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MOVING INTO THE DIASPORA: AN EXPLORATION OF ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THEIR LEGACY BELIEFS WHILE LIVING IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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19 NOVEMBER 2020

DECLARATION

I, Tatenda Godobi, declare that this work, "**Moving into the Diaspora: An exploration of Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding their legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa**", is my own. I declare that this work has not been submitted for any examination or degree in any other university, and all the sources I have used and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged in the references.

Tatenda Godobi

November 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

paths crossed, you have been a supportive friend, pulling me when I am down. Continue to work on your dreams and never give up. Paul my cheerleader, YOU, thank you. I am grateful to find one person who I can be free and transparent to without fear of being judged. Many others that befriended, prayed for me and were there for me in different ways throughout this time, Thank you.

Lastly, Dr T MTHEMBU, I mentioned you last, because you are the main men behind this. You have been there from the beginning of this journey and even though it took longer than expected, you never allowed me to quit. You were there guiding me and showing me the way, I appreciate your patience until the very end. As I walk down the graduation stage, I will remember your efforts and your belief that I could do this despite all the challenges I encountered. Thank you for your kindness Dr, you are truly an inspiration. May God bless you abundantly, so that you can assist more students like me in the future.

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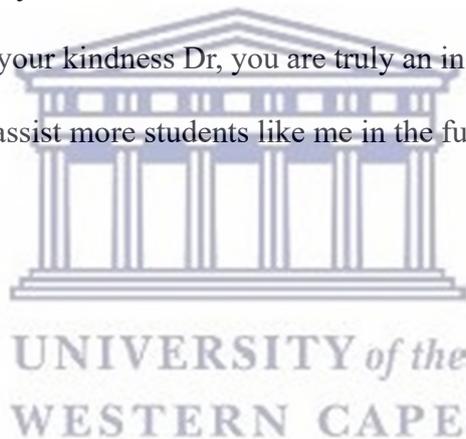
DEDICATION

I dedicate this Masters to my parents, Stephen and Constance and my daughter Dawn. Having grown up in Zimbabwe, a country where education for girls continues to be undermined and some do not see the relevance of educating the girl child, you have always worked tirelessly to provide your daughters with the best educational opportunities. I am here today only because of your sacrifices and your constant encouragement.

ABSTRACT

Background: Over the past decade, the influx of Zimbabweans into the Diaspora heightened after the dismal failure of the Land Reform Policy saga, resulting in a political, social and economic crisis. South Africa being the first and ranked highest destination for Zimbabwean immigrants became a second home to these immigrants, however, little is known about their legacy beliefs. This study was guided by the theory of typology for legacy beliefs and generativity, which is the seventh stage of Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development. **Aim**: The aim of this research was to explore and describe the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. Two main objectives identified were: (i) To explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions and their understanding regarding legacy beliefs. (ii) To explore and describe the factors influencing the Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs. **Methods**: A social constructivism paradigm that embraced explorative and descriptive qualitative research designs was utilised to answer the research question: How do Zimbabwean immigrants perceive legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa? Fifteen participants were purposively selected and they participated in the unstructured individual interviews that were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The data collected was thematically analysed utilising Creswell's (2009) six steps of data analysis and the process was trustworthiness, as the researcher adhered to credibility, transferability, conformability, and dependability. Ethical approval was sought from HSSREC and the principles of confidentiality, self-determination, no harm, and beneficence were ensured. Four main themes emerged: Understanding of legacy beliefs; Categories of legacies shared in families; Re-emerging legacies in families and Challenges in preserving family legacy beliefs. **Conclusion**: Based on the research findings recommendations were made to immigrant parents, social service professionals and governmental institutions on how to alleviate the challenges that come with being an immigrant and trying to preserve one's legacy beliefs.

KEY CONCEPTS

Diaspora refers to the wide dispersal of people from their primary homeland and this movement is connected with issues of trans-nationalism and globalization (Reis, 2004). The diaspora is established by three core elements namely the spreading across state borders; orientation to a homeland as a source of value, identity and loyalty; boundary maintenance involving the preservation of a distinctive identity versus a host society over an extended period of time. (Brubaker, 2005). For the purpose of this study, the focus is on the Zimbabwean diaspora community living in South Africa.

Generativity refers to an adult's interest and commitment to the well-being of youth and future generations of human beings, as proven in parenting, teaching, mentoring, and other activities aimed at passing a constructive legacy on to the next generation (Erikson, 1963; Kotre, 1984; Hart et al., 2001). It resembles the need to invest a person's substance in forms of life and work that will outlast the self.

Immigrants refers to non-national person/s who are moving into a country for the purpose of settlement (IOM, 2018). For the purpose of this study, immigrant/s therefore, speaks to Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

Legacy beliefs involve a person's convictions about whether their actions will be remembered and have an enduring influence as well as leaving something behind after death (Zacher et al., 2011).

Legacy refers to the activity of transmitting the self through generations, creating continuity from the past through the present to the future (Hunter, 2008). It is made up of different types of elements, which can be material, values and biological.

Perceptions refers to the process of getting awareness, comprehension and an understanding towards a certain phenomenon.

Zimbabwean this term will refer to any person that identifies himself or herself with the Zimbabwean origin either by birth or by descent.

ACRONYMS

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

BC- Before Christ

CORMSA- Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa

DHA- Department of Home Affairs

FIFMI- Forward In Faith Mission International

HRW- Human Rights Watch

HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IOM- International Organization for Migration

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

SA- South Africa

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SAPS- South African Police Services

UN- United Nations

UNC- United Nations Convention

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee

UK- United Kingdom

USA- United States of America

**UWC**- University of the Western Cape

WINN- Women's International News Network

ZANU-PF- Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Fund

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1   Background/Rationale

Legacy beliefs as a significant discussion is situated within historical, social, economic, political, and cultural environments, where immigrants live in the diaspora (South Africa). Immigration is a social issue of global importance and highly controversial as immigration of skilled and talented populations is always accompanied with negative repercussions. These include strained infrastructure, overcrowding, crime, health and social problems (Kale, 2008). Reis (2004) defines diaspora as the dispersion of people from their original homeland and this movement is characterised with issues of trans-nationalism and globalization. The diaspora is established by three core elements namely, "dispersion across state borders; orientation to a homeland as a source of value, identity and loyalty; boundary maintenance involving the preservation of a distinctive identity versus a host society over an extended period of time" (Brubaker, 2005, p.5). The diaspora is defined by a strong sense of link to homeland maintenance through cultural enterprise practices and ways of life experienced in host countries and their homeland.

In this context, much focus will be on the Zimbabwean diaspora in South Africa referred to as immigrants. Guarmizo et al. (2003) highlight that people who are in the diaspora live a dual life socially and economically by upholding norms, beliefs, families, land and other possessions in their original homeland, while engaging in related but more lucrative activities in the host country. Hence, it can be argued that dual residency is partially the reason why migrant members manage to adapt and maintain identity, legacy beliefs, values, and norms while living in a foreign land. It can be argued that this dual residence can be the reason why immigrants

are able to keep in touch with their roots, legacy beliefs and maintain family relations while living in the diaspora. This movement can be the basis from which the desire for legacy sprouts among immigrants.

Hunter (2008) claims that legacy is best comprehended in the background of the stories of people's lives; hence its understanding can be rooted from exploring personal beliefs underlying leaving something behind for future generations. Furthermore, it can be deemed as the process of passing on a resilient and lasting image of what people stand for and the manner they want to be remembered. Downer et al. (2012) propose that legacy is made up of different types of elements, which includes material, values and biological. Internationally material legacy is the most perceived popular across generations and it entails heirlooms and possessions, while legacy of values includes "personal, social and cultural ways of thinking, believing and evaluating our world" (p.25); these values shape a person's worldview and behaviour. Biological legacy consists of the family tree, genetics, traits and health conditions, some elements within and beyond our control (Downer et al., 2012). In other words, legacies are crucial in connecting present and future generations with the past, paving room for understanding people better, where they come from and what shapes their personalities.

In the context of ageing, the desire to leave something for others becomes complex as life experiences are melded into a fundamental system of values, beliefs and identity (Hunter, 2008). Historically, legacy has been perceived as a more male-oriented concept and more ascribed to those who are famous and not any ordinary person, however this has changed, as the world is dynamic (says Wilke (2016) in her blog). Bosak (1997) quotes "the concept of legacy is a powerful life tool for all ages and a catalyst for social change" (p.647). Thus, it can be stated that legacy is fundamental to being human. Research shows that without a sense of working towards creating a legacy, people lose meaning in life (Meuser, 2011). Erickson's theory of 1963 supports the above notion as it argues that the last two final stages in life focus

more on generativity, which is the desire to leave something for future generations and failure to do so leads to stagnation and despair.

Internationally, there are various legacy beliefs across different generational races and legacy entails a variety of things passed on or inherited from others that lived before us (Meuser et al., 2018). The Generation Project provides an interesting forum for legacy studies. This was a project encompassing several studies on generational relationships in farm families conducted in Canada, New Zealand and the United States in the mid-1980s (Fairweather, & Keating, 1994). In these societies, living a legacy is done through generational transfer either by succession or inheritance, in this regard, farm families are bound together through kinship, business relationships and connections to the land passed on to several generations (Keating 1994). Fernell (1986) asserts that the capital asset of farmland, buildings and equipment is the most crucial legacy though legacies in this context entail more than just property. The means of transferring legacy also includes succession to occupation, business and a way of life through generational connections (Fennell, 1981). Hence, it can be acknowledged that once the family legacy has been passed on it might have implications on family interactions. The way legacy beliefs are understood and communicated, however, in the context of immigrant family relationships is unclear, as past studies have not dwelt on such. Studies in this area have only focused in White and mixed races and not specifically on any immigrant races, which is the reason that ignited this research study. Migration is a process of social change in which an individual or group leaves one geographical area for a stay in another, for reasons varying from political upheaval, economic betterment, educational opportunities among other purposes (Bhugra, 2004; Matropolous, 2009). According to Freemantle (2015), reasons for migrating vary and are usually categorise into the following: forced (due to war, political persecution and environmental catastrophe), internal or international (Cross border), voluntary (such as for economic betterment) and irregular/ regular (with or without legal documentation such as visas
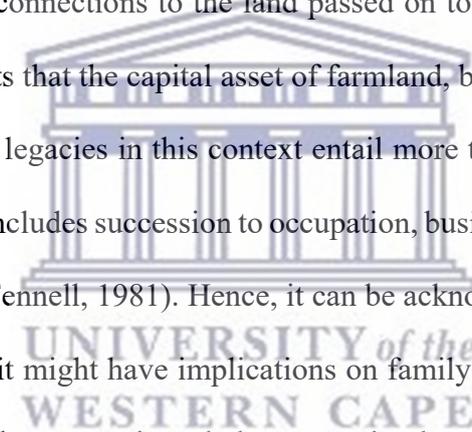
and work permits. Zimbabwean immigrants have been victims of the above listed reasons for migration, which is why it is crucial to cover the dearth in research towards legacy beliefs of immigrant minorities all over the world. This helps to build more knowledge on how immigrants understand, perceive and preserve their legacy beliefs especially when they live in foreign lands where they are probably not free to be who they are hence less freedom to exercise their cultural traditions. Furthermore, recent studies have revealed that most immigrants de-associate themselves with anything that links them with their original homeland because of fear of segregation and xenophobic attacks (Crush & Tevera, 2010).

Although the number of Zimbabwean immigrants has increased in the different countries, there is little known about Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs while living in foreign countries like South Africa. For the purposes of this research, only Zimbabwean immigrants are considered in this study as their migration involved movement across the border into South Africa, thus providing the researcher with the specific needed information to develop this study. The next section intends to orient the reader to the context of immigration of Zimbabweans to South Africa, termed as "Moving into the Diaspora" in the first part of the research topic.

1.1 Moving into the Diaspora

Over the past two decades, Zimbabwe witnessed a significant outflow of people from the country, owing to the deterioration of economic, social and political conditions (Chan & Primorac, 2007; Crush & Tevera, 2010; Chiumbu & Musemwa 2012; Derman & Kaarhais 2013). This has been termed "forced migration" by Chikanda (2019). Utilising data generated from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), it indicates "Zimbabwe has emerged as one of the leading sources of forced migration in the post-2000 era" (UNHCR, 2011, p.15). Drawing from the United Nations Migrant Stock database, it was noted that by the year 2001, Zimbabwean-born emigrant population had become global in its dispersion

consisting 86 percent of the UN countries and territories having at least one Zimbabwean-born person (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Furthermore, the database revealed that two thirds of the Zimbabwean immigrants have migrated to neighbouring Southern African countries (especially South Africa). However, a large number of Zimbabwean immigrants have relocated to overseas destinations including the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The implementation of the fast track Land Reform Programme greatly contributed to the post-2000 migrations, which resulted in transforming the once agro-dependent country from being a breadbasket of SADC into a "basket case" (Crush & Tevera, 2010, p.2). In turn, the destruction of the agricultural sector affected business enterprises that were dependent on it for inputs, which led to thousands of Zimbabwean nationals losing their jobs. While most Zimbabweans turned to the rapidly over- crowded informal sector for survival, most of them moved to neighbouring nations in search of better economic possibilities, termed essentially 'voting with their feet' (Gaidzanwa, 1999, p.16).

The Zimbabwean situation poses a specific scenario for presenting eclectic forms of migration, which involve a mixture of economic and forced migrants. This 'mixed migration' concept has been utilised to describe movements in 'persons with different objectives move alongside each other using the same routes and means of transport or engaging the same services of the same smugglers' (UNHCR, 2007, p.8; Koser & Martin 2011; Linde 2001). In this sense, several motives and different types of migration, often diverse, usually accompany mixed migration flows. Martin et al. (2014, p. 5-6) ascertained that few migrants are solely voluntary or solely forced, thus almost all migration involves choices. Mixed migration is therefore defined as movement that mainly entail three factors such as threat and coercion, absolute compulsion and actual harm as highlighted by (Nassari, 2009). Therefore, this study mainly focused on Zimbabwean immigrants as asylum seekers and refugees. Since most Zimbabweans fled the country due to political repression and a failed economic situation, which increased the

refugees and asylum seekers. It is of importance to shed more light on these terms to provide a better understanding. Under the United Nations Convention of 1951, a refugee is a person who is not able or not willing to return to his country of origin due to fear of being persecuted for membership to a particular political opinion, social group, nationality, religion and race (UNHCR, 2010). Asylum seekers are referred to as "individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined (UNHCR, 2011, p.4).

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical frameworks the typology of legacy beliefs related to values, materials items/resources, and biological characteristics (Hunter & Rowles, 2005) and Generativity theory guide this study (Kotre, 1984). These theories support Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development brought up in the 1950s, over 60 years ago. It is believed to occur in middle adulthood between the ages of 40 and 65 years of age. Erikson (1964) defined generativity as "an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" concluding that this was mostly achieved through biological parenthood (p.267). Generativity symbolizes part of the struggle between the adult inclination to formatively invest oneself in what one will leave behind and a drive for engagement with oneself in a self-centred manner, which he terms "stagnation" (Erikson, 1967). Thus, it can be stated that generativity relates more to legacy in the sense that it is inclined to making a mark in the world through caring for those after you, in-turn creating some sense of accomplishment by creating and nurturing things that will outlast them, mostly through parenting, mentoring and contributing to positive outcomes in the society (Cherry, 2018).

In contrast, Kotre (1984) defined generativity as the "desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self" (p.10). It is further stated that this indicates the

operation of generativity as a form of dividuality, which is the notion of placing something of the self with others (Geurts, 2002; Sahlins, 2013; Strathern, 1990). Hence, it can be discovered that the sense of the "dividual" is not unique but culturally famous to be an affiliation of the self and its parts with others. In this way, generativity can be viewed as a form of dividuality, in which it seeks biological, socio cultural among other outlets. As a result, this creates a connection between people through beliefs, knowledge, moral values as well as cultural constructs that can be passed from one person to another (Kotre, 1984).

Kotre (1984), defined culture is an important element of generativity, stressing that it is not only about a teacher imparting life skills but becoming more of a progressive mentor, guiding others to explore more about the self and meaning in life. This contrasts with Erikson's claim that generativity is an impulse that can be released throughout the course of life rather than just a stage of development. Therefore, Kotre (1984) put forward a theory of categorising generativity into four forms: biological, parental, technical and cultural. This theory seemed to be congruent with the legacy beliefs of transmitting parts of the self through to future generations that live after one's own end. Accordingly, it can be argued that legacy beliefs and generativity are intertwined in a way that links them in building a need to leave something for those that will come after you.

Hunter and Rowles (2005) refer to legacy as an activity of transmitting the self through generations in turn creating continuity from the past through the present to the future. Considering this definition seems to raise several questions such as, "How do Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their legacy beliefs, family cohesion and adaptability while living in a foreign land? In addition, how do Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora transmit their legacy beliefs to future generations related to cultural beliefs and values? These questions appear to be of concern because the connections of the Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora could be affected when their legacy beliefs are not considered as an important part of

their families, solely because they live far away from their families. Legacy beliefs still remain under researched areas within the African continent as most of the studies tend to focus mainly on whites and mixed races senior citizens (Meuser, Mthembu, Overton, Roman, Miller, Lyons & Carpenter, 2019).

Previous study by Frumkin, Fried and Moody (2012) highlighted the importance of older people as resources for addressing issues such as climate change, legacy for leaving behind values, attitudes, and a safe environment for their children and grandchildren. This is evident that families need to find ways of transmitting the legacies to their offspring. It has been noted that there is a scant of research on legacy beliefs among different age groups and races as well as immigrants living in the Diaspora, as studies tend to focus on end of life and elderly issues (Frumkin et al., 2012; Hunter & Rowles, 2005). This may indicate a need for understanding of and insight into the phenomenon of legacy beliefs among immigrants living in other countries like the Zimbabweans.

Hunters and Rowles (2005) indicate that legacy beliefs are often incorporated as part of culture; however, it has not been fully explored because of being an element of the wealthy and famous people. Therefore, it has been found that every individual has their own legacies that include biology (genes), material goods (heirlooms) and values (social, personal and cultural) (Hunters & Rowles, 2005). Therefore, these legacies seemed to be related to the seventh psychosocial stage of development of Erik Erikson that is generativity that promotes establishment and guidance of the next generation through individual's acts of care, stability building, continuing culture and imparting values through the family (Bradley, 1997). Previous studies on legacy beliefs only focus on older generations and their children in the white population and mixed races (Meuser et al., 2019; Hunters & Rowles, 2005). In the literature on legacy beliefs, the relative importance of immigrants' legacy beliefs has not been a subject that is considered and debated.

Therefore, there is a distinctive disparity revealed in literature pertaining to how immigrants perceive legacy beliefs and how they maintain values while living in the diaspora. Available literature did not appear to build on how immigrants maintain their identity, beliefs, values, norms and standards while living in a foreign land. This gap gave birth to the problem statement and research question.

1.3   Problem Statement

Lack of understanding of and insight into legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants seemed to be a problem. Along with most Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa, however, there is increasing concern over how they preserve their legacy beliefs. More recently, literature has emerged that offers discussions about legacy beliefs among other races such as whites and mixed, but little is known about the black immigrants' perceptions regarding their legacies. A recent study by Meuser et al. (2019), indicates that legacy beliefs are significant in families and their children. The study was conducted with participants from the United States of America and South Africa with people of colour and whites but it does not represent Africans, African Americans, Asians and all other racial ethnic races especially immigrant populations in the Diaspora, hence is still an under researched grey area. Thus, there is a need for further research with Zimbabweans' immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs. Therefore, this study makes a major contribution to research on legacy beliefs by demonstrating how immigrants share their insight into the phenomena under study. The study further aims to contribute to this growing area of research by exploring the perceptions of immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs while living in the Diaspora. Subsequently, the aim of the study is to address the following research question.

1.4 Research Question

How do Zimbabwean immigrants perceive legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa?"

1.5 Aim

The aim of the study is to explore the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs.

1.6 Objectives

- To explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions and their understanding regarding legacy beliefs.

- To explore and describe the factors influencing the Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs.

1.7 Research Methodology

This study is founded in a social-constructivism worldview usually articulated as an approach to qualitative research. Social Constructivism is an interpretive framework with the assumptions that individuals strive to interpret their environment and create subjective meanings that tally with their own experiences (Creswell, 2013). This research project employs an exploratory-descriptive study, which is intended to generate qualitative data in relation to legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants living in the Western Cape Province. In this regard, a qualitative method with a narrative approach was utilised for data collection and analysis purposes. The rationale of this methodology is to get a deeper insight into the perceptions of immigrants regarding legacy beliefs and to get closer to the reality of their experiences, which provides a clear understanding of the research study. The study was conducted in the Cape Winelands District, in Mfuleni Township, Blue Downs area. This township consists of both formal and informal housing and the settlement proves to be of great importance to the study
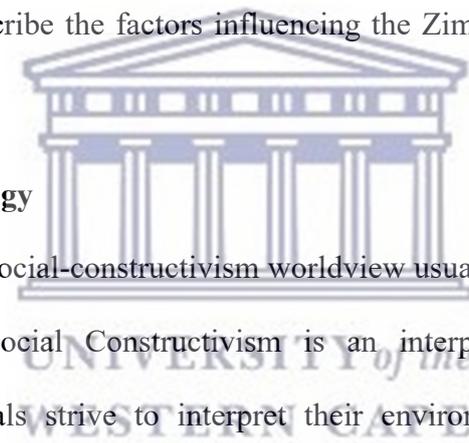
area because it includes a large and diverse immigrant population specifically from Zimbabwe. For this study, the researcher utilised a purposive and snowball sampling. This sampling technique allowed the researcher to gain access to data, which was crucial in developing an empirically and theoretically grounded argument of the research question. A sample of 15 participants were recruited and selected to gather sufficient numbers for meaningful analysis. The underlying motive for interviewing Zimbabwean immigrants in Cape Town is to obtain various voices across the participants as they have had different experiences and probably different opinions towards legacy beliefs. Participants were interviewed using an open-ended format, utilising a basic interview guide, furthermore interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and coded for analysis. The questions in the interview guide were employed as openings to instigate ongoing conversations, which then used, as follow up questions to initial responses, until all inquiries are fully discussed, and meanings made clear. This research study employed thematic analysis brought forward by Braun and Clarke (2012). Thematic analysis is a crucial method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data.

1.8   Significance

The findings of this study will redound to the benefit of society considering that legacy plays an important role in the lives of individuals. Research shows that without a sense of working to create a legacy, adults lose meaning in their life. In this regard, legacy beliefs are fundamental to what it is to be human, thus the idea of exploring this study highlights a glimpse into human relationships as well as building strong communities. These are important components in Child and Family studies and the Social Work discourse, as they are crucial in strengthening. It is also important to investigate immigrants' legacy beliefs, as immigration is a social issue of global importance. The results of this study will provide future researchers with a foundation on what legacy entails among black Africans as much studies focus mainly

on white and mixed races. It will serve as a good source of useful information in informing future studies.

This study is very crucial and needed in the research field as it focuses on representing legacy beliefs for the black African races. This area of research is still fresh and under researched only representing white and mixed races, hence, this research will break new ground towards the general understanding of legacy beliefs. Legacy beliefs is one of the most significant current discussions in Child and Family studies, however, to date there has been little insight into how immigrants perceive legacy beliefs, family cohesion and preserve their values in a new country. Hence, this study is crucial in the research field as it will yield new knowledge and information about legacy beliefs and build more information to fill in the gaps visible in this area of research.

1.9   Definition of terms and concepts

Diaspora refers to the widespread use of people from their original homeland and this movement is associated with issues of trans-nationalism and globalization. It is solely constituted by three core elements namely: dispersion across state borders; orientation to a homeland as a source of value, identity and loyalty and boundary maintenance involving the preservation of a distinctive identity versus a host society over an extended period of time.

Generativity refers to the desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self.

Immigrants refers to non-national person/s who are moving into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Legacy beliefs involve individual's convictions about whether they and their actions will be remembered, have an enduring influence and leave something behind after death.

Legacy refers to the process of transmitting one's self through generations in turn creating continuity from the past through the present to the future.

Legacy beliefs involve individual's convictions about whether they and their actions will be remembered, have an enduring influence, and leave something behind after death.

Perceptions refer to the process of getting awareness, comprehension and an understanding towards a certain phenomenon

Zimbabwean in this study will refer to any individual that identifies themselves with Zimbabwean origin whether by birth or by descent.

1.10 Outline of the study

Chapter One:

The thesis begins with this brief introduction to the key issues addressed by the research reported here: migration; living in the diaspora and the basis in which legacy beliefs can be reviewed in relation to family and identity preservation and individual experiences in preserving legacy beliefs while living in a foreign country. The researcher was able to introduce the reader to the methodology that was utilised throughout this research.

Chapter Two:

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical frameworks, which guided the research, and the experiences associated with being an immigrant and ways utilised to maintain kinship ties with those back in the original homeland. It also deliberated upon integration into a foreign society as well as theoretical underpinnings of the typology of legacy beliefs and how the generativity theory relates to legacy beliefs.
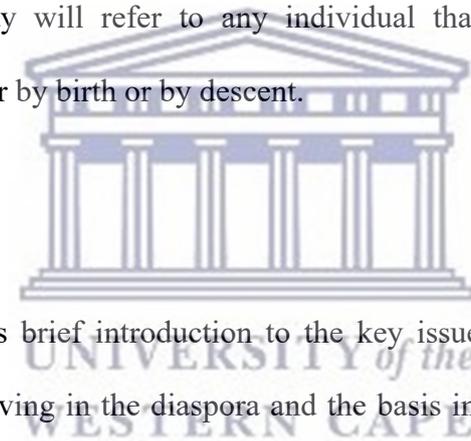
Chapter Three:

This chapter sheds light into literature relating to the issue of legacy beliefs among Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa. The researcher provided an overview of migration trends to South Africa from Zimbabwe as a phenomenon discussed in a bid to indicate the background, history as well as prevalence. The researcher also portrayed issues surrounding migration, as well as statistics related to this dynamic issue. The researcher went on to define who Zimbabwean people are in detail; their cultural standpoints and beliefs in a bid to put the study into context.

Chapter Four:

This chapter preceded the methodology employed to collect and analyse data obtained from the interviews. Qualitative research was utilised as it paved the way for the exploration into the beliefs, feelings, values and thoughts of the participants. Individual unstructured interviews allowed for flexibility while using a framework that asked similar questions to the participants to ensure generalisability. Data analysis steps used provided clear-cut phases on how to formulate and critically verify the data gathered. Concisely, the methods used for data gathering and analysis were deliberated on in this chapter of the study.

Chapter Five:

Chapter 5 presents the major findings of the study and it discusses distinct yet interconnected legacy belief systems from the perspective of Zimbabwean migrants who took part in this study. This chapter covers the overall findings of the research in relation to the research questions and present literature.

Chapter Six:

This chapter consolidates the study by summarizing the entire research study, and providing conclusions as well as presenting recommendations for policy, practice, and future research on

any study of this nature. The researcher will also undertake to provide recommendations for future studies based on the gaps in current literature.

1.11 Summary

This chapter introduced the reader to Zimbabwean immigrants concerning their legacy beliefs, identity and family preservation while living in SA. The researcher started by empirically justifying her decision of focusing on "Zimbabwean immigrants" thereafter, she provided a basis on which the perceptions regarding legacy beliefs can be appraised in the context of how they link with family and identity preservation. The researcher managed to introduce the reader to the methodology that was used throughout this research. The following chapter will provide an in-depth literature review on the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding legacy beliefs as well as family and identity preservation while in SA. Chapter Two will critically present existing literature on the issue and point out the gaps in literature, which gave birth to the research question.
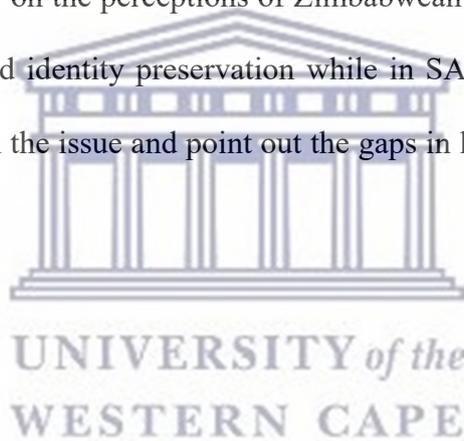
CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2 Introduction

In this chapter, two theoretical frameworks guide this study: the typology of legacy beliefs related to values, materials items/resources, and biological characteristics (Hunter & Rowles, 2005) and Generativity theory (Korte, 1984).

2.1 The typology of legacy beliefs

This framework explores people's desire for, understanding of and the actions relating to leaving a legacy. It is of the notion that the desire for legacy sprouts from the idea of striving to have a purpose in life that leaves a mark to show that "we were here; we thought; we loved and we created" (Kane, 1996, p.124). Hunter and Rowles (2005) postulates that in the process of leaving something behind, a legacy is closely tied up with our life story and shaping the fashion in which we are to be remembered. The typology of legacy beliefs related to values, materials items/resources, and biological characteristics (Hunter & Rowles, 2005), emerged in relation to the transmission of legacy in this study (Figure 2.1:1). These themes overlapped, with others being predominant varying from everyone's unique beliefs, life history, and priorities.
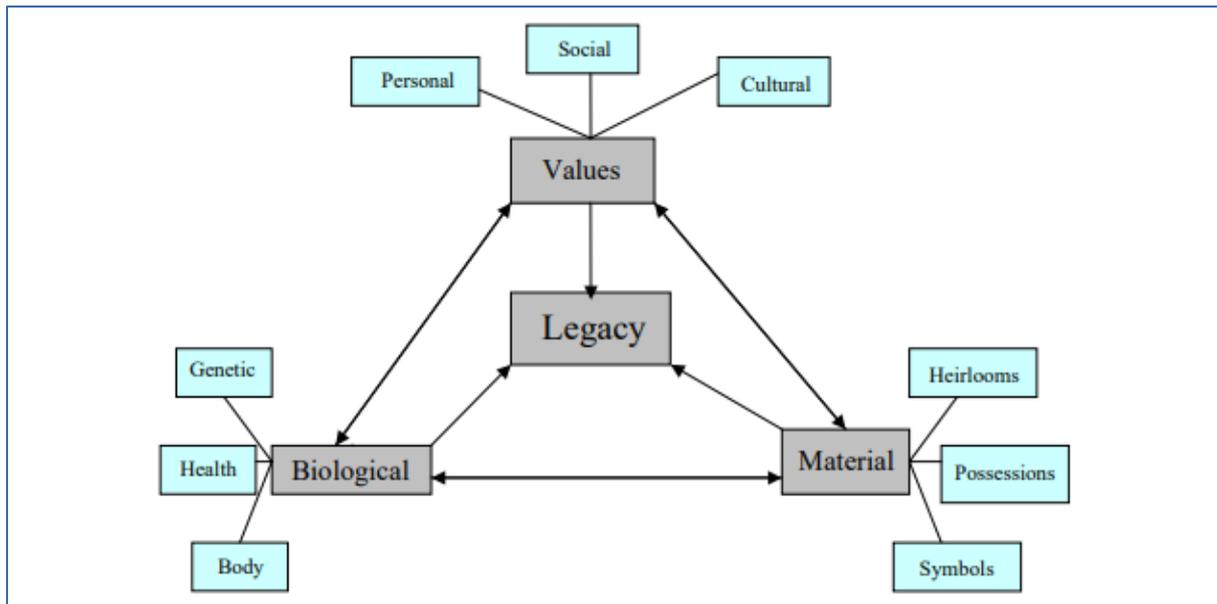
Figure 2:1 Legacy Typology (Hunter & Rowles, 2005)

Biological legacy yields three primary forms encompassing *the passing on of genes,* t*he use of one's body in medical research and organ donation* as well as *transmission of health conditions*. In this regard, parents are proud of their offspring and of their genetic heritage and kids are explained as a form of genetic legacy. Therefore, under this type of legacy passing on a biological legacy does not only entail pro-creation but passing on medical conditions termed, 'a health legacy'. In these studies, others were creating new legacies in their families owing to issues like adoptive, blended and scientifically engineered families. The last type of biological legacy is expressed through donating one's body as a gift for medical research purposes and it was termed the 'ultimate biological legacy'.

The notion of material legacy is widely referenced as the transmission of possessions: Rowles, Oswald and Hunter (2004), define material legacy in the complexity that it does not only imply possessions but can be divided into three sub-groups consisting of *heirlooms, possessions* and *symbols*. Heirlooms convey with them the importance and responsibility of in-depth family history as well as stories, hence, passing on such comes with implicit as well as explicit duties for both the giver and the recipient. Therefore, it is crucial not to interrupt the chain of tradition

in the family. The second form of material legacy entailed passing on of possessions, which are useful and valuable to the recipient, but not carrying the weight related to that of receiving an heirloom, things such as household goods. Whereas symbolic material legacy involves leaving societal symbols. This is showcased in activities such as building a library with one's name on it and other public legacies that come in some sort of symbolic immortality for the donor. Even though the transmission of materials came up in these interviews, it was grounded in a way that it was not the most crucial type of legacy. Pausing a notion that material possessions are a part of life but not the biggest part. Hunter and Rowles (2005), stressed that symbolic legacy is the most important and socially acceptable when it happens through extrinsic validation rather than personal effort.

Lastly there is legacy of values, which is the passing on personal values which include ethos of helping people, being unique, the importance of kindness and belief in education, (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). This legacy concept is engraved in the personal, social, and cultural context. Hunter and Rowles (2005) further states that leaving values was listed as the most crucial way of legacy transmission. This belief is tied into honesty, values of kindness, treating people well and being a good person. In this regard, values of education, religious beliefs, independence, and uniqueness are emphasised and fostered onto future generations (Rokeach, 1973). Therefore, it can be highlighted that teaching or imparting resilient values to children is an acceptable type of personal legacy stressing how important it is over other forms of legacies. Values of hard working, caring for and helping others were deemed critically important when it comes to issues of identity management and role modelling. All in all transmission of personal, social and cultural values were viewed as an important part of parenting, of one's long term social responsibility to the community and of one's responsibility to transmit one's cultural identity to the next generation (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). In this regard, legacy entails different manifestations for different individuals, which is not mutually exclusive, as it tends

to overlap. Hence, it automatically becomes an avenue for passing on a strong and long-lasting image of what a person stood for. The theoretical context encompasses three mechanisms of legacy, which will be discussed below.

2.1.1 Life Story Theory of Identity

The creation and transmission of a legacy is usually how one ends their existence, life story and it highlights core facets of identity as entailed in the life story through to oncoming generations. In this way life is grounded in the past circumstances and the future, hence diverse individuals from all over plan ideas into beginnings, middles and ends to allow interpersonal communication and understanding, (Bruner, 2002). According to Polkinghorne (2002), narratives are more than just an outline of phenomena that occurred but more centred in a narrative context that provides a purpose to the human experience of temporality, specialist, and personal actions. Thus, it is expected that people employ stories to pass on and enhance personal understanding. The Life Story Model of identity by McAdams' (1985, 1993, 1996) stresses that individuals existing in modern-day societies furnish their lives with a sense of unity and purpose through building internalized evolving stories of the self. He strongly argues that identity takes the form of the narrative solely completed with character, events, theme, setting and plot. In this context, the life story becomes an edited presentation of meaning, beliefs by individuals framed by culture, thus reflecting cultural norms and values such as gender, ethnicity, class, and normative developmental timelines (McAdams, 2001). Thus, the creation and transmission of leaving a legacy is one mechanism consistent with the stages of psychological development toward the end of life.

