowledge' and 'education' around how to empower or protect children from certain ills. In the Zimbabwean context, educated parents of adolescents may find it difficult to break the cultural taboo around discussing sex with their children. In fact, Dune and

Mapedzahama (2017) found in their study with well-educated Zimbabwean mothers living with their children in Australia that they experienced high levels of discomfort discussing sex with their own children. One should therefore not underestimate the power that tradition and culture have to influence parenting practices even against what may seem to be the 'common sense' notions of what empowers a child or an adolescent in a given situation.

This example presents a notable contrast to the phenomenon of families adapting certain cultural practices to suit certain macro and micro level factors. It illustrates that while social and cultural change are inevitable, this change does not happen uniformly across issues and across families and communities. Therefore, for the various cultural practices that any one family follows, there will be diversity in the extent to which that practice shifts or remains the same over time.

The final Shona parenting practice I will outline is child fostering which has been practiced by Shona people dating back to pre-colonial times (Chirozva et al, 2007). Fostering is when children are sent to live with relatives such as uncles, aunts and grandparents (Madziva, 2011). Reportedly, it was common for aunts without children of their own to ask for one of their brother's children to come and live with them and help with the household and farming activities. It was also common for mothers to send young children to their grandmothers as a method of weaning (Madziva, 2011). This was in line with the cultural ethos of children belonging to, and being the collective responsibility of the entire network of kin. Bray & Dawes (2016) affirm this and highlight that in the Southern African context, parenting responsibilities were shared beyond a child's biological parents.

In recent times however, the extended family structures upon which child fosterage relied have changed and are no longer easily available to families (Dhemba, 2007). HIV, AIDS deaths, economic hardship and large scale migration have destabilised the extended family structure, resulting in families becoming unable or unwilling to foster relatives' children (Madziva, 2011; Dhemba 2007). Increasingly, the effects of fostering as a parenting practice have included children's emotional distress as they feel abandoned by parents (Kufakurinani et al, 2014) and child maltreatment in relatives' homes, leading to them fleeing the foster home to go and live on the street (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003). These examples illustrate that while parents employ various practices for child rearing, these practices have the potential to result in positive impact such as high academic achievement; or negative impact such as child distress and risky behaviour.

I now turn to a detailed look at parenting styles, which are the patterns of parental behaviour or the emotional climate within which parents raise their children.

2.4.3.3. Parenting styles

Sociologist Diana Baumrind came up with three parenting styles or typologies, which she named authoritarian, permissive and authoritative (Baumrind, 1991). Authoritarian parents use high levels of control and restriction over their children and expect their views to be final when there is conflict. Permissive parents are on the other extreme end, as they are neither demanding nor controlling, and shy away from disciplining or punishing their child (Estep, Avalos & Olson, 2017). The authoritative parenting style is the ideal and is considered the one best suited for good outcomes with children. It is characterised by parents being firm with the child, though not controlling. The authoritative parent is more involved with the child and reasons with the child concerning punishment, rules and boundaries (Baumrind, 1991).

The two main criticisms levelled against Baumrind's typologies are that they were primarily based on white American middle class, two-parent families in the 1950s and that they are overly simplistic, and do not factor in the values and norms of other cultures (Estep et al, 2017). Despite these critiques however, the various alternatives formulated still heavily rely on the original typologies (McWayne & Mattis, 2018). For this reason I also rely on the original three typologies in the discussion on parenting styles.

2.4.3.3.1. Shona parenting styles

The prevailing parenting style among Shona parents appears to closely mirror Baumrind (1991)'s authoritarian style. Gwemende (2006) notes that the parent-child relationship among Shona people is informed by the cultural ethos that children ought to respect their parents, primarily through obedience (Gwemende, 2006). This obedience typically entails not arguing with a parent or questioning their decisions. Chirozva et al (2007) label the Shona parenting style as authoritarian and argue that traditionally, Shona parents exercise high levels of control and restriction over their children expecting their views to be final when there is conflict.

The rigidity associated with the authoritarian style has been noted to undermine children's development of autonomy (Vera, Granero & Ezpeleta, 2012). Chirisa (2014) found in a study with young people in Zimbabwe, that adolescents' perceptions of what their parents' parenting style was, was a predictor for adolescents' alcohol intake. Those who viewed their parents as either authoritarian or permissive were also found to score higher on an alcohol intake test than those who viewed their parents as authoritative.

At the same time though, it is important to mention that the effect of certain parenting styles on children will differ according to culture. Mousavi, Low & Hashim (2016) for instance found that among adolescents of Arab origin in America, parental use of the authoritarian parenting style was not linked to adolescent anxiety. This was significantly different from adolescents of European, Malay and Indian origin and a key reason was that unlike their counterparts from other cultures, Arab adolescents were used to the particular parenting style and did not react adversely to it. This is an important observation because in this study it will be crucial to understand that there are no universally positive or negative styles or practices of parenting. Rather, each one is mediated by the individuals and the ways in which they understand their family cultures.

Overall, cultural values strongly influence the parenting practices and styles parents use to raise children. They affect children's behavioural, developmental and wellness outcomes, though the kind of effect varies depending on the context within which they are practiced.

2.4.4. 'Parenting': A critique

Notwithstanding the universalism of parenting just presented, 'parenting' as a concept has been critiqued by scholars. Faircloth, Hoffman & Layne (2013) highlight that the term 'parenting' is relatively new and gained prominence in the 1950s as sociologists, psychologists and other practitioners used it. Bray & Dawes (2016) confirm this in their study with East and Southern African adolescents who noted that 'parenting' was an external construct which they did not readily use or identify with.

As the term 'parenting' has gained prominent usage in the west, it has come to mean something different from the incidental, informal family relationships between parents and their offspring (Faircloth et al, 2013). It has been reinterpreted as a scientifically based skill set people need to

learn from experts. Being a parent no longer means the automatic possession of 'parenting skills' (Furedi, 2002). Rather, a 'good parent' becomes someone who embraces the science, the professional advice from 'experts' and the policies through which these views are promoted (Faircloth et al, 2013).

This parenting ideal has been labelled 'intensive parenting' by scholars such as Hays (1996). Intensive parenting places a high demand on parents' material and affective resources (Furedi, 2002). Parents are considered responsible for their children's physical, cognitive, and intellectual development as well as their social and emotional wellbeing and overall success in life (Mainland, Shaw & Prier, 2017). Parents presumably have the ability to control and shape the lives of children to ensure they become responsible citizens (Shirani, Heywood & Coltart, 2012). In addition, parents should find parenting personally fulfilling (Furedi, 2002).

A major critique of this view of parenting is that it reflects middle class values, particularly the resource-intensiveness that is necessary to make it possible (Shirani et al, 2012). The financial, social and cultural capital needed for intensive parenting might cause undue strain on those parents who do not have access to the resources that enable intensive parenting. This can undermine parental confidence and make parenting a source of anxiety.

At this juncture, I note that parenting is a composite term and that the experience of parenting is also differentiated according to whether a parent is a mother or father. Since the parents in my study are mothers and fathers I now turn to discuss the concepts of motherhood and fatherhood.

2.5. Motherhood, fatherhood

Motherhood and fatherhood are concepts that are commonly understood by the lay person, but are also complex enough to warrant the kind of research scrutiny they have been subject to. My departure point is the simple and commonly understood meaning of motherhood and fatherhood namely the status of a woman or man having a child or children. I however recognize that these two ideas run deeper than this and the ensuing discussion reflects this.

2.5.1. Motherhood

I propose a conceptualisation of motherhood that regards it primarily as a social construct which sets out rules and guidelines for how a mother ought to behave, think and feel about her children and family. This is because multiple scholars on motherhood reiterate that motherhood is often about the performance of a distinct socio-cultural script kept in place by the system of expectations, regulations, censures and rewards that characterises virtually all social constructs. A social construct is an idea that is created, believed and upheld by a society, pertaining to an object, phenomenon or person (Paolantonio, 2016). Constructs often define what is 'normal' or 'deviant' pertaining to phenomena. Lorber (1994) adds that constructs can be organising principles which help us order and understand our worlds and they change as societies and cultures evolve.

According to Zikhali (2016:13), 'conceptualisations of motherhood tend to evoke ideas of women's reproductive roles, for instance, nurturing, caring, and socialisation of dependent children'. Motherhood is also seen as natural and is typically conflated with womanhood (O'Reilly, 2004). Multiple authors echo these sentiments, for example Batisai (2017) and Bell (2006), adding the notion of a 'good mother' who is exclusively responsible for provision and care for children during the formative years. Other ideologies of 'good motherhood' include devotion to child rearing, raising moral children and modelling faithfulness and married life (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Koniak-Griffin, Logsdon, Hines-Martin & Turner, 2006). In addition, a mother is often assumed to live in the same geographical space as her children so she can interact with them in close proximity (Phoenix & Bruna, 2013).

2.5.1.1. Intensive motherhood

Hays (1996) labels the outlined ideology of motherhood 'intensive motherhood'. Intensive motherhood is child-centered, puts the child before the mother and assumes the mother has in-born expertise on how to mother (O'Reilly, 2004). It is also emotionally absorbing, labour intensive and financially expensive (Zikhali, 2016:20). This means that where intensive mothering is the ideal form of mothering, a mother is expected to channel all her resources to the care and wellbeing of her children until they attain self actualisation (Moorhouse & Cunningham, 2012).

These are high expectations which can foreseeably be overwhelming for a mother who expects herself and is expected to perform these functions competently and selflessly. In fact, for immigrant mothers settling into a new country, holding this ideal of motherhood is often a challenge whether the mother lives with her children or has left them in the home country (Ngum Chi Watts, Liamputtong, & Mcmichael, 2015). In addition, where there is a need to work and bring an income into the family, immigrant mothers can feel disillusioned and experience feelings of inadequacy which negatively impact their emotional and overall wellbeing (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017).

It is important to point out that the mothering role is performed in relation to other familial roles. Chereni (2017) notes that in heterosexual families, father-involvement influences how women perform mothering roles as well as their beliefs about being a mother. Where mothers have support and feel that they can ask for help, they feel more positive about mothering and their ability as 'good mothers'. Understanding motherhood is crucial to this study because the ways in which the female participants will assess their parenting experience will be linked to notions of motherhood. It will be important to note the ways in which the expectations and ideals of motherhood influence the reported experiences.

2.5.2. Fatherhood

Fatherhood is also as much a social construct as motherhood. Some of the dominant traditional narratives on what it means include the father as a provider and breadwinner; as the head of the family; as the family's protector; as the source of moral authority and as the ultimate disciplinarian (Mahati, Moore & Seekings, 2016; Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth & Lamb 2000; Chereni, 2017). In the Zimbabwean patrilineal context, the father is also the place from whence children derive their identity (Parsons 2010). These ideals and expectations point to the weightiness of idealised fatherhood. Just like intensive mothering 'ideal' fatherhood puts pressure on fathers to perform their responsibilities well and fulfil these ideals.

The notion of father as provider and breadwinner poses a significant challenge when understood in the context of the Zimbabwean crisis which has forced the majority of the population into poverty and severe deprivation. Nyambi & Mlambo (2010) have coined the phrase, 'emasculated by the crisis' to refer to fathers in the Zimbabwean context. This is because the country's economic

hardships have virtually closed off all the avenues through which fathers could traditionally earn and provide for their families. This has had implications for men's traditional authority in the family, in instances where for example wives have an income while husbands have lost theirs. Migration, and particularly to South Africa, has therefore become a major strategy for fathers as they strive to provide for the family (Tevera & Crush, 2003).

The outlined traditional notions of fatherhood have recently been joined by the ideology of the 'new father' who, in addition to the above is also expected to do his part of the housekeeping, caregiving and nurturing duties (Chereni, 2015). Increasingly, fathers are now valued for their contribution to their children's social and emotional development (Dayton et al, 2016) meaning that the traditional constructions of fatherhood are already shifting. Cabrera et al (2010) note that the shifts in motherhood and fatherhood are happening simultaneously as mothers' roles also shift to include material provision for the family. It will be interesting to see how these ideals and expectations manifest in the research participants' lives.

2.5.3. Gender and parenting

Closely related to motherhood and fatherhood is the issue of gender, which is a key factor that influences the parenting experience. This is more generally the case, and not just in Zimbabwean families. Families tend to be gendered spaces where the household economy runs along gender lines (Goldberg, Smith & Perry- Jenkins, 2012). In many families, women do the 'feminine household tasks' which Goldberg et al (2012:816) characterise as those chores that are, 'least discretionary, most time consuming and are performed most frequently, such as cooking and cleaning up after cooking. Girls are socialised to take on feminine chores and learn from their mothers, while boys are socialised to take on the masculine tasks which they learn from their fathers (Gwemende, 2006; Chirozva et al, 2007). Mupfumira (2017) adds that in the Zimbabwean context, each parent is the one who models the appropriate gender roles for the children.

At this point of the literature review, I have presented an in-depth discussion of the concepts of family and parenting, situating them within the Zimbabwean Shona context. I highlighted that parenting is informed by tradition and culture which are also constantly changing and being adapted to micro and macro realities by people who practise them. I also explored motherhood and

fatherhood emphasising their growing demandingness on parents. I now turn to the third section which discusses globalisation and migration and the ways they have affected the family.