2.1.2 Psychological Development

McAdams (1985) emphasise the importance of the life story as a primary element of Erikson's 1963 life stages of generativity and ego integrity in adulthood. The stage of generativity versus stagnation entails themes of caring for future generations and giving back to the community, whilst ego integrity versus despair is the process of making sense upon one's life retrospectively towards the end (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). McAdams' theory stresses the notion that generativity stems from both the desire and cultural demands and this motivation builds ideas on how to act in a generative way, spearheaded by an interest for future generations and the belief in the need for a continuum of species and a commitment to behaviour that is generative in nature. It is believed that the outcomes are the actions paving way to the preservation of what is considered worthy and altruistic offering of what has been created and maintained. In this context, generativity is deemed to be at the core of the life story. McAdams (1996) connotes that the evolution of identity through life story creation is a major psychosocial task passing through an adult lifespan and generativity is intertwined in it as one of its many crucial facets.

2.1.3 Beyond Generativity to Legacy

Hunter and Rowles (2005) is of the notion that unlike generativity the thought of legacy is personal, flexible and more universal such that it removes the technicality of 'narcissism' applied to the drive to be remembered and leave a mark that is expressed in the conception of generativity of Erikson, Erikson and Kivnick's (1986) and Kotre (1984). Thus, the desire to leave something behind is rather termed as a cross-cultural broader concept, which is universal and accomplished in a culture specific manner. Alexander et al. (1991) points out that Erikson's concept of generativity is connected with altruism. The argument being that legacy is not associated with a negative undertone of wanting to be remembered and thinking of one's self. In this context understanding legacy entails searching personal beliefs that underlie leaving

something behind, for instance photographs, memories, children, and bequests to charitable organizations (Hunters & Rowles, 2005). In the same way, Marcoux (2001) contends that the thought of leaving something behind is intertwined with the maintenance of one's image and striving to control how one will be remembered. Overall, it can be noted that legacy creation is a drive that develops in early life and is parallel to other drives and impulses, though in old age leaving a legacy takes priority as its importance is elevated. The perception is that rather than age being a factor, thoughts relating to the proximity of death are a dominant factor encouraging the drive for legacy creation. Hence, it is of paramount importance to acknowledge that there is something on the far side of generativity in the context of leaving a mark for future generations, posing a deeper exploration into the experiences of legacy creation and transmission.

2.2   Generativity theory

Generativity refers to an adult's care for and sincerity to the well-being of youth and oncoming generations of human beings, as proven in parenting, teaching, mentoring, and other activities and involvements aimed at passing a positive legacy on to the future generations (Erikson, 1963; Kotre, 1984; Hart et al., 2001). This theory is seventh from Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development, brought up in the 1950s, over 60 years ago. It is believed to come about in middle adulthood between the ages of 40 and 65 years of age. Erikson (1964) defined generativity as "an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" concluding that this was mostly achieved through biological parenthood (p.267). Generativity symbolises part of the struggle between the adult inclination to creatively invest oneself in what one will leave behind and an instinct for engagement most intently with oneself in a self-centred way, which he termed "stagnation" (Erikson, 1967). This is a critical junction in adult life showcasing a shift in the generations one is oriented to, the self and to future generations. Thus, it can be
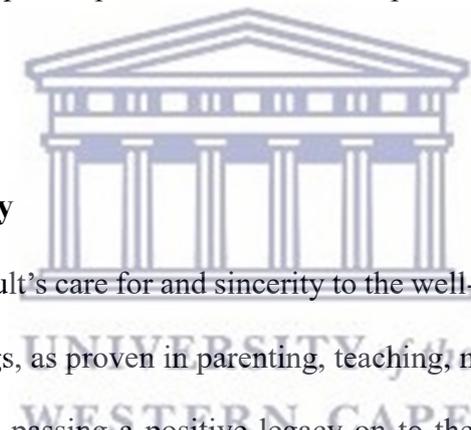
stated that generativity relates more to legacy in the sense that it is inclined to making a mark in the world through caring for those after you, in-turn creating some sense of accomplishment by creating and nurturing things that will outlast them, mostly through parenting, mentoring and contributing to positive outcomes in the society (Cherry, 2018).

Although this theory initially centred on the accomplishment and development of children, he later justified that it could involve forms of productivity and creativity. Erikson (1964) highlighted that there are people who "through misfortune or because of special and genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this drive to their own offspring", but rather invest into their larger societies (p.267). Thus, Erikson's opinion of generativity has both biological (psychosexual) foundation as well as socio-cultural (psychosocial) components. Erikson, Erikson, and Kivnick, (1989) later emphasized the roles of grand parenting, the arts, freedom, responsibility and lifelong learning, as part of the "vital involvement" of elderly people in society in a generative fashion. In re-addressing his life span theory, he concluded that some individuals may not feel needed, may feel existentially useless hence; they may focus entirely on themselves. Thus, the link between generativity and narcissism is complex in some way. Rubinstein et al. (2014) denotes that "although narcissism may be one way of thinking about what generativity is not, both narcissism and generativity might be thought of as forms of self-fulfilment that can be, for some, closely related in that generative action provides distinctive personal gains" (p.549).

In contrast, Kotre (1984) delineated generativity as the "desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self" (p.10). It is further stated that this shows the operation of generativity as a form of dividuality, which is the notion of placing something of the self with others (Geurts, 2002; Sahlins, 2013; Strathern, 1990). Hence, it can be discovered that the sense of the "dividual" is not unique but culturally known to be an association of the self and its parts with others. In this way, generativity can be viewed as a form of dividuality,

in which it seeks biological, socio cultural among other outlets. As a result, this creates a connection between people through beliefs, moral values, knowledge and other cultural constructs that are divisible from one person to another (Korte, 1984).

According to Kotre (1984), culture is an important element of generativity, stressing that it is not only about a teacher imparting life skills but it is more of becoming an active mentor, guiding others to learn more about the self and meaning in life. Thus, contrasting with Erikson's claim that, "generativity is not a stage of development per-se but rather an impulse that can be released throughout the course of life" (Kotre, 1996, p.262). Therefore, Korte (1984) proposed a theory of categorising generativity into four types: biological (fertility and begetting children), parental (nurturing and disciplining offspring and teaching family traditions), technical (the teaching of enduring skills) and cultural (creating/ renovating and conserving a symbol system explicitly passing on to successors respectively. The Generativity theory seemed to be congruent with legacy about transmitting elements of the self to others who live after one's end. Accordingly, it can be argued that legacy beliefs and generativity are intertwined in a way that links them in building a need to leave something for those that will come after you.

McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) further postulated the concept in a multifaceted psychosocial model of generativity that focused on goals of catering for the coming generations. In this way, generativity was described as an arrangement of seven theoretically grounded facets including cultural demand, desire, concern, action, belief, commitment and narration (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; McAdams, Hart, & Maruna, 2004). Inherently, cultural demand in simulation with inner desire (for agentic immortality and communal nurturance) creates a conscious interest for future generations. Caring for future generations is reinforced by a belief in the morality of humankind. The element of belief is obtained from what Erikson (1964) referred to as "belief in the species" leading to generative commitment

(p.95). Generative commitment subsequently can initiate generative action, thus the multifaceted connection of these elements is amassed through narration of the life story. McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) highlighted "a full understanding of generativity in a given person's life, therefore, requires a full examination of all seven features" (p.1004).

2.3   Applicability of the two theories

Since this study employed two theoretical frameworks to guide the research, it is important to highlight the applicability linking these theories with the research phenomenon under study. Generativity is a concept defined as 'an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation' encompassing a biological basis as well as a sociocultural component (Erickson, 1964, p. 267). Kotre (1984) adds on stating that it entails the notion of outliving the self and passing of elements of the self through to others who live after one's end and it is an ongoing life process and not just a stage. On the other hand, the typology of legacy beliefs framework explores people's desire for, understanding of and the actions relating to leaving a legacy. It is of the notion that the desire for legacy sprouts from the idea of striving to have a purpose in life that lives a mark, hence not just a generative impulse. Hunter and Rowles (2005) postulates that "the process of leaving something behind, a legacy is intimately tied up with our life story and shaping the way we are to be remembered" (p.330). In this regard, it can be argued that both frameworks relate to legacy in the sense that it is inclined to making a mark in the world through caring for those after you, in-turn creating some sense of accomplishment by creating and nurturing things that will outlast them (Cherry, 2018). This is mostly done through parenting, mentoring and contributing to positive outcomes in the society (Cherry, 2018). Therefore, these theories were applied in this research study because they best explain the process of leaving a legacy. This study was built and influenced by the typology of legacy beliefs, justifying the use of these frameworks for this specific research study.

Both theories employed in this study have similarities and differences in explaining the process of leaving something, termed 'legacy' therefore, it is crucial to note down these in order to fully understand how they inspire this research study. The typology for legacy beliefs and Generativity theories both suggest that legacy creation and transmission is a multifarious and complex phenomenon. In addition, they believe that people have an innate interest in establishing and guiding future generations hence both models share the common goal of providing for the next generation, emphasizing great concern for future generations. In both these theories, this innate need to transmit something of the self is expressed through values, knowledge, beliefs, and other cultural constructs. Intermeshed in a person's culture, legacy offers the possibility for an extremely personal contribution to the future, one's belongings, memories, values and even one's body may be passed on to the next generation (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). Both theories support the notion that the activity of leaving something behind, a legacy is closely linked with life stories and shaping the way in which individuals are to be remembered: hence, it is a mechanism for passing on a resilient and lasting image of what we stood for.
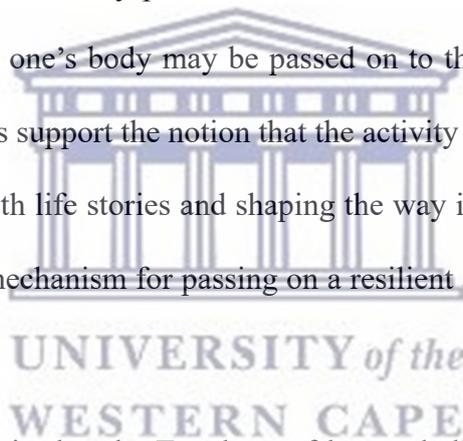
However, the theories differ in that the Typology of legacy beliefs connotes that the idea of legacy is personal, flexible, and more universal than generativity. Furthermore, arguing that legacy distances the stigmatization of narcissism deemed the drive to be remembered and to leave a mark that is explicit in both Erikson, Erikson, and Kivnick's (1986) and Kotre's (1984) notion of generativity. Altruism is not the driving force of legacy as it is contended to be in generativity. Whereas Generativity believes that, the concern for future generations sprouts in middle or late adulthood and can be achieved through biological constructs as illustrated by Erickson (1964). In contrast, the Typology for legacy beliefs (Hunter & Rowles, 2005) states otherwise, arguing that phases of life are not clear-cut depictions of time. Therefore, legacy creation becomes a drive early in life and runs parallel to other impulses; however, transmitting

a legacy may take on an elevated importance. Moreover, they suppose that rather than age per-se, sensed closeness to death is a major factor influencing the drive for legacy creation. As later on expanded by Kotre (1984) outlining that generativity is not just a stage of development per-se but rather an impulse that can be released throughout the course of life, emphasizing that the drive is something beyond merely a generative imperative. Overall, it is important to note that both theories work best to support the research topic under study, as they build strong ground and basis for the growth of this under researched phenomenon. They both underline the notion that the idea of legacy and the desire to transmit something is a broad-brimmed concept that may be ascribed in all cultures and universally. In this regard, legacy permits varied motivations when one pursues creating something to leave behind and it is based on processes through which both the individual and recipients of legacy-building actions may benefit.

2.4   Summary

The experiences associated with being an immigrant and ways employed to maintain family ties with those back in the original homeland and deliberated upon integration into a foreign society as well as theoretical underpinnings of the typology of legacy beliefs and the generativity theory and how it relates to legacy beliefs were deliberated. It is the researcher's anticipation that the literature review puts the research into perspective as well as expose the need for exploring and describing legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3 Introduction

Umezurike (2012) defines literature review as a conceptual analysis of the body of knowledge as written by others on a particular subject. The purpose of conducting a literature review was with the aim of positioning the research topic in context with the larger body of knowledge available. Therefore, this chapter presents the history of Zimbabweans' migration process to South Africa, integration into South Africa, and the Zimbabwean Diaspora. Furthermore, chapter three deals with the background of the Zimbabwean families, legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean families, and factors influencing legacy beliefs among Zimbabwean families.

3.1 History of Zimbabweans' migration process to South Africa

Over the past two decades, Zimbabwe has experienced a significant outflow of people from the country, due to the deterioration of social, political and economic conditions (Chan & Primorac, 2007; Derman & Kaarhais 2013). This has been termed "forced migration" by Chikanda (2019) and utilising data obtained by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) it indicates that "Zimbabwe has emerged as one of the leading sources of forced migration in the post-2000 era" (p.5). The United Nations Migrant Stock database conducted by Crush and Tevera (2010) denoted that by the year 2001, Zimbabwean-born migrant population had become worldwide in its distribution consisting 86 percent of the UN countries and regions having at least one Zimbabwean-born person. This information also revealed that two thirds of the Zimbabwean migrants have/ had moved to nearby Southern

African countries (especially South Africa) while large numbers have relocated to overseas nations including the UK and the USA.

Zimbabweans have immigrated to South Africa with the common reason being economic opportunities. Idemudia et al. (2013) suggest that "prospects of finding employment may be a significant reason to leave behind family, friends and community, believed to be sources that buffer and offer social support against life's changes" (p.3). They further state that it has been estimated that 3-4 million Zimbabweans left Zimbabwe therefore, making them the largest contributors of immigrants in Southern Africa. Studies on international migration cite reasons for relocation of immigrants to foreign nations as inequalities and economic challenges (IOM, 2004). In support, the former Minister of Home Affairs (SA), Chief Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi listed three motivators for the increased migration. The reasons include that S A has an advanced economy as compared to any other African country, employers in SA are willing to hire foreigners even vulnerable and undocumented immigrants and that countries in Southern Africa are historically and economically linked to South Africa, which tends to influence migration patterns (Crush & Tevera, 2010).

The major contributor of the post-2000 migrations/ movements, was the enforcement of the fast track Land Reform Programme which consequently transformed the once agro dependent nation from being a breadbasket of the whole of SADC into a "basket case" (Crush & Tevera, 2010, p.2). In turn, the deterioration of the agricultural sector negatively influenced many industries that were dependent on it for inputs, which led to large numbers of citizens to lose their jobs. Although most of the Zimbabwean people turned to the speedily over- crowded informal sector for survival, most of them moved to neighbouring countries looking for better economic opportunities, essentially quoted 'voting with their feet' (Gaidzanwa, 1999). According to Hanke and Kwok (2009) and Munangagwa (2009), Zimbabwe recorded a yearly high rate of inflation of more than 230 million percent, in 2008. In that same period heightened

political subjugation gradually resulted in thousands of citizens moving out of the country, seeking political refuge in other nations, as the government led by Mugabe resorted to heavy handed tactics in order to silence opposition (Human Rights Watch, 2008; Musingafi & Dumbu 2012). Hence, it can be argued that migration from Zimbabwe at this stage was triggered mostly by political violence and dilapidating economic conditions. Rendering the state of crisis notion, subsequently leading to forced migration, thus migration was more coerced rather than voluntary as the push factors were a greater force and determinant for reasons to migrate.

Literature recently revealed that about 90 % of migrants originating from Zimbabwe were largely young men between the ages of 20 and 40 years. The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA, 2008) reported that unaccompanied minors and women crossed the Limpopo border post prior to 2008 and only a few crossed over as a completely family unit. The situation however exacerbated in July 2018 when the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported an influx in the number of whole family units crossing the border from Zimbabwe to South Africa (UNHCR: Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2008). Literature surrounding the Zimbabwean immigrant issue states that Zimbabwean migration is solely driven by economic reasons as compared to any other migration (Khan, 2007). Bhugra and Becker (2005) broaden that in this fashion of migration impelled by economic and educational reasons migrants normally move alone and then joined by their family members at a later stage, dependants and loved ones. However, they further proclaim that "political migrants on the other hand, usually move en masse with or without family" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005, p.22). In this case study, both reasons for migration apply to the Zimbabwean situation as movement from the country was spearheaded by political and economic reasons and in both cases migrants moved with/ without their families, mostly to be later on joined by their families and they integrated into the South African land.

3.2 Integration into South Africa

Refugee integration into the host society is crucial but it also consists of both positive and negative results. During this process, internal cohesion between refugees and the host society creates cooperation and social control as well as subordination to group norms to a certain extent. On the other hand, powerful internal unity results in hostility towards the foreign groups, which results in xenophobic attacks and far worse scenarios (Dijkstra, Geuijen, & de Ruijter, 2001).

SA has rapidly become the largest host society for various forcibly displaced people from all over the sub-Saharan region, over the last two decades (Smit, 2015), hence, it can be stated that hosting migrants from all over Africa has become a norm. According to the International Labour Office (1998) and Smit (2001), from the late 19th century, all through the 20th century, migrant workers from neighbouring countries have actively been part of the labour force especially in the commercial agricultural and mining sectors in SA. The inflow of asylum seekers in large numbers from other African countries increased instantly after the country's shift to democracy in 1994 (Amit et al., 2009; Jinah, 2013). Most of these refugees and their descendants have engaged South Africa as their new homeland slowly in some instances a temporary one. It is believed that voluntary migration has an effect on family life, thus the impact is far more distinct for these families that experienced forced migration (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Refugee families who fled to South Africa were not only exposed to harsh challenges such as war and persecution in their country of origin, they also endure acute social circumstances in the host country such as xenophobic attacks as well as unemployment. In turn, these circumstances may negatively influence family resilience throughout the integration process and experiences both globally and in SA, thereby affecting proper integration into the host society.

It is believed that post-independent migrants from Zimbabwe slipped into South Africa unnoticed and eventually integrated into the host society over a long period. It is alleged that this is how some Zimbabweans acquired citizenship both lawfully and unlawfully in SA (Sisulu, Moyo & Tshuma, 2007). However, throughout this process the media denoted a "revolving door syndrome" where South African immigration officials deport immigrants back to Zimbabwe at once because of the proximity between the South African and Zimbabwean border (Crush & Tevera, 2010). For most immigrants and refugees worldwide forced migration is a strategy employed to escape armed conflict and human rights violations in their homelands. Immigrant families are usually subjected to lengthy periods of hardships and stressful life events that are accumulative in nature as they often find themselves in a position of limited options (Chikanda, 2017). However, it must be noted that despite these adverse life challenges, some immigrant families possess the resilience to triumph above adversity rather than remaining victims of circumstances (Pittaway et al., 2009; Schweitzer et al., 2007). For migrants, refugees and forcibly displaced people, arriving in a host country provides them the possibility to reconstruct their lives and retain stability after experiencing traumatic events in their countries of origin (Smit, 2015).

Although some migrant families successfully integrate into the new environment and become resourceful, elements that hinder integration into the host society prevail. Impediments hampering the ability to integrate and adapt into the host society include difficulty in securing employment, language barrier, being unable to secure proper housing services and remaining a victim of racism (Danso, 2002). Supporting the above notion similar findings were revealed in other studies among refugees who have been granted asylum in developed nations (Netto, 2011; Roe, 2011; Sienkiewicz et al., 2013), more so these were the same experiences noted by refugees who sought asylum in SA. Landau and Jacobson (2004) on their study among refugees in Johannesburg identified obstacles encountered by migrants and refugees as

including police harassment, being victims of crime and delays in acquiring legal refugee status because of the red tape in the Department of Home Affairs and more. This eventually results in difficulty to access primary health care, adequate housing, social welfare services and exposure to xenophobic sentiments from local citizens. All these experiences subject refugees and asylum seekers to low levels of well-being, as there are far too many obstacles persisting from both their original homeland and the host society. Thus, it can be noted that integration into the "new home" is not always an easy paved road but another bump along the road to freedom. Hence, the well-being of refugee families can be deemed dependent on how successfully these families integrate into the host country.

Pittaway et al. (2009) came up with the fundamental indicators of integration, in their study amongst refugees from the Horn of Africa living in Australia, who deemed themselves successfully settled, they also reported positive results listed in Ager and Stang's (2008) conceptual framework. The initial set of indicators cited as *markers and means of achieving integration* includes access to adequate housing, health care services and quality education, mostly employment is the important key marker of achieving a sense of integration. The second set of indicators being *facilitators of integration* includes being afforded legal refugee rights, being able to speak the vernacular language, feeling safe and secure in the new environment and having cultural knowledge of the host society. These factors constitute a sense of 'belonging', which goes beyond the mere absence of conflict and being tolerated by the local citizens. The third set of indicators relates to *processes of social connection* consisting of the following: social bonds referring to relations with kin and other members of the same ethnic community, which is a source of emotional support making settling into the new environment a bit easier. Followed by social bridges, which refer to relationships between refugees and members of the host community, which are crucial in making refugee and migrant families 'feel at home' when they are treated with respect and accepted into the community. Social links

with state structures in the host countries also count as enablers of integration (Ager & Stang, 2008; Pittaway et al., 2009). Hence, when refugee families acquire lasting social bonds and precedes in establishing social bridges as well as speaking the national language, it may cultivate an 'acquisition spiral', which is important in accessing other means of integration like employment (Strang & Ager, 2010).

Utilising a gender lens, Hansen (2004) and Pavlish (2007) detailed differences when examining male and female refugee experiences. Concerning the experiences of integration, it was found that women who are refugees tend to face challenges during the process of resettlement. This is so because of the conflict and friction that arises because of dynamic gender roles in traditional families and fear for their own safety and that of their children in the host country (Pittaway et al., 2009). This rather makes it difficult for women to integrate and assimilate into the new environment, as they must consider more risk factors as opposed to their male counterparts. Although it is undoubtedly obvious, involuntary displacement usually gives birth to stressful challenges for women and their families. McPherson (2010) upholds this belief that it provides the potential for new and empowering opportunities, thus instead of being vulnerable refugees, women actually acquire new and creative skills for survival in the new host society. In support of this view the UNHCR global trends report (2014) mentions that women accounted for nearly half of the refugee population (46%) in Southern Africa, most of them are accountable for their children as they do not have male or companion support. As opposed to the view that women are often viewed as passive companions of men and are heavily dependent on males. Blinder and Tosic (2005) argue that this "marginalisation of female refugees in some policy documents and research reports does not reflect the social reality" (p.38). This argument came to light as a result of the male dominated reports and studies which in some way excluded female views and their lived experiences in new host societies termed 'the diaspora' in some instances. Hence, the understanding of what it means

to integrate into the new foreign country for immigrant families vary considerably with experiences and it is dependent on how flourishing they are in accessing different spheres of integration. It is of crucial importance to note that, even though the successful integration of refugee and immigrant families is mostly dependent on their intention to conquer the host society as their second home, the receiving society plays a crucial role in allowing refugee integration as well.

3.3 The Zimbabwean Diaspora

The term diaspora arose from a Greek word meaning dispersion (Ages, 1973), initially, diaspora meant the widespread movement of the Jewish population after the demolition of the first temple. Cohen (1996) states that among the Greeks, the term was employed to depict the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archaic period (800-900 BC). However, with time, the meaning has shifted, and its origins almost lost as it emphasised characterisations of catastrophic origins and uncomfortable outcomes many years ago. Story and Walker (2016) argue that it was later extended in the 20th century to a limited number of people spread beyond their homeland, traumatically and these included, African Americans, Armenians, Chinese and Lebanese and Greeks. In the academic world 'diaspora' has "rightly or wrongly come to be applied to any individual living outside their homeland, while in popular usage diaspora now seems to be a collective noun used to refer to anyone not at home" (Brubaker, 2005, p.5). Therefore, it can be noted that this term has been used on any diverse migrant communities believed by external observers to present some sort of political or socio-cultural cohesion in the nations they now reside in. Dufoix (2011) poses the notion that governments have progressively adopted this concept due to the creation and development of a sense of belonging within these dispersed migrant communities as it contributes to economic growth in the original homeland.

Safran (1991) defines diaspora as characterised by six basic characteristics, as he argues that for something to be termed diaspora there should be some degree of dispersal from country of origin to any foreign nations. In addition, to individuals living far away from their country of origin but have a collective memory about their homeland; they have a belief that will always be outrageous in their host country. They idealise their supposed ancestral home and believe that all members of the society should be committed to the restoration of the homeland and a strong ethnic group consciousness with a belief in a common fate. Cohen (1995) supports the above definitions and adds four more features in which he believes that diaspora should include. The features include scattered groups with voluntary and involuntary purposes; have a powerful tie to the past; should be outlined positively rather than negatively; have a common identity with co-ethnic members in other countries such as overseas students, refugees and economic migrants. It is of importance to note that even though it is challenging to define or explain social phenomena with exact criteria, as it is a subjective issue, there must be some sort of criteria to describe diaspora. In addition, like any other term in social sciences, the term diaspora is debatable in its definition, as scholars have put forward various explanations with some adding more features and others suggesting otherwise.

The Zimbabwean diaspora is mostly dominant in the United Kingdom, South Africa and Botswana respectively. The Zimbabwean diaspora is widely dispersed, very young and extremely insecure (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Castles and Miller (2003) claim that in this "age of migration" there is growing interest among academics and policy makers on the impact of Diasporas and transnational societies on the original homeland and the host country. The last decade has seen Zimbabwe, witnessing a large-scale dispersal of its population to neighbouring countries and beyond. Polzer (2008) connotes that Zimbabweans in South Africa amounts up South Africa's largest group of foreign migrants; their numbers ranging from one to three million (Makina, 2009), while the UK and Botswana are believed to have attracted about 500

000 and 400 000, respectively (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2006). In most diaspora communities people lead a dual life, socially and economically by maintaining family ties, land and other resources at their original homeland while engaging in similar albeit more lucrative activities in the country of destination (Guarnizo et al., 2003). This is evident that among the Zimbabweans in the U K and S A, continue to strengthen ties with their relatives back home through sending groceries and money to sustain and assist others. This has greatly sustained the weak economy in Zimbabwe as these remittances from the diaspora have contributed largely to the economic situation back home. Serumaga (2017) unveils that the most common way of conveying funds from S A to Zimbabwe is through Western Union, followed by MoneyGram, as well as Mukuru and Mama Money. Traditional ways for instance sending money through a bus driver are still being utilised to cut off the high costs associated with sending funds formally. It is through this process that most Zimbabweans living abroad have managed to build and develop houses in different suburbs all over Zimbabwe. Furthermore, during holiday seasons most Zimbabweans cross the border to visit their family members and, in some instances, families residing in Zimbabwe often visit their counterparts in the diaspora. This resembles strong ties with the homeland and hope that they will finally return to their homeland at some point.

Discussion over the effects of human migration in culture change has constantly been a crucial subject in the past. Diaspora studies accord to the scholarly heritage on the social effect of perceived culture changes both on the host societies as well as on the migrant families. As well as, on the manner in which stories of contact with distant people and places were selected and reworked over time to sustain a link with the 'remembered home land' and to re-imagine that connection for contemporary purposes and future generations. Diasporas like any other cultural groups are characterised by shared claims to identity that both provide internal cohesion and separate them off from others. These commonalities differ in that they are biological, social or

cultural, social; more specifically, they can be religious, linguistic, genetic, symbolic and material in character. Identities that are so distinctive may be expressed and analysed through the study of family clan names, marriage patterns, residence patterns, economic activity, political practise, dance, dress and cuisine, the construction of heritage and the use of vernaculars. In diasporic contexts, these markers of identity often draw attention to a connection with a distant place in time or space, and might be curated differently at home and abroad, leading over time to a divergence in expressions of belonging.

In a study conducted by Pasura (2010) on the meanings of the diaspora, he specifically focused on Zimbabwean immigrants living in Britain and it was in these studies that he revealed the way of life for Zimbabwean people abroad. In this study, he specifically focused on four varied geographical contexts in which Zimbabwean immigrants reside and these included, Coventry, Birmingham, Wigan and London. He mentioned places where Zimbabwean immigrants meet for socialising and connect to a sense of their homeland through different activities. "There is a Zimbabwean pub in Coventry and gochi-gochi (barbecue places) in Birmingham, both public-private spaces for leisure and socialising". These are spaces where cultural identities are expressed and performed through food, language, music and a sense of belonging. Second, two diaspora congregations, Forward in Faith Mission International (FIFMI) in Coventry and the Zimbabwean Catholic Church in Birmingham, which are public spaces for the performance of cultural and religious identities. Diaspora congregations, dominated by women, are platforms for expressing diasporic identities and enhancing social networks. Thirdly, there is the Zimbabwe Vigil's street for demonstrations outside the Zimbabwean Embassy in Central London. The Vigil is a space where Zimbabweans from different racial, ethnic and gendered boundaries hold public demonstrations against human rights abuses in the homeland. Lastly, people's homes in Wigan offered an opportunity to experience diasporic life in private spaces.

Wigan provided access to asylum-seekers and refugees, scattered around the country as part of the UK government's dispersal policy" (p.89).

It was highlighted that some perceive the diaspora as a place of misery, in this case likened to Babylon and Egypt. Church leaders in diaspora preach an exilic message, relating to the notion that congregates are going through the equivalent of the biblical Babylon. These details the common features of a diaspora, which is a sense of marginalisation in the host country, being eternal outsiders. Some participants equate the diaspora experience to that of the migrant labour system during the colonial period mainly referred to as "Wenela". One respondent in Pasura's (2008) study claimed that

> "*Most of the people who are here don't realise they will never ever return to Zimbabwe. People come here and they say they will return but this will never happen. I will give you a classic example, think of Zimbabweans in the 60s and the 70s, those who went to Wenela, How many people have grandfathers who never returned? This is not because they were killed in the mines but they stayed in South Africa forever. Those who returned to Zimbabwe were a minority*". (p.90)

McGregor (2007) asserts that during the Wenela migrant labour system, migrants were not allowed to take their families along and as soon as their contracts expired, they were restricted to remain at the mines. With the introduction of visas for Zimbabweans, wishing to travel to the UK in November 2002 came the birth of single-parent households. In some way, participants saw their experiences in the diaspora as the same with the Wenela era.

In terms of transnational links, Zimbabweans in the UK uphold constant and continuous economic, social, cultural and political, multinational ties with those back home and in the broader diaspora (Bloch 2008). For instance, they actively engage in transnational diaspora politics through activities concerning the domestic or foreign policy of their original country and those that enhance migrants' rights in the host country. Zimbabwean migrants in Britain delineate transnational diaspora politics differently as providing financial support to the MDC; as an alternative democratic space from the dwindling and oppressive conditions in the

homeland; as globalising the Zimbabwean crisis as well as an avenue for permanent settlement (Pasura, 2008). Similarly, McGregor (2009) shares the same sentiments as he explains how "diaspora political engagement has contributed to the mounting international pressure on ZANU- PF as well as grounds of activism to extend the boundaries of claiming citizenship in Britain" (p.202).

The migration of Zimbabweans to Britain gave birth to the diasporic media. The emerging media provides spaces for communication between the diaspora and the homeland, it has become a platform to discuss economic, socio-cultural and political multinational ties between the diaspora and the homeland and the wider diaspora (Mano & Willems, 2008). The diasporic media surfaced to object to the community's representation in the British mainstream media and providing news for Zimbabweans abroad and at home. For most Zimbabwean migrants in the country, it can be understood that they maintain regular ties with the homeland through engaging in diaspora politics, sending remittances, upholding family ties, and in their nature of diaspora associations.

Scholars in volumes have comprehensively researched the Zimbabwean diaspora in South Africa. Zimbabweans are attracted to South Africa for its culture of human rights, economic opportunities as well as its perceived social security (Chance 2015). Crush and Tevera (2010) however observed that the evidence suggests that Zimbabwean migrants are devalued, discriminated and marginalized particularly in SA and the UK. Even though what constitutes a diaspora currently might vary, the typology developed by Cohen (1997) remains a crucial component of reference for future theorists, especially his emphasis on the concepts of home and homeland. Cohen (1997) defines diaspora in terms of the homeland from which people have been involuntarily and voluntarily dispersed. He suggests, "Diasporas are characterised by a collective memory and myth about the homeland, an idealisation of the real or imagined

ancestral home, and the collective development of a return movement to it" (p.515). Diasporic communities maintain strong ethnic group awareness in the foreign nations they settled in. Cohen (2008) denotes that their relationship with their host society may be troubled, but they can always devise a typical, enriching life in their adoptive homeland, particularly where there is an attitude for pluralism (p.17).

South Africans hold a wide belief that foreign migrants pose a threat where employment opportunities are concerned and that top officials are failing to stop the influx of foreign population in the country (Polzer, 2009). Hence, there is a constant outcry against foreigners, who are harassed, attacked, and killed on a daily basis mostly during Xenophobic attacks (Serumaga, 2017). In any society, migrants are the most vulnerable group, even in developing countries because they do not have social support structures and traditional safety nets that they had in their country of origin (Deumert et al., 2005). In this way, they are constantly susceptible to tribalism, racism, xenophobia, and other forms of discrimination in the host country. This is very common in times of economic downswing and the skyrocketing unemployment in migrant-receiving nations and SA is no exception (Pringle, 2010). Zimbabwean migrants in SA usually face extreme xenophobic reactions to their presence as South Africans employ derogatory terms, such as '*amakwerre-kwerre*' (a Xhosa term to describe all foreign nationals from other African countries) to show that they are not welcome in their country (Gordon, 2007). One pertinent perception is that immigrants from north of the country's borders are taking South Africans' jobs, undermining labour standards and wages in the unskilled sectors (Mosala, 2008; Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). It is claimed that casual immigrant workers are willing to work for very low daily wages; hence, they get temporary employment in the informal and formal sectors of the economy at the expense of South African workers who have much higher reservation wages in the same informal labour market.

3.4   Background of the Zimbabwean families

To fully comprehend perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding legacy beliefs while living in a foreign land, it is crucial to have a primary understanding of their culture and its value system. Cultural values are an essential component in every society, and they form the basis for decision-making and devising strategies in various practical aspects of human life (Shackleton et al., 2010). Thus, it is important that these values be passed on to younger generations, as they make societies stronger. According to Sigauke et al. (2015), the dissemination of cultural values to future generations facilitates continued existence and preservation of beliefs that make up a society which are important elements of culture.

The indigenous Zimbabwean doctrine is rooted in the philosophy of hunhu (ubuntu) which is the basis of African epistemology. The words Ubuntu and Hunhu are respectively Ndebele and Shona, two Bantu languages spoken by some people who identify themselves as Zimbabweans in their homeland and in the diaspora (Chinouya & O'keefe, 2006). The word Ubuntu is also found among Zulu-speaking populations of South Africa. Sebedi quoted in Venter (2004) asserts that hunhu *possesses* the prospect to "rescue Zimbabwean people from their loss of identity: to let them regain their cultural and social values and experience themselves as human beings with dignity" (p.152). It subsequently results in the production of munhu ane hunhu (a complete, educated person) or as the Nziramasanga Commission Report (1999) puts it, "a human being in the fullest and noblest sense", one who is "caring, humble, thoughtful, considerate, understanding, wise, generous, hospitable, socially mature, socially sensitive, virtuous and blessed" (Venter, 2004, p.150). Therefore, it can be argued that hunhu is not a foreign, but a native philosophy rooted in the experiences of the indigenous Africans. It values being human and the interconnection of human beings therefore affirms life.

While experts described Zimbabwean culture as multilingual, and multi-cultural and multi-ethnic they nonetheless admitted that the traditional perception of reality was more pervasive (Shumba, 1994). In Zimbabwe, Western culture is much popular in urban centres unlike the rural areas where at least 80% of the people exist in accordant to traditional customs and lifestyles. Even though Zimbabweans have adopted Western material values, they are still intimately tied to their moral and spiritual past. The indigenous culture of Africans is solely controlled by the beliefs, customs and values common to Shona and Ndebele people who make up over 90% of the total population (Nelson, 1982). These groups are naturally paternal and both value the extended family structure in which the living family members and the departed ancestors are in constant interaction in a linear seniority hierarchy (Shumba, 1994). A simplified linear hierarchy consists of ancestors and elders (grand fathers and mothers) at the top, mothers and fathers in the middle and children at the bottom. This order of seniority applies on matters of privilege, respect and wisdom.