2.6. Globalisation and migration

2.6.1. Globalisation and families

Social change is an ongoing reality and the influences of the western money economy, industrialisation, migration and globalisation have left their mark on families everywhere. Zimbabwean Shona families are no exception (Mate, 2003) and Chirozva et al (2007) note that globalisation has fostered new forms of migration as family members migrate to Europe, the Americas and other far-flung places from Zimbabwe. Sifianou (2013:87) defines globalisation as, 'the acceleration of processes of interconnectedness in every aspect of social life'. These aspects of social life include economics, mobility, communication and media. When one considers Zimbabwe's well documented political and economic crisis of the 2000s it is likely that the migration effect of globalisation is compounded. This has major implications for the parenting of children as I outline next.

2.6.2. Migration and families

Long (2014) highlights that the effects of migration are primarily felt within the family. Both the emigrant leaving for another country, and the family they leave behind can experience positive feelings such as jubilation at the upward economic mobility migration is perceived to bring. Ratha et al (2011) note that the emigration of a family member has been found to contribute to greater social mobility, greater educational attainment and poverty relief within families left in the country of origin. This is mostly due to cash remittances from the emigrant. For the emigrant, the ability to provide for their kin back home can produce feelings of empowerment and competence (Pasura, 2010). On the other hand, families also experience emotional strain due to isolation and loneliness that migration can cause, as parents, children and spouses are separated from each other.

Kufakurinani, Pasura & McGregor (2014) illustrate the effects of family separation in the context of international migration through their study of the emerging phenomenon of 'diaspora orphans'

in Zimbabwe. ‘Diaspora orphans’ are children with one or both parents working outside the country and have been left in the care of another adult in Zimbabwe (Shaw, 2008). The caregiving adults range from a fellow parent to school teachers, extended family members and employed caregivers.

The generally held view is that ‘diaspora orphans’ are neglected, delinquent and undisciplined (Kufakurinani et al, 2014). In some ways these children are as vulnerable as the ‘regular’ orphan whose parents are deceased and therefore cannot provide emotional intimacy, guidance or discipline (Filippa, 2011). The children themselves also report low levels of motivation and feelings of isolation and abandonment, suggesting that separation from their parents does take a toll on their wellbeing. Similar trends have been observed elsewhere and Zentgraf & Chinchilla (2012) note that Mexican children of parents who had emigrated to other countries were also found to have high levels of depression and resentment for the parents who left, and performed worse in school than children who lived with both parents. This had adverse effects on the ongoing relationship between the migrant parents and their children, causing relationship breakdown to varying extents among family members.

Just like the children who are ‘orphaned’ by migration, emigrating adults can also experience the trauma of separation from their families when they move. Silver (2006) notes that since families ideally provide care, psychological and emotional support to their members, the migrant family member can encounter acute sadness, loneliness and despair as a result of separation from that familial support structure. The experiences of immigrants who get caught up in the bureaucratic immigration system that leaves them in limbo, consequently prolonging their separation from their families is particularly distressing (McGregor, 2008).

Madziva (2011) gives the example of a Zimbabwean mother in the UK whose visa renewal took more than a year to be finalised. During this period, she could not visit Zimbabwe or bring her two young children to the UK despite having promised them a reunion within a short period of time. The prolonged separation and reports of her children’s distress devastated her so much that she stopped doing things such as grocery shopping. She was overwhelmed by the guilt she felt for having access to groceries while her children were struggling in Zimbabwe. These kinds of experiences can be traumatic and can reduce the immigrant’s overall state of wellbeing, regardless of the promise of a better life held by the host country. This illustrates that the emotional toll of

migration separation can be felt keenly by both children and parents on either side of the migration experience, necessitating the need and desire to unite the family in one location; namely the host country.

Notwithstanding the case just made for children joining parents in the host country, some studies have found strong sentiment among immigrant parents that host countries are not suitable places to raise their children. Mahati, Moore & Seekings (2016) studied Ghanaian and Nigerian fathers in South Africa who preferred that their children remain in their home countries rather than come to South Africa. Some of the reasons they gave included a perceived lack of respect for morals among children in South Africa and children having too many rights. Crush & Tawodzera (2011)'s study also found Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa who preferred to keep children in Zimbabwe because it was cheaper to do so than South Africa where parents did not always have adequate resources such as accommodation, to properly care for children. Other studies (Cati, 2013; and Mberengwa & Johnson, 2003) found that keeping children in the home country and sending remittances was a way of maintaining the family structure and relationships, as certain cultural contexts distribute the responsibility over children to the extended family. Therefore, the isolating effects of migration particularly for children, need to be understood in the relevant cultural context and might vary from family to family and context to context.

At this point I have outlined common migration experiences among families, showing the reasons why families may or may not choose reunification in the host country. I now turn to a discussion of experiences of parents who live with their children in the host country.

2.6.3. Parenting experiences in the host country

Zhou & Lee (2008) write on Korean-American youth born of immigrant parents in America who display a wide repertoire of both Korean and American cultural expression due to navigating the families' Korean culture at home, as well as the host American culture in the broader society. According to Zhou & Lee (2008), the youth studied tended to have a deep appreciation of the hard work their parents put in to get them to their current life situation in the US. Therefore, they accepted and respected the parents' native culture, through language, appropriate register and behaviour at home, while also being children of their country of birth and citizenship, America.

Children's appreciation of the parents' culture and adherence to 'acceptable behaviour' per Zhou & Lee (2008) is however not universal. McGregor (2008) describes divergent experiences reported by some Zimbabwean parents with children born in the UK, or who migrated to the UK very young. These parents worried about the bad influence of British youth culture on their adolescent children and expressed concern that their children were 'growing up British', which to them meant unruly, disrespectful and not possessing the 'proper African values'. The worried parents in McGregor (2008)'s study expressed the desire to send their children back to Zimbabwe to become more disciplined. Kufakurinani et al (2014) whose 'diaspora orphans' study included children whose parents were in the UK, in fact found some children who had been sent back to Zimbabwe from England. This was done so that they could be disciplined and get their unruly 'British behaviour' under control.

Other significant experiences immigrant parents have involve interaction with institutions in the host country and the schooling system is a key one. Dependant children up to the age of 18 years typically attend school, therefore finding a school for children is an important activity parents will encounter. Immigrant parents often consider schooling very important and prioritise that their children get a good education (Zhou & Lee, 2008; Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). The significance of schools to immigrant families also lies in schools being important sources of child socialisation, children learning the culture of the host country as well as making friends (Deslandes, Rivard, Trudeau, Lemoyne & Joyal, 2012).

The outlined examples illustrate is that individual families will have a diversity of experiences where parenting in a different national context is concerned. However, the common thread running through all of them is that immigrant parents will have to confront the inescapable influence of the host environment on their children. This will therefore be a key negotiation they make in navigating the immigrant parenting experience.

In light of this immigrant reality where parents parent in a different country, the question can be asked of how families and their members adapt their ideas of home, belonging, identity and culture. This next part of the literature review delves into these issues to shed more light onto how families experience them in the context of globalisation and migration.

2.7. Home, belonging, identity and culture

2.7.1. Home

Broadly speaking, 'home' can refer to a person's homeland or country of origin, and for the majority of black Zimbabweans, it means a specific geographic place in a rural area, or for some, both an urban and rural home (Ndlovu, 2012:103). In Zimbabwe, similar to elsewhere in the world, home is intermingled with house and family and is therefore more than just a physical structure. Mallet (2004:83) summarises home as an 'emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, a historical time and place, and a combination of all the above'.

The idea of home evokes images of safety, protection and rest in a way that Latif (2009:34) says becomes 'an imagination of a psychological shelter that exudes security, comfort and often idyllic memories of childhood'. However, where someone is from a country like Zimbabwe, home also bears the burden of being the site of disappointment, broken dreams, oppression and sometimes danger and death, which is at odds with the more idyllic notions of home. Ndlovu (2012) notes that the concept of home can have either a strong or a weak claim on people's loyalty and emotions. I posit that holding the two incongruent imaginations of home can explain the varied ways in which Zimbabweans regard their country as 'home'.

2.7.2. Belonging

Closely related to the idea of home is that of belonging. Belonging refers to the emotional and social bonds one has to people and places and feelings of being part of a larger whole (Anthias, 2006; Waite & Cook, 2011). Both sets of authors point out that feelings of belonging may range and vary in intensity but they can not only be understood through rules of citizenship or group membership. The implications of this in the context of my study is that immigrants can feel that they belong to South Africa more than they belong to Zimbabwe, for example, even when by citizenship they are Zimbabwean and may even be in the South Africa illegally. Conversely, as found by McGregor (2008) and Hadebe (2014), it can also mean that even when people have been in the host country for decades and hold citizenship or permanent residency, they may still feel that they belong to the country of origin more than the host country.

It is however often the case that immigrants have varying relationships of belonging with multiple places due to their migration journeys. Wilson & Peters (2005) say this is a result of straddling worlds or being 'here' and 'there' at the same time. Pasura (2008) calls this straddling of worlds 'transnationalism' which incidentally is covered in greater detail under the theoretical frameworks section of this chapter.

2.7.3. Identity

According to Vandeyar (2012) identity is a construct created by people based on how they are classified by others as well as how they think and react to such classifications. Parkinson, Gallegos & Russell-Bennet (2016) add that identity is fluid and individuals construct identities and make decisions that align with the identity construct of the moment. Identity is important because it gives meaning to a person's life and one function of identity is to link past experiences and memories to the present (Parkinson et al, 2016). Therefore, identity gives coherence to an individual life, operating as a medium through which they interpret the past and understand the future.

Insofar as 'home' and 'belonging' encompass connections to certain people and places, they are intertwined with identity and the ways in which immigrants construct their identities. Parkinson, et al (2016) note that family identity is also constructed within the context of competing demands and changing relationships. Therefore as immigrants experience the host country and its demands on their lives, their constructs of their personal and family identities will also shift to accommodate these changes.

2.7.4. Culture

Culture is a determinant of identity and Airhihenbuwa & Webster (2004) define culture as a system of interrelated values, active enough to influence and condition attitudes, perception, judgment, communication, and behavior in a given society. Like all social phenomena, culture is influenced by globalisation. Wilpert (2009) notes that globalisation has resulted in rapid diffusion of cultural carriers and greater synthesis across cross-cultural divisions. As such, globalisation has been found to have a profound impact on youth cultural identity, with technological changes and western imperialism influencing young people's interaction patterns, lifestyle and how they choose to express themselves (Azhar et al, 2014).

Culture is evidently central to how the participants will understand and interpret their world. However, although there can be a lot of similarity in the ways that family members understand their world, individuals with a shared cultural background can view certain things differently and still attribute those divergent views to culture (Epstein & Gang, 2010). In the context of this study, these variations can be explained by globalisation and how it influences different people, as well as the different ways in which individuals relate to their home and sense of belonging as articulated earlier.

At this point, I have exposed the gap in the literature that justifies my study as a worthwhile contribution. I have explored family and parenting with a focus on Shona families. I presented the challenges of globalisation and migration – showcasing how families adapt to migration. I now turn to the final part of this chapter which outlines the theoretical frameworks relevant to this study.

2.8. Theoretical frameworks

For this study I relied on Transnationalism, Acculturation and the Adaptive Adult theory as the key theoretical frameworks from which to understand the research. The Adaptive Adult theory has been discussed under the parenting section, and so I turn to a discussion of the other two frameworks below.

2.8.1. Transnationalism

Transnational migration is 'a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across borders, settle and establish ongoing social relations in a new state, still maintain ongoing connections with the polity from which they originated' (Crush and Tevera, 2010:19). Transnationalism offers a useful framework within which to understand my research for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the immigrant status of the Zimbabweans in this study means that they still identify or are identified as Zimbabwean while they are in South Africa. That speaks to the ongoing connections to the polity or nation state of Zimbabwe. Holding Zimbabwean citizenship in South Africa has real life consequences; for instance accessing the regularisation for irregular Zimbabwean

immigrants through the DZP initiative in 2009 (Bimha, 2017) and also evoking strong feelings of dislike and xenophobia from some South Africans (Muzondidya, 2010). The connection or connectedness with Zimbabwe while in South Africa is the transnationalism that my research participants have, which will give context to some of the experiences they share.

Secondly, transnationalism has been used in the context of understanding the recreations of 'home' in the host country, by Zimbabweans living abroad. Pasura (2010) studied Zimbabweans in the UK and offers this understanding of transnationalism, pointing to the social activities Zimbabweans engage in, while in the UK, in order to maintain the connection to Zimbabwe. For this research, some of the practices parents use to influence children can point to these 'recreations of home'; for example attending Zimbabwean churches and being part of Zimbabwean networks.

2.8.2. Acculturation Theory

Acculturation theory proposes that when two cultures come into constant contact, this results in changes to one or both cultures (Redfield, Linton & Herskovitz, 1936). In this section, I shall use the terms 'culture of origin' and 'host culture' or 'new culture' for convenience and to easily separate the two. However, I emphasise that there is no novel and distinguishably unique 'culture of origin' or 'new/host culture' since there will be overlaps in the values, beliefs and practices of the cultures under discussion. Rudmin (2006) affirms this and notes that unicultures simply do not exist but rather all cultures are hybrid and share qualities and features with other cultures.

Berry (1997) organises acculturation theory into four strategies that immigrants use when adapting to a new country; namely assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. Assimilation is whereby immigrants are strongly motivated towards adopting the new culture, with a weak interest in preserving the culture of origin (Berry, 1997). Assimilation as a strategy of acculturation can explain the dynamic cited by McGregor (2008) of immigrant Zimbabwean children reportedly 'growing up British' and not possessing the 'proper African values'. I might find similar trends in my study since, according to Berry (1997) children and adolescents are more motivated to acculturate toward the dominant host culture than adults. Adults tend to maintain the traditional values of their culture of origin.