In the Zimbabwean culture, community life is of crucial importance while values of friendship, mutual understanding, fellowship, peaceful co-existence, mutual hospitality and cooperation are fundamental (Bourdillion, 1987). He further adds that in the Zimbabwean context; possible outsider attack is a driving force towards cohesion in communities of interest. Chimuka (2001) reckons that no man is an island thus, values that promote community members to help each other in "lifting this heavy load of life is of great importance" (p.31). In this way, survival is deemed an interdependent process with all individuals putting enough effort to allow the other to live. Core issues of fairness, goodness, retributive and distributive justice, self-discipline and love among others are enforced to address societal needs that help promote cohesion in the Zimbabwean communities (Chimuka, 2001).

Since the Zimbabwean culture is broadly patriarchal, the nurturing and socialisation of children is the duty of the mothers and in their absence, a female relative (Katsamudanga, 2003). In this

sense the extended family is of utmost importance because it lays a fundamental foundation for behaviour in adult life as they instruct on the values and ethos of how the "proper Zimbabwean" person should behave (Chimuka, 2001). He further argues that individuals that defy the dictates of what is deemed proper, are termed dysfunctional and in need of assistance. Pasura (2010) describes a traditional Zimbabwean man as a proud African who is built to be the ultimate provider while the woman focuses on the nurturing, he adds that "the husband is the husband, there are no equal partners" (p.1446). This context emphasises that a strong marriage is the traditional marriage where there is male domination and female subordination. In essence, this explains the notion that despite a woman being employed, they are expected to carry the bulk of household tasks, as a proper housewife.

Katsamudanga (2003) notes that modern day middle-class families greatly rely on maids and extended family to help with household duties, a luxury forfeited the moment they migrate to South Africa. Migration therefore results in renegotiation of gender roles and relations, which poses a threat to the fabric that holds the Zimbabwean family unity together such as the fact that in the traditional society, a woman's place in the family is inferior to that of a man (Pasura, 2010). It therefore means that migration of Zimbabweans to foreign countries is threatening their "traditional customs" leading to families to undergo transformations, which eventually cause major challenges (Pasura, 2010). One therefore ponders how Zimbabwean immigrants perceive and preserve their legacy beliefs and if they change because of migration. This is so because when people migrate, they tend to try to assimilate into the host society in order to integrate and function well in the foreign country. Therefore, it is believed to pose a threat to traditional customs, norms, beliefs and way of life of Zimbabwean people as practised back in their homeland. Leading to the question, when people migrate do they take their culture and beliefs with them?

Pasura (2010) points out that in Zimbabwe the male figure is the sole breadwinner in the family. In the event that the woman makes a financial contribution, it happens without challenging the existing gender norms. He blames the harsh economic conditions in Zimbabwe that led to migration for disturbing the place of males as breadwinners and therefore custodians of family practices (Pasura 2010). In support of this view, Crush et al. (2005) affirms that the labour market in SA is "highly stratified by gender" and this has resulted in an increase in female labour in areas normally dominated by men. This has resulted in women gaining financial dominance in the household thus challenging the status quo through economic freedom. Subsequently, most men found themselves taking a supporting rather than providing role as female jobs are readily available, owing to deskilling, which occurs when people migrate (Pasura, 2010). All these challenges possibly threaten the family life and relations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the diaspora as traditional cultural values and norms are modified and threatened.

Lately, traditional cultures and beliefs in Africa have almost become undervalued as most communities have adopted the modern cultural values especially with the continued rise of the diaspora communities. It has brought about Western ways of life consequently resulting in the loss of the African way of life (cultural values, norms and beliefs) giving birth to mixed cultures. Eventually, people who are adopting the Western cultures tend to lose touch with their roots, heritage, and beliefs of what makes them Zimbabweans. Hence, there is need to re-develop and preserve cultural norms and values which incorporate family histories, myths, symbols, rituals, taboos, festivals, dances, proverbs as well as drama and folklore in human practices (Kanowski & Williams, 2009; Kideghesho, 2009). These values are solely based on traditional beliefs that have been there since time immemorial and they are what makes Zimbabweans be Zimbabweans, as it differentiates them from other ethnic groups worldwide.

3.5 Legacy beliefs

Internationally, there are various legacy beliefs across different generational races and legacy entails a variety of things passed on or inherited from others that lived before us (Meuser et al., 2018). The Generation Project provides an interesting forum for legacy studies. This was a project encompassing several studies on generational relationships in farm families conducted in Canada, New Zealand and the USA in the mid-1980s (Fairweather & Keating, 1994). In these societies living a legacy is done through generational transfer either by succession or inheritance, in this regard, farm families are bound together through kinship, business relationships and connections to the land passed on to several generations (Keating 1994). Fernell (1986) asserts that the capital asset of farmland, buildings and equipment is the most crucial legacy though legacies in this context entail more than just property. The means of transferring legacy also includes succession to occupation, business and a way of life through generational connections (Fennell, 1981). Hence, it can be acknowledged that once the family legacy has been passed on it might have implications on family interactions and the way legacy beliefs are communicated and understood in the context of immigrant family relationships is unclear, as past studies have not dwelt on such.

Legacy beliefs are defined as individuals' beliefs about whether their actions and themselves will be remembered or if they will have an enduring influence, and leave something behind after death (Hunter & Rowles, 2005; Kotre, 1999). According to Zacher et al. (2011), "individuals with high legacy beliefs think that their past and present actions will have a significant and positive impact in the future and that they will be remembered by other people for a long time after they die" (p.169). On the other extreme, those, individuals with low legacy beliefs, believe that their actions will not have a lasting influence in the future and that they will not be remembered for a long time. Thus, it can be noted that legacy beliefs entail doing and leaving things that will make future generations remember you for a lifetime and in most

cases positive things. In connection with immigrants, it can therefore be highlighted that thinking about building a stable future for oncoming generations may have been the drive for Zimbabweans to migrate in search for "greener pastures" when their nation was crumbling. People saw a need to search for better opportunities in order to build a better future for their children hence they chose to migrate into various countries all over the world.

Hunters and Rowles (2005) indicate that legacy beliefs are often incorporated as part of culture; however, it has not been fully explored because of being an element of the wealthy and famous people. However, it has been found that every individual has their own legacies that include biology (genes), material goods (heirlooms) and values (social, personal and cultural) (Hunters & Rowles, 2005). Therefore, legacies seemed to be related to the seventh psychosocial stages of development of Erik Erikson that is generativity that promotes establishment and guidance of the next generation through individual's acts of care, stability building, continuing culture and imparting values through the family (Bradley, 1997). Previous studies on legacy beliefs only focus on older generations and their children in the white population and mixed races (Meuser et al., 2018; Hunters & Rowles, 2005). In the literature on legacy beliefs, the relative importance of immigrants' legacy beliefs has not been a subject that is considered and debated.

Hunter and Rowles (2005) refer to legacy as a process of transmitting one's self through generations in turn creating continuity from the past through the present to the future. This definition seems to raise several questions such as, "How do Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their legacy beliefs, family cohesion and adaptability while living in a foreign land?" In addition, how do Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora transmit their legacy beliefs to future generations related to cultural beliefs and values? These questions appear to be of concern because the connections of the Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora could be affected when their legacy beliefs are not considered as an important part of families, solely because they live far away from their families. Legacy beliefs still remain under researched

areas within the African continent as most the studies tend to focus mainly on whites and mixed races senior citizens (Meuser, Mthembu, Overton, Roman, Miller, Lyons & Carpenter, 2018).

Zacher et al. (2011) asserts that legacy beliefs become more important as people grow older and provide a sense of meaning and purpose for people's actions when incentives of earlier life stages become less crucial. Erik Erikson first described the increasing importance of legacy thinking for individuals over the lifespan (Erikson, 1950). Based on this theory it can be argued that age-related convictions about leaving a legacy sprout from individuals' desires to achieve "symbolic immortality" after passing on (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). The terror management theory believes that symbolic immortality presents the most important psychological resources for older people because they soothe fears triggered by age-related mortality thoughts (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). Grant and Wade-Benzoni (2009) support the above notion arguing that individuals' desires to make self-transcendent and enduring contributions are motivated by mortality awareness and may have important implications in organizational settings.

Hunter (2008) is of the notion that "legacy is best understood in the context of the stories of people's lives, how does one create a satisfactory end to one's life? People make sense of their lives and their identities by couching them in a story format" (p.328). An understanding of legacy entails exploring personal beliefs that underlie leaving something behind regardless of the culturally specific way in which this emerges.

3.5.1 "Nhaka" as legacy or inheritance in Zimbabwean

In Africa, inheritance systems are pivotal possibilities for the transfer or exclusion from the passing on of adults' accumulated physical wealth (Cooper, 2008), however these systems are controlled cultural norms concerning social roles and relationships determined and maintained by societal members' power differentials. In this essence, it can be noted that kinship systems,

gender roles and discrimination are a leeway in which inheritance (legacy) in various African societies is practised which is influential in differential transmissions of wealth from parent to child generation. Shipton (2007) defines inheritance as "a window into some big ideas, who passes what to whom communicates messages about relative worth, not just of property but also of people and of the bonds between them" (p.173).

The concept of culture remains a highly contested phenomenon in the academic discourse, hence there is no one definition on what constitutes culture among scholars as it is dynamic and not static. Culture is the banal, which implies that even the smallest things done in everyday life constitute our culture, meaning that culture is the whole way of life. Hofstede (1980) supports the above notion by stating that culture is a collective programming of which differentiates members of a certain group from another, passed down from generation to generation, though dynamic in that each generation adds something new before passing it on. It becomes clear that everything about a society is cultural. Ncube (2014) is of the notion that culture is a set of shared values and beliefs that reflect national, ethnic and other groups, as well as orient their behaviour. From this point of view, it is valid to argue that culture shapes and orients individual behaviour in a community.

Nhaka is a Shona word used by the Shona people to refer to inheritance or legacy, solely referring to wealth passed on from parents or grandparents to their offspring usually in the form of livestock, clothes and properties, as well as knowledge, norms and information that builds families in a good manner. Mugumbate and Chereni (2019) define Nhaka (inheritance) as a concept within the Ubuntu framework, which teaches that the environment is an inheritance that came from ancestors and should be passed on to the next generation. The liberation framework emphasizes ownership of inheritance. The Shona term **'nhaka'** (inheritance; a deceased person's estate) refers to personal belongings, which include cattle, land and other livestock and even widows or "more correctly, their unspent procreative capacity" (Holleman,

1974, p.150). In this sense, the Shona custom regards these as primary 'assets' included for distribution in a deceased person's estate.

An article written by (P. Gotora, in The Herald 2019) noted that in Zimbabwe, inheritance differs with the society you reside in and it only occurs when someone dies. In some societies, especially those that still practise patriarchal inheritance only male children or descendants inherit from their fathers and under this arrangement, women do not usually get anything. The idea behind this, being that women will eventually get married and leave their homestead; hence, they cannot inherit and go away with whatever wealth they get. There is a saying among the Shona "kugara nhaka huona dze vamwe" which means that there is no expert in issues relating to inheritance and legacy. Dube (2017) shares the same sentiments as he asserts that in Zimbabwe inheritance is mostly patriarchal hence women seldom inherit a chiefdom or a headman-ship status. Women's International News Network (2006) articulate that the reason is that women are regarded as "perpetual minors" and that they would not be able to look after their original family due to commitments in their new family when they get married. Unfortunately, this disregard for women to become heirs also extends to property matters hence women find it difficult to inherit property in Zimbabwe (Dube, 2017). According to Share (2013), in Ndebele and Shona customs women do not inherit property when their husbands die, hence, the debate about custom, culture and tradition is the most intense in inheritance issues. For instance, Africa is mostly patriarchal by nature, in cultures like the Tonga, Nyanja, Kalanga and Namibia, when men die the custom provides that inheritance be given only to male relatives of the husband or the eldest son in the deceased's family.

Various international sources reported that in Zimbabwe, the traditional practices of wife inheritance or "kugara nhaka" calls for the wife of a deceased man to be inherited by the man's relative, usually his brother (UN, 2004). One key Zimbabwean custom that entails legacy is the "*kugara nhaka concept*" (succession), normally referred to as wife inheritance. Ncube

(2014) is of the notion that inheritance involves a person who leaves behind a legacy, which will be used by others when he is deceased, and it mainly underlies the Shona man's sense of duty thus mostly expected from men. The term "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance) relates to the custom of wife inheritance after the passing on of a brother in a family. In the Shona culture a man (married/ not) can inherit the wife of his deceased older or younger brother (Kangira et al. 2005). This concept is based on the same principles but often expressed in various ways. Gundani (2004) postulates that "this form of marriage was also meant to maintain family stability in terms of movement of the estate, as well as the purity of the clan. In this way, a Shona marriage was meant to ensure that the bereaved wife would remain loyal to the family she married into" (p.92). Other reasons were done under the pretext of protecting the brother's marriage by fulfilling his conjugal obligations on his behalf to discourage the wife from engaging with an outsider (Kangira, 2005).

Mushishi (2010) claims that the practise of "kugarwa nhaka" is an aspect of the indigenous traditional religion that promotes human rights when viewed from its widow care bias. It is also believed that it promotes the right to self-perpetuation of the deceased's life through procreation with the new husband (brother of the deceased) thus sustaining the life of the deceased through children born in the new marriage. In a way, it is believed that, this custom foster a sense of continuity of life between the living and the living-dead. The cultural aspects of the "kugarwa nhaka" custom demonstrate the promotion of human rights, as it places more emphasis human needs. The human needs include emotional support, social care, giving stability to the marriage institution, protection of women and children, paying attention to the value of women as mothers in terms of motherhood roles and the provision of security, food, shelter and human protection (Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada, Zimbabwe, 2006). It must be noted that this concept comes with various negative connotations including abuse and violence against women as well as disregarding women's rights. This custom is no longer

practised in most cultures in Zimbabwe mostly because it became a gender rights issue and it was believed to be the main avenue leading to the transmission of HIV and Aids among other reasons.

It should be noted that when it comes to issues of legacy in Zimbabwe it is mostly male oriented such that when a parent dies the norm is to assign the eldest son in the family as the head of the homestead. Thus, even though everyone wants to leave a legacy for their children, mostly male children benefit less than their female counterparts do mostly because they are sort of excluded and have no rights. However, most Zimbabweans associate the term legacy with the "kugarwa nhaka" (wife inheritance) custom as it is the most common and widely discussed concept in most societies. It should be noted that because the world is dynamic and because of the fusion of Western and African cultures, a lot has changed with regards to inheritance, customs and gender roles. Which has changed the way inheritance was practised in the old days and people no longer depend on cultural rules stipulated in the golden days. These days everyone has a chance and a right to claim their inheritance even if they are women or children of the deceased and women can also participate in issues of building a legacy for their offspring, usually done through writing up wills legally stating their claims about who gets what and from whom. In the traditional societies the issue of nhaka (legacy/ inheritance) usually involved hostilities between family members through property grabbing, as everyone especially the male relatives felt entitled to grab anything they could, taking advantage of the deceased's wife and children as they had no rights in inheritance issues. Hence, most families suffered poverty as they were stripped off and left with nothing to support them either livestock or any form of wealth that was supposed to sustain their livelihoods when widowed.

3.6 Summary

This chapter attempted to provide insight into literature concerning the concept of legacy beliefs among Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa. The researcher provided a summary of migration and immigration to South Africa from Zimbabwe as a phenomenon was discussed in a bid to highlight the trends, background, history, and prevalence.

The researcher-depicted issues surrounding migration, as well as statistics related to this dynamic issue. The researcher went on to define who Zimbabwean people are in detail; their cultural standpoints and beliefs were also explored in an attempt to put the study into context. The following chapter will detail the research methodology for this study and the researcher will explain how the research was conducted. Data collection tools and research designs employed in this research are elucidated in details, as well as data analyses.

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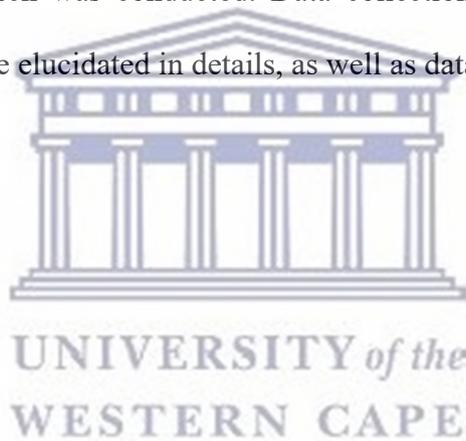
CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a literature review in which the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa were elucidated. The whole chapter gave an overview of the migration process through highlighting key concepts in the history of migration to South Africa from Zimbabwe. Bearing the gaps in literature in mind, this chapter seeks to elaborate how the research study was implemented to contribute to the existing body of knowledge. Chapter four presents the research worldview in which this study is grounded. This chapter highlights the research methodology, clearly outlining how the research process was conducted as well as how data collected from the participants were gathered and analysed.

4.1 Research Worldview

This study is grounded in a Social Constructionism theory, which was developed from the study of interpretive understanding known as Hermeneutics, by Edmund Husserl and Wilhelm Dilthey. It suggests that knowledge is socially constructed from the point of view of individuals, involved in a situation (Mertens, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Mooney, Knox & Schacht, 2011). It is mainly concerned with clarifying the processes by which people describe and explain, or alternatively, tell the story about the world around them (Gergen & Davis, 1985). In this manner, social constructionism is described in the following assumptions:

- "What we take to be the experience of the world, does not dictate the terms by which the world is understood. What people take to be knowledge of the world is not a product of induction, or the building and testing of general hypotheses. In other words, it means that people's understanding does not merely rely on objective knowledge".

a) "The terms in which the world is understood are social artefacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people; understanding of our surroundings is mainly influenced by culture, and as such, are seen as products of that particular culture, in that time and not the biological aspect".

b) "Knowledge is sustained by social processes; the truth is not an observation, but rather the interaction between people, who live together in a certain place".

c) "Knowledge and social action go together, or forms of negotiated understanding are of critical significance in social life, as they are integrally connected with many other activities, in which people engage. In general, social constructionism asserts that participants play an active role in research, since they seek understanding of the world in which they live and work (De Vos et al., 2011; Lock & Strong, 2010). In addition, knowledge is socially constructed, depends on the society, and addresses the reality of lived experiences, by different people, in their own environment (Aldgate et al., 2006). The theory argues that a person's sense is a result of social interchange. In addition, they emphasize that there is no single truth, because people perceive the environment around them differently. Furthermore, they highlighted that reality is uniquely experienced, interpreted and created by people, who have lived the experience. Moreover, Rogers (2010), affirms that people understand their own issues more than any other person does, and as such, they are in a better position to explain it. Zartler (2014) applied this theory to her research study, in which she explored how normative understandings, based on the nuclear family ideology, are linked to constructions of single-parent families. She alluded that the understanding of reality depends on the individual's viewpoint".

According to Rogers (2010), people are active in their own environment, full of meaningful objects and identify interactions as reflections of their culture, history, language and

experiences. This can be further explained as a problem that is whatever the society feels it is, for instance, if a community feels smoking is not a problem, then it is acceptable as such. Alternatively, another community may see smoking as a problem, and as such, it will be seen as that. Therefore, social constructionism is more concerned with the creation of facts, rather than objective meaning, as it seeks to understand multiple truths, rather than a single truth.

In addition, it stresses that people are actors and therefore, make sense of interaction to form individual truths (Rogers, 2010). For this study, social constructionism blended well with generativity theory, as the supporting paradigm. These theories explain the link between human beings and their environment, throughout their stages of development. The study explores immigrants' perceptions pertaining to legacy beliefs and the experiences and challenges they encounter in preserving them while living in a foreign land. It can therefore be argued that social constructionism theory addresses the family as social beings who are constructing meaning of their lived experiences, in their own setting. Therefore, the theory guides the researcher to understand that it is possible for different people, in the same situation, to have different experiences and that the same situation can pose different challenges to different people, depending on their context. This world-view postulates that different people have different coping strategies, even when faced with the same challenges. Therefore, this study aims to gain an understanding of and insight into the social phenomenon of legacy beliefs among the Zimbabwean immigrants living in the diaspora.

4.2   Study Setting

In explaining the study setting, Polit and Beck (2010) define a research setting as one or more specific locations where data for a particular study is collected. The study was conducted in the Cape Winelands District, in Mfuleni Township, Blue Downs area (Figure 4.2:1). Mfuleni is a relatively new township that lies in the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality, about 40 km

from Cape Town (Western Cape Province, South Africa). It is close to the sprawling township of Khayelitsha and next to the Malibu Suburb. Mfuleni is a predominantly black township with a population density around 52,300 people, most were moved to this area in the late 1990s following flooding and fires in different townships such as Philippi, Nyanga and Khayelitsha, which explains the mixed nature of the community (Census, 2011). This township consists of both formal and informal housing and the settlement proves to be of great importance to the study area because it includes a large and diverse immigrant population specifically from Zimbabwe. Hence, the selection to conduct the study in Mfuleni provides the researcher with a large sample to conclude the study, as ease of access to Zimbabwean immigrants to become participants is assured. This area was the best for conducting this research, as it provided the researcher with the suitable participants for the study as well as variety information relating to legacy beliefs, hence the reason for employing purposive sampling strategy to include immigrants specifically from Zimbabwe.
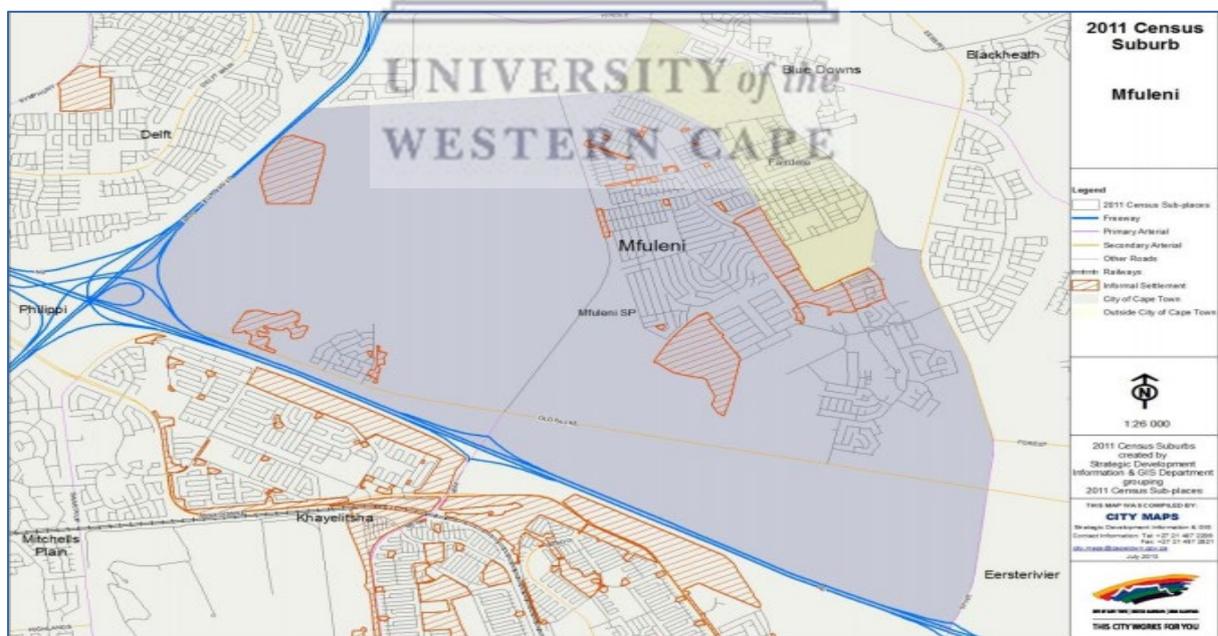
Figure 4:1 Map off Mfuleni - District Source 2011 Census suburbs

4.3 Research Approach

A qualitative research approach was employed for this research study. Qualitative Research is defined as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological tradition of inquiry that explores a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports, detailed views of the informants and conducts the study in a natural setting" (Creswell, 2009, p.15). Jwan and Ong'ondo (2012) add that qualitative research is "an approach to inquiry that emphasizes a naturalistic search for relativity in meaning, multiplicity of interpretations, particularity, detail and flexibility in studying a phenomenon or the aspect(s) of it that a researcher chooses to focus on at a given time" (p.32).

With this approach, variables are often uncontrolled because this is exactly the kind of freedom and natural development of action that the researcher wishes to capture (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Hence, an understanding was also guided by Boeije (2002) who argues that qualitative research are flexible methods and techniques used to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of meaning brought by people. Thus, it can be noted that qualitative aims for a deeper meaning rather than quantity of understanding. In this way qualitative researchers seek a deeper truth as they aim to "study things in their natural setting, attempting to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them," hence the reason to employ "a holistic perspective which preserves the complexities of human behaviour" (Abell, 1990). The guiding principle, which makes qualitative research fundamentally different from quantitative research, is that research can be subjective, particular, context -based and need not necessarily be based on probability samples (Jwan & Ong"ondo, 2013). In this case, a qualitative study as opposed to a quantitative study was employed, as the nature of the research question demanded more than just statistics about perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants in terms of their understanding towards legacy beliefs. The research methodology was structured in such a way that was clear on who said what about the perceptions regarding

legacy beliefs as well as what kind of thinking or values governed these beliefs. Good research taps into the actual experiences and first-hand information from the participants themselves (Mays, 2008). For this reason, employing a qualitative research study provided room for the researcher to pay attention to the cultural interpretations and values associated with the issue in this context (legacy beliefs).

In this research study, the researcher was not concerned with the "how many" question but rather the "what and how" regarding legacy beliefs among immigrants. With the nature of the questions posed to the participants, a quantitative design would not have done justice to the question as it is limited hence it would have provided vague answers that would not give clearer insight into the perceptions of the participants' legacy beliefs. Davis (2007) alludes to the fact that qualitative research methods are more flexible than quantitative methods. Buckingham, Fisher and Saunders, (2008) maintain that qualitative research holds a holistic perspective which takes into consideration people's complexities and varying perspectives, which is the same holistic element that was captured in this research study.

It must therefore be highlighted that qualitative study is not without criticism, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) criticised it for being impressionistic, subjective, and idiosyncratic. In addition, Denzin, and Lincoln (2000) criticised it as lacking in rigour, exactness and objectivity and considered it a soft and weak research approach. Stake (2006) on the other hand tries to bring balance to the criticism by arguing that the intention to promote a subjective research paradigm in qualitative research should not be viewed as a weakness and failure to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding that lacks in quantitative studies.

4.4   Study Design

In describing study design, Creswell and Creswell (2018) define a research design as the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical

way, thus ensuring addressing the research problem effectively. In support of the above claim, Trochim (2006) adds that "it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data" (p.19), hence, in this way the research problem determines the type of design to employ in a research study. This research employed an exploratory and descriptive qualitative study design. Hennick, Hunter and Bailey (2011) denote that qualitative research method works well to capture in-depth descriptions and perceptions from the participants.

Qualitative research utilises a pragmatic approach that helps to understand experiences in context-specific settings, such as "real world settings where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2015, p.22). This design is appropriate for this study because it best describes participants' perceptions and the meanings they attach to their own experiences. This approach was selected over quantitative approach, because it is a holistic inquiry method, which answers complex questions by means of describing and appreciating the phenomena from the participant's point of view and has flexible guidelines (De Vos et al., 2011; Creswell, 2007; Hicks, 2004). This current research study employed two main study designs, namely exploratory and descriptive research designs.

4.4.1 Exploratory Design

Explorative design is more useful and appropriate for studies addressing an issue which has high levels of uncertainty and ignorance about the subject and when the problem is not very well understood (i.e very little existing research on the subject matter). In most cases explorative design is conducted on a research problem where there are few or no earlier studies to refer to (Streb, 2010). Its focus is to gain insight, discover ideas and familiarity into a phenomenon for later investigation hence undertaken when research problems are at an initial stage of investigation. It is designed to produce a hypothesis of what is going on in a situation but not concerned with coming up with designs. In this way, it focuses on answering the "what" question. An effective way of conducting an explorative research is by beginning with a

literature search, which was effectively done through Chapters One and Three. A literature review entails searching all material related to a topic to illuminate more information on what is known about the phenomenon. However, it is believed that a literature search may be insufficient in providing information on the research question; thus, proposing in-depth interviews after the literature review (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In-depth interviews are conducted to explore more about the subject under study from people knowledgeable in that area.

Albert et al. (2010) denote that explorative design is often utilised to establish an understanding of how best to proceed in studying an issue or which methodology would effectively apply when gathering information about the issue. The goals of this approach intend to produce familiarity with basic details, settings and concerns as well as bringing insight to a well-grounded picture of the situation being developed as well as generating new ideas and assumptions. Determines whether a study is feasible in the future therefore directing future research and developing techniques. In this specific research design, the researcher begins with a general idea and utilises it as a medium to identify issues that can be the focus for future research. Neuman (2000) adds that explorative research is often conducted because a problem has not been clearly defined yet, or its real scope is yet unclear as was the case with legacy beliefs among immigrants living in the diaspora. The author believes that explorative research can be conducted as a preliminary research before more research that is conclusive is undertaken. In support of this perspective, Jackson et al. (2007) cite the fact that explorative research may be the first in a series of other studies because it answers the "what" question hence opening room to ask the "why, how and when" questions at a later stage. Explorative research helps in determining the best research design, data collection method, selection of participants, and sometimes it even concludes that the problem does not exist (Marshall, 2003).

For the afore-mentioned reasons explorative research was utilised as the literature review conducted proved that although research has been done so far on legacy beliefs, little attention has been paid on legacy beliefs of immigrants living in the diaspora. Based on the literature review conducted, many gaps pertaining to the topic were revealed. Thus, an explorative research design assisted to fill in some of those gaps and to be acquainted with a situation. Denzin (2002) alluded to the fact that explorative research utilises open-ended questions and probing more frequently. This element came out throughout the research as using exploratory questions invoked unexpected rich culturally sensitive responses on the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants pertaining to legacy beliefs while living in South Africa.

4.4.2   Descriptive design

Besides utilising the explorative design, descriptive design was also employed in this study. McNabb (2008) notes that descriptive assists in providing answers to the questions of who, when, where and how; affiliated with a specific research problem however a descriptive study does not conclusively ascertain answers to why. It is usually employed to obtain information concerning the status of the phenomena and to describe, "What exists" with respect to conditions in a situation. This design is best suited for this topic; perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants pertaining to legacy beliefs while living in South Africa, as the subjects are observed in a completely natural and unchanged environment giving birth to a more focused study. Burns and Grove (2003) support the above notion arguing that descriptive research "is designed to provide a picture of a situation as it naturally happens" (p.201). Descriptive studies often yield rich data that leads to important recommendations in practice and it collects a large amount of data for detailed analysis (Salkind & Rasmussen, 2007).

Marshall (2003) alludes that the goal of descriptive research entails describing the characteristics of certain groups, determining the proportion of people who behave in certain ways and the relationship between variables as well as making specific predictions. Thus, it is

mainly employed to justify current practice, make judgement and develop theories. In support of the researcher's use of both exploratory and descriptive research, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) alluded that a descriptive study usually follows an exploration of the problem has been done. In this regard, the researcher initially explored what the participant's perceptions were and then engaged in questions to elaborate more on why and how those perceptions came about. To justify the usage of both designs (Krathwohl, 1993) states that description emerges following creative exploration, which in turn serves to organize the findings in order to fit them with explanations, and then validate those explanations. As in the case of this study, the description often enhanced knowledge that the researcher might otherwise not have noticed and encountered.

Qualitative research employs a pragmatic approach that seeks to understand experiences in context-specific settings, such as "real world settings where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2014). This design is appropriate because it is best suited to describing participants' perceptions and the meanings they attach to their experiences. Crossman (2019) states that qualitative research is designed to reveal the meaning that informs the actions and outcomes that are usually measured by quantitative research. Thus, it can be noted that qualitative researchers explore meanings, interpretations, symbols, the processes, and relations of social life. The choice to employ a qualitative design was that when undertaken it dwells solely into the contextual and experiential aspects of immigrants living and navigating South Africa (Kruger, 2015). The study design and research process will be discussed in detail after the following section on the conceptual framework. The layout will proceed in the following phenomena: the researcher will begin by stating the research question, after which the goals and objectives of the study will be outlined. Having done that, the research methodology and data analysis that was implemented will be explained.

4.5 Population and sampling

According to Mark (1996), a population is the "collection of all individuals, families, groups or organizations, communities and events that will participate in the study" (p.105). Population is defined by McBurney, as quoted by Strydom and Venter (2002), as "the sampling frame; the totality of persons; events; organization units; case records or other sampling units with which the research problem is concerned", while Burns and Grove (2003) similarly describe it as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. The total population of this study was all Zimbabwean immigrants that are currently living in South Africa. A sample is a much smaller section of the population best described as the elements of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study (De Vos et al., 2005). Dornyei (2007) who suggests that the major aim of sampling is to identify participants who are likely to give rich and in-depth information on the issue being studied outlines the essence of identifying a sample. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that sampling is about feasibility and that it is impossible to discover and involve all the individuals of a population of interest. The above-mentioned authors go on to say that qualitative researchers usually work with small samples of people nested in their context and studied in-depth. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) postulate that sample size does not necessarily influence the quality of a study and in qualitative research there are no guidelines in determining sample size. Emphasising the issue of sample size, De Vos et al. (2005) assert that "qualitative researchers do not normally know the number of people in the research beforehand; the sample may change in size and type during research". Sampling goes on until saturation has been achieved, meaning that data is collected until it becomes repetitive and provides no new information.

4.6 Participants Recruitment and Selection

The sample size for this study was fifteen participants. Initially, eight participants were interviewed, and the data was transcribed. After consultation with the supervisor, it emerged

that data saturation had not yet been attained; hence, the researcher interviewed seven more participants to bring a fresh perspective and more depth to the already gathered data. It was then that saturation was obtained, and no more participants were interviewed.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that even though the data gained was valid, the sample does not specifically represent the perceptions of all Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. It however provides a framework for studies of this nature, as it paves way to further investigate and increase depth on findings (Rubin, 2000). This is especially so, as it was mentioned that this was an exploratory study. To validate the above assertion, findings from qualitative data can often be extended to people with characteristics similar to those in the study population, gaining a rich and complex understanding of a specific social context typically takes precedence over obtaining data that can be generalized to other geographical areas or populations. Silverman (2005) is of the notion that qualitative research tends to work with a relatively small number of participants with whom sufficient time is invested through interviews. Mason (2000) supports this assertion by elaborating that "whether or not the sample is big enough to be statistically representative of the total population is not a major concern... the key question to ask is whether the sample provides access to enough data and with the right focus, to enable you to address your research questions" (p.10).

Due to the nature of the research area, finding and recruiting willing participants proved to be problematic because few Zimbabweans were willing to openly admit to being interviewed because of fear as some were "undocumented" as it is considered a criminal act in SA. For this reason, a non-probability sampling technique called purposive sampling was employed. This sampling technique does not follow the principle of statistical randomness and identifies potential participants in terms of accessibility (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999) rather, participants are purposively chosen because they possess specific qualities or experiences needed for the investigation. Sample sizes are often determined based on theoretical saturation,

that is, the point where participants are no longer adding new value, data and insights to the research question. Denzin (2002) states that in purposive sampling size is not fixed prior to data collection and depends on availability of resources, time and study objectives. Purposive sampling is therefore most successful when data review and analysis are done in conjunction with data collection.

Other immigrants living in Mfuleni and church members that associate in workplaces and other social congregations were purposively selected as participants. After permission was granted and participants were identified and asked to partake in the study. The procedural ethical requirements were adhered and considered. Participants were asked to identify other participants that met the selection criteria by means of snowball sampling after each interview. Snowball sampling is a type of purposive sampling also termed as the chain referral sampling (Marshall, 2003). Snowball sampling is often used to recruit hidden populations not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies (Denzin, 2002). When the suggested participants were contacted, those that agreed to participate were interviewed using the above-mentioned procedure. Of the fifteen participants, eight were purposively selected through the assistance of a gatekeeper; while the other seven participants were accessed by means of snowball sampling. The representative sample that was employed to represent and enhance the trustworthiness of the study was fifteen (15) Zimbabwean immigrants living in Cape Town. The participants were purposively selected based on being Zimbabwean and 40 years and older. The sampling criteria were as follows:

- Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated with their families to South Africa.
- Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa, but who left their families in their original homeland.
- Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa without their families, whose families joined them at a later stage.

4.7 Pilot Study

A pilot study is an initial assessment of the interview schedule, defined as a way of testing and confirming whether the instrument will function accurately, through initially experimenting with a small group of participants from the proposed target population (Bryman, 2012). In this study, a pilot study was employed to test the clarity and application of the interview schedule questions to be used in the main study. The interview schedules were pre-tested with five adults of the identified population, who were subsequently excluded from the main study. In the pilot study, five participants were interviewed separately, in their own homes, all at different times. Conducting a pilot study was valuable because it assisted the researcher to identify ambiguous items in the interview schedule and refined it to make the questions clearer for the participants in the main study (Saunders et al., 2009). After the pilot study, the questions were modified and corrected for use in the main study. Most questions were merged and shifted while in others, the wording was changed for more clarity. Groenewald (2004, p.7) suggests that a pilot study serves to achieve three goals, which are: "the detection of possible flaws in measurement procedures, the identification of unclear items in a questionnaire and the ability to observe non-verbal behaviours of participants to bring awareness to the researcher the possibility of uncomfortable questions or situations during the research". Informed by this literature, a pilot study was conducted. Based on the pilot study, it emerged that the researcher noted that the participants were struggling to respond immediately to the interview question of what challenges they encountered in preserving their legacy beliefs as Zimbabweans especially now that they were living in a foreign land. From this realisation, the interview process was modified by asking them biographical details first to put them at ease. Once that was established participants responded better to the challenges.

4.8 Data collection methods

Sauro (2015) alludes that qualitative data collection allows collecting data that is non-numeric and assists to explore how decisions are made and provide detailed insight. To attain such conclusions the data collected should be holistic, rich and nuanced for the findings to emerge through careful analysis. This section reports on the data collection methods utilised in order to meet the research question, aim and objectives.

4.8.1 Data collection: Interviews

Data collection is a process of obtaining information through unstructured or semi-structured interviews, observations, documents and visual material (Creswell, 2007). A qualitative research involves direct communication with the participants on a one-on-one basis or in a group setting (Gill et al., 2008). Data collection for this study was achieved through unstructured, individual interviews. The participants were interviewed until data saturation was reached. Data saturation refers to a point in time during data collection, where new information, related to the topic of inquiry no longer arises (Saumure & Given, 2008). Krysik and Finn (2010) contend that the goal of qualitative research is to understand the phenomena studied, rather than generalise it, thus when participants repeat the same information, as previously expressed during data collection the process should be terminated. An interview is a two-way verbal communication, where the researcher and the participants work together to understand the subject matter (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014).

Interviews can also be defined as an effort to appreciate the world from the participant's point of view, thus revealing their perceptions of the experiences (De Vos et al., 2011). In support of the above assertion, Leedy and Ormrod (2014) assert that researchers interview people in order to gain an understanding of certain phenomena, such as their beliefs, feelings, present and past behaviours and their opinions on managing certain situations. Hence, this worked well for this

specific study area on perceptions towards legacy beliefs, which explains the reason behind employing an interview schedule, which is a written questionnaire with predetermined questions to guide the interviewer during the interview (De Vos et al., 2011). Un-structured interviews enabled the researcher to focus on the full picture of the participant's experiences and insights into the topic (Bryman, 2012).

Individual in-depth interviews were conducted as a method of data collection in this study. In-depth interviews are optimal in collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored (Marshall, 2003). The decision to employ this technique was guided by the objectives of the study, which entailed making sense of the participants' world, through their own perspectives and their own terms (McCann & Clarke, 2005). While unstructured interviews have no structure, a broad guide to topic issues that might be covered in the interview, rather than the actual questions to be asked can guide them. It is open-ended and flexible hence it is not rigorous as it does not determine the order of the conversation and is subject to revision based on the responses of the interviewees.

Employing a phenomenological strategy, meant that participants were given free rein to share their own story using one main question: "What are the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding legacy beliefs while living in South Africa?" (Denzin, 2002) further asserts that open-ended questions elicit spontaneous responses from participants, hence obtaining rich data. Therefore, employing open-ended questions eliminated researcher bias where possible answers might have been suggested, eventually leading the participants in a desired direction. It must be noted, however that minimal close-ended questions were utilized especially in questions related to the biographical details of the participants. The decision to employ open-ended questions is validated by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) notion that open-ended questions provoke

responses that are meaningful, detailed, culturally salient to the participant, unexpected by the researcher.

Nevertheless, providing thick descriptions, the use of interviews is not without limitations. Interviews are usually plagued with potential for response biases (Yin, 2003). He further argues that the participants may manipulate their responses to please the researcher during the interview, thus participants may find themselves telling the researcher what they believe the researcher would want to hear. In addition, data collected through interviews is often subjected to the inaccuracies of poor recall. Hence, the information provided by participants is limited by poor and or selective memory as well as unintentional or intentional deception (Yin, 2003). The researcher avoided this weakness through the use of trustworthiness as will be explained in this chapter.

4.8.2 Data collection procedure

To prepare participants for the study the researcher explained the goals and objectives of the study to the identified prospective participants who indicated their interest in the study. Immediately after the goals and objectives were explained, the researcher explained the ethical issues around the study as detailed in the consent form attached as Appendix 4. The above mentioned considerations were explained to the prospective participants who were then asked to go and read the informed consent form in their own time so as to give them sufficient time to make an informed decision on whether to participate or not. The researcher went on and contacted each participant individually to address any questions they may still have pertaining to the study as well as to determine whether they had made a decision regarding participating in the study. A suitable time and venue for the interviews was then negotiated between the researcher and the participants that agreed to take part in the study and the informed consent forms were also signed.

Individual in-depth interviews were conducted as a method of data collection and for purposes of this study, unstructured interviews were used to elicit the participants "social realities". The participants were interviewed until data saturation was reached. Data saturation is the point in time, during data collection, where new information, related to the topic of inquiry, no longer arises (Saumure & Given, 2008). The decision to use unstructured interviewing technique was guided by the objectives of the study which entailed making sense of the participants' world, through their own perspectives and on their own terms (McCann and Clarke, 2005). The interview schedule, a written questionnaire with predetermined questions to guide the interviewer was used during the interviews. Unstructured interviews enabled the researcher to focus on the full picture of the participant's experiences and insights into the particular topic.

The researcher initially arranged a meeting with four Zimbabwean migrants living in Mfuleni, whom she was familiar with to map a way forward. This was done in order to allow the researcher to gain access to a large pool of potential participants through snowballing. Once that was established, the study was fully explained and suitable times and venues for conducting the interviews were discussed. Individuals who agreed to participate in the study, gave assent and were asked to sign the consent forms. This process was done separately for each participant as the study included fifteen different individuals living in different parts of Mfuleni, which helps explain why the actual interview process took longer. The researcher had to partake in telephonic conversations with these individuals as she did not know most of them, thus convincing a total stranger to partake in a study was a bit difficult as it was also time consuming. Most participants who took part in this study have formal jobs and side hustles that they attend to after normal working hours. This caused delays as well as a lot of extension of interview meetings, owing to the fact that these individuals do not have much time during the day to sit down and partake in interview sessions. The participants were assured of their confidentiality, anonymity and voluntary participation. The researcher also sought permission

from all the participants to audio record the interviews, to which all agreed. The participants and the interviewer agreed mutually on the convenient dates and times for the interviews, well before the time.

The interviews were recorded using a cell phone compatible with audio recording and some were recorded using a Dictaphone which the student had to return as the interviews were widely spaced, hence the reason for resorting to using a mobile phone in the end. In addition, the researcher gave the participants extra time to talk and tell their story. The interview schedule was arranged in such a way that sensitive questions were asked at the end, in order to allow for openness and trust. In addition, the interviewer requested extra information and clarity on points that seemed unclear. Lastly, most interviews were concluded within the agreed reasonable times (between 20-45 minutes) and the participants were asked whether there was anything else, important, that should be included. After recording, they were transcribed verbatim soon after the interviews to avoid losing important information and then translated to English. At the end of each interview session, the researcher immediately downloaded the audio-recorded interview onto the computer, which was password protected, for confidentiality purposes.

During the interviews, the researcher kept in mind the following communication techniques, in order for the interview to stay active. The most important technique was active listening and ensuring minimal verbal responses, thereby, avoiding an interruption in the participants' story flow. The interviewer regularly paraphrased facts, seeking clarification throughout the interview, to ensure that the facts were clearly understood. The interviewer also used probing to get a deeper meaning of the data collected. Some of the interviews were done in the midst of 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic for the participants who kept on rescheduling their interview dates because of their busy schedules. Precautions such as ensuring that noise levels were reduced considerably and that privacy was ensured were taken. Although matters such as

privacy and confidentiality were explained in detail, the researcher respected the participants' wishes especially when it came to them skipping questions that seemed sensitive to them.

4.9 Data analysis

De Vos et al. (2011) define qualitative data analysis as converting collected data into findings, as well as the categorisation, ordering and summarising of data to obtain answers to research questions. Creswell (2007) asserts that data analysis entails the following strategies: "preparing and organising the data; grouping related topics to form themes; and presenting the data in the form of tables or discussions" (p.164). In qualitative research, thematic analysis is a technique commonly utilised for recognising, examining, and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, it is an inductive method of analysing data, in which themes are not forced into data, but emerge from the collected data (Dawson, 2007). According to Joffe (2012), a theme refers to an exact pattern of meaning found in the data, thus through qualitative thematic data analysis. The researcher identified the emerging themes from the collected data. In this way, identified themes and sub-themes were developed and related to the participants' hard data, which were direct quotes from the participants. In order to systematically conduct a comprehensive data analysis, Creswell's (2009) six generic steps for analysing qualitative data were adopted. The complete orderly process of data analysis involved the collection of data, the transcribing of data, understanding the data, coding the data, developing categories and putting coded data into developed categories (see Figure 4.9:1) in the following page.

Figure 4: Data Analysis in Qualitative Research

Fig. 1. Data Analysis in Qualitative
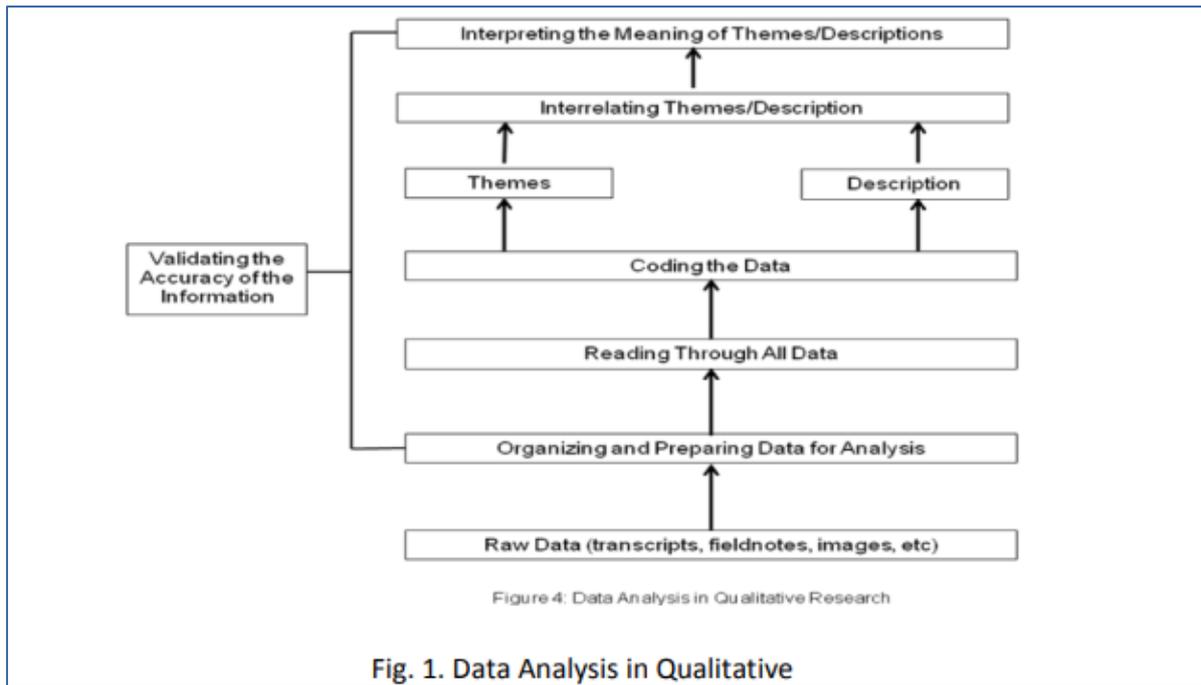
Figure 4:2 Qualitative data analysis (Creswell, 2009; Clark & Creswell, 2009)

Step One: The researcher created and organised data files (managing data) in the first step, the researcher accurately transcribed, verbatim, all audio-recorded data, including notes that were taken down (field notes) immediately after interviews. Then further on sorted processed data into organised information. While this process can be viewed as being part of data collection, it should be noted that there is no delineation in the stages; hence, as the researcher was collecting data analysis was also taking place to determine whether saturation had been reached. Tesch (2013) supports the notion, arguing that data analysis is an eclectic process which occurs simultaneously and iteratively with data collection, data interpretation and report writing. The researcher then revised the transcribed data by listening to the audio as well as checking for correctness. It is vital to break large data into smaller units, simplify it into sentences and review it in order to check for accuracy (Clark & Creswell, 2015; Creswell, 2013; Saunders et al., 2009).

Step Two: After completing the organisation and preparation of the data analysis process, the

second step entailed the researcher reading all data to obtain a general sense of the information and reflect on its overall meaning (Creswell, 2009). Beginning with the shortest and most important documentation of an interview, the researcher read the data, reflected on the underlying meanings and made notes on any rising views, opinions and thoughts (Creswell, 2013). The researcher jotted lists of all noted topics, themes and clustered together similar topics and themes then checked for similarities in what the different participant's highlighted as well as the differences thereof (Creswell, 2003). Ultimately, the researcher made sense of the initial notes, which helped to assemble relevant data together, guided by the initial codes.

Step Three: The third step entailed coding the data, Clark and Creswell (2015), coding is a qualitative data technique utilised by researchers to recognise segments of text by highlighting and allocating a code that describes the meaning of the segment. In support of the latter notion, Rallis and Rossman (2010) define coding as a process of organizing the materials into "chunks", before bringing meaning to those "chunks". The researcher utilised the list drawn up in the second step then abbreviated the topics and developed codes on the appropriate segments within the participants' information (Creswell, 2009). The researcher then made sense of the transcribed data, some initial codes and phrases were employed to label related segments that recurred several times. The researcher sought assistance from a colleague for coding the collected data, serving as an independent coder. Saldaña (2009) believes that multiple minds bring various ways of analysing and interpreting data. Finally, the researcher categorized clarified information received from the participants, by assembling groups of coded data, after meaning was generated from them.

Step Four: To attain step four which entails interpreting information to give meaning; the researcher created descriptions and sub-themes that translated the participants' meanings of their experiences. Creswell (2003) alludes that the researcher should develop descriptive

wording for the already noted topics in the third stage. The researcher sought to find descriptive wording for the topics to turn them into categories and eventually reduce them considerably by grouping related topics together based on the similarities and differences. Subsequently, reduced sub-themes were grouped into meaningful major themes, thus creating the research point of view to emphasise the data findings (Creswell, 2009). The researcher displayed multiple perspectives regarding the perceptions of immigrants pertaining to legacy beliefs and supported it with diverse quotations and evidence.

Step Five: In implementing the fifth step, the researcher made a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and then categorized these codes. This leads to stage six, which entails putting data belonging to each category in one place and performing a preliminary analysis (Creswell, 2012). The researcher strictly adhered to this step by stipulating and recording the existing data to obtain consistency on the meaning attached to the participants' collected data. Information was then analysed and presented chronologically with the assistance of tables and figures to express the analysis in a research report.

Step Six: The final step of data analysis culminates in the interpretation of the data (Creswell 2003), throughout this step, Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage obtaining lessons learnt from the data. The researcher drafted the final research based on the understanding of the Zimbabwean cultures, traditions and beliefs. In cases where consistency was identified, themes and sub-themes were developed and in differences they were analysed as individual themes. The data was then compiled into an analysis, which forms the basis of Chapter 4 on the findings of this research study.

4.10 Trustworthiness

Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2013) assert that in qualitative research, trustworthiness is an essential key concept and its purpose is to evaluate the study's worthiness and validity. Lincoln and Guba (1985) further argue that trustworthiness is only created if the description of findings closely reveals the meanings offered by the participants. Trustworthiness is assessed by applying the principles of credibility, dependability, transferability and conformability (De Vos et al., 2011; Flick, 2009). To improve rigor and to reduce bias in research qualitative researchers use bracketing, Parahoo (1997, p.45) defines bracketing as "suspension of the researcher's preconceptions, prejudices, and beliefs so that they do not interfere with or influence the participants' experience". Burns and Grove (2003) add that bracketing means that the researcher puts aside what they know about the phenomena being studied and not making judgement about what was observed, heard and remaining open to data as it is revealed. This challenge was very apparent throughout the study as being Zimbabwean; the researcher had to ignore her own understanding of the phenomenon in a reflexive mode that cultivates curiosity (LeVasseur, 2003).

4.10.1 Credibility

Credibility entails establishing the truthfulness of the research findings and this can only   be achieved through the triangulation of different methods, prolonged engagement, and peer debriefing (De Vos et al., 2011; Rubin & Babbie, 2011). The researcher utilised and applied all three methods mentioned; the concept of triangulation was applied by collecting data from Zimbabwean immigrants only to create rich credible data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014; Spencer et al. 2003, Year). The concept of triangulation was applied by collecting data through open-ended interviews (immigrants), observing as well jotting field notes. Furthermore, the researcher interviewed the participants at different occasions thereby, establishing congruence of the issue (Polit & Beck, 2014). The concept of prolonged engagement helps to enhance trust and build

relationships with the participants, as it allows them to be free, more open and provide accurate and rich information during the interviews (Polit & Beck, 2010). The researcher did spend some time with the immigrants who participated in the study, while collecting data, during the data analysis process and asked them to clarify and verify collected data (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). Other participants were individually approached to clarify some of the answers they gave, after transcription of data was completed. This is important because it forms part of member checking to validate the true reflections of the participants' responses. The concept of peer debriefing was applied through seeking assistance from other colleagues by reading the transcribed data to them and asking for a second opinion on the themes obtained during data analysis (Polit & Beck, 2014).

4.10.2 Dependability

Dependability is concerned with consistency of results and it assesses whether the same results would be obtained with the same participants in their natural setting (Flick, 2009). The researcher employed the same data collection tools (see data collection tools: Appendix 5) for the participants (Shenton, 2004), which also applies to the research approach and methodology, if the problem formulation remained the same. The researcher employed the same methods in order ensure that the data gathered would correlate, as well as making use of the services of an independent coder to enhance dependability. Audit trail was used as the researcher ensured that the records are kept safe including the proposal of the study.

4.10.3 Transferability

According to Rubin and Babbie (2011), transferability confirms whether the results of the study could be transferred to other contexts. In this case, transferability was achieved by using purposive sampling to collect rich, detailed data and providing a background to study (Flick, 2009). The researcher clearly provided a thick description of the methodology employed during the study by indicating the instruments utilised during data collection and the type of
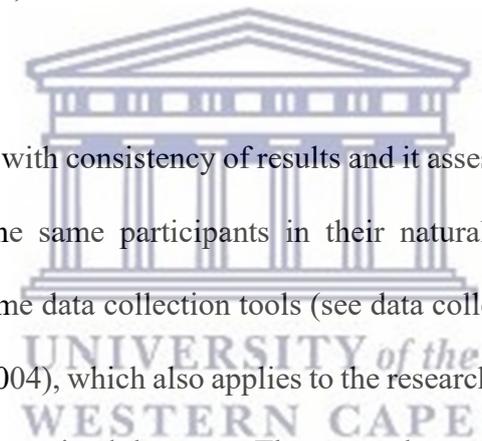
participants involved so that the results can be applied to other settings (Polit & Berk, 2010). In addition, the researcher interviewed all the participants using the same guide.

4.10.4 Conformability

De Vos et al. (2011, p.96) assert that conformability refers to "whether the findings of the study can be validated by other people, and requires that the researcher maintains a neutral position, while respecting the participant's opinions; not labelling them or influencing their views, thereby, ensuring that the findings could be confirmed". It is, therefore, crucial to explain the concept of reflexivity, which entails the researchers understanding of the personal qualities they bring into the inquiry that might affect the research process, such as their unique background as individuals; their set of moral values; and their social, as well as professional identity (Polit & Beck, 2014). In some cases, it is labelled as 'self-reflexivity' termed as an activity which challenges researchers to demonstrate self- awareness, self-critique, and vulnerability in their research, to their audiences, and to themselves (Tracy, 2013). To attain these concepts, participants were the specialists in this research study; therefore, their expertise would help achieve the goal of the study. Ethical considerations were also applied and as indicated under credibility, the researcher did ask the participants (Zimbabwean immigrants) to clarify and verify collected data as part of member checking.

4.11 Ethical statement

Ethical approval was sought from the Human Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape. The Ethics Reference Number: HS19/5/8 was issued as an indication that the study was ethically approved (see ethical clearance letter: Appendix 1). In social sciences, researchers usually employ human beings as subjects; hence, it is important to protect their rights (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). The need to protect the participants from any physical or psychological harm, as well as the importance of treating them with respect and

dignity is crucial (Neuman, 2006). In this regard, the researcher observed the following ethical considerations, informed consent, in a bid to protect the participants' rights of voluntary participation, confidentiality, and anonymity.

4.11.1 Informed consent

The researcher explained the purpose of the study, in detail, to the participants, after the information sheets were provided to them (see information sheet: Appendix 2 and 3). Informed consent was ensured by making sure that participants had freedom to choose to take part in the study without fear of prejudice, should they decide to not participate or to withdraw participation at any stage of the study. This was very important given the contentious nature of the research topic. Emphasis was made to ensure that participants did not feel coerced into being part of this study or to complete the interviews under duress. Finally, permission for the audio recording of the interviews and the taking of field notes during these sessions was requested from the participants (Polit & Beck, 2014).

4.11.2 Voluntary participation

Participants were informed that participating in this study was voluntary and this meant that participants were recruited following clear explanations of the purpose of the study. The participants were advised that they had the choice to participate, or not, and the right to withdraw at any time from the study, without prejudice (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014). Much consideration was put towards the participants' right to terminate the research process at any time, the sensitivity of the topic and the provision of trauma debriefing should participants experience distress.

4.11.3 Confidentiality and the right to anonymity

The principles of confidentiality and the right to anonymity were crucial, which meant that participants' identity would be protected, while data shared during data collection would not be

disclosed to reveal their real identity (De Vos et al., 2011). Participants were asked not to use their real names and the researcher assigned them codes to ensure confidentiality. Lastly, participants were informed that audio-recorded tapes and field notes would be kept safe by filing them in lock-up cabinets and password-protected computers. Confidentiality and privacy were ensured to participants during the interviews and this was achieved by conducting the interviews in closed-door areas. However, there were instances where family members preferred to have them conducted outside, away from others, who were not involved in the study.

4.12 Summary

The preceding methodology entailed an explanation of the research process employed in order to gather and analyse data obtained from the participants. Qualitative research was the main method utilised as it paved the way for the exploration into the thoughts, feelings, values and beliefs of the participants. It also clearly described the extent to which these have framed what the participants consider legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa. The individual unstructured interviews allowed for flexibility while using a framework that asked similar questions to the participants to ensure generalisability. Data collection was not always easy because the participants were not always forthcoming in sharing intimate details pertaining to some specific questions asked. The steps of data analysis employed provided clear-cut phases on how to approach the data gathered as well as to verify the data gathered. Concisely, the methods used for data gathering and analysis were suitable to the nature of study and the topic under study. The following chapter is the report back of the research findings after data was analysed.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5   Introduction

The previous chapter provided an explanation of the research methodology used in the current study. Therefore, this chapter covers the presentation and discussion of the findings from the study that provided an understanding of and insight into the Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa. Furthermore, this chapter progresses in the following manner: the researcher will highlight observations that emerged during the process of data collection, as well as unpacking the demographic details of the 15 Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in the study as participants. The upcoming section of this chapter will present the themes, sub-themes and categories (where applicable) which surfaced from the data analysis process and the subsequent agreed discussions between the supervisor and the researcher and finally the relevant analytical conclusions of this chapter will be composed. In a bid to clarify the respective participants' perceptions, mentioning of male participants, female participants and immigrant participants was crucial in drawing attention to the meaning they attached to their experiences.

5.1   The researcher's reflections during data collection

Although observations were not the main data collection tool, they formed an important part of the overall data analysis, they were critical throughout the research. The use of observation in research is a critical way of collecting information specifically relating things participants may not feel the need to mention (Thomas & Walker, 2010). During conducting interviews, the researcher was able to observe important information in the participants' way of life that relates to their family life and perceptions as well as challenges experienced life in a foreign land,

family dynamics and identity as Zimbabweans. An analysis of observations is crucial as some elements of the respondent's experiences are so ingrained in their natural setting that they have become normal for them, but may be crucial to a researcher's analysis, as was the case in this research study. Thomson and Walker (2010) are of the notion that observations ought to be seen as fundamentals in increasing the researcher's awareness of the participant's settings as well as non-verbal ones during data collection, even when employed as a secondary method of data collection. These observations played a crucial role in the data analysis process. Thus, in qualitative studies, there is no specific moment to begin data analysis, as it is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well to the final compilations (Stake 2006).

The researcher observed that seven out of 15 participants live in low-income housing inclusive of Wendy houses or families confined in one or two roomed houses. It was also observed that more often, it was not only Zimbabweans living in those squalid conditions but also South Africans who live in such areas. Most participants mentioned that they were living in these low-income houses in order to save and build their own homes back home and they cannot just afford the luxury to live in middle-income housing areas. During the data collection process, the researcher observed that there were many Zimbabweans in this community as she often heard many Shona speaking people of Zimbabwean origin. These findings blend with Crush and Tevera's (2010, p.225) notion that "poorer and unskilled migrant Zimbabwean workers are known to cluster in informal settlements around South Africans". The demographic information of the Zimbabwean immigrants will be presented in the following section.

5.2 Demographic characteristics of participants

In this study, data analysis was conducted on the data collected from the Zimbabwean immigrants who live in Cape Town, South Africa. The participants were recruited and selected from the Zimbabwean immigrants who met the inclusion criteria of study and volunteered to

be part of the study. Fifteen participants consented to be part of the study and they shared their stories, as part of data gathering. This led the researcher to be immersed in the data through transcribing and data analysis. Table 5.2:1 below presents the demographic characteristics of the 15 participants that were interviewed.

Table 5:1 Demographic characteristics of the participants

AGE	Gender	Language	Marital Status	Years in SA	Reason for Migration
40	F	Shona/ Eng	Single	14	Economic
46	F	Shona/ Eng	Widow	11	Economic
52	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	13	Economic
50	F	Shona/ Eng	Married	13	Family Reunification
46	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	14	Economic
45	F	Shona/ Eng	Married	12	Family Reunification
50	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	9	Economic
42	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	12	Economic
47	F	Shona/ Eng	Married	12	Economic
41	F	Shona/ Eng	Married	11	Economic
46	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	11	Economic
42	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	20	Economic
40	F	Shona/ Eng	Single	12	Economic
40	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	12	Economic
43	M	Shona/ Eng	Married	12	Economic

5.2.1   Age

The ages of the participants who took part in this study ranged from 40 to 60 years, twelve of them were in their 40s, three of them were in their 50s. The age of the Zimbabwean immigrants cements recent literature on migration trends that there is a dynamic shift in migrations trends as younger people are increasingly becoming immigrants in South Africa (Crush & Tevera,

2010). This also coincides with the reveal that until recently about 90% of Zimbabwean migrants were mostly young men in between the ages 20 to 40 years. However, the age range for the participants who took part in this study was specifically refined to 40 to 60 years, as it is believed that concerns about legacy sprout during middle adulthood between the ages of approximately 40 and 65 years of age (Hart et al., 2001). Erikson (1964) defined generativity as "an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" concluding that this was mostly achieved through biological parenthood.

5.2.2 Gender

Seven of the participants who participated in this study were female and eight were male. For those participants living with their families, it was noted that males were the first ones to come to South Africa and their female counterparts followed later on, thus this gender profiling attests to Crush and Tevera (2010) assertion that Zimbabwean female migrants living in South Africa tend to be younger than male migrants do. Crush and Tevera (2010) justify the increased appearance of females to males by arguing that previously, Zimbabwean migration to South Africa attracted males; hence females are now catching up which explains the difference. In fact, 7 of the 15 participants who participated in this study were female. These findings juxtapose with Crush and Tevera, (2010) contention that "there is growing feminization of migration from Zimbabwe hence more and more women have left Zimbabwe in search for work in neighbouring countries". Some of them came to South Africa through spouses. This reveals that, until recently about 90% of the Zimbabwean migrant population were mostly young men in between the ages 20 to 40 years. In support of the above-mentioned notion, Bhugra and Becker (2005) extend that migrants usually move alone but their family members, loved ones and dependents later join them.

5.2.3 Language

The participants who were Zimbabwean immigrants were interviewed in their language of preference that is Shona and English. All the 15 participants were Shona, but they preferred to converse in both English and Shona. It was noted that most of the participants opted to communicate in English, reason being that they have adapted to using English as their first language in a foreign land and at their workplaces being that most of them are teachers and formal sector workers. Unfortunately for this study there were no Ndebele speaking people (another Zimbabwean language) as the participants were not acquainted with any Ndebele speaking person as the study employed a snowballing method leading the researcher to Shona speaking people only.

5.2.4 Marital Status

Regarding relationship status, of the fifteen Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study, twelve participants were married, while two identified themselves as single, (one lady in a cohabiting relationship) and the other one widowed and not in any form of sexual or physical relationship. Nevertheless, most of the participants highlighted that they were married; only two indicated that their wives were based in Zimbabwe, while the rest relocated to South Africa as a family. In this accord Makina in (Crush & Tevera, 2010) alludes that migration trends from Zimbabwe to South Africa have become dynamic, moving from being predominantly for single, unmarried, and young adults to more married people migrating together. The researcher noted another interesting point that most male participants migrated to South Africa for economic reasons, as they are breadwinners in their families.

5.2.5 Number of years in South Africa

The two participants who detailed having stayed longest in Cape Town (South Africa) had been in South Africa for 14 years and the other for 20 years recording the longest stay. Other two participants reported living in South Africa for 13 years, six for 12 years as well as three more

having stayed for 11 years and the least having been in SA for at least 9 years. The researcher made a critical observation relating to the number of years that Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in the study spent in South Africa to date. Most participants indicated that they had moved to South Africa between the years 2000- 2009, termed as the "mixed migration flow, the Zim Crisis" by Muzondidya (2010) and "the Exodus" by Crush and Tevera (2010) to illustrate the magnitude of the movements. These movements were characterised by a combination of migrants who had been driven out of the country due to economic factors and refugees fleeing political persecution as political conditions were also declining, hence people were fleeing the country for survival. It was noted that for the study participants mostly migrated between 2005 and 2009, the period considered the worst economically and politically, in the history of Zimbabwe (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Bloch, 2008). Even though none of the participants mentioned being victims of political violence, the reasons for moving were push factors especially economic problems, hence an influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa during that period. The duration of the participants' stay in South Africa allude to the assertion that, "what Zimbabweans previously considered a temporary safe haven has now become a second home, as most reported that when they arrived, they did not expect to stay beyond one year" (Muzondidya, 2007).

5.2.6 Reasons for Migration

Out of the 15 participants, thirteen reportedly migrated for economic reasons, two for family reunification. The motivators for migration were mainly economic and family reunification. Most of the participants gave economic rather than political reasons as their motive for migration; as the above observation alludes with studies that suggests that Zimbabweans are more of economic migrants rather than political victims (Pasura 2008; Crush & Tevera 2010). However, it must be noted that most of the participants attempted to apply for asylum under false pretences such as fleeing political persecution, as that was the only viable way to legalise

their stay. Crush and Tevera (2010) are of the view that in order to fully understand migrant behaviour, it is crucial to note that people hardly migrate for one single reason, hence it can be noted that people migrate with a plan intending where they go and what they intend to do. One particular respondent mentioned that she came for a year to South Africa and when the US Dollar was introduced in Zimbabwe, things stabilised a little bit and she returned back home thinking it will be better only to find herself returning to South Africa a year later.

5.3   Presentation and discussion of the themes and sub-themes

From the thematically analysed data, four major themes with 12 sub themes emerged from the Zimbabwean immigrants' discourse regarding legacy beliefs while living in South Africa, as illustrated in Table 5.3:1.

Theme One is related to the understanding of legacy beliefs in families. Theme Two presents the different types of legacies that are shared among families. Theme Three deals with the emerging legacies among the families. Theme Four is focusing on the challenges influencing the preservation of legacies. In the next segment of this chapter, the main themes, accompanying sub-themes are presented, underscored and confirmed by providing direct quotations from the transcripts of the individual interviews. Furthermore, the identified themes, and sub-themes are discussed and contextualised within the existing body of knowledge and literature to substantiate or negate as part of control.
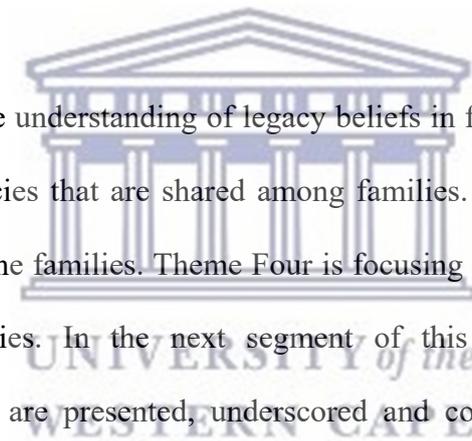
Table 5:2 Themes and subthemes that emerged from the study

Themes	Sub-themes
Understanding of legacy beliefs	1.1 Legacy beliefs related to inheritance (nhaka) in families 1.2 Remembrance and contributions in society 1.3 Transmission of values, beliefs and culture 1.4 Influence on others as role modelling 1.5 Achievements in life
Categories of legacies shared in families	2.1 Biological Generativity 2.2 Parental Generativity 2.3 Technical Generativity 2.4 Cultural Generativity
Re-emerging legacies in families	3.1 Land issue "Zimbabwean legacy" 3.2 Wife inheritance (Kugara Nhaka) 3.3 Male dominance
Challenges in preserving family legacy beliefs	4.1 Parenting in families 4.2 Family lifestyle 4.3 Adaptive strategies 4.3 Maintaining identity

5.4   Theme One: Understanding of Legacy Beliefs

Theme One contextualises the participants' understanding of legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. Furthermore, the first theme highlights how legacy beliefs are perceived and communicated in the context of immigrants. In this theme, the participants defined legacy in a different number of ways, mostly in usual terms. This theme is made up of five sub-themes that emerged from discourse with the Zimbabwean immigrants, which presented in the Table below:

Themes	Sub-themes
Understanding of legacy beliefs	1.1 Legacy beliefs related to inheritance (nhaka) in families 1.2 Remembrance and contributions in society 1.3 Transmission of values, beliefs and culture 1.4 Influence on others as role modelling 1.5 Achievements in life

5.4.1   Sub-theme 1: Legacy beliefs related to inheritance (nhaka)

In this sub-theme, the term legacy directly translates to as "Nhaka" (inheritance) in the Shona culture. It should be noted that inheritance was the most emerging concept towards the understanding of legacy beliefs among Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this research study. Most of the participants mentioned that legacy was just the same as inheritance (nhaka) in which a person gets something from their parents after their death or what you leave for your children when you leave this earth. In this view, inheritance carried the notion of the transfer of different types of things from capital, properties, wealth and even non-tangible things across generations. The participants understanding of the legacy beliefs resonate with Holleman's (1974) explanation of Shona term "nhaka" (inheritance, a deceased person's estate), which refers to personal belongings such as cattle, land and other livestock and even the lobola (money paid to strengthen family relationships) value of unmarried daughters. Because

Zimbabwe is generally a patriarchal society, issues of inheritance were more inclined to masculinity in the old days and it only occurred when the head of the family passed away. It is understood that when the head of the family dies one of his relatives would be appointed as the successor, most preferably his brother or his eldest son, if he were of age at the time of the death. This implies that the male member of the family appointed as the new head in the family automatically inherited most of the deceased person's property, cattle and even the land, with the notion that he would be responsible for caring and providing for the family of the deceased (wife and children). This gave birth to the concept of "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance) which will be discussed separately as an individual sub-theme in Theme Three. Thus, it can be noted that issues of inheritance pointed much more to men being providers and breadwinners hence they were obligated to work harder in order to provide for their families and that in the event of death there would be something in place to suffice those left.