The second acculturation strategy is integration, which is whereby immigrants preserve the culture of origin whilst also engaging with and adopting values of the new culture (Gebrekidan, 2010). An example of integration already outlined in the literature review is Zhou & Lee (2008)'s Asian American youth and their wide repertoire of both Asian and American cultural expression.

The third and fourth strategies of acculturation are separation and marginalisation respectively (Berry, 1997). Separation is when immigrants place a strong emphasis on preserving the culture of origin while rejecting the new culture. Marginalisation is when there is little possibility or interest in preserving old culture, alongside little interest in engaging with and adopting the new culture (Gebrekidan, 2010).

A final element of acculturation theory which is useful for my study is acculturation stress. Acculturation stress refers to the behavioural or psychological effects immigrants experience due to cultural conflicts and related issues (Gebrekidan 2010). Although Gebrekidan (2010)'s definition places acculturation stress within the context of challenges, I suggest that acculturation stress can also be the result of the ongoing adaptation process as new immigrants settle down. I imagine that immigrants may encounter new experiences which need to be understood and incorporated into their lives and this process of learning might cause acculturation stress.

An important critique of acculturation theory is that it assumes a bi-directional flow of cultural influence, between a static 'culture of origin' and equally static 'host culture'. This is a limited approach in light of globalisation which has opened up avenues for access to more diverse cultures through the internet, and access to knowledge from around the world (Gokhale, 2015). Globalisation has therefore brought about more cross-cultural influence into the dynamics of immigrants acculturating to the host culture (Taras, Rowney & Steel, 2013). Therefore any one person's cultural frame of reference cannot be blindly assumed to be their 'culture of origin' since their attitudes, values and beliefs are also now being influenced by globalisation.

To conclude, acculturation theory will be useful in understanding the reported family and parenting experiences in this study, keeping in mind the impact of globalisation on these dynamics. Altogether, these theoretical frameworks provide good grounding from which to launch my exploration into parenting experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there exists an Africa-gap in family migration research which justifies this study as a worthwhile addition to the body of knowledge. It explored the concept of family, showing that while families can be referred to as nuclear, extended, modern or traditional, these family forms are dynamic and evolve as societies evolve. It explored parenting as a concept, illustrating that while its purpose is universal the parenting styles and practices parents use to achieve these universal aims vary by context and culture. The chapter also explained the modern ideals of intensive parenting, highlighting the pressure those ideals impose on mothers and fathers in the performance of their parenting responsibilities. It explored the ideas of home, belonging, identity and culture in the context of migration, showing that these ideas can become complex for immigrant families. Finally the chapter outlined the theoretical frameworks of the Adaptive Adult theory, Transnationalism and Acculturation as indispensable to understanding the study. Ultimately, this chapter has presented the background informing the ways the participants conceptualise family and will serve as a framework within which to understand the participants' reported experiences. I now turn to the methodology I used for the study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and philosophy underlying the research. It introduces and justifies my choice for the qualitative design, sampling and data collection approaches I used. It then outlines the ethical considerations that influenced the study. Throughout the chapter are examples of the actual field experiences, negotiations and compromises I made as I undertook the research. The chapter concludes with reflections on my own positionality as I explored this question on parenting experiences.

3.2. Research design

The purpose of my research was to explore and understand how participants experience parenting and raising their families while living in South Africa. As such, the qualitative research design was the most appropriate for my study. According to Sayer (2000), the interpretive philosophy underlying qualitative research recognises that reality is more about perceptions and the construction of meaning rather than a static, universal meaning uniformly understood by all individuals. Universal meanings would be more associated with the positivist philosophy underlying quantitative research (Holden & Lynch, 2004), which I did not use for this study.

A research design tries to answer the question, ‘’what kind of evidence is needed to address the research question adequately?’’ (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:35) Since I set out to explore parenting experiences within the highly nuanced context of family and immigration, in-depth data of the nature generated by qualitative methods was the best way to answer the research question. I regard the lived reality of family for example, as highly subjective. This is because a combination of several factors that differ across individuals influence how a person experiences and comes to understand their reality of family. Examples of these factors include individual temperaments, state

of physical health as well as birth order and unique roles such as wife, husband or son (Salmon, 2003). This is unlike a quantitative approach which seeks to observe trends, establish causal relationships, explain and predict human behaviour (Gray, Williamson & Karp, 2007; Jackson 2013).

3.3. Sampling method

I used purposive sampling to select the participants for my research. Yin (2009:21) describes purposive sampling as, "a method where a researcher selects a sample based on their knowledge about the study and population.'' The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on characteristics of a population which will best enable the researcher to answer the research questions (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan & Hoagwood (2015).

Purposive sampling is also called judgment sampling (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016) because the researcher makes a judgment on what needs to be known, then finds people who can provide this information based on knowledge and experience (Bernard, 2002). To access participants, I relied on three personal contacts who collectively enabled me to access all my participants. The first was a personal acquaintance who agreed to participate, and referred two more parents, who agreed to participate. I accessed the next five participants through my partner who had an extensive network of Zimbabwean contacts in Cape Town; and I accessed the ninth participant through a mutual friend. My own knowledge of both the research question and my social network therefore made purposive sampling the sampling method of choice.

3.4. Sample size and criteria

I interviewed nine participants and of these, four were mothers and five were fathers. (Refer to appendix 7 for the participant profiles) Originally, I intended to interview ten participants. However, after agreeing to participate, one of the women stopped responding to my messages to schedule an interview. After a few follow ups, I assumed her silence meant she had become unable to participate, and I stopped contacting her. Pole & Hillyard (2017) note that a researcher cannot make assumptions about participants' cooperation, since researchers are in the field for as long as

they are welcome there. Therefore, it was understandable that after the participant become unable to participate, I respected that and withdrew my pursuit. While I tried to replace this participant, I encountered delays in securing an interview with the replacement candidate. I eventually decided to focus on the transcription and initial analysis of the concluded interviews rather than continue trying to set up one more interview. That way, the final sample had five men and four women.

I interviewed nine black Zimbabwean parents (five men and four women) who, at the time of the study, each lived in Cape Town South Africa with their spouses and children. I interviewed Shona-speaking participants who were also married to Shona speaking spouses. The choice to interview black Shona speaking Zimbabweans was informed by the demographics of the Zimbabwean population, whereby 99.3% is of African origin; i.e. black, and the majority are Shona speaking, according to Zimbabwe's 2012 census data. (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012). This means that the black Zimbabwean migration experience is by and large the typical Zimbabwean experience of migration. I am however aware that this is a qualitative study, therefore my findings will not be generalisable to a broader population, regardless of the demographics.

I interviewed men and women in order to get the gendered nuances with regards their parenting experiences. The choice to interview men and women has been used in similar studies on parenting experiences, for example by Degni et al (2006) and Gebrekidan (2010). Degni et al (2006) noted that typically, there exist gendered dynamics that influence the parenting experience, for example which parent has primary responsibility for child care, and I anticipated similar dynamics emerging in my study.

While my participants needed to be married and living with their spouse at the time of the interviews, I did not require that both spouses participate. Therefore, although this option was available to all participants, only one full couple was represented out of the nine participants. Similar studies on parenting experiences have also not been prescriptive about having both individuals in a couple participate. Examples are Sim, Cordier, Vaz, Netto & Falkmer (2017) who studied factors associated with negative co-parenting experiences of parents whose children have autism; Kim, Im, Nahm & Hong (2012) who studied Korean American parents' reconstruction of parenting in the United States; and Degni et al (2006) who looked at Somali parenting experiences in Finland. My study's focus was on mothers' and fathers' experiences but did not require that these mothers and fathers in the sample be married to each other. This is different from a study

such as Chance, Costigan & Leadbeater (2013) who researched discrepancies in parental acculturation and its role on children's assistance at home; as well as Vieira, Matias, Lopez & Matos (2016) who researched the extent to which individual levels of work-family conflict influenced parents' own and their partner's parenting experiences. These studies compared spouses' experiences, unlike my study and the Sim et al (2017); Kim et al (2012) and Degni et al (2006) studies.

I required participants who had lived in South Africa for a minimum of three years, and who had been living with their children there for at least two years. These requirements were to ensure I spoke to parents who were experienced with parenting in the host country. Studies similar to mine have stipulated a minimum length of stay in the host country, for example Tarusarira (2016) who researched the support needs of asylum seeking Zimbabwean families in Cape Town. Hua & Costigan (2010) also stipulated a minimum length of stay in their research on language brokering by Chinese adolescents for their immigrant parents living in Canada. Both studies stressed the importance of having a sample of participants who had long enough experience in the phenomenon under study. I followed the same approach for my research.

I was not prescriptive regarding the documentation status of participants, and interviewed willing parents who fit the rest of the sampling criteria. I was aware that experiences may differ according to participants' documentation status. However, my choice to interview participants across documentation categories was to allow the diversity of experiences to come through the interviews due to the common experience of being black Zimbabweans raising children in South Africa. I have therefore not indicated documentation status in the participants' profiles. Similar research on Zimbabwean immigrants has also worked with both documented and undocumented participants, for instance Zikhali (2016) who researched mothering experiences of single Zimbabwean mothers living in Johannesburg and Mcgregor (2007) who researched Zimbabwean immigrants working in the UK care industry. In both studies, the participants' documentation status was not a focal point of the enquiry, though it was recognised as a factor that potentially influenced the individual narratives and experiences.

3.5. Piloting

To determine the suitability of my interview guide, questions and other logistics of my research, I conducted a pilot study with one male parent, whom I interviewed at his home. The data from the pilot interview forms part of the data cohort used for the research. The female parent I had selected for piloting was however not available during the time within which I needed to complete the pilot. I wanted to test the interview guide with both a mother and a father to catch any gendered nuances and differences that might require me to update the guide. Van Teijlingen & Hundley (2001) highlight that a pilot study can be small scale or trial version of research done in preparation for a bigger study; or it can be the pre-testing of a research instrument. Mine was focused on the latter.

Sampson (2004) notes that a well-planned pilot can help focus the line of enquiry, which I found to be true with my research. At the pilot stage, my research question aimed to explore parenting experiences with a focus on cultural practices in the home. However, the pilot interview unearthed rich data that was immersed in parents' daily experiences negotiating a different country, and it compelled me to adjust the research focus to the current enquiry. This aligns with Calitz (2009:260) who says that, 'the general goal of a pilot study is to provide information which can contribute to the success of the research project as a whole.' By enabling me to refocus my research question, the pilot did give that information that ultimately contributed to the success of the research endeavour.

Reflecting on my pilot later, in relation to the rest of the interviews, I recognised that educational and professional background had a stronger bearing than gender, on the ease with which the interviews unfolded. The pilot interview flowed smoothly because the participant understood my questions, consistently giving relevant and detailed responses. This gave me a lot of confidence in my research topic and interviewing skills. Upon later reflection however, I realised that the ease with which the interview flowed was highly influenced by the participant's own experience with qualitative research. At the time of the pilot, he was also in the process of completing his Masters dissertation, albeit at a more advanced stage of the process than I was. Therefore, when he responded to the questions, his style of answering included clarifying the terms he used and linking his answers back to the original question without being prompted. He was also very encouraging before and after his interview, affirming my choice of research topic and his own enjoyment of the interview.

With subsequent interviews, I sometimes had to redirect the conversation, as participants had different styles of answering questions. Although none of the interviews were difficult, it would have been helpful for me to think beyond gender for the piloting stage, and so anticipate some of these differences.

Sampson (2004) has aptly pointed out that pilots are often inadequately utilised in the research process; to tweak research instruments or as background to inform research questions and foreshadow problems. I admit that I piloted my research with a limited view of the value piloting could add to the research endeavour. This was why I only learnt that important lesson from my pilot later, upon comparison with the rest of the fieldwork. At the same time though, Van Teijlingen & Hundley (2001) note that it is a limitation of pilot studies that certain problems may not surface until the research is conducted with a bigger cohort of participants. Therefore, while I had anticipated gender as a category to consider for piloting, any number of factors could have also resulted in differences that needed to be anticipated. Examples are age of children and the venue of interviewing as well as participant education levels, as explained earlier. With a bigger cohort, piloting across the different categories might have been feasible, but my small sample size of nine presented a limitation. Overall though, the pilot stage was extremely valuable to my study. It enabled me to refocus my research question in a way that was very rewarding, as I managed to get very rich data on the socio-cultural and economic experiences of parents raising children in South Africa.

3.6. Data collection

To collect data, I used a semi structured interview guide (see appendix 1) for face-to-face interviews. Miller, Johnston, Dunn, Fry & Degenhardt (2010) highlight that qualitative research is an interactive process. Meeting and interviewing my participants in person aligned with the interactive nature of the chosen research design.

I used an interview guide to give the interview direction, but left enough room to explore and probe on interesting issues that came up, which is an advantage of the semi-structured guide (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). My interview guide was in English and although I knew I would be interviewing Shona speaking adults, I was confident that I could translate or explain any parts of the questions

to Shona as needed. I detail the advantages and disadvantages of this approach in section 3.6.2. below.

3.6.1. Recording

I used an audio recorder to capture the interviews. The recorder allowed me to capture responses verbatim, as well as capture the tone, which is helpful when presenting findings from qualitative data. Rubin and Babbie (2011) indicate that verbatim recording is crucial for coding purposes later on, and Al Yateem (2012) notes that it helps keep an accurate record of interviews. In addition, audio recording afforded me the freedom to concentrate on exploring the topic and note non-verbal cues, rather than focusing on note taking while the respondents were speaking.