The Zimbabwean immigrants who partook in the study perceived the legacy concept as the same as inheritance and they expressed their perceptions as follows:

"...but going back to Zimbabwean culture, when we talk of legacy again people will be looking at what you have left for the family, that is maybe asserts that is saying were you able to leave something behind for example, I usually heard my father saying, "I need to have so many cows so that when I die at least my children will be able to get something out of it", then if you do something like that people will say you were a responsible person, because you managed to leave something behind for the children" (Participant 12)

"As I said earlier, legacy has a lot of facets so of course I have a cultural legacy, I have a linguistic legacy...you know...I still speak my language while I am here, I still observe the cultural rites, norms and behaviour so that is what is controlling and guiding me while I am here. So the reason why I am not behaving in the same manner that the people in the other culture behave is my culture, my cultural legacy, uumm then of course when it comes to the material wealth you know. I am trying the best that I can to make sure that I acquire

as much as I can, so that I can at least leave the material legacy to the kids." (Participant 07)

"I think I have heard about legacy in the context of...in various contexts in life, my understanding of legacy in our African context it is more linked or equated to what you need to leave for the future generations. I think as an African man there is an expected responsibility to be able to leave a legacy which equates to inheritance in the future generations. In business, I understand legacy as something that people will be in an organization for a long time and they try to defend that because they believe that they are part of that structure and they would want to defend that legacy or whatever they have managed to put up across the years. So, I think it is mostly to do with historical accumulation or historical organization that will be accounted for in a future point in time". (Participant 03)

From the above quotations, it is clear that legacy or inheritance is all about passing on something to someone, children, either siblings or even grandchildren. Pertaining to the above quotations in relation to patriarchy, it is clear that a societal standard or norm that when a men (person) dies he should have been responsible enough to have accumulated certain materials, money and any other things to ensure the continued survival of his family. This portrays his masculinity as men are generally deemed providers in the Shona culture. A few participants had this to say in support of the latter mentioned notion:

"I will pass on to the future generations, I think to the future boys growing up I want to pass on the value of being responsible citizens because I believe that in my culture the father is the head of the family and if the father is irresponsible, the future generation is compromised. I think as a role model to other upcoming Zimbabweans or guys from my culture. I would love to leave that legacy of being responsible. For my entire life, I do not know if I can call it an activity but the blessing of having a son is epic in terms of my greatest happiness, besides being a father and being responsible for someone else. The thing that follows is achieving my dream of being able to provide for my parents, because I grew up seeing them struggle, but when I go to bed every night I know that whatever they need to sustain their livelihood. I may not be able to buy them their dream of but at least to sustain their life I can provide that, I think that is the second thing that gives me greatest joy and satisfaction" (Participant 03)

"The values which I got from my parents are that if you the head of the house you have to make sure that as much as you can that the family is well taken care of because as you are growing up. One day you are going to move out of your parents' house and you are going to be alone, that day will come through and those values. It's not like you are told most of them but you learn as you grow seeing what they are doing how they work hard to get money or how they work hard to take care of you, take you to school, all that you need. Those values were instilled in me silently, well of course here and there they might tell you one or two things but it's actually a natural process were these things were translated to you in a silent manner" (Participant 09)

Ncube (2014) colludes that "inheritance is when someone leaves behind a legacy which others shall use if he is dead" and this underlines Shona man's sense of duty in the indigenous law. In terms of indigenous law, succession is solely presided over through the principle of the male primogeniture, meaning that upon the death of the head of the family, his eldest son (in absentia of a son, his brother, father or grandfather) steps into his shoes (Mthembu vs Letsela, 2000). The original concept in the indigenous law pertaining to inheritance is that the heir takes over both the property and position from his deceased father, meaning, he takes over duties as the head of the family and should manage the property, in consultation with them for the benefit of the whole family. *"From my father, the most important thing that I can say I learnt from him is the concept of hard work. As a man, you need to provide for the family, that is how it is in culture, to the extent that in the past, our mothers used to be housewives but the fathers were supposed to work and fend for the family. So, I learnt from a young age to say as a man I must be able to work"* (Participant 12). This literature strongly blends with the notion that inheritance or legacy is mostly male dominated, presenting an exclusion of some sort when it comes to women inheriting from both their fathers and husbands respectively, more of this notion to be elaborated further in the second theme. In support of the latter notion, Gotora (2019) wrote an article in The Herald in which stated that "in Zimbabwe inheritance differs from the society you reside in and it only occurs when someone dies, in some societies especially those who still practise patriarchal inheritance only male children/ descendants

inherit from their fathers and under this arrangement women do not usually get anything". The idea being that they married and leave their maternal home; hence they cannot inherit, as they will eventually leave to start their own families. Due to migration and modernisation, a lot has changed, as people now perceive things differently from the pre-colonial era, now most people prefer drawing wills to secure the inheritance of their children from a common ill known as "property grabbing". This is whereby relatives take all the inheritance leaving the children and the wife of the deceased person with nothing and there are laws put in place to avoid such situations. Hence, the Shona term "kugara nhaka huona dzevamwe" which means that there is no expert in these issues, so it can be noted that even though legacy is universal in some way, the beliefs are rather subjective to different cultures. However, it is important to note that the concept of legacy is solely universal, and it occurs only when someone has passed on and it relates to different things that are material, values and even biological in nature.

In light of the above notion, with regards to issues of inheritance being more favourable towards men, it should be noted that Zimbabwean immigrants (both male and female) in this study mentioned that in the event of their death, every wealth they had accumulated be it money or properties would be equally shared between their children, irrespective of their gender. This highlights a deviation from the indigenous law, where male counterparts would benefit more as opposed to their female counterparts. Owing to these dynamics is the belief that "culture is flexible such that both social and cultural norms are continually evolving as social change happens and new challenges and opportunities arise, very often through contact with other cultures" (Moodie, 2000). Many factors have contributed to this shift from indigenous law where mostly men would take over control of all the land, cattle and wealth, leaving women to be solely dependent on males in the family either in their maternal or matrimonial homes. These relate to migration trends where women now have the opportunity to be economically independent, education, the birth of the feminist movement as well as changes in the legislation

systems to accommodate women. Contrary to the old order indigenous law, where a woman is under the legal guardianship of her father until marriage, when her husband becomes her guardian, in this way she remains a perpetual minor in the eyes of the law as interpreted by colonial courts and statutes. However, it must be put into light that because urbanisation, migration and fusion of cultures a lot has changed. Armstrong et al (1993) colludes that Zimbabwe was one of the first countries to change this situation when it enacted the Legal Age of Majority Act in 1982, which gave African women majority status upon attaining 18 years of age. *"The issue of legacy beliefs in general especially in our Zimbabwean culture, pertains to mostly male figures in the family getting inheritance from their fathers like cattle, money and properties. In this new era, there has been some significant change in who benefits from a person's inheritance and sharing of things that the deceased left after the funeral "pa nyaradzo yemufi" (on the deceased's memorial service) where people get small things like clothes, kitchen cookware and some personal belongings"* (Participant 13).

Legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants in terms of inheritance relate to getting something from your parents or grandparents for example cattle, land, money and properties were most mentioned as resembling inheritance or legacy. Data collected revealed that most participants understood legacy as heritage, which they got from their parents, and they mentioned that it was mostly education, because they grew up in rural areas and their families survived through subsistence farming, hence they did not have much except for cattle, land and building structures in the rural areas. The main heritage that they viewed as more important above everything was the ability of their parents to work hard to send them to school, because it opened better opportunities as they were able to secure better careers and upgraded themselves to be able to afford living an urban life unlike the rural areas where they grew up. Highlighting this understanding, the following participants expressed their experiences in this regard:

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"The legacy that my father left for us is the house and other small properties. To me I still think it is important to leave something for your children when I die, so that they do not suffer. Like what my father did for us, even if me and my husband fail to build a house, I can go and stay in my father's house until I built my own, so it helps a lot" (Participant 06)

"Because of the financial position of our parents they did not really manage to leave a tangible heritage for us. We had to start from almost nowhere but I appreciate that during their time they managed to provide with the means to education which I have used to at least get a decent job and maybe create a legacy for our own families" (Participant 02)

The above quotations reveal the backgrounds of most of the participants as they mentioned that their childhood was spent in rural areas were the main activities were based on subsistence farming. Zimbabwe being the bread basket of Africa at some point, most rural families survived on subsistence farming (agriculture), that is growing crops such as maize, cotton, peanuts etc. and rearing cattle, goats and poultry on their ancestral lands. Therefore, it is from these produce they obtained that they were able to provide food for their families and send their children to school. Hence, most of the valued things in the rural areas was land and cattle, which is what the participants' parents viewed to be much more important, as their livelihoods solely, depended on that. In this regard, even though most participants mentioned that their perceptions of legacy shifted a bit from their parents' perceptions because theirs was based in the rural setting and theirs urbanised. These findings indicated that the participants appreciated the fact that their parents valued education, which was a stepping-stone to a better life as it paved way for them to cross borders in search of greener pastures when the Zimbabwean economy crumbled. Education was the most important legacy they got from their parents, as they did not have much properties and wealth. Participants reported that education played a crucial role towards the contribution of who they became in life, looking back from the humble beginnings and claimed that the Shona notion "dzidzo ndiyo nhaka yehupenyu" (education is the heritage of life) better explains their appreciation of their parents being able to send them to school.

Bringing forward the argument that thinking about building a stable future for oncoming generations may have been the drive for Zimbabweans to migrate in search for better opportunities when the nation was dilapidating. Education in this sense opened opportunities in the Diaspora as most people had acquired different qualifications and skills, which were essential in foreign countries, affording them better chances to become migrants so they could build a better future for the next generations.

The researcher however noted that there is not much literature that speaks more to "nhaka" (legacy/ inheritance) as a deep concept but the most common discussed aspect is that of "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance). Most scholars probably focused more on that aspect of inheritance because of the negative connotations associated with this practise relating to human rights issues, feminism, HIV and AIDS as well as poverty and abuse of women and children.

5.4.2   Sub-theme 2: Remembrance and contributions in society

In connection to remembrance and contributions in society, this sub-theme captures the participants' conversations about how they perceive legacies in terms of giving back to communities. From the participants' definition of legacy, it was evident that legacy involves how they will be remembered after they are gone, all the things they did (deeds) and the contributions they made as an individual in the society. Expectedly participants showed a desire and need towards being remembered after passing on, either by their family members, friends and the community at large. Some of the participants accentuated that they will never be forgotten when they die because of the things that they did for others. From the responses, it seemed that the notion of being remembered was a primary meaningful life activity, which is very crucial to suffice and justify their existence on this earth. The researcher observed that it rather sprung a sense of purpose into who they are as well as, why they are here on earth and this was only to be achieved through contributions into the society, either helping others and

mentoring the young generation in the society. Highlighting this understanding, the participants aired their views in the following regard:

> *"I often hear about legacy maybe on the news or some people just talking to say what legacy are you leaving for your children, or if a person dies, they are saying what legacy you leaved behind. Maybe they are talking about what people are going to remember about you or whatever asserts you are going to leave behind and what tribute or contributions that you have made to the society. My definition for legacy is that which you are going to be remembered for or what you leave behind when you die".* (Participant 13)

> *"...to say as you live you are leaving a mark; you are a role model to some people and you are setting an example. Basing on your topic maybe if we look at legacy, we are not saying legacy is not only property or something you are going to leave behind about how you were living your life"* (Participant 12)

To support the above expressions, Hunter and Rowles (2004) leaving a legacy: towards a typology, they assert that intertwined in an individual's culture, legacy extends the potential for a highly personal contribution to the future that is: one's belongings, memories, values and even one's body may each be transferred to the next generation. In this sense, it can be argued that the process of leaving something behind termed a legacy is closely tied up with our life story and with shaping the manner in which we are to be remembered: thus, it becomes an instrument for passing on a resilient and enduring image of what we stood for. Hunter and Rowles (2004) proclaim that the drive to make life meaningful and to continue existence on some level after death. This manifests itself in diverse forms and behaviours ranging from the participants' dire need to teach their offspring and the younger generation things like sewing, cooking traditional food, gardening, craft ideas and even selling brooms as well as taking care of orphaned relatives and mentoring youth.

For this sub-theme, there was a distinctive difference as some participants came out to be generative and others being low generative. The disparity existed in the sense that those who were highly generative expressed a strong sense of purpose often from the experiences of

parenting, mentoring and teaching, hence they felt that their efforts would be remembered and they will not be forgotten when they are dead. As can be further understood in the quotes below, this strong sense of purpose in the world could be the reason why most participants, mostly those who were teachers by profession sort of defined legacy as what people will remember about you as a person. This can happen when a person is dead and be remembered, which is measured by all the contributions a person made in people's lives. When asked if the participants felt that no one would remember them most of them expressed that they did not feel that they would be forgotten at all because of the things they had done in their life especially those who are teachers by profession. Participants who felt that they would not be forgotten had this to say:
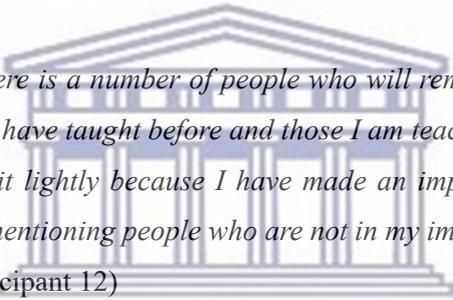
> *"No not at all, I think there is a number of people who will remember me from my friends and even my learners whom I have taught before and those I am teaching now. If they hear that I am gone, they will not take it lightly because I have made an impact in their lives and they will remember me. I am just mentioning people who are not in my immediate circle so a lot of people will remember me"* (Participant 12)
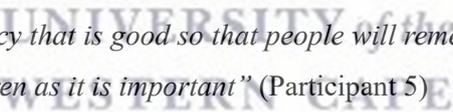
> *"You should leave a legacy that is good so that people will remember you and you should leave something for your children as it is important"* (Participant 5)

In contrast with the statements a few participants brought a diverging view through expressing a sense of fear regarding the notion of being remembered, the researcher chose to term them low generative participants. One respondent expressed her fear of being forgotten relating to the fact that she was a widow with only one son and her relocation to South Africa miles away from her family back in her original homeland, she felt that it would be easy for people to forget about her as she had relocated a long time back. Hence, the fears could have contributed more in their life if she was closer to them bust, she could not made her insecure about her existence especially after her death and she expressed her fears in the following: *"Yes, I do because of the*

vast mingling that goes on with migration, in terms of relations with people back home. Me living here in Cape Town, I am far away from the rest of my relatives and we are scattered all over the globe and this has caused a break in family ties and social ties with people back in the homeland. Hence, the possibility of being forgotten is very high as there is little to no interaction with the extended family. Now because of the diaspora a lot of things are changing, the world has become dynamic and it is difficult to keep up as people are focusing mainly on their immediate families for survival" (Participant 04).

The other participant (male) claimed that he felt forgotten in the system because of the reasons relating to being jobless due to lack of legal papers such as work permits. Hence, he was now surviving on menial jobs to fend for his family that was not enough and made him feel a little bit less of himself and in some sort he was low on generativity. He expressed his concerns below: *"Yes, I have felt like that for some time now, but you know it is mainly because I have been out of work for some time now, so I feel forgotten. My options now are closing in on me because I am getting old so now the youths especially here in South Africa they are taking over because no one wants to employ an older person as they prefer young people, so our chances are fading as it may"* (Participant 09). On another note, one woman who participated in this study, totally expressed her fears towards the issue of being remembered, she clearly decided not to answer the question, as she got scared with the idea of thinking about her death, she had this to say. *"I have never thought about that (...she laughs a lot and goes on to say).....aaaah those are scary questions tjooo, aaaah who came up with this, it is so scary man!!!, especially in this household people do not want to talk about death, they are so scared so tjoo, I will skip that one"* (Participant 01). The above-mentioned sentiments revealed that even though most participants were hesitant to talk about death, most of them was used and ended up opening up more and actually noting that the discussion had assisted them to re-think some of the decisions they had made in life. For one it was not a comfortable discussion hinting a fear towards end of life discussions, which might have been

an indicator of low generativity or stagnation in individuals as they are not willing to discuss such topics hence in the end it may greatly affect their social well-being and future planning.

Erikson identified generativity versus stagnation in his eight-stage model of psychosocial development as the central developmental issue of the middle-adulthood years (Hart et al, 2001). In this view, Erikson maintains that as people reach into and through mid-life, they become increasingly prompted to provide care, guidance and inspiration for the next generation and adopt productive roles in society that aim to foster continuity and development from one generation to the other. It can therefore be noted that most participants who participated in this study, who understood legacy as what you will be remembered for when you are dead, were driven by generosity. Hence, they believed that the things they have done on this earth have earned them that sense of purpose hence acknowledging that their deeds will be remembered for a long time. In support of this McAdams (2001) colludes that generativity broadens in mid-life to encompass projects and involvements at work and the community as society more generally comes to expect and depend on the leadership, commitment and overall generative investment of mature men and women in their 30s, 40s and 50s and older.
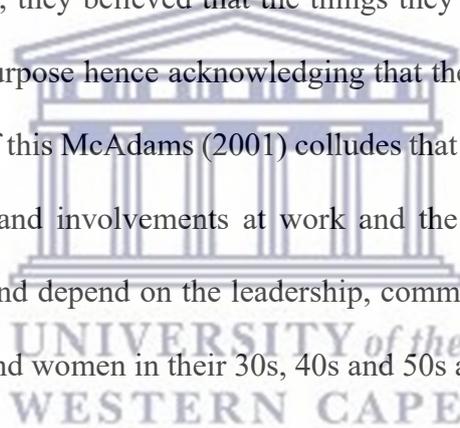
The few participants who expressed fears of not being remembered because they have lived far away from their extended family for a long time (by the virtue of living in South Africa, while their relatives are in Zimbabwe) were convinced that they do not have strong ties with others leading to high chances of them being forgotten. Their fears can be attributed to the fact that, because they are foreigners in South Africa they cannot fully be generative as they cannot involve themselves in family, friendship relations as well as neighbourhood, community activities and societal institutions as assimilation into South African society is not always easy. In a study conducted among 2000 American adults by Keyes and Ryff (1998), it was revealed that self-support measures of concern for the next generation, providing emotional support for young people and seeing oneself as a generative resource were all associated with

psychological and social well-being. The authors concluded that "generative behaviour, generative social obligations and generative self-definitions are key ingredients in the recipe for psychological wellness" in adulthood (McAdams, 2001). This helps explain the fears of not being remembered, as some participants felt that they were not being closer to family or not being employed. As a result, the findings indicated that the participants felt that they would not be remembered, as they are not able to engage fully into the activities that would help keep their memory alive after passing on. Hence, the participants' social well-being is not at par with their expectations. Whereas for those participants who were highly generative, felt that though activities such as teaching, parenting, mentoring and transmitting different skills and crafts to the younger generation, they would definitely be remembered for their deeds in the event that they were to pass on at some point in life. Thus, in some way being remembered is heavily associated with a person's contributions in the society and life in general. Hence the notion that, generativity is an adult's concern for and commitment to the well-being of youth and subsequent generations of human beings, as evidenced in parenting, teaching, mentoring and other activities and involvements aimed at passing a positive legacy on the next generation (Erikson, 1963; Kotre, 1984; Hart & Maruna, 1998).

5.4.3   Sub-theme 3: Transmission of values, beliefs and culture.

The other theme recognised across all Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study was the transmission of values, beliefs and culture. This was highlighted in how the participants were keen to express their opinions on why it is important to raise children the same way they had been raised by their parents and generations that came before them. Legacy transmission is multifaceted and complex as people's perceptions of it are different and vary from one person to the other. In support Hunter and Rowles (2005) are of the view that, enmeshed in an individual's culture, legacy offers the potential for a highly personal contribution to the future that is one's belongings, values, and memories can be transmitted to the next generation. All

the participants expressed that they felt that they were guardians of the Shona culture, even though it came with specific challenges (now that they are existing in a foreign land). The findings highlighted that the participants were striving to instil Shona values, beliefs and culture in their children as all participants interviewed were living with their children in the diaspora (South Africa). When asked if they felt that they were a living representative of a particular cultural, historical and ethnic tradition, participants expressed themselves in the following way:

> *"Yes, because we like in Zimbabwe we are coming from a cultural background which we inherited from our elders. so I would say we are born from there because we have learnt the way of life from our elders, so we inherited whatever we are doing now and way of life from them even though new things come but the background is from that cultural tradition. Yes, I really feel that I am a representative of my cultural tradition in some way considering my age and experience with the cultural tradition of Africanism specifically Shona culture were values, norms and morals were instilled in a particular way. I feel I was brought up that way and the way I was brought up is what I portray to the society."* (Participant 04)

> *"Yes, I would want to say I represent my culture of course, because as a parent I try by all means to nurture our children as to what they are supposed to be like, depending on what we expect in our culture and also to tell them about our values and norms. So that they will grow, up to be just like us their elders and follow in our footsteps. They do what is acceptable in the society just like we learnt from our elders in the villages and families when we were growing up. I am trying to teach my children what I was taught by others before me that is my parents, village elders and grandparents so that means I am a representative of the culture I was born into and I believe that it is the best thing to do"* (Participant 10)

> *"Of course you know, as I mentioned earlier I think I referred to that as I said that one of the legacies I am trying to preserve and protect is my cultural legacy and my linguistic-al legacy. I am Shona and I believe that I have deep roots in that cultural legacy, so I passed on the language, the norms, values and behaviour. I am trying to pass down to my kids, even if one of my kids, both of them have never been to Zimbabwe, uum she (daughter) was in Zimbabwe when she was very young. He (son) has never been to Zimbabwe but he can speak Shona and understands everything, so I am literally trying to pass on the legacy to my kids."* (Participant 07)

In contrast with the positive attitudes of the participants, the following quotations reflect those who expressed not exactly feeling like representatives of the Shona culture: *"Not really, I am not big on that, look now we are living in a setting that is different from Zimbabwe hence you need to adapt with change. I just teach my children to be good citizens and I do follow my culture and value where I came from"* (Participant 06). *"I am not much of a traditional person, tjooo there is a lot of negative traditional things that used to happen in my family that I would not even want to start talking about or think about, but as a person I would like to be someone who to stands up for single mothers"* (Participant 11).

The above quotations revealed that some of the participants felt that they were not exactly in accord with the notion of being a representative of a certain culture. However, they mentioned that they continued to live in the way they were groomed, albeit they were not transmitting much of the values instilled in them by their elders, reason being that they are now living in a complex and dynamic era. Hence, there has been some sort of adaptation and dropping of certain cultural beliefs and values in order to coexist with others in a foreign land. Another issue causing this distancing from transmission of certain Shona values is the need to hide their identity as Zimbabweans because of issues such as Xenophobia and being labelled in derogatory ways as foreigners. This has brought about confusion in choosing a certain specific way to nurture their children because of a mixture of cultures. Hence, one of the participants mentioned that her ultimate goal was to raise her children in a good way for them to become good citizens to avoid culture clutches, identity issues and confusion. However, the participant believed that one way or the other the children are bound to adopt some South African cultures, as they are living among them already, which is something difficult to fight. On the other end, another participant mentioned that living with a father and stepmother influenced family bonds, which created a distant relationship with both her father and mother, as there was not much connection as a family or a structure to help groom her in the best way possible.

According to Taylor (2011), cultural transmission refers to the process through which cultural elements in the form of attitudes, values, beliefs and behavioural traits are taught and passed on to individuals and groups. Culture therefore include things like marriage practices (kugara nhaka and lobola for the Shona), language, greeting behaviours, definitions of family and governmental configurations, housing structures and death rituals and for these to continue existing there must be a transmission of specific values and beliefs for each different group of people or society.

The findings highlighted that the participants understood legacy as a set of values, beliefs and attitudes that are transmitted to offspring and future generations either through storytelling. Being raised in the Shona way, all sorts of advice and values were from the parents, grandparents as well other elders in the society, the Shona culture is bound in the notion of Ubuntu. The value of Ubuntu is a crucial one in Zimbabwe as it is the greatest goal of self-realisation among Zimbabweans, for to become "munhu" (a human being) who possesses "hunhu" (well cultured attributes). According to the Nziramasanga Commission Report (1999), a human being in the fullest and noblest sense is one who is "caring, humble, thoughtful, considerate, understanding, wise, generous, hospitable, socially mature, socially sensitive, virtuous and blessed" (Venter, 2004). This helps to explain why most participants mentioned some of the values listed above as crucial to their upbringing and how it made them whom they are today. Hence, the zeal to want to pass on such values to their kids and the younger generation specifically those growing up in South Africa, a foreign land with different and mixed cultures, in a bid to preserve their identity and culture as Zimbabweans.

Krisbergh (2006) in her article, "the power of family legacies" alludes that all families have a set of beliefs, values and attitudes that are transmitted from generation to generation through messages received from parents to children. They automatically become part of the growing child's worldview. Usually parents unconsciously convey these beliefs and in turn internalised

by children unknowingly thus they are blindly accepted. These values and beliefs usually contribute to the making of societal norms and the transmission of such legacies occurs all year round through small events and interactions of daily living. In this regard, the majority of Zimbabwean immigrant parents who took part in this study expressed how they wanted to raise their children in the very same way they were raised, even though it was proving to be challenging given that their children were growing up in a very different environment as compared to where their parents grew up. At the same time, the fact that they are being exposed to different and mixed cultures at school and even in the communities, they live in, while at the same time trying to retain Zimbabwean values was sort of causing confusion and culture dilution. This challenge is further discussed in the third theme. Thus, in some way, Zimbabwean immigrants who were parents expressed the dire need to reinforce their culture among their children. Additionally, some of the participants mentioned that they regularly visit their homeland so that they can remember their identity as Zimbabweans.

"My mother was a very spiritual person, she is the one who taught me how to be a Christian and go to church, how to pray and how to work for children and how to be able to be strong in times of trials and tribulations" (Participant 11)

"The most important thing I learnt from my mother is to love; this idea of love is to just say even the small amounts of things that you have you need to share. Even as we were growing up, when eating for example, our staple food Sadza (pap) we would eat in one plate. Whatever, we had...so if we are eating meat the oldest child was the first one to pick the meat from the plate. In as much as you move to other cultures, some people may view it as oppression or abuse but in reality it is not, at least from my perspective it is not abuse, because it is an important thing I learnt" (Participant 01)

"My father was always urging us to work hard; he would wake us up early in the morning to do house chores and at times ploughing the land before we go to school whether you are a boy or girl. He always told us that you should work early in the morning such that by noon, you will be done then you get a chance to do other things. He trained us in such a way we work hard for ourselves and I believe that it is what put us where we are now and kept us alive and independent till today" (Participant 10)

Although the majority of the participants expressed the need to transmit values, beliefs and their culture as Zimbabweans onto their children and the young generation, however, it was observed that most parents were concerned about the transmission of their cultural values onto their children while living in the Diaspora (South Africa). In addition, the participants noted that there are many distractions, which eventually lead to one losing their identity. Hence, the dominance of this theme was prevalent among the participants who participated in this study. The participants shared that despite the challenges that influenced the processes of transmission they were motivated to keep on pushing towards achieving their goals to guide and impart more about their culture as Zimbabweans.

The findngs support Idang (2015) who connotes that culture is understood as entailing a totality of traits and characters that are peculiar to a certain group of people to the extent that it differentiates them from other societies. In this regard, it becomes crucial for every parent to maintain such a standard even if living in a foreign land and this is shown in how most families do not change the way they dress, the food they eat and the fellowships they associate with. All this is done to maintain and preserve a person's identity, even though in some occasions they may have to bend in order to fit in with other ethnic cultural groups to avoid being labelled as outcasts or impostors and to allow for assimilation into the South African communities they reside in. In this sense, values can be understood as beliefs/ traits that are held by people to highlight what is right and wrong and what is important in life for different ethnic groups worldwide.

Overall, the transmission of culture and values in this study was heavily dependent on the parent's ability to juggle and strike a balance between being a Zimbabwean and living in a foreign land. In addition, finding ways to maintain and preserve their identity as well as being able to transmit such values to their offspring, growing up in a dynamic "rainbow nation". Most parents reported passing on values of hard working, belief in education, respecting others and

the self, being responsible and helping others to mention just a few. They also believed that imparting such skills relating to hands on work such as sewing, gardening, preparing traditional meals, and woodwork to their kids while living in the diaspora would remind the children about their roots. This is further supported by the frequent visits to the original homeland, partaking in activities with other Zimbabwean colleagues and their church fellowships. For instance one participant mentioned: *"We also have Zimbabwean fellowship meetings here in Cape Town where almost each mainstream denomination selects one Sunday per month to worship in their mother tongue and worship the Lord the Zimbabwean way using our own traditional instruments like rattles, drums sourced from back home in Zimbabwe"*.(Participant 09). These were listed as some of the ways utilised by Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study, to assist them preserve the Zimbabwean identity in a foreign land and to keep in touch with their roots. Hunter and Rowles (2005) support the above notion, highlighting that values infiltrate all aspects of legacy hence everything passed down to future generations is solely influenced by personal values.

5.4.4   Sub-theme 4: Influence on others as a role modelling

Kimberley (2010) notes that the concept of a legacy emerges when a person's behaviour has implications for other people in the future, in other words, the long-lasting impact of one's behaviour over time is crucial to creating a legacy. This is so, because people look to contribute in positive ways to the world they leave behind (Grant & Wade-Benzoni, 2009). Interwoven with legacy has an impact on others, it was presented as one of the ways to leave a legacy and it is closely linked with the theme of being remembered. In the sense that influenced others (family, children, community and workplace colleagues) either negative or positive determines what kind of legacy that one will leave on earth, how it will be remembered and how it will suffice over a long period of time after your death. The researcher noted that all the participants expressed a desire to exist even after death through creating legacies that live on through their children, reputation, family name and professional field to ensure a survival beyond physical

existence. This is postulated in Erikson's theory of generativity, which highlighted the desire to think about future generations and how one will be remembered and sprouts from the late age of 35 years onwards. Thus, this helps to highlight why all the participants felt the need to do better in life so that their work here on earth will influence others in a positive way, thereby creating a lasting memory.

The findings of this study showed that all the participants who took part in this study viewed impact on others as a legacy that wanted to leave a positive influence to everyone in their circle. Children were listed as the most impacted people in life through nurturing, protecting, educating and teaching about life in general. This was a dominant pattern among the participants as most of the Zimbabwean immigrants were living far away from their extended family. Hence, the findings highlighted that the participants' attention was mainly on positively influencing their children's lives (immediate family members) as they were all they had done in their families. This indicated that the participants could easily influence their children's lives, unlike in the communities they live in where people have different cultures, lifestyles and worldviews, which makes it harder to influence the younger generation. Thus, the greatest impact they could make was on their children's lives, through being role models in educational and professional spheres of life and how to live a Zimbabwean socially acceptable way of life, even though existing in a foreign land. Views of wanting to instil educational values in their life were dominant amongst all participants, as they believed that education is the key to life and the best way to influence a person's life as it opens doors for improvement and better opportunities anywhere in the world. Below are some of the views expressed regarding impact on children:

> *"I believe also my children have benefited from my influence and they will be better people in the world."* (Participant 02)

"I think my children, because I live with them they see what I do, they see the way I work and how I behave and conduct myself, so I am more in contact with them than anyone else. Yes, I see myself in one of my sons; I see that this is how I used to behave when I was young." (Participant 13)

"For me I think I have made a very big influence on my children through protecting them, loving them and educating them" (Participant 10)

In this study, 7 out of 15 participants were teachers by profession and they reported that other than their children, the second group of people they positively influenced during the course of their life journey were the learners they had taught back in their original homeland and those they were currently teaching here in South Africa. There was a notion of sense of purpose derived from being a teacher, as some expressed that they were role models to a large number of learners who looked up to them and at the same time by being a teacher you just do not assume one role. Most of the participants who were teachers expressed that they had acted like a parent and counsellors to their school learners through advising them, especially here in South Africa. They reported that most learners grow up in dysfunctional families with absent father figures in their lives; and the participants who were male teachers mentioned that at some point they have had to play the father-figure role to assist most students at school. In this regard, it was observed that, the virtue of them being teachers has presented them the opportunity to positively influence other children in the South African community through imparting life lessons and skills crucial for the development of a person academically, professionally and socially. Hence, the belief that in the event of them passing on they will not be forgotten. Mentoring was also another way in which they influenced other people's lives especially the students they were educating. The following quotations expresses the value of the impact these teachers have had on different students over the whole time they have been educators:

"...I have actually enhanced other people's lives by encouraging them to do certain things to help themselves in life. For instance back home in Zimbabwe I used to teach building courses at Secondary schools, so by equipping those children with skills and hard work in building, some of

them actually became self-employed and they are leading a better life with just that skills of using their own hands to build structures and earn a living....” (Participant 10)

“Being a teacher, I think I have made an influence in a number of children especially in our black community where I am teaching. It is a poor community and trying to instil these values of hard work, for those learners who have listened they have actually achieved something in their lives. I am actually happy for some of them because as a teacher my satisfaction comes from the achievements of my learners and it makes me happy to see them doing better in life”. (Participant 13)

“Many, many people as I have said, I have really been interacting with a lot of people. I said when I am interacting with my students, I always say when I look at you guys, I always see my daughter and my son, so the manner in which I treat them, they are a reflection of my kids, so I treat them like my kids” (Participant 07).

For those who were not teachers by profession, it was revealed that at some point in their lives they had influenced others in ways they would not forget. The extended family was mentioned as the main beneficiary of their hard work here in the Diaspora, and this was achieved through sending remittances back home and groceries to suffice them in an economically challenged country. Almost all the Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in this study mentioned that at some point during their stay in South Africa they had someone pass through their hands as they stayed with relatives and friends coming for “greener pastures”. In this regard, it can be argued that the value of Ubuntu and the belief that “a person is a person through other persons” (kunzi munhu vanhu; umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu) plays a crucial role in the relationship dynamics of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa. This highlights the spirit of oneness that takes precedent even when people are scattered all over the globe. The value of helping others is displayed in this regard, which is central to hunhu, which is defined as a unifying vision or worldview, which is the spiritual foundation of African societies (Louw, 1998). To highlight how Zimbabwean immigrants value helping others, the below quotations express how it is of paramount importance to help others in the society especially in the diaspora:

"I have helped a lot of people especially those who had marital problems and were on the verge of divorcing but I did counselling with them and they are still together. I am like a counsellor some even here in South Africa, people that I do not even know will just knock on the door maybe they will be fighting but they come to me for assistance, maybe I have a gift of something, I don't even understand it" (Participant 06)

"*Yes, my sister's child, I have always provided for her and paid for her examination fees and I recently invited her to come and live with me here in South Africa, so basically looks up to me as a mother. My brother's children, their parents divorced so I act in order to feel in the gap of the mother or father sometimes. Here and there at church there are children, I help when in need and even at school when a student needs help, I will assist when I can. Also, because I am a teacher I also act as a parent to children at school being a mentor to them and shaping them to become better people.*" (Participant13).

The above quotations highlight how Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in this study value the extended family and how they always try by all means to maintain strong ties through communication and assisting their relatives back home, which helps strengthen their identity and ties with those in the original homeland. Previous literature supports the above-mentioned notions by stating that community life and values of mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, fellowship, mutual hospitality are of paramount importance among Zimbabweans (Bourdillon, 1987). Chimuka (2001) colludes the above notion adding on that "no man is an island", hence the values that enable community members to assist each other in "lifting this heavy load of life" are of great importance in life and the Shona culture.

5.4.5 Sub-theme 5: Achievements in life

Interwoven with legacy is the notion of personal achievements in life as they determine the success and the probability of a person's ability to leave a legacy. Personal achievements were expressed as one of the greatest legacy one can leave behind in life, among Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study. Most participants mentioned that legacy is all about what you were able to do and achieve during your entire time on this earth, what they left for their children as a parent. The participants in this study had great concern over what they would

leave for their children hence the reason that searching for better life opportunities was the drive behind migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa, to look for better opportunities for children. Most participants reported that their move to South Africa was motivated by the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy. Furthermore, they arrived in South Africa and became migrants with the motive to find work and provide better lives for their children explaining why they moved along with their whole families. Hauser (2013) cements the view colluding that, in Erikson's middle-adulthood stage of life referred to as generativity versus stagnation, he believes the paramount developmental goal becomes generating money, offspring, products and ideas for current and future generations. In this view, adults are deemed ready to begin a phase in life mainly focused on contributing to the larger sphere of society as a whole and hopefully improve upon it (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992). In this regard at this stage adults are faced with the question of whether they will produce something of real value, both in the present and impacting future generations and their achievements in life mostly educational and professional ones will assist in making sure they will be able to leave something for the future generations, especially here in the diaspora. Most of the Zimbabwean immigrant parents who took part in this study were inherently generative in that they migrated to South Africa when Zimbabwe's economy fell through and the main goal towards this movement was to provide for their children to enhance their survival and assurance that they would thrive as a part of the next generation.

In this regard, all the participants expressed that education was key in how they managed to conquer the foreign land. The value imprinted on education in this study proved to be a strong social value passed from one generation to another among the Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in this research study. Some of the participants had a college diploma, degree or some technical qualification and their children were being drilled in the same direction. They appreciated the efforts of their parents to make sure that they had access to education, which

they believed had played a greater role in opening "doors" for them in a foreign land, hence education was listed as part of the heritage/inheritance their parents left for them. Participants who expressed this belief had this to say:

"Okay if we are... for example, in Zimbabwe the main legacy that people remember you for is basically maybe your achievements...what is it that you managed to achieve in life. For me I think when I am dead as part of the legacy that I am leaving behind for my children should be for them to be able to say our father was a hard worker. Secondly, they should be able to say that our father was maybe. A pace setter, because as you can see right now I am still studying towards a Master's degree, so by studying I am just trying to say in as much as I want that self-fulfilment of course, but also to my children they must just learn that in life you have to work hard academically and professionally" (Participant 12)

"Because of the financial position of our parents they did not really manage to leave a heritage for us. We had to start from almost nowhere but I appreciate that during their time they managed to provide with the means to education which I have used to at least get a decent job and maybe create a legacy for our own families" (Participant 02)

In terms of achievements, education was a core theme discovered and grounded within the interview data. It was observed that most of the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this research study were generative in that they valued the importance of education and how it had assisted them to accomplish their dreams. Hence, they wanted to plant such a legacy on to their children. In this regard, all the participants held education as a primary value of importance as they believed that through education, individuals obtain skills, knowledge and enlightenment, which is the best way to better own life and others that will come after. So, in this way education was seen as a tool crucial to securing a better life and achieving better things in life. Hence, the Shona term "dzidzo ndiyo nhaka yeupenyu" (education is the heritage of life). Even those parents who reported that they had not secured better educational qualifications, due to different reasons expressed the need to further their education when life presents them with such an opportunity. The participants who had degrees and diplomas showed an interest in wanting to

further their studies more, in this regard it can be seen that education is believed to be a ladder to achieving great things in life. Therefore, it was of paramount importance for one to be educated and achieve some sort of qualification to be able to compete in the job market especially in a foreign land (South Africa).

It should however be highlighted that, even though education is mentioned as the greatest tool towards human emancipation from poverty, some of the participants believed that in this era education alone is not enough. Considering inflation rates, which have become a global fashion and the ever-changing systems in the corporate world due to the introduction of technology, which has resulted in job losses; it is important to be equipped with various skills as well as forging towards an entrepreneurial mindset. However, it was noted from the participants' conversations that being educated and acquiring a certain qualification and getting a job in this era people should go beyond. This finding indicated that it is no longer sustainable to depend on a salary only; however, they rather be headed towards entrepreneurship in order to sustain one's livelihood and create livelihoods for other people in the community. A few participants who shared the same view during the course of this research had this to say:

> "...*on the economic front, I would want to change the ideology that was instilled in many Zimbabweans through the colonial period that we were groomed and taught to get good grades in school and find a good job live and accept life without pushing boundaries. I think, what will benefit the future generations is to lean more on entrepreneurship and be able to create economic opportunities for others*." (Participant 03)

> "*The norms and values are good but the beliefs like the behavioural aspect, I think we might need to change that because I think we grew up in a box. We had so many limitations on what we could do or what we were expected to be especially on the economic front. I think, we were brought up in a way that you need to learn, get good grades and get a job. I think for the future generations we need to start imparting the entrepreneurship spirit onto the oncoming generations that getting a job is a failure but creating jobs is a success, so I think I would want to change that.*" (Participant 03)

"She was creative, she was innovative, she managed to do side businesses, hustles and the like, so I am tapping from that, so I will say she has really impacted my life. Of course, I said previously when I look at my mother's side while she still carries on I am sure that she is proud of all the effort that we try and put in terms of the business, because she has been business minded all the time so when I look at myself sometimes. If I fail to do business I feel like I am letting my mom down, because that is how she raised us" (Participant 07)

Education is the most important empowerment tool and in most cases, those who are not educated are usually treated as second-class citizens anywhere in the world. Shizha and Kariwo (2011) state that Zimbabwe's education system was once the best in Africa, just after independence, as the government made great efforts to increase participation at all levels of education. They further argue that Zimbabwe invested greatly in education because it is perceived as critical to national and economic development. One of the Mugabe's legacies that he will be remembered for is the way he transformed the education system in Zimbabwe since acquiring its independence. It is reported that he initiated new policies that allowed for universal access to education for all Zimbabweans contrary to the colonial regime, which was restrictive of black people in such spheres. When primary education became free for all, the country recorded more than 100% enrolment, which goes to show how Zimbabwean people value education even though the system has been negatively affected with the state of the economy. The participants who took part in this study still expressed and believed that education is the key to life and that it is crucial in creating a lasting legacy, as it opens up many opportunities.

It can be deduced from the above-mentioned discussion that legacy beliefs are a complex topic, as people understand it in different ways, hence there is no one universal way of defining legacy as people have different perspectives, beliefs, values and traditions all over the globe. Most participants expressed dominant themes about their understanding of legacy and their views, especially now that they are living in a foreign land with mixed races and ethnic groups.

Participants defined legacy in a number of ways most in general terms but some with personal examples. Common themes included inheritance, being remembered, transmission of values, influence on others, and material legacies. Most participants shared common themes and views on wanting to influence future generations were dominant in this study, hence there was a sense of similarity in views about legacy as well as indicating shared beliefs and understanding of legacy. The next theme delves into the deep exploration of perceptions about personal legacy beliefs informed by Kotre's theory of generativity and its four different categories but in the context of Zimbabwean immigrants. Thus, the focus is on different categories based on typology adopting Kotre's theory to categorise legacy and conceptualise it with Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions.

5.5   Theme Two: Categories of legacy beliefs shared in families

In the second theme, the complexity of the legacy concept is understood as a phenomenon that appeared to be different from ethnic groups all over the globe. Therefore, Theme Two dismantles the complexity of the legacy concept based on the participants' discourse in this study. During the process of interview and data collection, the researcher observed that participants mentioned different types of legacy while exploring their perceptions and understanding of legacy as Zimbabweans. For this reason, the researcher saw it fit to investigate the different types of legacy employing Kotre's theory. The second theme builds on the main theoretical perspectives used for this study: the typology of legacy beliefs and Erikson's Generativity theory.

According to Kotre (1996) "for many the inevitability of the end is realised at mid-life, the point to which Erikson assigns the "crisis of generativity, to which Levinson assigns the task of "creating a legacy", hence in other terms generativity relates to the stage in life were

concerns for legacy begin to sprout. Kotre (1984) states that the wish to be generative is expressed in many ways including biologically, culturally, technically as well as parental-wise, hence the notion that generativity expresses the "desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self".

In this research study, all the participants expressed concerns of wanting to leave a mark on this earth through the dominant and common desires to leave something for their children, arguing that this desire had driven them to migrate to South Africa and endured all the challenges that came with this movement and settling in this foreign land. In some words, it can be termed the Zimbabwean legacy of migration as a large chunk of Zimbabweans citizens are scattered all over the world, in search of "greener pastures". This theme has four sub-themes (i.e., biological, parental, technical and cultural), which are the four different categories put forward to explain generativity as presented in Table below.

Themes	Sub-themes
Categories of legacies shared in families	2.1 Biological Generativity 2.2 Parental Generativity 2.3 Technical Generativity 2.4 Cultural Generativity

5.5.1 Sub-theme 1: Biological Generativity

The first type of generativity is biological which is solely inclined to issues of fertility and it relates mainly to production, bearing and nursing of children. Here the target of biological generativity is the newborn baby. Kotre (1984) argues that only in biological transmission is material substance passed from the body of the progenitor to that of the creation. In other words, this is where things like genes, hereditary diseases and traits can only be passed from the parent to the newborn baby. However, all the participants in this study shared that having children was

one of their accomplishments in life and they derived their purpose from that knowing that they were at an advantage because they had children. This made the participants feel that leaving an offspring on earth brought about a sense of joy and security in their lives. Participants felt that they were generative as being able to bear children and was deemed the most meaningful of life actions. Having children was the most important thing in life because children gave them a sense of purpose and the drive to aspire for more in life, for them to lead a better future. When asked if they felt that they were at an advantage or disadvantage because they have children, participants had this to say:

> *"Having children brings joy in the family and ...it brings in a sense of security somehow, you see with life you never know...tomorrow when you are older you will need someone to care for you and show interest in you here and there. In as much as we try to work for ourselves and to plan ahead for tomorrow but still, I believe at that age you will need social support from someone very close and your children can take care of that. So, I am at an advantage because I have children"* (Participant 12)

> *"For me it is quite an advantage because when you work, you work with a focus to provide for them, whereby time and again you want to go further and further and you do not just seat being idle, so you are forced to manoeuvre going up all the time"* (Participant 04)

From the above illustrations, it can be highlighted that having children is an important thing in one's life and pro-creation is very crucial to allow for a continuum of generations in the future. In this regard, it can be argued that one's desire to leave a legacy begins with the need to leave something for one's offspring as they contribute to the growth of future generations. In African communities, "children secure conjugal ties, offer social security, assist with labour, confer social status, secure rights of property and inheritance, provide continuity through reincarnation and maintaining the family lineage as well as satisfying emotional needs" (Dyer, 2007).

Issues of fertility are of crucial importance in most African countries including Zimbabwe, this is so because it is believed that children ensure and secure the continuation of a lineage. Not being able to bear children is in most cases deemed a curse. Therefore, it can eventually lead

to a divorce especially if it is on the woman's side, in the pre-colonial era. If men were infertile, their relatives would make arrangements on their behalf. Accordingly, the wives could bear kids through the men's brothers just to ensure that they get an heir to continue his lineage and to safeguard his manhood. This was evident among some of the participants who took part in this study that valued the importance of having children are still practising these practices.

Relating to the same notion, the Zimbabwean participants who took part in this study were again asked a question "If a young couple in their late 20s came to you considering whether to have children but were undecided and they wanted your advice, what would you tell them?" Below are some of the views expressed by the participants:

> *"Late twenties? It depends, if they have accomplished whatever they want to do, because children can be a stumbling block in their lives, if they happen to have children it means that some of the things they must shelve. For them that have to consider things like their education first or to accomplish whatever they want to achieve in life before having children for them to avoid that stumbling block of having children in the way. So to me, my advice would be for them to consider their expectations and financial status before having children."* (Participant 01)

> *"I think I would advise them to plan first because their generation and ours is different because years ago we used to use napkins for our children which was cheap but these days people use pampers which are expensive, so they have to plan first before having children because things are expensive nowadays as compared to the olden days."* (Participant 06)

> *"They must first prepare themselves to have children because it is not an easy job which needs to be well prepared financially and mentally because you are now bringing in a new person into the world and your life, who will need a lot of your attention and your time as well, so it helps to be prepared."* (Participant 11)

In this regard, biological generativity plays a crucial role in concerns for leaving a legacy, because children are the primary beneficiaries of one's legacy. In support, Erikson (1964) defined the concept of generativity as "an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation", where he also concluded that this was mostly achieved through biological parenthood. For the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this part bearing children plays

a crucial in making a person, leaving a mark on earth and contributing to the future and greatly the reason or drive behind them migrating into the Diaspora as they saw a need to look for better opportunities to enhance their children's lives. Most common views highlighting generativity were that having children is important in life as it brings security and purpose in life, but one has to be prepared mentally, financially and physically when bringing another life into the world.

5.5.2 Sub-theme 2: Parental Generativity

On parental generativity, the target is the child and it is expressed through feeding, clothing, sheltering, loving, nurturing and disciplining offspring as well as initiating them into a family's tradition. These activities create trust, autonomy and initiative in children, as highlighted in Erikson's framework and they are there to ensure the continuity of families. Cherry (2018) is of the belief that generativity in adults promotes a feeling of nurturing things that will outlast them, mostly through parenting, mentoring or contributing to positive outcomes in society and the world at large. Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study were all parents and at some point during the interviews expressed the importance of pro-creation and nurturing children in the very same way they were brought up by their parents and grandparents, the Zimbabwean way. Feelings of wanting to leave a mark of themselves on their children as well as imparting values and beliefs on their own offspring were common among all participants. This is crucial in ensuring the continuity of the family, its values and traditions as these eventually contribute to the making of the culture of a certain people, which is what differentiates people from other ethnic groups. Parent participants were of the opinion that nurturing children to know the Zimbabwean values, beliefs, and way of life was very important for one's identity, to illustrate this below are quotations:

> *"I would not say that my family's history is that personal because we always talk about it in our daily conversations, that also gives guidance even to our children through learning about the*

way of life of our elders and that is part of how we transmit our culture to these young ones. There is quite a lot of things but for the record when we talk to the young ones we tell them. For example, my grandfather was a hunter and this is what he achieved in life and so forth...and my relative was farmer and he did this and those kinds of examples will maybe inspire the young ones." (Participant 02)

"*As a teacher and parent, everyday I try to transmit ideas, values and lessons to the young ones. The values I basically pass on are love, determination and that one should also be devoted in whatever he or she is involved in, in life*" (Participant 04)

"*I would want to say, I represent my culture of course because as a parent I try by all means to nurture our children as to what they are supposed to be like, depending on what we expect in our culture. I also to tell them about our values and norms so that they will grow up to be just like us their elders and follow in our footsteps and what they do is acceptable in the society just like we learnt from our elders in the villages and our families when we were growing up*"(Participant 10)

Participants also reported being responsible for the care of other children who are relatives back home. This highlighted the strong link they have with their Zimbabwean roots and the importance of the extended families in the Zimbabwean culture. On this sub-theme most of participants were highly generative as they were always looking to safeguard the interests of the future generations through providing, nurturing and teaching them values important for the survival of a person. Some of the participants expressed that they acted as parents to many people who are not their biological offspring, through providing advice and guidance to their relatives children, students they teach (mentoring), church youths and other children in the community who may see them as parent-figures. It must however be mentioned that in the Zimbabwe context, roles linked to the care of children are mostly reliant on the mother while the father is there to enforce discipline and provide for the family. However, the dynamics have changed especially in the Diaspora, as both parents find themselves playing any role, as there is no support system from the extended family and single parents having to partake in all roles associated with raising a child.

In this type of generativity, the notion of passing down elements of the self through to others takes precedence over everything. This colludes with Sahlins (2013) who reflects the operation of generativity as a form of dividuality, which is the notion of placing something of the self with others; in this regard, it seeks biological, socio-cultural among other outlets. Hence, creating a point of connection between individuals through values, beliefs, knowledge, moral values and other cultural constructs that are partible from one person to another. This can only be achieved and realised through having and raising children. Hence, intertwined by legacy in that it is all about passing on a part of the self (values, wealth and children) to the next generation and leaving a mark, something to be remembered for what they did in life.

Cherry (2018) states that at this stage in life those who are successful will feel that they are contributing to the world through their activities in their families and in the community. However, those who fail to attain this skill tend to feel unproductive and uninvolved in the world. Most participants expressed that they felt that they were doing a good job raising their kids in a way that resembles their identity and roots as Zimbabweans through nurturing, imparting values, beliefs and family traditions and ensuring that it will be passed onto future generations. However, two single mothers expressed feelings of regret as they could not pursue their education further, because they had children when they were young, the other one being 16 years of age and they claimed that it robbed them the opportunity to further their studies.

> *"I was not able to further my education because I had a child at a very young age, so I had to fend for my child, but nevertheless I am currently doing a course in Beauty Therapy and I have a certificate in Child Care."*(Participant 11)

> *"The truth is that my life revolves on my two boys so usually to the oldest boy who is 20 years of age. I always tell him not repeat the same mistakes I made in life. For example, when I reached form four (grade 11) I passed four subjects and my mother wanted me to re-write and become someone better in life but that is when I fell pregnant. This is where I ruined my life so I do not encourage him to walk in the same way I did, I want him to go to school and get educated so that he can lead a better life than what I am doing now"*(Participant 14)

Cherry (2018) alludes that at this stage some people experience what is often termed as "mid-life crisis" thus people tend to reflect back on their accomplishments and consider their future then feel regret over missed opportunities such as school, pursuing a career and having children. It should be noted that there was no stagnation observed as most participants were doing their best to further their education and upgrade their lifestyle so that they could be role models for their children. Even though the participants were living in a foreign land where they were deemed second-class citizens and opportunities being difficult, they showed resilience with the main goal being to provide a better life for their offspring. Furthermore, the participants showed that they were generative in that they expected to have grandchildren and have an opportunity to influence their lives in a better way through nurturing their children in the manner that allows transmission of values, beliefs on to the future generations. In this way, grandchildren were also viewed as part of the legacy one can leave, hence all the participants held positive sentiments towards the idea of having children, expressing that grandchildren are the future generation whom they are working hard for in a foreign land. The participants further shared that their grandchildren could have a better future and that bring an unexplainable sense of happiness and satisfaction to one's life. The participants shared their desire and a sense of joy to have grandchildren and influence their future generations:

"I think that is a dream for every parent as I told you I am a parent to a son. I would want to have grandchildren who will live to see my legacy. When I talk of legacy or inheritance which I believe is almost the same thing, I would want to work hard enough so that my grandkids will enjoy the benefits of my labour and I would like to accumulate wealth so that my great grandkids will be able to enjoy my legacy." (Participant 03)

"

"Yes, it is a part of humanity and you know...it is something that brings joy to one's life, to have grandchildren and also it means that you are seeing your children developing and having their

families. It brings happiness also, like me I do not have a girl child, so if I happen to have a granddaughter then that will fulfil my days and make life worth living because in grandchildren you feel like you got young friends that you can share with and give advice"(Participant 13)

"Of course, I would definitely love to have grandchildren because I think it's the joy of any parent to see or to hold their grandchild. So that is the main reason why I would love to see my grandchildren and of course, I mean that also has a bearing on the length of life, but of course I would not want to have grandchildren at a younger age, umm I want to have a longer life and hold my grandchildren." (Participant 07)

Values commonly expressed by Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in nurturing children as well as enforcing survival of family traditions and beliefs included working hard, being responsible, respectful, loving, sharing and valuing education. Parents reported that they had been taught of these values by their parents and elders in the community and they believed that these values had made them achieve what they have and helped shape who they are, hence the desire to want to contribute and pass such values to the next generations were common among Zimbabwean participants.

5.5.3   Sub-theme 3: Technical Generativity

In relation to technical generativity, this is one of the significant accomplishments that teachers share with people at all stages throughout life by passing on skills to those that are less advanced than they are. For instance, teachers pass skills on how to read, how to fish, how to play a violin, how to program a computer, how to steal and other necessary life skills. Kotre (1984) believes that at this phase teaching skills are imparted from the teacher to the apprentice, hence the notion "the body of a culture to successors, implicitly passing on the symbol system in which skills are embedded". The object of legacy making is the apprentice, whom the instructor identifies as a way of re-visiting past experiences of mastery and building on those experiences into the future, as well as the skill that he is passing on, developing or extending to the future through mentoring and shaping the mentee. In this study, 6 out of 15 participants were teachers and they reported to have been in the profession for more than 13 years since

they were in Zimbabwe. They further demonstrated the importance of their jobs as teachers being mentors, parents and role models to many children; this was highlighted in the following quotations:

"The generations that will follow for example in terms of my career as a teacher. The values that I am instilling to my learners that I teach as well as my relatives and any other member of the society whom I interact with, be it these young ones I try as much as I can to show them that the values and norms that I have are to live forever" (Participant 05)

"I have actually encouraged other people to do some sort of things that may help them in their lives. For example, in Zimbabwe I used to teach building courses (construction) at secondary schools, so by equipping those children with building skills, some of them actually became self-employed and they are leading better lives with just the skill of using their hands to build" (Participant 10)

Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study expressed their concerns and willingness to teach certain crafts that they had acquired in life to the younger generation especially their children. The crafts or skills mentioned in the interviews ranged from cooking, sewing, gardening, woodwork, building and playing soccer. Some of the participants expressed that they had taught their children, relatives and community youths, the crucial skills they had accumulated throughout their whole life and were more than willing if only the children were willing. This was done to ensure that these skills would not die with the parents but continue to exist among the Zimbabwean people especially those in the Diaspora, as they now exist in a setting that is very different from the culture of the Shona. Reasons for the passing on of skills from one generation to another were mainly for continuation of such a legacy. In addition, it was highlighted that teaching these skills to children helped the immigrants connect with their roots and constantly reminds them of their homeland. In this regard, generativity was highlighted on the willingness of the participants to impart different skills that are crucial to a certain specific culture onto the future generations, hence in some way creating a long-lasting

legacy for next generations. The following statements by these participants explain the above notion:

> *"I have cooking skills, I have a baking certificate. I can bake and cook whatever...the sewing part I also did a cutting and designing course. I tried to pass that on to my children, but you know children of these days they will just tell you that I will take my clothes to the tailor or whatever, if the button falls, they can't even saw the button back on their clothes, so I just shelved it"* (Participant 01)

> *"I think my special skill is my ability to learn everything and master none, so whatever I learn I think I am a generalist at everything if you ask me to do carpentry I can, if you ask me to cook I can, if you ask me to fix a pipe I can do that. I have not mastered any but I can teach others if I see that its beneficial for them to learn those skills but any special skills I do not know maybe entrepreneurship as I have tried to teach people how to structure a business and run it."* (Participant 03)

However, it is crucial to note that the teaching of skills can only become generative when the apprentice has managed to grasp the concept of the skill being taught and a sense of extending oneself into another person or attaching the self onto a lasting art. In this regard, a few participants reported having been willing to teach their children about skills like gardening, sewing and more but some efforts had proven worthless, as the children were reluctant to grasp the concepts of acquiring such skills and utilise them in the end. This could be due to the fact that most of the children mentioned in this study had lived almost all their lives in South Africa and they lacked a sense of touch with their roots. The participants felt that their children deemed some of the skills to be irrelevant and unnecessary because of the advent of technology.

Skills are not transmitted in isolation; however, they were integrated in the transmission of the culture within families. Nevertheless, the transmission of apprentice skill seem to be a challenge for some of the participants were not raised in such an environment. Hence, they had no interest in teaching their children such skills as gardening because there was no space and

the unpopularity around practising such in South Africa. In this way, the skill sort of dies down with the teacher and it will not be passed on to the next generations.

5.5.4   Sub-theme 4: Cultural Generativity

This type of generativity is characterised by creating, renovating and conserving a symbol system the "mind" of a culture explicitly passing it on to successors (Kotre, 1984). The cultural generativity incorporated being a disciple where a teacher moved from doing to becoming a mentor and apprentice. According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, culture is a web of significance spun by humans to give themselves common footing as they live out their lives. In this way, culture can be in the form of religion, art, ideologies, social, ethnic hence diverse as the communities that created them. It should be noted that individuals could still belong in different and numerous collectivities and involve themselves in many cultures or not belong to none and lack an orienting centre that gives meaning and direction to their lives. In this regard, the notion of culture is that fertility is expressed in the creation of new symbols that supplements the community, in the renovation of existing symbols to allow their relevance for oncoming generations as well as in the conversation of symbols the form in which they already exist. However, there must be a balance and the preservation of culture is paramount. Kotre (1984) is of the view that when an individual's technical and cultural progressions are in accord, he or she is able to create a rich heritage.

Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study expressed views of valuing their culture and trying to keep in touch with their roots even though they were living in a foreign land, which sometimes hindered their progress on ensuring that they were able to transmit the Zimbabwean culture on to their offspring and future generations. All the participants who participated in the study were living with their children in the Diaspora and they expressed notions on how it helped them to mould and shape their children in their culture. This was done in various ways including maintaining strong kinship relations with relatives back in the

original homeland (Zimbabwe), instilling norms and cultural values, interacting with other Zimbabweans living in the Diaspora. The participants further indicated that constant visits back home whenever possible would provide the children with a platform to learn their culture and keep in touch with their roots to avoid losing their identity as Zimbabweans.

"As I said earlier, legacy has a lot of facets so of course I have a cultural legacy, I have a linguistic legacy. You know. I still speak my language while I am here, I still observe the cultural rites, norms and behaviour so that is what is controlling and guiding me while I am here. The reason why I am not behaving in the same manner as the people from other culture behave is my cultural legacy. When it comes to the material wealth you know, I am trying the best that I can make sure that I acquire as much as I can, so that I can at least leave the material legacy to the kids." (Participant 07)

"First and foremost, I think I am a living example in the cultural context because as a person who was raised up under the African culture, the norms and values which were instilled in me became part of me. I believe in the value of being responsible and taking care of my own is of utmost importance in my life. In terms of my ethical values I believe in the altruistic view that is the greatest value the greatest number of happiness for the most, so in as much as we can entrench our values a lot of people will get joy from life" (Participant 03)

The researcher observed that even though the participants expressed the common desire to transmit their cultural ways onto the next generations, they were sort of in a dilemma in that they had lived in South Africa for a long time and due to issues of wanting to assimilate into South African society. It was noted that the participants had experienced feelings of worry about their children's part as most of their lives were based in a foreign land. Most participants reported that they loved and valued their roots and cultural ways. Nevertheless, it was not easy for the participants to forget their identity of where they come from; as a result, they ensured that their children do not lose their identity because of a rainbow nation in a foreign country. Referring to Kotre's notion, individuals may belong in varying degrees to numerous collectivities and partake in many cultures but they may lack an orienting centre, which guides their direction in life. It is important to note that the children of the Zimbabwean immigrants

who participated in this study were at the risk of losing their identity because they were raised in a foreign land where they have adopted different cultural beliefs, norms and lifestyles to fit at school and the communities where they live in. It has been noted that some of the children do not want to be recognised as Zimbabweans. The participants perceived this, as a risk of losing one's specific culture linked with their original homeland culture and identity. According to the participants, this poses a threat on the continuous transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Participants expressed their fears regarding losing identity:

> *"I mean here it is so normal that you just decide to do this no one questions you. So that becomes a challenge that if I am the one who is supposed to pass that on to my children, I find it hard because some things are difficult because I will be like it is okay but deep down it is not okay. We could be involved, I like the way the whites are here in South Africa, and they are involved so much in their children's life. You find out that they go to school with them, they go out with them during weekends, and they are inside their lives such that the children do not have the time to meet the wrong people, so in a way their beliefs keep on being passed from generation to generation. That is why you see the Afrikaner community is difficult to penetrate in because their cultural beliefs are intact. For me being in a foreign land is difficult."* (Participant 08).

The Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study expressed concerns about transmitting their culture onto future generations through their children because of living in a foreign land; hence, they showed concerns of worry towards a wide array of different cultures they are exposed to, as individuals. They believed that eventually their children would end up losing their identity as Shona people and doing away with their culture as mentioned in the above quotations. However, efforts to ensure the constant survival of the Shona culture into the future were expressed through regular visits to the original homeland as well as instilling cultural values onto their offspring starting with the family unit, as this was deemed the most effective way. This theme focused on explaining the generativity process and its different types as well as how it relates to legacy making among the Zimbabwean immigrants who participated. The following theme will be looking into the factors influencing Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy

beliefs while living in the Diaspora with specific reference to the challenges and motivators they encounter in trying to maintain such beliefs.

5.6   Theme Three: Re-emerging legacy beliefs in families

In the third theme, the re-emerging legacy beliefs are presented based on the conversation with the participants. This theme deals with the elements of legacies that were not recognised in previous studies related to legacy beliefs, for instance, the land issue (termed the Zimbabwean legacy) and kugara nhaka (wife inheritance) as illustrated in Table 2. The re-emergence of the difference of legacy beliefs can be attributed to cultural beliefs, as most studies on legacy beliefs mainly focused on White races, Black Americans as well as Indians and not on Black Africans. Another sub-theme was male dominance in issues of male inheritance because Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society stressing the importance of males in the society at the top as opposed to their female counterparts. The sub-themes are presented and discussed in detail below.
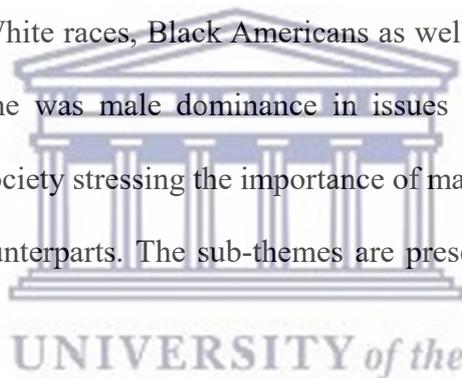
Themes	Sub-themes
Re-emerging legacies in families	3.1 Land issue "Zimbabwean legacy" 3.2 Wife inheritance (Kugara Nhaka) 3.3 Male dominance

5.6.1   Sub-theme 1: Land Issue (Zimbabwean Legacy)

In connection with the land issue, this sub-theme captures the participants' perceptions about Zimbabwe's legacy of land. The legacy of land is a very complex and crucial one for the Zimbabwean people who live in rural areas, as the land is all what they have to promote subsistence farming and living. Overall, the land is very important to Zimbabwean people, as

the country was at one point the breadbasket of Africa. Most of the participants mentioned that they grew up in rural areas where agriculture was the most common and a decent way of earning a living through the rearing of animals such cattle, goats and the cultivation of crops such maize, cotton and tobacco. This supports the participants' perceptions that the land was considered as a legacy because of the nature of the country being solely relied on an agriculturally economy, which strengthened the land reform programme that occurred in the early 2000s.

With the so-called fast track land reform programme, which led to the expropriation of the majority of the country's large-scale commercial farms mainly owned by whites, came the birth of the closure of various industries as the agricultural sector crumbled soon after the forced removal of white farmers. Most people who were employed in all sectors of the economy linked to agriculture lost their jobs and this eventually led to mass migration of the Zimbabweans into neighbouring countries in search of "greener pastures". This led big companies such Olivine, and Unilever brothers to move with their employees into other countries that were still economically viable. According to Crush and Tevera (2010), this migration did not only influence a few thousand white farm owners and their families but it also contributed to a larger movement of agricultural workers whose livelihoods had been disrupted. In this regard, it is crucial to point that with the fall of the agricultural sector, Zimbabwe's economy was greatly affected as many skilled and unskilled migrants flocked in different directions out of the country with the hope of securing better opportunities and to create new legacies in the diaspora and mainly for survival.

The above-mentioned events could have been the reason why most participants were of the belief that the Zimbabwean land was their legacy. Though the repatriation of the land from the whites to the blacks did not bring the expected results because of the way the process was conducted. In this study, some participants still believe that the Zimbabwean legacy is all about

the land. The following opinions were expressed about land as a legacy among Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in this study:

> *"I am connected to my family heritage and most importantly history because in terms of economic what has been around in my family is that we are a family which has been brought up in an agro-economy environment from my forefathers and it runs in my blood, so whenever I see something agro-economic, it tends to excite me. When we look at the culture we have traditions and beliefs that have been fostered in us since being kids and these beliefs were the same which my forefathers and the ones that became before them followed and I am trying to impart those beliefs onto my son and the future generations which are in our family settings or heritage."* (Participant 03)

> *"In Zimbabwe legacy, it is mainly about the land being passed on to the family and that the land is ours as the black people"* (Participant 06)

The above assertions indicated how the land played a pivotal role in the participants' upbringing because most of the rural families' livelihoods were solely dependent on the land for survival, and agricultural activities and economy. This finding resonates with Mafa et al. (2015) who state that land is one of the most fundamental resources that is crucial for the development and sustenance of people in Zimbabwe. It is very important as it forms the basis of the agricultural production in the country. Historically, the Shona people survived through major activities such as subsistence farming and cattle rearing, these were supplemented with hunting, and gathering, hence it can be noted that their economic activities were based on the availability of land. Most states fell through prior to the colonial era because of growing populations resulting in shortage of land consequently causing food shortages and grazing areas, hence with the coming of the settlers and black people being forced into the reserves, tensions arose and eventually a war was wedged to get back the land to the black people. It can be noted that land has always been the mode of survival for Zimbabwean people as their livelihoods are mainly sustained through subsistence farming, thus it can be justified that the Zimbabwean legacy is all about the land as stated by some of the participants in this study. The land question will always remain an

issue not only among Zimbabweans but also among Africans as a continent. Thus the land reform programme can be deemed as a way to get back the land that has been passed down from generation to generation of the black majority from the white settlers, because land is what makes them who they are (Zimbabweans).