3.6.2. Interview language & transcription

I conducted seven of the nine interviews in English and the remaining two in Shona, guided by the participants' preferred language. As Iam a first language Shona speaker, I did not need a translator. I transcribed the two Shona interviews, directly translating them into English. I was aware of the need to accurately represent participants' views and experiences, which Khan & Manderson (1992) note can be a challenge when research is conducted in one language but analysed in another. To check the accuracy of my translations, I asked a Shona speaking friend to translate certain parts of the transcripts into English, and I would then compare their translation with mine. I only did this for parts of the transcripts which were open to interpretation and did not do so for more straightforward data, for example, where a participant was talking about where they had lived in Cape Town or giving their biographical information.

While scholars such as Emmel (1998) and Regmi, Naidoo & Pilkington (2010) recommend having two different people for translation and transcription, I did not have ready access to someone who could check the full transcripts, therefore I opted for the approach just described. This is aligned with Halai (2007) who recognizes that having different people for transcription and translation can be time consuming and resource intensive. I therefore used the resources that were at my disposal, namely my first language competence in Shona and a friend who could check some parts of my translation.

For transcription of the rest of the interviews, I enlisted the paid services of a fellow Masters student who is also a Shona speaker and was experienced at transcribing interviews. I preferred someone who understood the Zimbabwean context and who could understand, read and write Shona, in case there was the occasional Shona phrase in the transcripts. The biggest advantage of getting someone else to transcribe was to save on time, and the transcription was completed within a short period of time. However, by not transcribing all the interviews myself, I forwent the opportunity reconnect with the data and the participants as well as familiarize myself with the interviews, which makes data analysis quicker (Arksey & Knight, 2011). To check the quality of transcriptions, I randomly chose certain parts of the transcriptions and went through them while listening to the corresponding audio recording. I also read through all the transcripts once they were completed.

The transcriptions were not verbatim and omitted certain repetitions, pauses and hesitations. I followed Kvale (2011:8)'s guidelines which say that the question to ask when transcribing should be, 'what is a useful transcription for my research purposes?' It served my research well to have transcripts that were coherent in written form, rather than verbatim transcripts punctuated by gaps, stutters, and the kinds of repetitions that typify spoken language. It was also easier to read the transcripts for meaning when they were written in this way.

3.7. Data analysis

When the transcription was done, I used thematic analysis to analyse the research data. Spencer, Ritchie O'Connor (2003), define thematic analysis as a method of organising and interpreting qualitative data into themes. I drew from Braun and Clarke (2006)'s six stages of thematic analysis which I outline below with illustrations of how I conducted each stage. The first step was to familiarise myself with the data which I did through listening to the audio recordings and reading through all the transcripts. When I read the transcripts I highlighted interesting parts and made initial notes in blue as shown in appendix 2. The second step was to generate initial codes. I copied and pasted all the parts of the transcripts I had highlighted, together with my initial notes into two columns on a spreadsheet. I added a third column where I filled in the initial code name as shown in appendix 3. The code names were my impressions of what the part of the transcript was generally about. Next, I collated all the codes, pasting all data coded under the same code

onto the same spreadsheet, as shown in appendix 4. After this grouping, I read through all the data and comments assigned to individual codes. I moved some data items to more appropriate codes if they did not fit the original code they were allocated.

The third step was to start searching for themes and I did this by first grouping related codes under a broad theme name; for example placing the codes ‘kids’ friends’, ‘playing with children’ and ‘co-parenting’ under ‘relationships’ as illustrated in appendix 5. The fourth step was to review these initial themes. At this stage I split some themes into two or more themes, for example the broad theme ‘identity’ from which I removed ‘motherhood’, ‘fatherhood’ and ‘national identity’ and set them apart as stand-alone themes. This is because these codes had a lot of detail and were also very topical in all the transcripts, indicating that they were major and needed to be independent.

I reviewed themes by going back to read through the coded data from which each combined theme was formed. Where a certain code did not fit well with the rest of the codes under the same cluster, I removed it and placed it elsewhere. The second layer of this review process involved going back to the interview summaries I wrote as field notes after each interview. There, I had captured my overall impressions, the general mood and feeling of each interview as well as key issues each interview brought up. I checked these summaries against the refined themes to see whether the themes represented the individual participants’ data.

The fifth step was to define and name the themes. In point form, I summarised what each theme captured, and the aspects of the research question it would answer. In doing this, I managed to select the themes that were most relevant to the research question and mapped the order in which to present them, so that they told a coherent and chronological story. Since the actual naming of the themes and sub-themes was ongoing until I finished the research write up, I kept the descriptive names of the themes to guide myself while writing, but kept tweaking the theme names as needed so that they fit well with the writing style I used. The final step was the research report write up and chapter four of this dissertation is the product of that step.

3.8. Ethical considerations

According to Cook & Farmer (2011) there are four main ethical considerations that researchers must take into account during the research process. The four are, informed consent of participants, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality and no harm to participants.

I conducted my interviews with adult participants, older than 18 years of age. To ensure informed consent, I divulged full information about the purpose of my study and the use to which I would put the information they gave me. Mason (2002) however notes that informed consent can be difficult to ascertain since it can bring up questions such as confidential information about certain third parties. If, for example a participant talks about their spouse, does that spouse have to give consent as well? There might not be straightforward answers to these questions, and Pole & Hillyard (2017) note that informed consent requires ongoing attention throughout the research process. Researchers can inform participants that they can opt out of answering certain questions, and pull out of the research process at any time. For my research where I spent at most two hours with a participant, there was limited opportunity to keep reminding participants that they could opt out, as might happen in a more long term research project. However, some of the participants exercised informed consent by electing not to answer certain questions.

Further, I asked each participant to indicate informed consent, and the participants gave verbal consent. In approaching participants in the pre-interview stage, a few expressed some discomfort with signing papers. As I was still in the process of recruiting participants, I was anxious to reach my target number of participants, so I quickly reassured those participants that they did not need to sign anything, and could participate as long as they found it agreeable. After making this concession I adopted the same approach for all participants, for uniformity. Although I made this judgment call, other research affirms this kind of decision, noting that sometimes it is unwise for researchers to pursue written consent.

The European Research Council (2010:10) found that certain groups may be more vulnerable to harm from having information they provided linked to them, and signing forms might be a cause for concern. The Council (2010) includes undocumented immigrants among such vulnerable groups. Israel (2015) also adds that if a researcher is seen as excessively cautious in negotiating informed consent, it can be interpreted to mean that they do not trust participants' capacity to make

their own decisions. Therefore, my instinct to remove the signing of forms to show consent was a positive decision for the research undertaking as a whole, since some of the participants divulged that they were undocumented.

The principles of anonymity and confidentiality are central to social research ethics. Wiles, Crow, Heath & Charles (2006) point out that although closely related, confidentiality and anonymity are distinct concepts. Confidentiality usually refers to who will have access to data and how it will be used (Wiles et al, 2011). Anonymity refers to participant identities not being linked to what they said in the research. De Vos (2011) notes that anonymity is important when presenting research data and the researcher can ensure sufficient anonymity by not using identifying information when referring to participants or the information they share.

My research had the potential to elicit sensitive personal information from participants for example information about their documentation status in South Africa as well as some of the coping and survival strategies they use. It was therefore crucial to respect anonymity in handling and reporting the data and findings. I did this by keeping audio recordings in a password protected device and not using any identifying information on written notes. In addition, I used pseudonyms for all the participants in the discussion and findings chapter. Handling the data in this way also shows the close relationship between confidentiality and anonymity since private data handling also protects participant anonymity.

The kind of harm that participants can encounter during the research process can be physical, emotional or psychological (Rubin & Babbie, 2011), and ethical research should not cause harm (McKenna & Gray, 2018). I was aware of the possibility that participants might find it distressing to recount some of their experiences as immigrants in South Africa. To mitigate against this, I made sure that the participants were aware of their right to withdraw from the interview and research process at any time, and their right to only share information that they were comfortable sharing. Hernández, Nguyen, Casanova, Suárez-Orozco & Saetermoe (2013) indicate that undocumented immigrants can be a vulnerable population in research due to unique risks they may face, such as detention and deportation. I was aware of this potential vulnerability with some of the participants. While it did not become necessary, I was prepared to, if need arose, refer participants to a local organisation, People Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty, (PASSOP) for counselling, as I had personal connections to the organisation, for the duration of the research

process. PASSOP was a good resource to utilise since the organisation is an active advocate for immigrant rights in South Africa (‘’PASSOP,’’ 2018).

To ensure that no physical harm came to participants, I interviewed everyone in their chosen location, namely their homes, at their request. This way I did not expose participants to undue personal cost. While this worked well for ethical purposes, in some instances it was difficult to focus on the interview since the chosen location was not always quiet enough. Some homes were noisy with children playing in the same room or having the television on. Fortunately, the quality of all the recordings was good and the content audible.

Lastly, to make sure that my study complied with standard research ethics, I obtained ethical clearance from the University of Cape Town before undertaking my research (see appendix 6) The university’s ethical clearance process made it clear that research involving human participants had to be approved by a university ethics committee. In my application, I detailed the potential ethical issues that could arise, as well as the steps I had taken and would take to mitigate against harm to participants. Even after obtaining the ethics approval, the committee recommended that I continue to deliberate on the various ethics issues and I have outlined those issues in this chapter.

3.9. Positionality

Going into this process, I was aware of my positionality which situated me in equal parts as insider and outsider with the participants. According to Sanchez (2010) positionality is the notion that a person’s identity, background, experience and social standing influence how they understand the world. Since qualitative research acknowledges that the researcher co-creates meaning with the research participants (Fink, 2000; Janesick, 2001) it becomes important to be aware of how one’s own position influences their engagement with the research and how this might impact the process at various points. I anticipated that the different aspects of my identity that positioned me as an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ would make certain aspects of the research process easy and others a bit more challenging.

’Insider’ denotes those similarities one has with the research participants, while ‘outsider’ denotes those experiences of which the researcher is not a part (Mwamanda, 2016; Bourke, 2014). I was

an insider in so far as I too am a black Zimbabwean who, at the time of the research had become a long term immigrant to South Africa. I am intimately familiar with the political and economic background of Zimbabwe, our shared home country with all the participants in my study. Like all the participants, I had experienced the benefits of migrating to South Africa as well as some of the hardships relating to accessing and renewing visas, and the attendant implications for access to certain institutions. Where some of my participants turned out to be documented professionals who were employed, I was an insider as I was securely employed and had access to a tertiary education and its benefits, at the time of the research. I anticipated that these similarities with the participants would make it easy for them to open up to me and share their experiences.

Being an insider can be an advantage, since participants can identify and warm up to the lived familiarity and prior knowledge of the researcher (Mercer, 2003). The same familiarity enables the researcher to understand the context better than one who is an outsider. This can lead to, for example being able to ask more insightful questions or pick up on certain language cues and colloquialisms that nuance the research data. I experienced pleasant insider dynamics such as a shared language and knowing whether the places mentioned in Zimbabwe were rural or urban. This helped with the ease of the conversation. I also understood many of the cultural dynamics participants made reference to, which contributed to easy camaraderie throughout the interviews.

While insider status has these pleasant advantages, it also has disadvantages (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002) such as being unable to raise provocative or taboo questions due to understanding the customs and cultural code (Mercer, 2003). A second disadvantage of insider status is the researcher being overly sympathetic towards the phenomenon under study, to the detriment of objective discussion and analysis (Mercer, 2003; Saidin, 2017). To ensure that I protected against a biased reading of participants' information, I incorporated into my research process deliberate, yet informal debriefs with a senior academic who is Zimbabwean; a fellow Masters student who is not Zimbabwean, as well as a friend who was also a Zimbabwean parent living in South Africa, but did not participate in the study. This allowed me slightly different perspectives from which to think about some of my data and findings.

While I was an insider in some respects, I was also an outsider in two crucial aspect of my participants' experience. At the time of the research, I had never been a parent or a spouse. Secondly, as a female, researcher, the gender difference between the fathers I interviewed and

myself was another point of difference. Immigration status, reasons for migration and education levels were also areas of difference that potentially put me in a position of privilege and power compared to the participants. I understood that some of the participants may have migrated under different, harsher conditions and may not have accessed formal employment or tertiary education as I had. Pole & Hillyard (2017) affirm that the relationship between the researcher and the researched is not and cannot be equal, and Bourke (2014) notes that there is a tilted balance of power in favour of the researcher. Such dynamics give rise to anxiety in both the researcher and participants at different intervals. It was therefore a good exercise to be constantly thinking about my positionality throughout this process.

3.10. Conclusion

In this chapter I justified my use of the qualitative design, purposive sampling, the semi-structured interview guide and thematic analysis for this study. I explained my choice for interviewing non-coupled mothers and fathers and piloting the research with only one male participant. I engaged with important observations I made regarding piloting, fieldwork and ethics, demonstrating that the research methodology is to be engaged with and reflected upon in an ongoing manner. I concluded with reflections on my positionality, sharing pleasant insider dynamics as well as slightly more challenging dynamics encountered in the field. The next chapter discusses the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss the research findings in light of the theory discussed in chapter two. The presentation follows five main themes extracted from the data. 'The reasons we moved' is the first theme which explores why participants decided to raise their children in South Africa. 'Preserving the old, embracing the new' discusses how participants adjusted to raising children in South Africa. 'We are actually raising South Africans' delves into the main parenting experiences reported by participants and 'The cost of raising South Africans' discusses the effects on the family and the coping strategies participants used. Finally, 'Zimbabwe as the ultimate home?' discusses participants' ruminations about theirs and their families' futures in the long term.