5.6.2   Sub-theme 2: "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance).

In connection to the "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance) concept, this sub-theme captures the participants' views about the practise of the Shona people in Zimbabwe, which entailed a woman being inherited usually by her deceased husband's brother. The participants shared that the purpose of this practise is to allow for the continuation and survival of the family after the head of the family had passed away. Most of the participants considered "kugara nhaka" as the main component of legacy, as it was a well-known practise in their families and communities. Participants listed this as the most popular practise of legacy beliefs in the Shona culture and some even went on to describe it as a legacy on its own. In Zimbabwean culture "kugara nhaka" is one key concept that entails legacy usually referred to as wife inheritance and it relates to the custom of wife inheritance after the death of her husband, in most Shona cultures a man (married or not) can inherit the wife of his deceased (older or younger) brother (Kangira et al., 2005). Participants shared their understanding of the construct of legacy in relation to "kugara nhaka":

> *"Generally, I understand that it is like when death occurs in a family, if the father dies then it means that the main members of the family have to decide who will take care of the kids and the wife. So that is what I understand about legacy... my definition of legacy is that a remaining family member takes up the care of a deceased person's wife and children"* (Participant 02)

> *"In Zimbabwe, we believe that legacy entails either leaving properties to your children and relatives. When you pass on, there is a cultural practise, which is done to make sure that the wife and the children of the deceased do not suffer, whereby the wife is made to choose a brother of her late husband to take care of her and the children. ...but nowadays it is not common because of modern practices"* (Participant 05)

"In our Shona culture, there is what we call "kugara nhaka" which relates to when a man dies and he leaves a wife and children, it is expected that the brother of the deceased takes over the care of the family to allow for continuity and growth of his deceased brother's family and estate" (Participant 02)

The above quotations highlight how and why the practise is done among the Shona people, the belief is that in order for the deceased family to survive, there should be a male head who takes over the property including the wife and children. The findings indicated that the practise is use performed to promote growth and existence of the family of the deceased. It is believed that the widows were not necessarily forced to be inherited as they could choose whom they wanted to take over and most women did it for their children's future. It was further linked with inheritance because refusing would mean that the wife does not benefit from her late husband's inheritance. Gundani (2004) postulates that "this form of marriage was also meant to maintain family stability in terms of movement of the estate, as well as the purity of the clan. In this way, Shona marriage was meant to ensure that the bereaved wife would remain loyal to the family into which she had been married into". Other reasons were done under the parody of protecting the brother's marriage by fulfilling his conjugal obligations on his behalf as well as discouraging the sexually deprived wife from engaging with an outsider (Kangira et al., 2005).

The Five College Center for the Study of the World (2013) described this practise in the following words "according to "kugara nhaka" when the man dies, there is a post-burial ceremony that happens after a year. After this ceremony, the wife will be bestowed to a new man in another ceremony. Therefore, what happens is all the men in the family who are brothers of the deceased will sit in a single file, if the husband had sons, the sons will join these men, too. Then the woman is given a bowl full of water to wash hands; the woman slowly walks along the row of men with the dish. When she reaches the man whom she sees as a potential husband, she lets that man wash his hands in the bowl of water. If she is not in favour of getting a new husband, she will let her son wash his hands, and that signals her defiance to the idea of

getting a new man". Dube (2017) asserts that in Zimbabwe inheritance is mostly patriarchal thus women rarely inherit a chiefdom or a headman-ship status. The reason for this is that women are regarded as "perpetual minors" hence they would not be able to look after their original family due to commitments in their new family when they get married (Women's International News Network, 2006). Unfortunately, this disregard for women to become heirs also extends to property matters; thus, women find it harder to inherit property in Zimbabwe (Dube, 2017). According to Share (2013), in Ndebele and Shona customs women do not inherit property when their husbands die, hence the debate about custom, culture and tradition is the most intense in inheritance issues. Africa is mostly patriarchal by nature, in cultures like the Tonga, Nyanja, Kalanga and Namibia, when men die the custom provides that inheritance be given only to male relatives of the husband or the eldest son in the deceased's family.

Some of the participants who took part in this study highlighted that the practise had now become unpopular owing to the fact that people have become modernised. Hence, some cultural aspects of the Shona people have lost essence, as well as the position of women in society changing for the better through education, making women more economically advantaged and not entirely dependent on their male counterparts. It can be argued that migration trends and modernisation play a pivotal role in how a society becomes dynamic, migration has allowed women to become economically independent as better opportunities become available to both those with and without qualifications more in the diaspora than back home. Thus, the dependency of women on men in the society has changed in a way that women can now fend for themselves. In this era, in the event that a woman becomes widowed it does not worsen the situation, as most of the women especially in the diaspora are employed one way or the other. In this study, three women worked in the domestic and tourism sector as waiters and they reported that they were actually the first ones to cross the border and their families followed later on. This could be explained by the fact that the opportunities are a bit

viable in the diaspora, as a result, most women are able to obtain menial jobs (even without special qualifications) and provide for their families even without a male head in the picture. Therefore, it is because of these changes that practices such as "kugara nhaka" have lost their essence, as most women are no longer entirely economically dependent on their male counterparts. One single parent participant expressed her views regarding this notion in the following illustration:

> *"one must work very hard, not to depend on someone but I am not saying you should not rely on other people for help completely, but be able to be one person standing on your own and try to provide for your kids as much as possible. I was not able to further my studies because I had a child at a very young age (16 years). So I had to fend for my child and now I have taken him through varsity because when it comes to my son it is painful because I pay the fees and everything on my own without the help of anyone, not even the father but I do not surrender"*. (Participant 11).

It was not from the data that another reason owing to the weakening of this practise could be the migration and the economic conditions back in Zimbabwe. Most of the participants expressed their frustrations of not being able to keep up ties with their relatives from their original homeland because of distance and at times. They could not even perform cultural duties done at funerals and other ceremonials, as they are faraway. This coupled with economic difficulties back in Zimbabwe; people have rather been forced to adopt the modern individualistic way of life as opposed to the African collectivist way of life. There are not enough resources and inflation is rapidly sky rocketing, thus most families are surviving on hand to mouth such that it has become difficult to support the extended family. In this regard, people have also adopted the Western act of drawing wills to safeguard the little they have worked for such that in the event of their death their children and wives will not suffer. This is an action that some of the participants opted for to safeguard their properties from "property grabbing" by extended families who just want to reap the benefits of inheritance without accepting the responsibility of providing for the family of the deceased.

It was clear that both men and women have been involved in the issues of inheritance and fights of the "kugara nhaka" practise. Even though it is still being practised and respected, there are situations whereby family members appoint a member of the family "musara pa vana" (levirate consort) to look after the wife and children of the deceased person. This could be explained by the fact that the person appears to be the head of the family to solve problems that may affect the children but not entirely on an economic basis. However, in other cases women tend to ameliorate their own economic hardships and carry on with their life without having to depend on another man. Thus, in this era more women are highly unlikely to agree to be inherited. Another factor owing to the weakening of this practise is the changes in the legislation owing to the universal declaration on human rights. Moodie (2000) claims that Zimbabwe became one of the first countries to change this situation when it enacted the Legal Age of Majority Act in 1982, which gave women majority status upon attaining 18 years of age.

The findings of the current study showed that the "kugara nhaka" practise seemed to be fading in Southern Africa. These findings support that women in society tried to stand up for their rights for economic needs in order to raise their children, which would have not existed if the widow had no right to inherit from her deceased husband. However, it should be noted that the "kugara nhaka" practise tends to contribute to the spread of the infectious diseases related to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV and AIDS.

5.6.3   Sub-theme 3: Male dominance in the inheritance system

This sub-theme deals with the male dominance in the inheritance systems within families. For instance, Dube (2017) asserts that in Zimbabwe inheritance is mostly patriarchal thus women rarely inherit a chiefdom or a headman-ship status. The reason for this is that women are regarded as "perpetual minors" hence they would not be able to look after their original family due to commitments in their new family when they get married (Women's International News Network, 2006). Unfortunately, this disregard for women to become heirs also extends to

property matters; thus, women find it harder to inherit property in Zimbabwe (Dube, 2017). According to Share (2013), in Ndebele and Shona customs women do not inherit property when their husbands die, hence the debate about custom, culture and tradition is the most intense in inheritance issues. Africa is mostly patriarchal by nature, therefore, in the cultures such as the Tonga, Nyanja, Kalanga and Namibia, when men die the custom provides that inheritance is given only to male relatives of the husband or the eldest son in the deceased's family. One specific woman who took part in this study said:

> *"The issue of legacy beliefs in general especially in our Zimbabwean culture, pertains to mostly male figures in the family getting inheritance from their fathers like cattle, money and properties. but in this new era there has been some significant change in who benefits from a person's inheritance and sharing of things that the deceased left after the funeral "pa nyaradzo yemufi"* (on the deceased person's memorial service) *where people get small things like clothes, kitchen cookware and some personal belongings."* (Participant 13).

The findings indicated that the inheritance or legacy in Zimbabwe traditionally appeared to be not in favour of women to benefit much from their husbands' estates because of a patriarchal society where men are usually on the top of the ladder. Hence, women do not have many rights to own wealth or property but with modernisation, a lot has changed, as women can now even own properties in their name. This is possible because of the certain laws put in place to safeguard the rights of women in such issues.

5.7 Theme Four: Challenges in preserving family legacy beliefs

Concerning the fourth theme, the challenges that influence families of the Zimbabwean immigrants living in SA in preserving their legacy beliefs, identity, families and culture are highlighted. In this theme, participants' experiences related to parenting, family life, identity, and adaptation while in a South African environment were shared. Challenges of parent

participants such as adhering to SA legislation pertaining to their children, the lack of contact with family members are further elaborated on in the respective categories.

Themes	Sub-themes
Challenges in preserving family legacy beliefs	4.1 Parenting in families 4.2 Family lifestyle 4.3 Adaptation strategies 4.4 Maintaining identity

5.7.1   Sub-theme 1: Parenting while living in South Africa

The greatest challenge encountered by Zimbabwean immigrants in maintaining and preserving their family, identity and legacy beliefs while living in SA were shared by the participants who were parents in relation to their parenting. As Zimbabwean immigrants, the participants who were parents felt limited by virtue of existing in a multicultural environment hence they struggled to make a stable parenting style most like the Zimbabwean way. This is the reason why children are exposed to diverse cultural and ethnic groups such as Xhosa, Zulu, White, Indian, Congolese, Coloured, Nigerian and a whole lot of other nationalities existing in South African communities. However, the participants shared that their children tend to pick up different traits and values, which in turn makes it difficult to guide a child in the preferred Zimbabwean way. This seemed to be related to a lack of parental control and power over their children, which they would have managed in Zimbabwe. In addition, the change in lifestyle and societal expectations was expressed as estranging because parents struggled to rein in their children while allowing them to experience and adapt to their new environment. As a result, this was perceived as a barrier that brought some confusion among the parents and their children. The Zimbabwean immigrants who were parents also struggled to preserve their families by instilling discipline in their children through corporal punishment. This was expressed as parents' dis-empowerment in the following extracts:

"I would write down the idea of discipline where I am saying it is important to value yourself as a being...so I feel that this is important especially here in South Africa where our children are growing up in a different environment. There is a lot of pressure and for them to overcome these pressures I think they need to value some of the behaviours that helped us to be what we are today. I think that the young generation is failing in life because of the environment that we are living in, where cultures are mixed and different and to instil the Zimbabwean values in them is very difficult at times. To make it worse some of them do not even want to be identified as Zimbabweans, you see, so it becomes a challenge but for their sake we keep on trying" (Participant 12)

"The environment that our children are growing up in is different from the Zimbabwean situation. So sometimes, even if you want to preserve your culture as a Zimbabwean, you feel that there are factors that might work against that, for example, my plea (wish) is that my sons marry Zimbabwean women but that might not happen, because they are living with South Africans. They are associating with South Africans, they go to school with South Africans and when they meet the girl of their dreams and it will be beyond my control that is a challenge." (Participant 13)

From the above quotations, it is clear that the participants considered living in a foreign land a major deterrent in determining how parental discipline ought to be handled. Fears of either being arrested or having encounters with Child Services caused feelings of failure and friction between some parents and their children. In this regard, they perceived that at some point children could end up being disobedient, defiant to parental authority and abuse children's rights in SA, which is contrary to their rights in Zimbabwe. From the participants' accounts of their experiences with the SA legislation, a contradiction was highlighted pertaining to the disciplining of children, thus corporal punishment was highlighted as an important method of discipline in Zimbabwe while it is criminalised in South Africa. To illustrate this challenge, the Zimbabwean Criminal Law Act, (Codification and Reform) Act (2004) Article 241 provides a parent or guardian authority to administer moderate corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes upon his or her minor child in the home or at school. Nevertheless, Article 7 of the Children's Act (1972) of Zimbabwe highlights that parents or caregivers who ill-treat or neglect children or young persons can be criminally prosecuted.

Article 6 of the same Act also states that: "Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the right of any parent or guardian of any child or young person to administer reasonable punishment to such child or young person" (Children's Act, 1972, p.56). Viewing the challenges experienced by these immigrant parents in preserving their family and identity as well as their parenting role in SA seemed to be in contradiction with the Zimbabwe laws of disciplinary measures that include beating up a child.

The findings from the current study indicate that the participants appeared to be restricted by the South African laws that prohibit them to punish their children, as constitutes child physical abuse. However, the South African laws seemed to be in conflict with the Zimbabwean's law that legally accepted that children might be disciplined. In South Africa, both the Abolition of Corporal Punishment Act, Act 33 of 1997 and SA School's Act of 1996 forbid the use of corporal punishment as a judicial sentence and disciplinary measure in schools. The Child Care Act, Act 74 of 1998 further stipulates that the use of corporal punishment in alternative care settings be not allowed. However, it should be noted that at the time of writing up this thesis, the Zimbabwean government was also in the process of outlawing the use of corporal punishment in schools, but the results of the process were not yet established and fully documented therefore excluded from this study.

It therefore becomes apparent that parenting in a foreign land with mixed cultures direly reduces the support as well as independent decision making on how to discipline their children, which they initially enjoyed in Zimbabwe. Therefore, not having a strong support system (extended family) as well as an interwoven society to mould children, which they previously had before they relocate made parenting difficult. Nevertheless, not only do the financial challenges of survival take precedence, but also systems in the community that used to assist in childcare became fragmented. In addition, Zimbabwean immigrants in SA also experienced challenges pertaining to adhering to the SA legislation for children, with participants expressing

that it was promoting identity crisis in children. Parent participants experienced that their children were confused because of the South African legislation hence forgetting who they are meant to be and cultural values they ought to identify with as Zimbabwean children. As a result, the parent participants reported having to end up compromising what is considered the cultural identity of children in order to maintain peace and avoid clashing with the law to ensure their stay in South Africa. The next sub-theme will delve into challenges related to family life, upholding responsibilities to both the family members whether they relocated or are still living in Zimbabwe.

5.7.2 Sub-theme 2: Family life while living in the diaspora

Family was recognised as a universal theme amongst all the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study, none of the participants considered themselves "family-less" even though they were living in the Diaspora. Zimbabwean immigrants identified families of origin and procreation as crucial in their lives, thus the participants identified these families as constituting their nuclear family. Secondly the extended family was identified and lastly the "community family" as composing what family means and is to them. Chigwedere (2011) contends the participants' definitions of family by stating, "Zimbabwean family life is largely governed by traditional cultural institutions, which govern the lives of the people, hence, these traditions sometimes assume the quasi-religious element to them". In this regard, Pribilsky (2012) colludes that immigration does not necessarily diminish family ties. He further argues that transnational household's function across distances thus allowing family members in the original country to sustain meaningful relationships with those in the host country despite the physical boundaries that separate them. This notion was confirmed by the findings of this study whereby participants revealed that their efforts to ignite their family ties with those who live in Zimbabwe, remains challenging.

In the Zimbabwean culture, the nuclear, extended and community family are paramount in the functioning of individuals and society. According to Bacallao and Smokowski (2007), there are large numbers of immigrants in foreign countries of whom little is known regarding their family life, culture and how they function. In understanding the challenges of immigrant populations in preserving family ties, it is crucial to note their unique descriptions of what family means to them so that the gravity of inability to meet the expected responsibilities can be understood.

Participants who took part in this study expressed the importance of the family unit, hence, all of them were living with their children but most of them migrated alone and then later on took their partners and their children with them, so that they could live together. It was mentioned that for those couples who travelled without their children when they first came to South Africa, they left their children with relatives in the nuclear family and even extended family members. Thus, stressing the importance of the family in the Zimbabwean context. Gelfand (1973) articulates the importance of community as a significant aspect of family life extending that "mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, fellowship, friendship as well as mutual hospitality sum up the relationship a person ought to have with their community family." Participants who reported having been here alone without their families illustrate their experiences:

> "When we first decided to relocate, I came alone to South Africa in 2009 and I stayed for a short time because my husband asked me to come back home as now the currency had been changed to US dollars so we thought everything would be fine. In 2010, my husband lost his job because many companies were closing. We decided to come together, leaving our kids in the care of my mother and sisters, and then in 2011 we decided to bring the kids this side so we could live under one roof, so we could raise them the way we wanted." (Participant 06)

> "I moved to South Africa in 2008 following my husband who came earlier in 2006 and we moved with the boys and later on the first born we sent him back to finish his Secondary school in

Zimbabwe then he came back here when he was going to University. When we came to this side, we continued our jobs as teachers up to date." (Participant 13)

The internationally acknowledged Zimbabwean Shona musician Oliver Mutukudzi produced a hit song that captures the essence of this phenomenon by noting that "Zvamunoona husahwira, hunokunda kukama" which translates to (Conceive that deep mutual friendship supersedes blood relations). Even though, this statement contradicts with the well- known adage of "blood is thicker than water", it expresses the value of community relations outside of Zimbabweans' own nuclear family and emphasize the importance of friends and non-blood relations as part of family life amongst the Shona population. In support of this notion, the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study reported that they had assisted some relatives and other people they are not related to when they came to South Africa for the first time. Participants who experienced this illustrated their experiences in the following manner:

"I have acted like a parent to many kids especially around this place where we are staying now in South Africa because most of them around here they do not have father-figures like my child's friends look up to me because most of them look up to me as a father figure. The family system here in South Africa is broken hence most children do not live with both their parents and they are kind of lost and wayward. I also act like a father to my brothers back home because I do a lot of things for them, like paying school fees for all of them" (Participant 09)

"Bringing with my family and bringing my brothers close by is one of my greatest achievements that I have done, that at least I managed to take off the burden from my parents' side, taking over now being like a mother and a father to them so I am so grateful about it. It's something that I will never regret as I always have someone to speak to when I have issues, when I have problems and as families I have my family with me close by, so that is my greatest achievement that I am happy for." (Participant 15)

Literature pertaining to the Zimbabwean Shona culture captures the concept of extended family adequately, thus the extended family is not considered a second-rate part of the family, but the actual family (Chinyangara et al., 1997). Hence, the argument is that in traditional Zimbabwean societies, children do not exclusively belong to their parents only. Rather, they have obligations

to the wider society, which likewise has responsibility for their proper socialization. In this regard, the concept of 'parent' is therefore wider than the man and woman who are biological parents and the idea of 'family' assumes an extended group of kin.

The researcher, however, observed that the participants who took part in this study did not seem to have much problems when it comes to maintaining family ties with their kinship members back in the homeland. The participants reported the ability to contact their families either via social networks, phone calls, and other mediums and even regular visits back home mostly twice or thrice per year. Falicov (2007) contends the above notion stating that there is no doubt that lives and relationships are linked across borders. Most of the participants expressed that they were supporting their relatives' children who were orphaned, younger brothers and sisters, parents and the extended family altogether back in their original homeland.

The findings highlighted the importance of being a brothers' keeper in assisting in the upbringing of the children of the relatives and families through providing financial support and send remittances exploiting money transfer services like Mukuru.com, Mama money and Senditoo to their advantage as well as providing emotional support, sending groceries and clothes. Even though there were concerns of distance, however, it seemed that this group of Zimbabweans were not experiencing much problems relating to contact and family ties while living in the Diaspora.

5.7.3   Sub-theme 3: Adaptation strategies for preserving family legacy beliefs

Despite the challenges portrayed by parent participants in this study concerning raising and nurturing children in a foreign land, some of them sighted the alternative measures they have taken to ensure that their children do not lose their identity as Zimbabweans. Most parents while acknowledging the difficulties that come with raising children in South African; they expressed their resilience and persistence in moulding their children the Zimbabwean way. This

was achieved through regular home visits to Zimbabwe with their children, constant communication with extended relatives in their original homeland. Hence, the researcher observed the notion of strong connection with the participants' original homeland, upholding their homeland cultural values and beliefs as well as fellowship with other Zimbabweans in South Africa at either church or any other social events. This reinforced their sense of identity and it helped them maintain their values as Zimbabweans even though they were existing in a foreign land with different cultures. This in turn ensured the passing on of Zimbabwean norms and values onto the next generations and helped strengthen their identity and keep in touch with their roots. Parent participants who expressed this opinion illustrated their experiences as follows:

"I believe that taking the children home (Zimbabwe) regularly will prevent them from straying and losing some of the beliefs and values in our culture that we have instilled in them. In this way they will not lose our way of culture and they will carry them with and will not forget them totally, but if you happen to leave them here they will totally forget about it, whereas if you take them home regularly and come back they will know when and how to do things and when not to. For example, if I go to rural areas, I have to dress like this and if I go to town I have to dress like this, that will give them that mentality of changing according to different environments" (Participant 01)

"My children motivate me to keep remembering my roots so that they learn from me and know who they are and not lose their identity in this country where there are mixed cultures" (Participant 02)

Adaptation and acculturation were documented as major challenges for the Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their legacy while living in SA. In support of the above notion, it is believed that the process of adapting to a new environment proves harder for immigrant families than initially anticipated before migrating (Atwell, Gifford & McDonald-Wilmsen, 2009). The possibilities available to parents and their children make it mandatory for them to attempt to blend into the new environments because the opportunities are encouched within a

specific social and cultural environment, which is very different from the one they grew up in (Atwell et al., 2009). Supporting this argument, the Zimbabwean immigrants expressed some sense of struggle in adapting to the culture, language and societal norms as well as values of the South African context. Fear of losing the 'Zimbabweaness' in them further exacerbated difficulties in adaptation. Most participants felt that the host context greatly challenged their notions of family life therefore, while some were struggling to adapt, others were conscious to avoid adaptation for fear of losing themselves.

Language was identified as a huge determinant on whether or not participants adjusted to the SA environment and lifestyle. Participants in this study denoted how they struggled to speak SA languages especially IsiXhosa since most of them were existing in Cape Town where it is the most used language. Atwell (2007) denotes that mastery of the host country's language is crucial to adaptation. Loewen (2004) validates the argument stating that to be excluded from language of the host country is to be excluded from participation in the broader civic life, labour market and the ability to be self-sufficient.

From the above-mentioned discussion, it can be deduced that parenting in a new culture augments challenges for Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa as they struggle to appreciate SA legislation relating to the disciplining and upbringing of their children. Furthermore, adaptation to the South African societal values presents a threat for some parents specifically for those who are not willing to allow their children to assimilate as much of South African subcultures and values as possible.

5.7.4   Sub-theme 4: Maintaining identity while living in South Africa

Identity tends to be a complex term used differently by different authors and scholars. According to Deng (1995), identity is "the sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else". On

the other hand, Hogg and Abrams (1988) define identity as "people's concepts of who they are, or what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others." In other words, identity is not only self-prescribed but also related to how individuals are defined by others based on race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture (Deng, 1995). In this study, participants had their own conceptions of who they are, even though they were Zimbabwean immigrants living in a foreign land, there was not much of a shift in the perceptions of who they are.

Some participants admitted to having adopted the new identities ascribed to them in SA in order to co-exist and fit in with other ethnic groups in South Africa. However, it should be highlighted that some participants were identified to be conflicting with retaining who they are and who they are becoming in SA, while others considered themselves resilient in the face of changing environments and expectations. Descriptions of the Zimbabwean immigrants on their identity bordered along the lines of personal, national and cultural identity and are discussed below.

According to Fearon (1999), personal identity is considered as "a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish him or her in socially relevant ways and that includes the things that a person takes special pride in or takes no special pride in, but which orient his or her behaviour that he or she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or the person feels he or she could not change even if she wanted to" (p.11). In relation to the present study, the findings indicated that the participants' personal identity was compromised, as they were clustered into categories that attempt to alter and suppress their individual identities. Consequently, the findings highlighted that participants found themselves having conflicts between retaining and preserving their personal identity and assumed alternate identities to enable their stay in SA to be conflict-free. This appeared to have an influence on the participants, which affected how they take their pride in Zimbabweans.

The participants reported having a specific perception of who they are, but often they experience some challenges in SA. This resulted in the participants question whether they were really behaving in line with who they perceive themselves to be. Literature presents that the phenomenon of explaining identities are not fixed and change; however, they depend on time, social circumstances and environment amongst other causes (Ravenburg, 2000). Therefore, personal identities are not fixed because they are always being formulated and arranged through repeated interactions of individuals who construct and share with them (Zegeye & Harris 2002). From the findings of this study, it was clear that Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa have reconstructed their perceptions of the self, due to factors such as Xenophobia, wanting to fit in and assimilate into the society.

According to Bloom (1990, p.52), national identity describes the phenomenon in which "a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols and have internalised the symbols of the nation". Therefore, Ravenburg (2000) is of the notion that national identity is a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature by which a society sharing a particular set of characteristics is led to the subjective belief that its members are ancestrally related. Individuals who belong to one national identity share a belief in shared culture, history, symbols, kinship, language, religion, traditions, territory, founding moment, and destiny have been invoked, with varying intensity at different times and places, by peoples claiming to share a particular national identity. This was evident among the participants who took part in this study who ascribed themselves to the Zimbabwean's ascent and showed a sense of pride of where they come from despite expressing feelings of disappointment with the state the country is now.

It should be noted that the researcher observed a flipside to positive national identity among the Zimbabweans as there was a bit of romanticizing their national pride coupled with exaggerated descriptions of who and what the Zimbabwean citizen is or is not. Pasura (2008)

supports this notion of romanticizing the Shona culture by Zimbabweans in the diaspora acknowledging that, Zimbabweans in the diaspora are unaware of the state of moral decline in their own country hence they consider it morally better than most countries in exaggerated and unrealistic terms. To shed light on how the Zimbabwean immigrants in this study spoke of their national identity and virtue in exaggerated terms and in antithesis to that of South Africans, the following statements were highlighted:

> *"We keep on trying to live the Zimbabwean life for example there is very little crime unlike here so we try to stay away from doing criminal things. Now the legacy we are living here in South Africa we are seeing new things which are difficult for us to take in or get used to, it is like when you live in a crime zone you are always locked inside and you do not feel free"* (Participant 09)

> *"The knowledge that I have in my Zimbabwean culture and the comparisons I have seen between these cultures and the consequences of the moral values that I have seen like here there is a lot of crime. Crime such as rape and murder because the people here they do not fear blood and all those things compared to my culture which actually preserves the humanity of people"* (Participant 04)

It was also apparent that some of the participants did not highly regard their identity as Zimbabweans and would much rather not be known as Zimbabwean. These participants portrayed negative attitudes towards their national identity and chose not to associate with anything Zimbabwean. Some of the reasons were slightly political as none of the participants was a victim of the political violence outbursts that occurred while others were due to the challenges they had encountered because of the economic crisis that had caused them to migrate. One woman who aired such a view had this to say:

> *"Values, norms and way of life here in South Africa are totally different from the way things are done in Zimbabwe. So adjusting and fitting in takes time and because of issues like Xenophobia you find yourself not wanting to be identified as a Zimbabwean because of fear. So you end up behaving like a South African and hiding your true identity and these double standards are difficult to maintain and it is straining"* (Participant 10)

In other words, from the attitudes towards national identity, it can be concluded that essentially, people can be Zimbabwean without desiring to act Zimbabwean. Reasons like wanting to fit in and not being labelled a foreigner, fear of xenophobic attacks, shame and different cultural practices left some of the participants feeling the need to not wanting to be acknowledged as Zimbabweans for their safety.

Interwoven with national identity, is cultural identity. Cultural identity is rooted in socialisation, which is when individuals are taught who they are or are not in relation to those with values and traditions. The researcher's view is that cultural identity grows out of national and personal identity because culture is usually prescribed by the national values and culture. In essence, all the participants in this study identified themselves in terms of the Zimbabwean culture even though there were differences in orientations and the level of immersion in cultural underpinnings, all participants identified themselves culturally.

In this study, cultural identity preservation was reported as one of the greatest sources of challenges for the Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa. Most participants mentioned that the challenges came when they found themselves trying to maintain their cultural identity in a South Africa loaded with its own varied ethnic cultures. The major challenge exposed by the parents in this study was linked to preservation of cultural identity in their children. Montgomery (2009) denotes that childcare is portrayed as not only confined to the provision of basic needs of shelter, food and clothing but also relating to a larger system of cultural practice, which ensures that children are socialized and acculturated into the caregivers' desired social practices. Parent participants therefore experienced conflict in terms of preserving and passing their cultural identity to their children. Hernandez and McGoldrick (1999) postulate that acculturation gaps between children and parents leads to family stress especially as children acculturate faster thereby widening intergenerational differences in a

family. These kinds of conflicts fuels especially adolescent rebellion and contribute to alienation between parents and children.

In support, Correa-Velez, Gifford and Barnett (2010) postulate that there is a tug-of-war in migrant children because of participating in their ethnic community as well as being expected to engage with the host community. The same authors argue that migrant children either end up over-identifying with their home culture or the host culture or even end up being marginalised from both. In other words, it can be noted that immigrant parents walk a "tightrope" because they usually have fears that the "new culture" could destroy their children. Bacallao and Smokowski (2007) referred to children and adolescence born and socialized in a foreign country and subsequently migrated to another country as "generation 1.5", as they are said to experience the worst upheaval of family cultural systems hence they are caught in between two cultural systems. This is true in the context that South Africa is a rainbow nation with more than just two dominant cultures as is the case with Zimbabwe (Shona and Ndebele). One can therefore only imagine the upheaval children of Zimbabwean immigrants' experience through exposure to many cultures. Parents who expressed worry about this notion illustrated their concerns in the following quotations:

> *"In this case I can say that some motivators to preserving our culture are the children because they are the ones who can be affected, me I cannot be affected because I know what is right and what is wrong and I know where to dress this and where not to. So for them I can say taking them home (Zimbabwe) regularly that will prevent them from straying or losing some of their beliefs and values in our culture that we have instilled in them. In this way, they will not lose our way of culture and they will carry them with and not forget them totally."* (Participant 01)

> *"Yes there are a lot of problems like the Zimbabwean culture is different from the South African ways even dressing is different so it is difficult for us as parents to know how exactly to mould our children"* (Participant 06)

"Sometimes, even if you want to preserve your culture as a Zimbabwean, you feel that there are factors that might work against that, for example my plea (wish) is that my sons marry Zimbabwean women but that might not happen because they are living with South Africans. They are associating with South Africans, they go to school with South Africans and when they meet the girl of their dreams and it will be beyond my control that is a challenge." (Participant 13)

Apart from children experiencing culture related challenges, adults are also reported to experience challenges in preserving their cultural identity once they move to another country. Although arguably for most adults, cultural identity was already instilled in them by the time they relocated, preserving that culture amidst trying to get ahead in SA is a daunting task. A major challenge for most participants related to preservation of cultural values during different and mixed cultures existing in South Africa. While it was easy to preserve the cultural identity, norms and values amongst Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study, it was not without hassles, challenges were denoted in preserving the Zimbabwean cultural identity while living in a foreign land. The following participants provide evidence of their struggle to continue upholding their cultural values and identity as Zimbabweans:

"According to our culture, we have things that we are into, things that we follow such as dressing and how you socialise with people. The moment we moved this side I think here it is very different from what you have been used to, so there will be some little changes on the way that will cause a bad influence. If I can say in the culture, because the way we dress in our Zimbabwean culture (not the modern one) is totally different from where we are right now. So that mixture of different cultures will lead to the disruption of some sort in you cultural values because you want to fit in, in a foreign land you have to follow what is happening there which will disturb your cultural values totally." (Participant 01)

"I would not really say, of course we are confronted with an array of challenges so if we were to dissect the challenges we could look at the challenges at an economic level, a social level, at a political level. We are coming into South Africa as underdogs, we are coming from a point of disadvantage as foreigners, so the fact that you are a foreigner, you are coming as a second citizen but of course that does not mean that we have to use that as an excuse for not making it or for not creating a legacy. So the challenges of course are there but that is not an excuse for us to not succeed and leave a legacy" (Participant 07)

Contrary to the above mentioned notions about difficulties in maintaining and preserving cultural identity as well as cultural values among the participants, some presented that they were in touch with their cultural identity and roots hence they were not moved by the fact that they were exposed to a wide array of mixed cultures in South Africa. Participants expressed their views in the following manner:

> *"Right from my perspective or from my point of view I think that motivation is split into two as well, it can be either intrinsic or extrinsic. So intrinsically, I mean that is the type of motivation within you. For me, I am personally someone who is motivated. I am somebody who is positive, so I always feel the urge to push and to gain a legacy, so that is me, nobody is pushing me, but of course I have a family to take care of and I have kids, that is an external factor that is motivating me as well to try and preserve my legacy, that is in terms of cultural values, norms and maybe in terms of material wealth as something that has always crossed in my mind, so those two types of motivation that I have"* (Participant 07)

> *"I think what has happened for me in the last five years, the biggest thing which has helped me to preserve my beliefs as a Zimbabwean is the advancement of technology. I can do video calls on a daily basis with my parents and family in Zimbabwe, my son gets to understand what it means to be a Shona boy growing up. For example, he gets to clap before he can receive his plate of food whereas that value is not practised here in South Africa, so because of technology. Whenever my son is having a conversation with my mother and my mother-in-law the values are being shared because he is asked to follow the other culture as a Zimbabwean which would have been difficult if there was no technological connection between us and the family back home"*. (Participant 03)

> *"I think my family has given me an extra mile to keep on moving and keeping our values and beliefs and also keeping in touch with our fellows from Zimbabwe and attending Zimbabwean fellowship church meetings where we gather as one family and pray together the way we used to back home"* (Participant 09)

As noted from the above quotations, participants were fighting to stay afloat and preserve their cultural identity and not be swallowed in the South African mixed cultures; hence, there was a sense of pride in the Zimbabwean culture. Most participants reflected on several activities undertaken to maintain cultural identity while living in a foreign land. These were deemed

useful and powerful in maintaining the Zimbabwean cultural identity and these included attending Church fellowships with fellow migrants where the participants took time to praise God their Zimbabwean way and by doing so greatly impacted the maintenance of their cultural identity as Zimbabweans. Besides Church meetings, participants listed private gatherings such as funerals, birthday celebrations amongst themselves, where they cook, meet and greet and spend time in their cultural way. It is believed that it is at these events that children get to learn more about their homeland culture. Participants voiced concerns that these gatherings as the Shona people helped much in keeping in touch with their roots and maintaining their pride as Zimbabweans even though they are surrounded by different South African ethnic groups.

Regular visits back to the original homeland were also stated as one of the ways Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa, employed in order to maintain their cultural identity. Participants who are parents stressed the importance of regularly visiting their homeland with their children, they claimed that this was the most crucial way in which their kids could know their roots, where they come from and develop a sense of pride in their nationality which in turn helped in boosting their cultural identity. This was highlighted as the most important tool utilised by migrant participants to maintain their cultural identity as well as imparting their cultural values on to their children. Some of the participants stated that some of their children were in boarding schools back home and would only visit their parents during holidays.

However, some participants expressed feelings of struggling to find a balance between upholding their cultural identity and at the same time trying to assimilate and fit into the Diasporian societies they now live in. In summary, the Zimbabwean immigrants living in SA who participated in this study shared their experiences of preserving their identity as a challenge. It was evident that although most participants cherished their personal, national and cultural identities, the xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes from South Africans were an impediment to them enjoying let alone attempting to preserve their identity. It can therefore be

deduced that most immigrants experienced hardships, which resulted in them consciously rejecting their personal, national and cultural identity for the sake of survival. In this regard, it can be argued that the Diasporian context is causing Zimbabweans to lose their national and cultural identity. This also signifies the ongoing debates amongst Zimbabweans who live in SA over who is "Zimbabwean enough" and who has been colonised by the new environment.

It emerged that being a foreigner was a challenge on its own, hence maintaining and preserving a person's identity came with even bigger obstacles, which often result in grievous challenges to their identity, children and family. The main themes that emerged from the findings of Zimbabwean immigrants living in SA were challenges in preserving their families, challenges in preserving their identity as well as challenges in parenting. Fifteen participants consisting of male, female, married and unmarried Zimbabwean immigrants provided these findings. These participants became immigrants in SA after leaving Zimbabwe for political, economic, or family reunification reasons.