4.2. The reasons we moved

> ''We came to find opportunities for ourselves and our children, because as a young couple you want to be stable''. **Mai Nama, 38 years old.**

The majority of participants cited the impossibly tough economic environment in Zimbabwe as the major reason why they decided to migrate to South Africa. Participants spoke of economic difficulties in terms of the diminishing value of money and the near-impossible task of upward economic mobility regardless of work done or skills possessed. Those who were entrepreneurs saw clients defaulting on payments and yet others were retrenched from their employment. This happened against the backdrop of families who had young, dependent children, with many parents being in the early years of their careers.

At the same time, participants viewed South Africa as a place of great opportunity, which would quickly relieve the strenuous economic situation they were in. Such was the optimism about South Africa, that Baba Pasi, a father who had been living in South Africa for 12 years remarked:

> ‘’I thought I’ll go South Africa, just work six months, collect the money and go rebuild my empire back home. I believed a lot of people who said that the border was the only barrier. So it was a temporary situation to come and make money very quick’’. **Baba Pasi, 44 years old.**

The pervasive economic hardship and South Africa as a promising alternative provided the broad framework within which migration decisions were taken. However, it is important to recognise that economic conditions do not exist in a vacuum and the ways in which people respond to a tough economy will always be mediated by the context of specific cultural norms. As Alesina & Guiliano (2010) point out, family economic processes influence the non-economic features of families to lead to certain outcomes. Therefore migration decisions become more complex than just the prevailing economic situation as the participants also revealed. The sub theme ‘head-first into the diaspora’ explores this in detail.

4.2.1. Head-first into the diaspora

In all cases, the husband moved to South Africa first and the wife followed later, either alone or with the children. This was so regardless of which spouse was the main breadwinner at the time of migration. Breadwinning husbands who were earning more than their wives migrated to South Africa in search of better economic opportunities and likewise husbands who had fallen into unemployment or whose wives were earning more than they did migrated to South Africa first. Moving to South Africa then, was not merely about who was earning and how much. Rather, a clear link exists between migration order and family ‘headship’, in line with the patriarchal configuration of Shona families where the man is the ‘head’ of the household (Chirozva, Mubaya & Mukamuri, 2007). He would therefore typically be expected to lead in both decision making and taking certain major actions such as international migration.

Surprisingly, although there was universal agreement that adult migration was the chosen strategy to relieve economic distress, the complete silence from both male and female participants on women’s migration as an economic strategy was stunning. The phenomenon of wives migrating to South Africa was universally attributed to the need for spouses to be together, and not to economic strategy. This is despite some of the participants sharing that when the wives joined husbands in South Africa and started working, the overall financial situation improved and only

then could they afford to bring their children. It was also notable that at the time of interviewing, all but one of the female participants were in paid employment, and all the wives of the men who migrated for economic reasons were also in paid employment.

This phenomenon exemplifies the embeddedness of the traditional notion of fathers as breadwinners and main providers for the family. In this case where families were reporting on their successful economic strategy of migration, the narrative centred on the male household head by attributing economic migrancy (and its success) to him, while positioning the female spouse in a background, supporting role. The underlying message then was that economic hardship was allayed because the father proactively did something about it and migrated to South Africa. Everything else was supportive action to enable him to continue successfully implementing this strategy.

In the same way, although participants gave varied reasons for what prompted bringing the children over from Zimbabwe, the voice of the men was the loudest in the reasons given, even when it was the mothers telling the story. Mothers' motivations were presented in affective language, for example, that they were 'crying' and 'complaining' and 'missing' their children. Fathers' motivations were however presented as high order moral imperatives by the father, where he was correcting historical wrongs or pro-actively shielding their kin from the burden of care and by extension, their children from inadequate care.

Baba Mufombi, a father of two who had been living in South Africa for seven years expressed the reasons for bringing his children to South Africa thus:

> **'**I did experience what you are talking about, whereby the father is away working in the urban area. For me it was not an ok thing. It was something that I needed to correct. I think in every generation there has to be corrections so this is the correction I am making'.
>
> **Baba Mufombi, 38 years old.**

Mai Shana, a mother who initially left her children in Zimbabwe when she came to join her husband in South Africa said the following:

> ‘Truly speaking we were hoping we’d stay with our children. My husband… knows how difficult it is to grow up without parents, and that’s one thing he never wanted his children to be. He felt that what he missed in life, he never wanted to be missed by his children. So he was always persisting’. **Mai Shana, 35 years old.**

These different ways of reporting about mothers and fathers in relation to their children aligned with Shona cultural mores. In the patrilineal Shona family set up, children belong to their father and the paternal line, and it becomes important for parents to show that when removing the children from the known (Zimbabwe) into the unknown (South Africa) the father is still in charge and is making the correct moral and principled decision. This affirms both mothers and fathers since the father is affirmed as performing his role and the mother affirmed as being married to a responsible man who exercises his responsibility in this way.

To conclude, it is evident that although families migrated primarily due to economic hardship, there is a consistent thread demonstrating that migration decisions and how the stories are told follow a specific cultural script. This script upholds Shona traditions of what family is, how it should function, and the roles that mothers and fathers play in a family.

4.3. Preserving the old, embracing the new

> ‘’So if my child is being mixed up with some Coloured or Xhosa children who don’t even value what life is, what will my child become?’’ **Mai Shana, 35 years old.**

A second major theme that emerged from the data was a tension between parents knowing that for the family to thrive in South Africa, it needed open exposure to that environment but on the other hand being wary of this exposure and what it could ultimately cost. In the quote, the parent recognised that her children must go to school, but at the same time wanted to keep them away from the bad influences of the ‘Coloured’ and ‘Xhosa’ children, who represent this new

environment. For this reason, the opening quote is a metaphor for the overarching theme discussed here. Parents communicated this strongly pertaining to their notions of motherhood and fatherhood. They showed that they were engaged in an ongoing process of give and take, where they held on to old notions of what it meant to be a good mother or father to their children, while also embracing new ways of mothering and fathering necessary for the family to thrive in South Africa.

4.3.1. Motherhood: the old and the new

Intensive motherhood emerged as an ideal of mothering for most of the female participants. While recognising the ways in which intensive mothering and its ideal outcomes were not their current experience, they however still utilised different mechanisms to uphold it. One such mechanism was to recall the preserved memory of a time when the mother was the primary caregiver, educator and disciplinarian of her children - all aspects of intensive motherhood (Zikhali, 2016) and then highlighting the successes of that time, which subsisted to the present time. Mai Mufombi, a stay at home mother of two said the following about her older child, an eight year old girl:

> ‘’This one grew up not knowing any insults. I came from Zimbabwe with her before she could even talk properly. I got here and stayed with her here at home, alone. So insults and swearing at people - she knows nothing about. Even today, she doesn’t know those words’’. **Mai Mufombi, 32 years old.**

Similarly, mothers who had not had the stay-at-home experience also used this mechanism. They however drew not from a lived past but from an imagined past when had conditions been different, intensive mothering might have been available to them. One participant, for example noted that she felt her daughter was ‘culturally behind’ since she did not spend a lot of time with her on account of her working in order to provide. The participant then drew comparisons between her daughter and herself, highlighting that when she had grown up, her mother stayed at home. The unsaid implication was that she, who was intensively mothered, was not ‘culturally behind’, like her daughter who unfortunately could not be intensively mothered in this new environment.

What this shows is that mothers while not able to intensively mother or guarantee the desired results, upheld the ideals and virtues of intensive mothering. Mai Mufombi for example was comparing her older child to the younger sibling who in fact used insults and 'bad words'. Interestingly, when the younger child was born, she had also stayed at home just like with the older one. However, the results of these two instances of intensive mothering were different. To explain why the second instance had not produced the desired result she did not adjust her expectations of intensive mothering but pointed to the other children outside as the bad influences. She then recalled the first successful result and reiterated it to uphold the existing ideal. Similarly, despite needing to work, the working mother did not adjust her expectations of herself or of intensive mothering but upheld it by drawing from history and an imagined reality where intensive mothering produced desired results.

The mothers insisted on upholding the ideals of intensive motherhood in order to cope with acculturation stress. As primarily economic immigrants to South Africa, they could not escape the reality that they needed to work. As immigrants to a new country they also could not escape the differences between the home and host country which challenged existing beliefs. This clash between an existing ideal and a new reality caused the dissonance and discomfort of acculturation stress. Upholding existing ideals of motherhood was therefore the strategy used to cope with the acculturation stress that came from wanting the family to thrive, but also not being prepared to fully embrace what that would cost.

4.3.2. Fatherhood: New practices

Quite similar to mothers, fathers were also engaged in an ongoing process of preserving the ideals of fatherhood but through embracing new practices to do so. The father as a protector of the family is one aspect of ideal fatherhood (Cabrera et al, 2000) which was challenged once in South Africa. Chereni (2017) highlights the importance of social and relational support to the practice of fatherhood. In South Africa however, this social support disappeared for fathers. For example, in the absence of a 'safe' society and trustworthy neighbours, fathers found themselves having to physically protect children in ways they did not have to when they were in Zimbabwe.

To illustrate, one father took the bus with his ten year old daughter to school every morning, and went to fetch her to walk back home every day during her first week of school in South Africa. Two other fathers shared that after work, it was their turn to stay at home with children while wives worked; because the wives worked late into the night, as waitresses. These practices were starkly different from Zimbabwe where for fathers, support for child centred duties seemingly existed in abundance, in the form of the children's mothers, grandmothers, trusted neighbours and a generally 'safe' society. Therefore, the meaning of father as protector took on new dimensions once in South Africa, which required fathers to adapt their parenting practices by being physically involved in the duty of protecting and keeping the children safe in these ways.

4.3.2.1. Embracing new fatherhood

In interviewing the participants, I was struck by the ways in which the narratives for both mothers and fathers showed that they had intimate knowledge of the goings-on in their children's lives. The participants were privy to some of the most mundane occurrences of their children's lives in a way that spoke of ongoing and sustained access to the children's daily realities. Having grown up with Zimbabwean Shona parents myself, who were not privy to the mundane occurrences of my daily life, I had assumed that this was the norm. I was therefore genuinely intrigued by my observations to the contrary, with my participants and their children.

I considered that what drove this dynamic was fathers embracing new fatherhood. Chereni (2015) notes that the new father is expected to do his share of the child rearing and housekeeping duties in addition to his more traditional duties. The fact that the fathers embraced new fatherhood in this way is indicative of the ways that globalisation influences cultural and traditional practices. Although child-centred activities may not have been the norm for them while in Zimbabwe, the fathers were, likely aware that they could take up these roles, due to the rapid cultural diffusion driven by globalisation (Wilpert, 2009). Therefore, when they needed to do so, they did so seamlessly, because the information and know-how was already available to them in the globalised world in which they lived.

In addition, the ways in which the fathers had already adapted the performance of fatherhood as outlined earlier, cast them in the role of the new father who is more hands-on with child centred activities than the more traditional father. It stands to reason then, that when parenting practices

involve spending more time with children playing and meeting physical needs, this fosters camaraderie. Due to the relative isolation of families, where the network of kin is not as extensive in South Africa as in Zimbabwe, parents and children then relate to one another in a more intimate way which produced the dynamic that stunned me when I first recognised it as I listened to the parents' stories.

Risman & Damaske (2012) have pointed to the connection between social class and the level of fathers' involvement in childrearing, noting that the higher the social class, the greater the father's involvement. Using education levels and occupation at the time of interviewing as proxies for social class, I find that my participants still remain intriguing since only a small minority were 'middle class'. I propose then that the fathers' inclination towards new fatherhood was driven more by the environment which required greater involvement. Secondly, this environment which happened to be urban, in a major city where they worked and earned an income gave them a kind of 'middle class' status, in comparison to many of their counterparts in Zimbabwe for example. Therefore, the participants likely practiced new fatherhood, due to the exposure they had to urban South Africa and its demands on family life.

4.3.2.2. Adapting parenting styles

The parents also demonstrated that they were adapting their parenting styles to the demands of the host country. This came up in the ways parents compared the 'normal' parenting styles in Zimbabwe to the styles they used in South Africa. Notably, parents relaxed certain authoritarian tendencies in their parenting styles to accommodate their children's needs.

Baba Anda, a 53 year old father who had been in South Africa for 15 years shared that his daughter got pregnant in her early twenties, while still living in the parental home. He made what he describes as a culturally unusual decision of allowing her to stay on in the parental home until the birth of the child. He noted that if this had happened in Zimbabwe, he would have sent his daughter away to live with the responsible man or fostered her to one of her aunts for the duration of the pregnancy. Baba Anda's 'culturally unusual' decision to allow his daughter to keep on living in his home can be understood within the context of the modernised and globalised world he inhabited. In the human rights discourse popular in the civil society sector where he worked at the time of interviewing, traditional ideas of family honour and female 'chastity' and 'propriety' had

been challenged to the extent of being classified as sexist among other criticisms. Therefore, it would have been unpalatable for him to still implement those practices, even though he may have wanted to.

In addition, Baba Anda's 'counter-cultural' response came from realising that responding according to what he felt was the 'normative' Shona way would put his daughter in a vulnerable situation given that in South Africa he was her primary support system. He admitted that he repeatedly had to relax certain views and respond differently to challenging situations as he parented his children. This illustrates how globalisation and the constant contact with alternative ways of responding to situations enabled parents to increasingly recognise the need to foster an emotionally responsive and nurturing environment for children once in South Africa. Baumrind (1991)'s calls this the authoritative parenting style.

To conclude this theme, the ways the participants experienced parenting, particularly motherhood and fatherhood were challenged by the new situation of being in South Africa. They then implemented different strategies of preserving their parenting ideals whilst also adapting to what was necessary for the family to thrive. Running through this theme are the realities of transnationalism and globalisation. The theme shows that the participants were simultaneously 'here' and 'there', since their background remained a powerful reference point for what they 'ought' to do in certain situations. At the same time, globalisation and the exposure to a variety of ways to think about parenting practices and decisions also influenced the decisions they ultimately made.

Next, I take a look at the third theme, namely parents' realisation that they were raising 'South Africans'.

4.4. We are actually raising South Africans

> ''I reconciled with the fact that we are actually raising South Africans. I am a Zimbabwean but I am raising South Africans.'' **Mai Nama, 38 years old.**

The biggest theme that emerged from the parents' narratives on parenting experiences was the realisation that they were raising 'South Africans'. Participants framed their children's 'South African-ness' positively, identifying the children as cosmopolitan, knowledgeable, empowered and worldly; attributes which signified that which was positive about 'South Africa' and by extension, 'South African-ness'. Children's South African-ness was facilitated by the environment provided by South Africa, which enabled access to a good quality education, technology and superior English speaking ability. The theme has two sub themes, namely 'The pride of raising South Africans' and 'The cost of raising South Africans' explored below.

4.4.1. The pride of raising South Africans

Raising 'South Africans' came with a certain pride of accomplishment among participants, who recognised the advantages that accrued to the children by virtue of all that they had, which made them 'South African'. Access to quality education and technology were major points of pride, about which parents were excited. One parent felt that South Africa had produced first world citizens out of her children and they would therefore flourish in any other cosmopolitan setting because of this. Other parents mentioned their children's ability with English and computers, noting that the children were significantly more advanced than their counterparts in Zimbabwe, where these things were not available.

The parental pride and sense of achievement served as self-validation for the decision to raise children in a different country. In light of the strong connection Shona families have with their extended network of kin, (Madziva, 2011), voluntarily taking yourself and your children far away from 'home' is a decision that needs to be validated every now and again. The parents could not define themselves and their children in relation to their place in the extended network of kin, due to distance and prolonged absence. Therefore it became important for them to validate the choice by pointing out the observable advantages it had. For that reason the observable aspects of 'South

African-ness' could be celebrated all the more, when they were measured against what was not possible, had the children remained in Zimbabwe.

Secondly, raising children in Cape Town, one of the most multicultural cities in the world (World population review, 2018) meant that the children were well placed to become the kinds of cosmopolitan individuals the parents reported. This became more salient for parents because of the demonstrated tendency to compare Zimbabwe with South Africa; and especially using their experiences in Cape Town as the standard for what South African was like. Therefore, when they imagined how their children would be had they grown up in Zimbabwe, with its economic and infrastructural decline (Burke et al, 2014), the Cape-Town raised children appeared all the more cosmopolitan and worldly, which made the parents proud.

4.4.2. The cost of raising South Africans

Children's 'South African-ness' however, was not only confined to the realm of the physical and material, but also went deep into issues of self, identity and culture. Exposure to South African society produced children who were in some ways as foreign to their parents as South Africa tended to be sometimes. Self-expression, social engagement, language use, manners, national pride and patriotism all came up as aspects of the children's personhood that parents found foreign and therefore 'South African', in their children.

4.4.2.1. Identity

One mother reported that when her 13 year old son told her that he would support the South African national cricket team even when they played against Zimbabwe, she was surprised. She realised then that she had believed that his allegiance to South Africa while strong, would always come second place to Zimbabwe. Another parent shared that his children spoke isiXhosa to each other and in the early days, he had assumed they only did so to hide what they were discussing from their parents. However, he later realised that the children were genuinely more comfortable conversing in isiXhosa than they were in Shona, which also made him experience some form of loss. A mother spoke of the unease she experienced when she took her then six year old daughter to Zimbabwe and the daughter struggled to communicate in Shona. She said it was painful for her when her child came back home crying because the other children were running away from her.

This gradual dilution of Zimbabwean-ness which denoted 'South African' was perhaps best illustrated by Baba Anda who had been living in South Africa for 15 years. He said the following about his 18 year old son, who moved to South Africa at the age of five:

> ''Because he was exposed to these different cultural practices, he also seems to have forgotten some things. So the way he does things is completely different. He comes in, he sees someone and he quickly says, 'ah makadii[2]?' without even sitting down. The engagement is not even there for him.'' **Baba Anda, 53 years old.**

In his example, Baba Anda picked out this very basic, yet fundamental aspect of human interaction - the greeting, and used it to signify his son's loss of identity.

The implications of this loss can be explored in light of Parkinson et al (2016)'s musings on identity. If identity functions as a link between the past, present and future, parents likely thought about the continuity of their own lives in light of who and what their children were becoming. This may have resulted in some uncertainty about the trajectory of the parents' lives. If we recall the centrality of children to Shona families and the expectation that children continue the lineage (Taringa & Maphosa (n.d:137) it is easy to imagine why the children's expressions of identity might have posed a challenge to parents. I posit that these mixed feelings about the children's identity also influenced how parents felt about where their 'home' is, and particularly where they wanted to set up 'home' in future. This is covered in more depth under the theme' Zimbabwe as the ultimate home?'. For now I turn to the second major cost of raising 'South Africans', namely, fear.

4.4.2.2. Fear

For all participants, fear was the underlying emotion that emerged in their narratives on the challenges of parenting. South Africa's high crime rate is a well-established fact which impinges on the daily lives of South African society (CSVR, 2010). Unsurprisingly, crime and the fear

[2] Makadii' is a Shona greeting which can be translated to the English 'How are you?' It is used to greet one's elders or other respected persons in the social or kin hierarchy. 'Makadii' functions as an enquiry after someone's health, usually when one has not seen that person for a while, or when people are being introduced for the first time. Culturally, it is preceded by a primary greeting of hello, typically accompanied by the shaking of hands. After saying hello and 'makadii' and getting a response, people usually then enquire after the health and wellbeing of that person's family, work, homestead and other significant activities in their lives. The greeting cycle is complete when all parties have enquired after each other's health and wellbeing in this way

thereof came up as a key concern for parents. Parents implemented different measures to keep their children safe, for example never leaving children unattended, which parents reported they could do with more ease in Zimbabwe. Other parents made it a point to strictly control who the children's friends were and others used rules, whereby children were not allowed to go outside the house, when the parents were not at home.

These and other measures were used with both sons and daughters of varying age-groups. All in all, it was clear that there was a heightened vigilance among parents, which many admitted could be difficult and taxing to maintain. This fear of crime and heightened vigilance might be a commonplace occurrence for parents of young children in general. However, for the participants, it played into the cost of raising 'South Africans' because these 'South African' children could only be raised in South Africa, and while there, parents must take such precautions to keep their children safe.

Participants also communicated fear of the corrupting influences of the environment on their children. In this respect South Africa was presented as the embodiment of many social and moral hazards including promiscuity, laziness, violence, substance abuse and disrespect. Parents were wary of adults and children's peers; citing school violence and habits such as smoking, which they feared their children would start copying. One parent noted his dismay when his six year old daughter asked him about sex. This made him feel that South African society was 'too fast' for him and was influencing the children faster than he could course correct. Other parents said their children had started talking back to them, questioning why they had to do chores, and one honest parent shared that his child had once brought a stolen phone home.

In expressing their fear of the ways their children could and were being corrupted, the participants remarkably followed in the footsteps of the participants in Chiweshe & Chiweshe (2017)'s study. Without exception, all the parents attributed the children's unwelcome habits to 'South Africa', presenting their own children as fundamentally good; and their own parenting as faultless. One mother remarked that it was South African children who smoked at school and Zimbabwean children were 'copying' those habits.

This insistence on their own children being 'good' and South Africa being corruptive was likely a response to the pressures of the ideology of intensive parenting. Intensive parenting assumes that

parents can control and shape children's lives and ensure they become responsible citizens (Shirani et al, 2012). Since the parents believed in their various parenting practices as being best for their families, being confronted with evidence that those practices were inconsistently yielding desired results was unnerving. It therefore evoked a defensiveness about their children's fundamental nature (goodness), which I surmise was a surrogate for defending their own parenting abilities.

In addition, the way parents dichotomised Zimbabwe and South Africa, attributing 'good' to Zimbabwean-ness and 'bad' to 'South African-ness' was another coping strategy they employed to respond to the pressures of intensive parenting. This coping strategy was made possible by their transnational reality where they were constantly straddling two polities (Crush & Tevera, 2010). The children were after all 'Zimbabwean' and this meant not smoking at school, not asking about sex at age six and not answering back to parents. It was South Africa then which brought these unwanted influences. When faced with the contradiction of their children's unacceptable behaviour in South Africa which was the epitome of hope and success, the parents drew from the arsenal in their transnational reality to interpret this.

To conclude this theme, parents recognized that they were ultimately raising South Africans. While this took on a mostly positive dimension, it also came at a price, the biggest of which was the loss of children's identity and parents' fear of South Africa. Next, I discuss the theme 'Coming to terms with raising South Africans'.

4.5. Coming to terms with raising South Africans

> ''There is always this saying that we mustn't be like South Africans. I don't know what that means, or what the difference is between them and us, but I believe there is so much that distinguishes us and them.'' **Baba Anda, 53 years old.**

The opening quote perfectly illuminates the ambivalence with which participants came to terms with the realization that they were raising South Africans. 'South African-ness', according to the parents, came with very clear positives for the children and the family, as highlighted earlier. At the same time, parents knew they did not trust South Africa enough to 'give over' their children, as it were. As a result, the parents came to terms in two ways, namely in grudgingly accepting

some realities, as well as accepting other realities on their own terms. This is explored in more detail under the two sub themes 'The things we've come to accept' and 'Coming to terms on our own terms'.

4.5.1. The things we have come to accept

'Un-Zimbabwean' manners and mannerisms were one thing parents came to accept in their children's 'South African-ness'. Parents reported that children were 'culturally behind' for instance because they did not know how to appropriately humble themselves before adults. Others noted the kind of language children had started using, which was unacceptable. For others, the children had deteriorated in certain ways since coming to South Africa; notably in being unable to withstand physical strain. A parent gave the example of a teenage daughter who could not run two consecutive errands without asking to rest in-between, even when the errands were within a short radius of home. All these 'un-Zimbabwean' behaviours were noted by parents as undesirable, but parents were willing to accept them as they all recognised the powerful influence the environment had on moulding the children.

In their way then, the parents demonstrated an understanding that the children and they had used different acculturation strategies to adapt to South Africa. Per Berry (1997)'s assertion, children tend to use assimilation as an acculturation strategy, where they acculturate toward the host society and away from the beliefs and way of life of the society of origin. Adults on the other hand, tend to be more motivated towards preserving the culture of origin. In coming to accept some of these realities, the parents also demonstrated intuitiveness about their transnational lives whereby their situation would generally always reiterate the truth of them occupying two spaces; namely the host country and that of origin (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Therefore, although they ideally wanted to raise Zimbabwean children in the sense of the children's identity, manners and outlook, they also recognised that perhaps Zimbabwe belonged more to them as the parents and less so to the children whose frame of reference was South Africa.

Baba Anda, who had lived in South Africa for 15 years and had three adult children aptly put it as follows:

‘’They’ve spent the better part of their life here. This is the environment where they are. They also think about that. [Otherwise they will start thinking] these guys brought us here, but they expect us to go back to Zimbabwe to find girls to marry. It’s crazy. We are here in South Africa.’’ **Baba Anda, 53 years old.**

The parents therefore showed that they were willing to leave some things alone. For other things however, parents actively set out to control, as the next sub-theme will show.

4.5.2. Coming to terms on our own terms

One technique parents used to regulate the less desirable effects of children’s ‘South African-ness’ was to reinforce practices that were reminiscent of a ‘typical’ Zimbabwean household in Zimbabwe. Many participants stressed that they maintained a known routine in their homes which helped with stability for their young children as well as support the socialisation of their children as young Zimbabweans. The routines were also mentioned by the parents who had and lived with adult children, therefore the purpose went beyond providing stability for young children. A number of parents emphasised that they spoke Shona at home and ate sadza - the Zimbabwean staple food, as part of their home practices. In some families, the parents forbade the use of languages other than Shona inside the home.

By putting these mechanisms in place, the parents were demonstrating that while they accepted that the children for example had allegiance to South Africa and spoke South African languages more naturally, at home, allegiance was to Zimbabwe or ‘Zimbabwean-ness’, and aspects thereof. Therefore, the home as a physical dwelling became a physical boundary the parents utilised to inform how far the children could express their ‘South African-ness’.

Participants also utilised church going as a key practice to reinforce the boundaries of ‘South African-ness’. Baba Mufombi, father to an eight year old and two year old said the following:

> ‘We pray together, we go to church together, we talk about church together. I think it's good to have values... Here in South Africa I have worked with people with no values. They tell you about their mother being an atheist, their father being this or that. I do not want that kind of confusion in my family’. **Baba Mufombi, 38 years old.**

In this quote, the danger of South Africa is lurking close by, in the form of a lack of values and ‘confusion’. The parent however proactively blocks that danger by socialising his children into the family religion. Therefore, while the children can be part of a South Africa that is ‘value-less’ and ‘confused’ out there, that confusion does not cross over into the home, where the family follows Christian values. Implied in this practice is the confidence that the religious community to which the children are exposed regularly is an ally in the parents’ effort to ‘correctly’ socialise the children unto adulthood. The majority of parents reported that attending church was an integral part of the family’s life in South Africa. Participants reported high levels of affiliation to the church and appreciation of its value as they raised children, although they attended a variety of churches and not necessarily ‘Zimbabwean’ churches in Cape Town. This shows that the values reinforced by the multicultural churches also provided the kind of moral guidance that mirrored the values they were trying to promote (Verkuyten et al, 2012).

This fourth theme has shown that parents were adaptable and embraced the inevitable changes that came with raising their ‘South African’ children. At the same time, they were proactive in trying to socialise children in the ‘Zimbabwean’ or culturally appropriate ways of being. Next, I discuss the final theme, ‘Zimbabwe as the ultimate home?’ which discusses parents’ thoughts about their future.

4.6. Zimbabwe as the ultimate home?

> ‘’So I usually say, when things get better, we’ll definitely go back home. And they say, ‘oh, you will go’. For them, home doesn't mean anything because they didn't grow up there.’’
>
> **Baba Anda, 53 years old.**

Baba Anda's quote sums up the sentiments of the majority of participants regarding their future in South Africa. Parents indicated that they remained in South Africa for the children's sake more than their own, since they wanted to go back to Zimbabwe eventually. While some parents' narratives suggested they foresaw a future in Zimbabwe for both them and the children, those parents who mentioned their children's views indicated that most children did not share the parents' notions of Zimbabwe as 'home'. Although this was the overarching theme, there were important variations in the ways different participants thought about eventually going back to Zimbabwe and I detail them below.

4.6.1. Home is where the children are?

Some parents indicated that previously, they had looked forward to returning home when the situation improved. However, their enthusiasm had been tempered by learning as their children grew older, that the children did not envision return to Zimbabwe as a future goal. The parents' diminishing enthusiasm was likely linked to issues of family and kin relationships. At the time of interviewing, all the participants had been in South Africa for between six and 15 years. The relative isolation from extended family, together with living within their nuclear families for so long likely shifted their orientation of home as the geographical entity Zimbabwe. Home for them increasingly became the place where their children were.

Mai Rure, who worked as a housekeeper and was a mother of one 12 year old daughter born in South Africa said the following:

> ''A part of me wants to go back home because of my roots. Once I grow old and can't do anything, I want my family to look after me, so I suppose at one stage I will have to go back to Zimbabwe''. **Mai Rure, 39 years old.**

This participant was non-committal about returning to Zimbabwe and spoke about it with a certain resignation. That she felt she had to go back for caregiving in her old age was surprising because culturally, among the Shona as in many African cultures, her child was responsible for her post retirement care, and the child did not envision going back to Zimbabwe. Her sentiments were likely influenced by her assessment of her economic prospects in South Africa in light of her work as a housekeeper. Her extended family in Zimbabwe was the social capital she could reliably depend

on for post-retirement care. This indicates how social class influences the lived reality of family. Having a low income and inadequate resources to secure a well provided for retirement for herself put her in a position where although she may have wanted to stay in South Africa where her child was, not being sure that she could secure that future without additional support influenced her ideas of where her future home was.

Regardless of these variations in the ways the participants thought about their future, other scholars have identified a trend that many immigrants do express the desire to go back home but ultimately delay their return, sometimes indefinitely (McGregor, 2008; Hadebe, 2014). This observation also held true for many participants in this study. Most admitted that initial migration to South Africa was intended to be short term. However, that had turned to the present situation, six and more years later where they were re-thinking whether Zimbabwe was the ultimate home after all.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed the research findings. The participants' main parenting experience was that of raising 'South Africans'. The parents celebrated children's South African-ness and its advantages. Conversely, they were dismayed by certain aspects thereof, particularly children's identity loss. In response, parents adapted their parenting styles and practices to accommodate the demands of the host country. Similar to other research, the participants also experienced the indefinite postponement of going back to Zimbabwe, leaving the open question of whether their futures were in Zimbabwe or in South Africa. Throughout, the chapter makes the tension between the perceived values of the 'home culture' and the realities of the new environment salient. The influences of modernisation and globalisation are ever-present, influencing the decisions parents make towards and against particular practices. Ultimately parents are shown to have mastered negotiating these two forces to successfully enable their families to thrive in the host country. I now turn to the final chapter of this dissertation which has my final conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I undertook this research in 2018 to explore the parenting experiences of immigrant Zimbabwean parents who were raising their children in Cape Town, South Africa. Specifically, I explored the ways in which raising children in a different country and cultural context influenced parents' understanding of and approaches to parenting. My dissertation argues that parents' understanding of parenting is strongly rooted in their cultural background and values. However, parents adapt their parenting styles and practices to navigate the tensions between their underlying beliefs and the demands of a new environment.

The key parenting experience surfaced by participants was that of raising 'South Africans'. On one hand, parents framed children's 'South African-ness' positively communicating pride in enabling the benefits that accrued to their children because of it. Simultaneously, parents deplored the less desirable aspects of children's 'South African-ness', particularly the loss of the children's identity. Parents celebrated the positive aspects of children's 'South African-ness' while also controlling the extent to which children could express it. They did this by reinforcing practices that were reminiscent of a 'typical' Zimbabwean household in Zimbabwe, such as insisting on Shona speaking at home and eating sadza, the Zimbabwean staple food.

Key findings pertaining to how parents compared parenting practices in Zimbabwe and South Africa were that the ideals of intensive parenting exerted more pressure while parenting in South Africa. This was due to the relative isolation from the extended network of support in Zimbabwe. Fathers adapted their understanding of their protector role by becoming more involved in child centred tasks, while mothers upheld the ideals of intensive mothering by preserving its memory and highlighting its successes.

Some of the non-negotiable practices for parents were religion and attending church. Maintaining religious practices was identified as essential to maintaining the Zimbabwean and Shona cultural values that parents wanted to emphasize with their children.

The research findings concluded with sharing parents' thoughts about their own future home which they indicate is Zimbabwe. However their enthusiasm had been tempered by learning as their children grew older, that the children did not envision return to Zimbabwe as a future goal. These shifting perceptions about their future home was influenced by living in relative isolation from extended family and within their nuclear families with their spouse and children in South Africa for a number of years. Home for them increasingly became the place where their children were.

Overall the findings echo the presented theory which characterises parenting as an ongoing and evolving social process which is mediated by history, cultural background, the forces of globalisation and the environment.

5.1. Relation to previous research & policy

My findings are similar to research findings which assert that children acculturate towards the host culture and away from the culture of origin, while parents tend to preserve the culture of origin (Berry, 1997). It also echoes the findings from other literature which points to parents' distress over this loss of the children's identity (Epstein & Gang, 2010; Kufakurinani et al, 2014). Similarly, it resonates with studies on immigrant parents viewing host societies as a corrupting influence on children, both in the African context (Mahati et al, 2016) and internationally (McGregor, 2008).

My research also has implications for policy, for instance the DZP and its successive permits which have given certain Zimbabwean immigrants a cumulative 11 years of regularised stay in South Africa, from 2010 to 2021. This initiative however is limited to immigrants who were successfully regularised in 2009 and not any who entered South Africa later. There is scope for it to widen since the research has shown that migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa is ongoing. There is room for the kind of proactiveness displayed by the DZP initiative to be implemented in the present day.

5.2. Limitations

My study was a qualitative exploration of Zimbabwean Shona parents and its findings should not be taken to be representative of groups beyond the participants. The small sample size also means the results cannot be generalised to a greater cohort of immigrants. The sample was also exclusively drawn from Cape Town, which is only one of South Africa's eight major metropoles (South African government, n.d). As a result, the experiences shared by participants, particularly pertaining to children's cosmopolitanism and accruing 'first world advantages' from their stay in South Africa should be understood within the context of Cape Town. Families living in other geographical locations may have varied experiences from those presented in this research.

5.3. Further research

The general scarcity of family research on African immigrants to fellow African countries is one major observation that can inform areas of further research. Research into immigrant families from Mozambique, Lesotho and Malawi would greatly enrich the available literature, since these countries also have high numbers of their nationals living in South Africa (Meny-Gibert & Chiumia, 2016). Additionally, there is room for research looking at the lived experiences of immigrant Zimbabwean children living with their parents in South Africa. This kind of research would have enriched the engagement with parents' experiences and interpretations of their children's lives. As people in their formative years, exploring how children form and understand their notions of home, belonging, culture and identity would enrich the body of knowledge. Children who have migrated with their parents would likely have very different experiences from refugee children who migrated to South Africa alone, as studied by Meda (2016) and Baalen (2012).

I also noted the scarcity of longitudinal research on immigrant African families in South Africa. For Zimbabwean families specifically, the few decades of increased migration into South Africa would provide a mine of wealth to shed light into the ways in which these 'new members' of South African society are acculturating and adapting to their new home.

5.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has highlighted the main findings of the dissertation, showing that international migration as an economic strategy has since shifted for participants, who have ended up postponing the return to their home country. It applauded the South African government's DZP initiative for recognising that migration motivations change, and subsequently regularising the stay of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa over the long term. In the chapter, I presented the key limitations of the study, particularly the small sample size, restricted to the Cape Town metropole. I highlighted that there is room for further research on children's experiences and other African immigrant nationalities in South Africa. These would definitely add to the body of knowledge on this fascinating topic that has implications for how South Africa develops going forward.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Semi structured interview guide

Section A: Demographics

Age as at interview	Spouse's age
Highest level of education	Spouse highest level of education
Occupation	
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	
Number of children	
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	
Children's ages at time of interview	

Section B: What informs parents' decisions to raise their children in South Africa?

a. Can you tell me the brief story of how you came to stay in South Africa?

b. Tell me about how your family (spouse & children) came to stay in South Africa

Section C: How does raising children in South Africa contribute positively to the life of the family?

a. Describe your household here in SA.

b. Can you describe a 'normal' week in your home/household. *Probe on roles parents/adults in the family play; as well as mention of social activities e.g. church.*

c. What are some of the advantages you see in having your children grow up in SA?

d. Can you share some of the things that have pleasantly surprised you about raising your children in South Africa?

Section D: What experiences of raising children in South Africa do parents find challenging ?

a. Can you share some of the challenging experiences you have had or currently have as a Zimbabwean parent in SA?
b. What are your thoughts around why the highlighted issues are specifically challenging for you?
c. What do you think maintains these challenges/keeps these challenges alive?

Section E: How do parents try and influence their children's values & behaviour while in South Africa?

a. What would you say are the most important values to you personally, that you would like your children to have?
b. What are some of the differences in the values that you consider most important vs those that your spouse considers most important for your children to have?
c. How do you as a mother/father try and teach those values to your children?
d. How have your children responded to the identified efforts?

Section F: What do parents consider as positive or negative outcomes where their children's values & behaviours are concerned?

a. When you think of your child as an adult, what kind of adult would you ultimately like to raise?
b. What concerns you the most about your children growing up in SA?
c. What are some of the issues that you would change if you could, but have decided to accept, where your children's activities/behaviours are concerned?

Section G: How do parents cope with the challenges and negative outcomes of raising children in SA?

a. Would you say there are differences in the ways in which you were disciplined as a child and the ways in which you discipline your children? *Probe for examples*

b. How do you and your spouse deal with the children's naughtiness/misbehaviour?

c. In addition to your spouse and children, do you have family in SA/Cape Town?

Section H: What opportunities for support do parents identify which would improve their experience of parenting in South Africa?

a. In a perfect world, how would you make sure that you have everything you need to raise your children exactly how you would like, while here in SA?

b. Where/what/who would you draw from to make sure of the above?

c. Anything else you'd like to add?

Appendix 2: Example of initial notes on transcripts

Participant: My husband even tried to go into the temporary teaching with his qualifications. But apparently he is a quiet person, you know, somebody who is an Accountant it wasn't so easy for him to be in there. But however, we could be two teachers in the house but there was no salary out of it. And now, I was pregnant with Tanatswa, my second child. Things were getting so rough and tough. My mum and dad had to say you guys, stop staying in town. You don't have to rent. *Participant's own parents had a strong influence in marital decisions pre-migration. Very interesting that the maternal in-laws had this much sway in a patriarchal society such as Zimbabwe.* Come stay with us in Mazoe so that if I earn that little, if I manage to convert. Now the US dollars were coming in. So you'd get maybe $15 from a school, because I was teaching in a rural area, right, so if you get from the salaries, like $15, and then the government pays you a little bit of money, sometimes it'll be backdated but it comes as $50 the other month *(inaudible)* so as time goes on, in 2009, things got so bad to the extent that my husband started doing this buying and selling . He'd go to Zambia, he'd buy foodstuff , because remember that is the time for drought back home. Or he'd go to Botswana, buy clothes and then we resell.

And then we ventured into my family's, my father's Associates business. *Family economy. The wife's parents had a lot of sway possibly due to financial muscle? Speaks to household economies and how resource availability has an impact on family decision making.* And then we were making juice. That went really very well. I wouldn't want to lie. But, we couldn't continue. There was no money in the country. You could make the juice, but who could pay you? There was nothing at all. So my husband's cousin insisted, how can you just stay with your in-laws in your in-laws house, but you're not working; their daughter is working. You seem so happy and comfortable; just come to Cape Town. *Very poignant. Cousin identifies the patriarchal order which makes this an uncomfortable arrangement for the man's family. Cousin having so much sway and being privy to his cousin's marital arrangement speaks to the familial organisation of the Shona family* - from lit review: '*Culturally then, within the extended biological as well as societal network of kin, the entire community is imbued with some kind of familial responsibility for one another'. Can perhaps use?*

Appendix 3: Example of generating initial codes

Gems	Shu comments	Code
Researcher: So growing up in Zimbabwe or in any country there is the environment that you live in and there's the culture that you grow up as a part of. What lessons did you learn from your environment and your culture about what it means to be a father? Participant: What I can think of; just like in society a father should be a provider. He doesn't keep women away from providing in the family but growing up I saw it as a core responsibility of men first. If women in contribute something, it's acceptable in our Shona culture but all same for me. But my wife can do anything else but I'm going to be the main provider if I can So that's one thing that I picked up. And also to be there for my family and give advice and see them grow up not to be far away. I could have left them in Zimbabwe when I was coming here but I made sure they won't stay back for a long time and to bring them with me as I have always wished to be around my family	Views around the role of the father pretty consistent with Shona culture. I.e. man as provider. Participant immediately picks up on the importance of being together with his family. Possibly means it's something very important for him	Father as provider

Researcher: What are some of the ways in which being in South Africa or South African society has added to your ideas about being a father, changed them or transformed them? Participant: Changed? I'm looking at the word changed **Researcher: Or it can be anything like influenced or make them stronger?** Participant: Influenced? I don't want to look down really upon the society that we are in but it's a fact that back home we do have better families. So I think the society that we are in has got a lot to learn from us.. I'm not trying to be pompous or anything but it's something that I found out that here if you find out that a young man like me most of them, even women, they simply talk about boyfriends and girlfriends and you find out that most women that I work with; young men that I work with, most of them have got a number of children with different partners, you get what I mean? So while it's there at home, it's not so common as it is here, so I feel like South Africa has got a lot to learn from home, especially from guys from Zimbabwe.	South Africa is presented as the amoral other. Zimbabwe as the standard for ideal family values.	Views on South Africa

Appendix 4: Example of grouping data by code

Gems	Shu comments	CODE
Researcher: What are some of the ways in which being in South Africa or South African society has added to your ideas about being a father, changed them or transformed them? **P**articipant: Changed? I'm looking at the word changed **Researcher: Or it can be anything like influenced or make them stronger?** Participant: Influenced? I don't want to look down really upon the society that we are in but it's a fact that back home we do have better families. So I think the society that we are in has got a lot to learn from us.. I'm not trying to be pompous or anything but it's something that I found out that here if you find out that a young man like me most of them, even women, they simply talk about boyfriends and girlfriends and you find out that most women that I work with; young men that I work with, most of them have got a number of children with different partners, you get what I mean? So while it's there at home, it's not so common as it is here, so I feel like South Africa has got a lot to learn from home, especially from guys from Zimbabwe.	South Africa is presented as the amoral other. Zimbabwe as the standard for ideal family values.	Views on South Africa
They even say so, to say you guys you value family too much. So I think in terms of family values I am or we are a bit higher in terms of values so this society if I'm to learn from them I would lower my standards or I can easily do away with my principles or something like that. Many people, I think, have done that. I think families get broken here easily because they were trying to or they're getting influence from locals how they run their families because for them it's easy. Usually, they're not customarily married, most of them, they just so they can easily get away from any relationship. Of which, in	Consistent with many of the participant's views that South Africa's social and moral influence is negative and results in unsavoury outcomes	Views on South Africa

my case, because of the cultural beliefs, there are things that I went through in marriage. We don't easily break away from relationships so I think society has got something to learn about our family values.		
Researcher: When you say freedom, say a little bit more about freedom Participant: I would want to think political freedom maybe. Here people can openly criticize their leaders. I've seen people speaking fearlessly on television to the extent that at one point I once saw the fired government minister speaking. Let's say I'll give an example Pravin Gordhan speaking against Jacob Zuma. I think it started when he was just a minister before he was fired he was speaking against his leadership so to me that freedom which starts from the top.	Respects the political freedom that South Africa affords those within its borders.	Views on South Africa

Appendix 5: Example of initial themes

Relationship codes	**Identity codes**	**Attitude/Emotion codes**	**Migration codes**	**South Africa codes**
Kids' friends	Zim as parents' home and SA as children's home	Feelings about chn in SA	Migration decision making	SA economy
Emotional caregiving	Children's sense of national identity	Own kids as good	Order into diaspora	Technology
Parental temperament	Fatherhood/Motherhood	Views on South Africa	Immigration status	Society influence on children
Caregiving	SA as 'them' and Zim as 'Us'	Worry about children's habits	Xenophobia	Chn in SA/Early experiences
Socialisation tools	Parent background influencing parenting approach		Children coming to SA	
Playing with children			Anticipated time in SA	
Fostering				
Co-parenting				
Grandparents/Extended family				
Discipline				

Appendix 6: Ethical Clearance from UCT

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26 April 2018

Confirmation of Research Ethics Approval: Shuvai Finos [Soc2018/03]

This is to confirm that Shuvai's research proposal, Raising Immigrant Families: The Parenting Experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa, under the supervision of Bianca Tame, has been reviewed by the Sociology Department. Ms Finos presented her proposal to the Department on 15 April 2018.

The Department is satisfied that the research carries no significant risk of harm to human subjects. We are further satisfied that appropriate informed consent and confidentiality/anonymity/data protection mechanisms are in place.

It is a condition for the acceptance of Ms Fino's proposal that she complies consistently with strict ethical standards. This will entail proceeding only on the basis of the consistently informed consent of interviewees and will require regular monitoring of ethical issues which may emerge as the project develops.

Please contact the Department should you have any questions or concerns.

Kind regards,

Lorraine Valentine

Appendix 7: Participant profiles

Profile 1: Mai Mufombi – female

(Only female participant whose husband was also a research participant)

Age as at interview	32	**Spouse's age**	38
Highest level of education	Ordinary Level	**Spouse highest level of education**	Ordinary Level
Occupation	Stay-at-home mum	**Spouse's occupation**	Restaurant Waiter
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	6 years *(Moved to SA Oct 2012)*		
Number of children	2 (Two daughters)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st daughter was 2.5 years old	2nd daughter was Born in SA	
Children's ages at time of interview	8yrs	2.5yrs	
Interview setting	At her home. A 2-bed flat in a low density suburb in Cape Town's southern suburbs. The second bedroom inside the flat is rented out to another tenant. The flat where the participant and her family live is a separate structure from the main house on the premises which is also rented out to a few families. She lives in the shared flat with her husband and two children.		

	I interviewed her in her lounge, on a weekday morning. She was at home with her 2 year old daughter, who was playing in the lounge while we were having our interview.

Profile 2: Mai Shana - female

Age as at interview	35	**Spouse's age**	36
Highest level of education	College diploma	**Spouse highest level of education**	Undergraduate degree
Occupation	Marketing & Training officer - Software company	**Spouse's occupation**	Restaurant Waiter
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	9 years *(Moved to SA October 2009)*		
Number of children	3 (One son and two daughters)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (son) was 4.5 years old	2nd child (daughter) was 2 years old	3rd child (daughter) was born in SA
Children's ages at time of interview	11	10	1.5
Interview setting	At her home. A 2-bed flat in an up-market complex in the Cape Town CBD. She lives there with her 3 children, nanny, husband and her brother. I interviewed her in her lounge, on a weekday, after work. Her three children and nanny were present, but keeping to the kitchen and bedrooms, with the nanny's help.		

Profile 3: Mai Nama - female

Age as at interview	38	**Spouse's age**	42
Highest level of education	College diploma	**Spouse highest level of education**	Postgraduate degree
Occupation	Fundraising Manager for an NPO	**Spouse's occupation**	Trade planner - Marketing
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	9 years *(Moved to SA April 2009)*		
Number of children	2 (One son and one daughter)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (son) was 3 years old	2nd child (daughter) was adopted at the age of 3, when family had already been living in SA for six years	
Children's ages at time of interview	13 years	7years	
Interview setting	At her home. A 3-bedroomed house in a low density area in Cape Town's southern suburbs. She lives there with her 2 children and her husband. I interviewed her in her kitchen as she was making dinner for the family. It was a weekday after work. The children were in their rooms doing homework, and her husband was in the living room, working on his laptop.		

Profile 4: Mai Rure - female

Age as at interview	39	**Spouse's age**	41
Highest level of education	Ordinary level (O level) (ongoing college diploma studies)	**Spouse highest level of education**	Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) (attained after the first two years of secondary school)
Occupation	Housekeeper & part time masseuse	**Spouse's occupation**	Street vendor
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	13 years *(Moved to SA October 2005)*		
Number of children	1 daughter		
Daughter's age when first brought to SA	Her daughter was born in SA, some months after Mai Rure arrived in the country		
Daughter's age at time of interview	12 years		
Interview setting	At her home. She rents one room in a house where other rooms are rented by other tenants. The tenants share a bathroom. She lives there with her spouse and daughter. I interviewed her in her home on a Saturday afternoon. Her daughter was present in the room, watching television		

Profile 5: Baba Mufombi - male

(Only male participant whose wife was also a research participant. See Profile 1 for spouse's profile)

Age as at interview	38	**Spouse's age**	32
Highest level of education	Ordinary Level	**Spouse highest level of education**	Ordinary Level
Occupation	Restaurant waiter	**Spouse's occupation**	Stay-at-home mum
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	7 years *(Moved to SA Nov 2011)*		
Number of children	2 (Two daughters)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st daughter was 2.5 years old	2nd daughter was Born in SA	
Children's ages at time of interview	8yrs	2.5yrs	
Interview setting	At his home. A 2-bed flat in a low density suburb in Cape Town's southern suburbs. The flat where the participant and his family live is a separate structure from a main house on the premises which is also rented out to a few families. The second bedroom inside the flat is rented out to another tenant. He lives in the shared flat with his wife and two children. I interviewed him on a weekday morning in his lounge. His 2 year old daughter was playing in the lounge during our interview. His wife, a fellow research participant, was at home but she stayed in the bedroom for the duration of the interview.		

Profile 6: Baba Anda - male

Age as at interview	53	**Spouse's age**	45	
Highest level of education	Undergraduate degree (ongoing Masters degree)	**Spouse highest level of education**	Ordinary level (O'Levels)	
Occupation	Fundraiser at an NPO	**Spouse's occupation**	Stay at home mum	
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	15 years *(Moved to SA 2003)*			
Number of children	4 (Two daughters and two sons)			
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (daughter) was 11 years old	2nd child (son) was 9 years old	Third child (son) was 5 years old	Fourth child (daughter) was born in SA
Children's ages at time of interview	25yrs	23yrs	18yrs	5 yrs
Interview setting	At his home. A 3-bed flat in a low density suburb in Cape Town's northern suburbs. He lives in the flat with his wife and four children. I interviewed him in his lounge on a Sunday afternoon. His wife and children were at home for some part of the interview. Although I met all of them, they kept to other parts of the flat during our interview.			

Profile 7: Baba Taru - male

Age as at interview	34	**Spouse's age**	34
Highest level of education	Ordinary Level	**Spouse highest level of education**	Ordinary Level
Occupation	Driver - Drives delivery trucks for a bakery	**Spouse's occupation**	Restaurant waitress
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	11 years (Moved to SA 2007)		
Number of children	3 (One son and two daughters)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (son) was 2.5 years old	2nd child (daughter)was born in SA	Third child (daughter) was born in SA
Children's ages at time of interview	12 yrs	6yrs	1.5yrs
Interview setting	At his home. He rents a room in a shared house in Cape Town's northern suburbs. He occupies the room with his wife and three children. The family shares a bathroom with the other tenants in the house. I interviewed him on a weekday evening in his home, while he made dinner for the family. His children were present, though playing outside in the yard with other children, during our interview. His wife was at work.		

Profile 8: Baba Mhazo - male

Age as at interview	44	**Spouse's age**	41
Highest level of education	Ordinary level	**Spouse highest level of education**	Ordinary level
Occupation	Mover - owns a bakkie (pick up truck) which he uses to transport goods and help people move houses	**Spouse's occupation**	Restaurant waitress
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	11 years (Moved to SA 2007)		
Number of children	3 (One daughter and two sons)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (daughter) was 10 years old	2nd child (son)was 4 years old	Third child (son) was born in SA
Children's ages at time of interview	19 yrs	13yrs	5yrs
Interview setting	In my car, in the parking lot at his block of flats. He rents a two-bedroomed flat in Cape Town's southern suburbs, where he lives with his wife and three children.		

Profile 9: Baba Pasi - male

Age as at interview	44	**Spouse's age**	41
Highest level of education	Postgraduate degree (Honours)	**Spouse highest level of education**	College diploma
Occupation	Church pastor	**Spouse's occupation**	Hairdresser
Length of stay in South Africa at time of interview	12 years (Moved to SA 2006)		
Number of children	2 (One son and one daughter)		
Children's ages when 1st brought to SA	1st child (son) was 10 years old	2nd child (daughter)was 6 years old	
Children's ages at time of interview	20	16	
Interview setting	In the lounge at his home. He lives with his wife and two children in a 4 roomed house in a township in Cape Town. I interviewed him on a Saturday afternoon. His wife was present at home during the interview but his children were not around. During the course of our interview, three people came to his home looking for him and we had to pause the interview on those occasions while he attended to the visitors.		