All the participants who took part in this study had devised plans of transmitting possessions. Fairness was the most primary value expressed by the participants during the interviews in relation to passing on material belongings. Even though most the participants expressed motives and possibility of getting them drawn in the near future, they emphasized equal distribution of their belongings fairly among their children irrespective of their gender. This notion was supported in the assertion put forward by (Rosenfeld, 1979) that, 'while wills certainly provide vehicles for the exercise of power and a means of punishment, the vast majority of persons in United States culture follow rules of equality and equity'. Despite originating from a patriarchal society, participants found it crucial that the distribution of goods be perceived as fair by everyone involved to allow harmony. This may have been influenced by factors such living in a different country, witnessing disputes that arise because of

inheritance issues in families as well as trying to build a lasting legacy for their offspring, especially now that they are living in a foreign country.

There emerged in the study that most participants had no possessions such as heirlooms and they expressed that they did not put much value in material legacy but values not putting much importance in materials. This could have been influenced by immigration: families, who came to South Africa, did not bring with them many heirlooms for practical reasons. The other reason for these participants was the economic inflation back in Zimbabwe. The participants were at the peak of the accumulative phase of their lives during the period economic conditions in Zimbabwe began in the 2000s hence they had minimal accumulation of artefacts or possessions due to lack of resources. This aids in understanding why much importance was not placed on material things but education and values.

5.8   Summary

This chapter presented the findings relating to the understanding of legacy beliefs among Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa who participated in this study. Participants understood legacy in various ways and perceptions in the Zimbabwean context and in general relating to leaving inheritance in forms of wealth, cultural values and properties to oncoming generations as well as showing some generativity through expressed desires to impart certain values, skills and cultural values onto their children such that it would not die down with them. In understanding the phenomenon in this study, it was discovered that the migration trends of Zimbabweans into the Diaspora, giving birth to the challenges they encountered while trying to preserve their national and cultural identity while living in a foreign land. The next chapter will consolidate the study by summarizing the whole study, as well as providing conclusions and recommendations on the subject under study. The researcher will also endeavour to give recommendations on future studies based on the gaps in current literature.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6   Introduction

This study has been an undertaking to explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding legacy beliefs while living in South Africa, employing an exploratory-descriptive qualitative research study. The study was conducted in Cape Town, South Africa and it followed. Fifteen Zimbabwean immigrant participants consented to be part of the study and they were selected by means of purposive and snowball sampling methods. Having finalized the study, this chapter presents the summaries of the chapters, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

The summaries drawn from this research study are related to whether the aim, objectives, methodology and findings of the study excelled in providing adequate answers to the research questions mentioned at the beginning of the study. Thus, this chapter will include a general summary and the primary points underlined in Chapters One, Two and Three as well as the conclusions. Subsequently, the themes that emerged from the findings of the present and conclusions are summarised. Relating to the findings of the study, recommendations to different stakeholders are provided.

6.1   Summaries of the chapters

The following segment of this chapter presents summaries of the chapters to highlight the primary points.

6.2   Chapter One (Introduction and background)

This chapter enclosed the blueprint of the research study, which the researcher introduced the study by defining migration, diaspora, legacy as well as describing the nature of being a Zimbabwean immigrant. Furthermore, the dearth in literature on how Zimbabwean immigrant families perceive issues relating to legacy beliefs, adapt and retain what they have known to be their identity, family norms and standards while living in SA was identified. Additionally, the first chapter presented the gap in literature that led to the generation of the research problem, which in turn informed the research question: "How do Zimbabwean immigrants perceive legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa?"

The aim of the study was to explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding legacy beliefs while living in South Africa.

By employing a qualitative research approach, the researcher was able to address appropriately the research problem thereby addressing the main goal and objectives of the study, namely:

- To explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions and their understanding regarding legacy beliefs.

- To explore and describe the factors influencing the Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs.

In Chapter One, the researcher also provided the summary of the research methodology employed in relation to explorative and descriptive research designs, which led to participant recruitment and selection of the participants using the purposive and snowballing sampling methods. The participants engaged in unstructured individual interviews, which assisted in the production of the data. The researcher oriented the readership on how trustworthiness was upheld in a bid to ensure that the data was credible, transferable, reliable and conformable (D"Cruz & Jones, 2004). Lastly, ethical considerations that regulated the research to ensure

that appropriate research principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, self-determination and voluntary participation were conversed.

In this regard, Chapter One was adequately able to deliver the blueprint and framework that guided the study. Problem formulation and the research gap gave birth to the research question, which was appropriately answered through the implementation of the qualitative methodology, and research designs conversed throughout this chapter. The next segment provides a summary and conclusion of Chapter Two in relation to the entire study.

6.3   Chapter two (Theoretical framework)

In this chapter, the researcher deliberated upon the two theoretical frameworks, which guided this study: the typology of legacy beliefs related to values, materials items/resources, and biological characteristics (Hunter & Rowles, 2005) and Generativity theory (Korte, 1984). These theories provided a framework for this research by focusing on the connection between individuals through values, knowledge, beliefs, moral values and other cultural constructs. Those ones that are partible from one person to another as well as group and inter-group processes and relations. The typology of legacy beliefs explored people's desire for, understanding of and the actions relating to leaving a legacy. It explains the notion that the desire for legacy sprouts from the idea of striving to have a purpose in life that leaves a mark to show that "we were here; we thought; we loved and we created" (Kane, 1996).

Hunter and Rowles (2005) postulate that "the process of leaving something behind, a legacy is intimately tied up with our life story and shaping the manner in which we are to be remembered". The typology of legacy beliefs is related to values, materials items/resources, and biological characteristics (Hunter & Rowles, 2005). Hence, it automatically becomes an avenue for transmitting a resilient and long lasting image of what a person stood for in life.

This theoretical context encompasses three constructs of legacy, which are the life story of identity, psychological development and beyond generativity to legacy. These three constructs work best in exploring legacy beliefs among individuals; hence, they are relevant in this study. In this regard, it is crucial to acknowledge that there is something beyond generativity in the context of leaving a mark for future generations posing a deeper exploration into the experiences of legacy creation and transmission.

In a bid to understand the legacy beliefs among immigrants, the researcher also uses generativity theory, as it helps to explain how legacy concerns sprout among individuals. Generativity refers to an adult's concern for and commitment to the well-being of youth and subsequent generations of human beings, as evidenced in parenting, teaching, mentoring, and other activities and involvements aimed at passing a positive legacy on to the next generation (Erikson, 1963; Kotre, 1984; Hart et al., 2001). This theory resonates with the seventh stage from Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development, brought up in the 1950s, over 60 years ago. It is believed to occur during middle adulthood between the ages of 40 and 65 years. Accordingly, it can be argued that legacy beliefs and generativity are intertwined in a way that links them in building a need to leave something for those that will come after you. The experiences associated with being an immigrant, ways employed to maintain family ties with those back in the original homeland were deliberated upon integration into a foreign society as well as theoretical underpinnings of the typology of legacy beliefs and the generativity theory and how it relates to legacy beliefs were deliberated upon. These theoretical frameworks paved the way for the review literature to provide perspective as well as the need for exploring and describing legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa.

6.4   Chapter Three (Literature Review)

In relation to chapter three, the reviewed literature focus on the issue of migration, which was discussed based on the history and prevalence of Zimbabwean immigration trends in South Africa and globally. A pivotal finding from the literature review was that contrary to media speculations in SA. It has been noted that immigration is a new and overwhelming trend, factually, immigration in South Africa dates back to the apartheid era (Polzer, 2009). The depicted issues related to migration, and statistics appeared to contribute to this dynamic issue. The Zimbabwean people were presented in detail including their cultural standpoints and beliefs in a bid to put the study into context Experiences associated with being an immigrant and ways employed to maintain family ties with those back in the original homeland were deliberated upon integration into a foreign society. Theoretical underpinnings of the typology of legacy beliefs and the generativity theory were deliberated upon how they relate to legacy beliefs. Finally, the challenges of being immigrants and still having to maintain family ties and identity were expanded on after having defined who the Zimbabwean people are in line of their cultural and national identity.

In conclusion, Chapter Three was the foundation on which the gaps in literature were identified. The literature review placed the study in a context, as various authors presented salient points pertaining to legacy beliefs in general. Fundamentally, Chapter Three was an effective pre-cursor into the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs as well as, in preserving their family and identity while living in SA. This literature was crucial in contributing as a reference point on the research question, aim and objectives of the study.

6.5   Chapter four (Research methodology)

Regarding Chapter Four, the research methodology used in the present study was described, justified and implemented in order to address the research problem and question through the research aim and objectives. Social constructionism was adopted as a research paradigm that appeared to embrace the multiple realities. Therefore, a qualitative research approach was employed through the descriptive and explorative designs. Participants were selected by means of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. In-depth, unstructured individual interviews were conducted with 15 Zimbabwean immigrants in order to gain understanding of and their insight into the phenomenon of legacy beliefs as well as the challenges they experienced in a bid to preserve their family and identity while living in SA. In-depth, unstructured individual interviews were audio-recorded and immediately transcribed verbatim, and then translated from Shona to English. Furthermore, the data generated from the in-depth, unstructured individual interviews were thematically analysed, as described in Creswell (2012). The data was analysed, compared, and contrasted with existing literature.

In essence, the researcher ensured that the research methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, which prompted the researcher to conclude that the research aim and the objectives were adequately achieved. This was done in line with the Lincoln and Guba's (1985) trustworthiness that ensured that the study was credible by considering credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as explained in Chapter four. In this regard, ethical considerations inclusive of the right to informed consent, voluntary participation, beneficence, right to privacy and confidentiality as well as fair treatment ensured that this research adhered to principles of good research practice. The data analysis resulted in a presentation of the findings in Chapter Four.

Thus, Chapter Four elaborated on the methods used to answer the research question. This chapter therefore, underlined the qualitative research methodology utilised throughout the

exploratory and descriptive research designs. The researcher believes that the chosen research approach, method, designs and techniques employed in this study were all effective in addressing the aim and objectives of the study by adequately answering the research question. Accordingly, the following section summarises the presentation and discussion of the findings of the study in Chapter Five.

6.6 Chapter Five (Presentation and discussion of the findings)

In Chapter Five, the participants' socio-demographic information was presented based on the age, gender, language, duration of stay, reason for migration as well as relationship status. Demographic information depicted that the participants who took part in the study were of the middle age to contextualise the study with Erickson's theory of generativity and it detailed a high number of females; thereby confirming literature that postulates that more and more women are joining migration trends due to the feminization of poverty (Crush & Tevera, 2010). The demographics also revealed that the number of economic migrants from Zimbabwe to SA spiked after the 2008 Zimbabwean elections based on the participants' accounts of when they arrived in South Africa. The latter thereby confirmed the literature that postulated that most Zimbabweans became immigrants in South Africa at the brink of economic, social and political upheaval in Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008).

From the Chapter four, there four major themes and 12 sub-themes that emerged from the participants' accounts of their perceptions regarding legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. A summary of the research findings under each of the respective themes follows:

6.6.1 Theme One: Understanding of legacy beliefs

In this theme, the researcher gave an account of Zimbabwean immigrants' understanding of legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. In addition, the first theme highlighted how the

participants perceived and communicated legacy beliefs in their context by virtue of them being immigrants, as opposed to previous studies sampling individuals living in their original homelands. It emerged that the participants defined legacy in different ways but also in the most usual ways. Common themes that emerged from Zimbabwean immigrants' understanding of legacy beliefs included: inheritance (nhaka) in families, influence on others as role modelling, transmission of values, beliefs and culture, remembrance and contributions in society as well as achievements in life. Participants mentioned that they were aware and had heard about legacy at some point in life and generally their definitions ranged from material, personal traits, values and any other things that can be passed onto future generations. Another finding was that in as much as participants expressed the importance of leaving monetary and material legacies for their children, much importance was stressed on passing on cultural values, beliefs and norms to ensure the continuity of future generations.

 In summary, the understanding of Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to legacy beliefs was more universal and they shared almost the same sentiments expressed in other previous studies conducted. Most participants expressed notions of wanting to leave a good legacy for their children, grandchildren and the society. Families were presented as very precarious on the evolution of good family relationships and survival of future generations. Expressing the reasons behind them having to migrate from their original homeland in order to provide for their families and build better legacies for their children and families. It can therefore be concluded that legacy beliefs were valuable and crucial for Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa as it assisted them in preserving their identity and way of life as well, even though they were far away from their roots.

6.6.2 Theme Two: Categories of legacies shared in families

The findings in this theme illuminated legacy in families as falling in four spectrums, which are: biological, parental, technical and cultural generativity. These four categories were identified as distinct yet connected as they are intertwined and contribute to all understandings regarding what legacy is all about. In the second theme, the complexity of the legacy concept was understood as a phenomenon that appeared to be different from ethnic groups all over the globe. Hence, this theme de-constructed the complexity of the legacy concept based on the participants' discourse in this study. During the process of interview and data collection, the researcher observed that participants mentioned different types of legacy while exploring their perceptions and understanding of legacy as Zimbabweans. For this reason, the researcher saw it fit to look into the different types of legacy employing Kotre's theory. It is clear that the second theme builds on the main theoretical perspectives used for this study: the typology of legacy beliefs and Erikson's Generativity theory.

Kotre (1984), states that the wish to be generative is expressed in many ways including biologically, culturally, technically as well as parental-wise, hence the notion that generativity expresses the "desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self". Focusing on this theme, the participants expressed a sense of generativity in that they stated that they had at some point influenced someone positively through teaching a skill, giving advice, caring for their offspring and other ways crucial in shaping one's future as well as passing on values and traits to them. All the participants expressed concerns of wanting to leave a mark on this earth through the dominant and common desires. The findings indicated that the participants were keen to leave something for their children, and they had a desire that drove them to migrate to South Africa and endured all the challenges that came with this movement and settling in this foreign land. In some words, it can be termed the Zimbabwean

legacy of migration as a large chunk of Zimbabweans citizens are scattered all over the world, in search of "greener pastures".

In conclusion, the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study expressed concerns about transmitting their culture onto future generations through their children because of living in a foreign land. Hence, they showed concerns of worry towards a wide array of different cultures. This theme focused on explaining the generativity process and its different types of legacies that relate to the Zimbabwean immigrants.

6.6.3 Theme Three: Re-emerging legacies in families

The third theme presented the re-emerging legacy beliefs based on the discussions made with the participants. This theme dealt with new elements of legacies that emerged and were not recognised in previous studies related to legacy beliefs, for instance, the land issue (termed the Zimbabwean legacy) and kugara nhaka (wife inheritance). Another sub-theme was male dominance in issues related to inheritance owing to the fact that Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society, stressing the importance of males in the society as opposed to their female counterparts. The re-emergence of the difference of legacy beliefs can be attributed to cultural beliefs, as most studies on legacy beliefs mainly focused on White races, Black Americans as well as Indians and not on Black Africans. Sub-themes are presented and discussed in detail below.

In this theme, the concept of Kugara nhaka (wife inheritance) was listed as a common practice among the Shona people and it was expressed as crucial in allowing the continuation of the family. Even though it is not a common belief around the world and has since served in this era, it was listed as an important and crucial part in terms of inheritance in families. A startling finding emerged from the participants' interviews that inheritance was much more inclined to inheriting land and properties from others, mostly beneficial to males rather than their female counterparts citing that Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society. In other words, the belief that men

should benefit more than women in terms of inheritance is still common. Though this most participants expressed feelings of wanting to do away with such beliefs and ensuring that all their children would fairly benefit from their legacy regardless of their gender.

6.6.4 Theme Four: Challenges Preservation of family legacy beliefs

This theme illuminated on a range of challenges encountered by Zimbabwean immigrants in trying to preserve their family legacies once they settled in SA. One shared predicament encountered by most parent participants who took part in the study was parenting problems in SA. Parents expressed that parenting was a bit difficult in SA as the parenting style is very different from the Zimbabwean way, especially pertaining to issues related to reprimanding children. In this regard, parent participants expressed worry over how best to raise their children in a setting that is very different from the one they were born and raised in their country. The findings of this study presented a dilemma where parent participants expressed feelings of being worried over their children over-identifying with foreign cultures than their Shona culture. Owing to the fact that most kids were being raised in SA; hence, they were divorced from their homeland cultural ways and kinship ties were severed in one or the other.

In this theme, it was highlighted that Zimbabwean immigrants encountered challenges relating to maintaining family ties and lifestyle and trying to assimilate into South African society. Participants who took part in this study had lived in Cape Town for at least 8 years or more but they still felt unsafe, citing high crime rate as well as issues related to xenophobic attacks. This usually culminated in most people not wanting to reveal their identity of being Zimbabwean, hence some reported that they over-identified with some South African cultural traits in order to fit in, thereby creating a cultural dilemma and confusion. Lack of support was listed as another challenge faced by immigrants during their stay in SA, because the belief back in their original homeland is that "it takes a village to raise a child". Thus having to stay far away from relatives meant that some cultural values, norms and traits were lost in the process of settling

in and adapting to the South African way of life. The participants reported diminished support from the support structures they previously relied on before relocating to SA, such as traditional and religious systems.

To sum up, even though this theme highlighted the challenges encountered by Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study, it was noted and made crystal clear that, though these challenges there were coping strategies for adaptation for every participant. They mentioned and attributed visiting their original homeland to keep in touch with their roots, maintain family ties as playing a crucial role in them being able to keep remembering their identity and preserving legacy beliefs, to ensure continuity of future generations. This theme highlighted the challenges encountered by Zimbabwean immigrants in the process of adapting and settling in SA. As a result, most participants echoed the need for service providers familiar with Zimbabwean lifestyle.

Concluding the findings, the position of being an immigrant was presented as a difficult experience that causes serious challenges of family and identity preservation. The findings that emerged from the data were sufficient in paving way for future studies on the subject matter. The researcher was able to explore and describe the perceptions highlighted by the participants, thereby adequately achieving the research aim and objectives of the study.

6.7 Limitations of the study

However, the challenges experienced in conducting the research study did not deter the final findings. An evaluation of the data collection process and a highlight of the limitations of the study concluded this chapter. The limitations illuminated included the hardships in accessing participants of the Ndebele descent due to the reason that the study was conducted in one specific residential area hence the researcher was led to a small circle making it difficult to

access Ndebele participants. Interviewing participants who felt some issues discussed as too personal making it difficult to get the much-needed detail. Lastly interviewing of desperate participants in expectation of some form of material and emotional assistance despite being informed that none would be given.

6.8   Recommendations

This section presents the recommendations that emanated from the findings into three sections, which include families and child and families studies, social workers and allied helping professionals, government policy makers, immigration officials and SAPS and future researchers.

6.8.1   Recommendations for families and child and family studies

As highlighted in the findings, the Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study were quite aware of what legacy is and what it entails. Most participants were deemed generative as they expressed feelings of wanting to create long lasting legacies for oncoming generations. It was however revealed that as much as participants were quite acquainted with legacy issues they did not have proper measures in place to protect their material legacies. It is with these realizations in mind that the following recommendations are made:

- It is recommended that immigrant families should secure their material legacies meant for their children and future generations through putting it in writing, drawing up of wills and trust funds, which will go a long way in ensuring that the rightful beneficiaries benefit from the inheritance they will leave.

- It is further recommended that families meet up with legal professionals, so that they can get an insight on what options they have to secure their inheritance, especially for immigrants living far away from their relatives to avoid property grabbing, in the event that they pass on in a foreign land.

- It is recommended that immigrant families should educate their offspring on their family legacies and beliefs to allow for the continuity of generational value based legacies, as they are crucial to identity. This could help in ensuring a continuum and survival of different ethnic groups especially for children growing up in foreign countries. In addition, it helps in these transnational children identifying more with their original cultural and national identity, which is crucial in one's life. This is so, because identity is crucial in one's ability to want to contribute and leave a legacy for future generations.

- It is also recommended that families should begin to move away from the old system, which favours males benefiting more than their female counterparts do when it comes to issues of family inheritance. This is crucial as patriarchy rather defeats the whole notion of leaving a legacy, because when women are left behind in the issues it creates a legacy of burdens for generations to come, contributing to a never-ending cycle of poverty. Therefore, this also urges the Zimbabwean government and legal system to reinforce and revise Zimbabwean laws pertaining to women attaining property, as opposed to the indigenous laws. NGOs and other Human Rights organisations should ensure that communities are constantly conscientized on the importance of ensuring gender fairness when it comes to issues of inheritance in Zimbabwe.

- The study revealed that even though legacy is a well-known concept in Zimbabwe, most scholars have mainly focused mainly on the "kugara nhaka" (wife inheritance) concept. Not much research has dwelt on legacy beliefs among Zimbabweans except for the fact that most research dwells much on the male dominance and the wife inheritance concept. It is important that families should educate their children on family legacies and how best to build long lasting legacies and break the chain of inheriting a legacy of poverty.

- It is recommended that the Department of Child and Family Studies take cognisance into the importance of family legacies in their curriculum, as this is crucial to issues of family preservation as well as identity issues. These concepts are crucial to the department and could lead to more ground breaking studies in studies related to the survival of the family unity.

6.8.2 Recommendations for social workers and allied professionals

This study revealed that none of the undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants had encounters with social workers and allied professionals from both government and non-governmental organizations. Owing to the fact that, they may have been scared to be identified as illegal immigrants and they lacked knowledge on which bodies to approach for assistance, as they are foreigners. It became evident that with specialized knowledge and availability of services meant for the undocumented even more immigrants would employ the services of social workers and allied professionals. The participants felt unsupported and rather judged and castigated instead, hence, none of them mentioned seeking support from these professionals. It is with these realizations in mind that the following suggestions are made:

- It is recommended that social workers and other professionals from government and NGO's should become aware of relational and acculturative stresses that come with immigration as they are portrayed in gender and generational relationships. This is crucial for the Zimbabwean immigrant families, as it requires that service providers re-define family life because traditional patterns common in most families before migration no longer apply in the South African context. In-service training, conferences and workshops are mediums that can be used to educate social workers, doctors, teachers and other professionals on the best practice models when dealing with immigrants living in South Africa. Therefore, it is further recommended that prominent

organizations that advocate for the rights of immigrants such as Cape Town Refugee Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights be at the forefront of conscientizing communities and professionals of the plight of undocumented immigrants.

- It is recommended that social workers and allied therapists' services should be tailored towards family and identity preservation in a manner that relates to family life changes due to migration. The foundation of family therapy is its commitment to understanding how people connect and how relationships change context. Officials from the education department, social service practitioners and medical personnel are therefore recommended to draw new analytical frameworks. Those that help in understanding family interventions with migrant populations taking cognisance into the immigrants' culture and identity before migration. This therefore mitigates the challenges caused by globalised migration and help with adaptation into the host country, as it will work as the much needed support system for foreign families.

- It is further recommended that all micro, mezzo and macro interventions by social service professionals be sensitive and responsive to immigrants' cultural, racial and ethnic differences between South Africans and Zimbabweans. This is supported by social work principles, which encourages practitioners to embrace the uniqueness of every individual. Therefore, practitioners need to serve the Zimbabwean immigrant families within their own unique and specific contexts that realize the role played by culture in shaping their beliefs about what constitutes their identity, legacies as well as family lives. As the social work code of ethics is pro- respect for persons and understanding of diversity regardless of race or creed, the researcher therefore recommends that services to the Zimbabwean immigrants who are at-risk families must be culturally competent.

- It is further recommended that Zimbabwean nationals with social work and similar professional qualifications in possession of valid permits and visas in SA formulate a network to help fellow Zimbabwean immigrants especially the undocumented in SA. As for social work, code of ethics encourages social workers to engage in voluntary service where possible. It is recommended that these professionals should utilise their knowledge and skills to advocate for the rights and welfare of immigrants and bring awareness to some of the challenges highlighted in this study.

6.8.3 Recommendations for government, policy makers, immigration officials and SAPS

This study could inform government departments such as the Department of Home Affairs, policy makers and relevant NGO stakeholders on how best to assist foreign nationals in their host countries to preserve their legacy, family beliefs and identity. The following recommendations are made:

- It is recommended that utilising this and research of the same discourse, policy makers re-assess the laws and legal frameworks currently practised in South Africa regarding foreign nationals. The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) being the principal governmental department that deals with admission of foreigners into the republic could begin to advocate for a review of current legislation pertaining to foreigners. The DHA ought to train its officials by educating them on the treaties SA has signed about immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in SA. The government of SA in collaboration with the DHA and SAPS could invest in sponsoring employees to attend courses and studies in immigration studies at institutions such as University of Witwatersrand, which hold the prestigious African Centre for Migration & Society. This will be pivotal

work towards understanding issues of migration as home affairs and SAPS officials work with immigrants from all over Africa on a daily basis. Revise the sentence

- The researcher recommends that international organizations such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) amongst others begin to hold countries accountable for violations to the human rights violations targeted at immigrants with specific reference to those undocumented. Just as SA has signed various treaties to protect immigrants, it is important that these bodies begin to advocate that the treaties be honoured.

- It emerged during the study that both Zimbabwean immigrants and SA nationals are not fully aware of the human rights related to immigration. It is therefore recommended that human rights-based organizations and immigration policy makers collectively invest in conscientizing the masses. This serves to ensure that positive steps are taken towards South Africans and the Zimbabwean immigrants in SA to understand their role in the life of the other to ensure interdependency. This therefore strives for unity at the same time retaining a sense of individuality to avoid being shrunk into the other. These awareness sessions could start at community level where ward councillors are encouraged to organize activities and events where both the Zimbabwean and South African residents have cultural shows to showcase the different cultures. This will not only foster awareness but the much-needed cohesion and respect for the identity of the other. This will go a long way into mitigating xenophobia as South African citizens may also be accorded the opportunity to get to know the Zimbabweans, thereby dispelling some myths they may have of who the Zimbabwean people are.

6.8.4 Recommendations for future research

Future research would do well to conduct a study that explores the perceptions of other immigrant nationals in SA. It was apparent during the study that South Africa is not a second home to Zimbabwean immigrants only but other African immigrants, hence it would be crucial to further study on these different nationalities. Nationalities from countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, DRC, Mozambique and other African countries also reside in SA and it is crucial to know their perceptions towards legacy beliefs as well as the significant challenges they encounter in preserving their legacy beliefs, family life and identity while living in SA.

- It would aid the body of knowledge greatly if future research on the discourse under study would be extended to a much larger sample. The sample used by the researcher, although provided valuable information, cannot be generalized to the completely Zimbabwean immigrant population in SA. Therefore, future studies over a prolonged time may shed indispensable data.

- It is furthermore recommended that ethnographic studies on this discourse should be conducted to illustrate more on the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding legacy beliefs while living in SA. This could be essential in bringing out intricate details that could not be unearthed by this study. Future researchers on this discourse may need to spend more time in the communities known to house many immigrants in SA. As some issues were too sensitive to discuss during this study, ethnographic researchers may gain valuable data without having to interview participants directly.

- It may be crucial for future research to conduct quantitative studies on the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants in relation to legacy beliefs while living in SA and the challenges encountered in preserving their family and identity while in SA. Quantitative studies would give reliable statistics on the perceptions of immigrants (trans-nationals)

and African races regarding legacy beliefs, in addition providing information that could be projected to a larger scale.

6.9 Conclusion

This study explored the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. It was founded in a social-constructivism worldview, which is an interpretive framework with the assumption that individuals strive to understand their world and develop their own unique experiences. Overall, the findings of this study sought to understand how Zimbabwean immigrants perceive legacy beliefs while living in South Africa. Perspectives of immigrants were reported, and most participants cited their legacy beliefs in terms of transmission of values, beliefs and culture; inheritance (nhaka); remembrance and contributions in society; influence on others as role models as well as achievements in life. Participants expressed being aware of what legacy entails, citing that it had biological, material and cultural connotations which were termed the most crucial legacies for one to pass on to future generations. The findings of the study also revealed factors influencing Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs with special reference to the fact that they were living in a foreign land. This objective highlighted issues relating to how Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their legacy beliefs, norms and culture as well as the challenges encountered along the way. It emerged that challenges related to identity crisis, adaptation as well as in parenting seemed to play a crucial role in how Zimbabwean immigrants navigated the host country. It was noted that despite challenges arising, adaptation strategies were in place to allow the participants to access better opportunities, lead a better life as well as working on leaving lasting legacies for future generations. It was eminent that Zimbabwean immigrants go to great lengths to preserve their legacy beliefs, family and identity while in SA. An analysis of the participants' interviews

guided the researcher in formulating appropriate recommendations for families, social workers

and allied professionals, policy makers, immigration officials as well as for future researchers.

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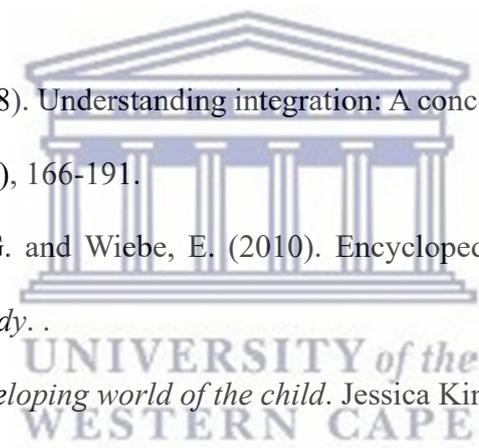
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Appendices

Appendix 1 Ethics clearance letter

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28 June 2019

Ms T Godobi (Child and Family Studies)
Social Work
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Ethics Reference Number: HS19/5/8

Project Title: Moving into the Diaspora: An exploration of Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding their legacy while living in Cape Town, South Africa.

Approval Period: 25 June 2019 – 25 June 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval. Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.
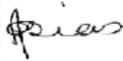
Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

PROVISIONAL REC NUMBER - 130416-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

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INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Moving into the Diaspora: An exploration of Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding their legacy beliefs.

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Tatenda Godobi, a Zimbabwean student pursuing a **Masters in Child and Family Studies** at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your participation will help other people. The purpose of this research project is to explore the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants regarding their legacy beliefs. Hence, your participation will be of great importance to make this study valuable and would assist in building more ground on this area of study.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to sign consent form agreeing to take part in the study. You will also be asked questions either in a group discussion or individually. The study will be conducted in Cape Town focusing on Zimbabwean immigrants concerning their legacy beliefs. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes to an hour at a venue to be agreed upon. In order to fully explore and describe perceptions of immigrants towards legacy beliefs, interviews will be conducted in the communities were the respondents live and in environments exclusive to local libraries, churches and parks as per any respondent's request.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

Your personal information will be kept confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, your real names will not be included in the data collection sheets and all information collected will be locked in cabinets and password protected computers. The researcher will use codes to

represent your names and only the researcher will have access to such information which will link you to the collected data. During the time when data collected will be reported about this research project, your identity will be protected. In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, I will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to our attention concerning child abuse or neglect or potential harm to you or others. All the data will be kept in password protected computer files known only to the researcher. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filling cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be destroyed after three months of the final dissertation being marked and graded. If I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected.

What are the risks of this research?

There may be some risks from participating in this research study. All human interactions and talking about self or others carry some amount of risks. We will nevertheless minimise such risks and act promptly to assist you if you experience any discomfort, psychological or otherwise during the process of your participation in this study. Where necessary, an appropriate referral will be made to a suitable professional for further assistance or intervention Risks from participating in this research study mainly include discomfort around providing private or sensitive information. Should the discussion result in pronounced emotional discomfort or trauma, the researcher will provide references for further counselling to the participant. There are no other known risks associated with participating in this research project. If any of the questions asked during the interview make you feel uncomfortable, you are allowed to refrain from answering it.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about different family's perceptions regarding legacy beliefs of Zimbabwean immigrants. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of the contributions you make in terms of legacy beliefs. Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time? Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Tatenda Godobi, a student pursuing a Masters in Child and Family Studies at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Tatenda Godobi at +27 67 059 0806 or email at godobitatenda@gmail.com/ 3815585@myuwc.ac.za. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

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Dean: Faculty of Community and Health Sciences

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This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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e-mail: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

Xhosa translation if required

Oluphando lupasiswe sisigqeba sekomiti yophando IYunivesithi yaseNtshona Koloni kunye nekomiti yezemigomo Humanities and Social Sciences.

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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Afrikaans translation if required

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Appendix 3 Information sheet (Shona)

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INFORMATION SHEET (SHONA)

Musoro wetsvagurudzo: Kutama kuyenda kunze kwe nyika: Wongororo pamusoro pe zvitendero zve vanhu ve Zimbabwe vari kugara mu Western Cape Province, South Africa, mayererano ne nyaya dze nhaka.

Tsvagurudzo iyi ndeyei?

Tsvagurudzo ino iri kuitwa na Tatenda Godobi, mudzidzi we Zimbabwe ari kudzidza nezve Masters in Child and Family Studies pa University ye Western Cape mu South Africa. Munokokwa kuti mubatsire mu project iyi nokuti munokwana kupinda pa boka re vanhu vakasarudzwa uye kubatsira kwenyu kuchazo batsirawo vanhu vakawanda. Project iyi iri kuitirwa kuti paitwe wongororo yakadzika mayererano nemafungiro anoita vanhu ve Zimbabwe, vari kugara munyika yevatorwa pamusoro pezvavanoti ndiyo nhaka yeupenyu. Kubatsira kwenyu mu wongororo iyi kwakakosha chaizvo sezvo zvichizobatsira kuti project ino ive nehudzamu.

Zvamucha kumbirwa kuita kana muchibvuma kuva mu wongororo iyi?

Mucha kumbirwa ku sayina fomu rekubvuma kuva mubatsiri mutsvagurudzo idzi. Uye muchabvunzwa mibvunzo muma boka kana kuti penyu moga. Tsvagurudzo idzi dzichaitirwa muguta re Cape Town, takanangana ne vanhu veku Zimbabwe vakatama kuzogara mu South Africa, mayererano nemafungiro avo pamusoro pe nyaya dze nhaka. Nguva yekubvunana nezve tsvagurudzo ino ichange ichitangira pa hour rimwe kana maviri panzvimbo yakabvumiranwa kusangana.

Kuva mutsvagurudzo kwangu kuchava kwaka vandika here?

Mazita enyu achachengetedzwa zvakavandika ku vanhu vose kuitira kuti musa zivikanwa. Zvose zvamuchataurwa zvichagara zvakavharirwa muma kabati zvochengetedzwa zvakanaka. Muwongorori achashandisa mazita asiri enyu uyezve ndiye ega munhu achange achikwanisa kuona nekuverenga mhinduro dzenyu. Panguva inozoburitswa zvakabuda muwongororo iyi mazita enyu achavandiswa kuchengetedza imi.

Zvamunogona kusafarira mu tsvagurudzo iyi?

Mutsvagurudzo ino mun ogona kusangana nezva musingafarire zvingaita seku buditsa nyaya dzamusinga wanga kufarira kutaura nezvazvo uye kutaura zvinhu zvamusingade kuti zvizivikanwe. Kana pachinge paita zvino vhiringa pfungwa dzenyu mu wongorori anokwanisa kuku batanidzai ne vanogona kukubatsirai ne counselling. Hapana zvimwe zvinozikanwa kuti zvinga vhiringa hutano hwenyu kana huvepo hwenyu zvakare kuburikidza nekuva mu wongororo idzi. Kana mukabvunzwa mibvunzo isingakuitirei zvakanaka kupindura munobvumidzwa kusapindura ne zvazvo.

Pane rubatsiro rwandi ngawana here kana ndikakanganisika mupfungwa kuburikidza nekuva mu wongororo idzi?

Kana mukaona kuti kuva mu wongororo iyi kuri kuku kanganisai mupfungwa kana kuti hakusi kuyenderana nezva munotendera, munokwanisa kuudza muwongorori anokubatsirai kuti muwane counselling kune vana mazvikokota veku social welfare munharaunda yamuri.

Chii chakanakira huvepo hwangu mu tsvagurudzo idzi?

Tsvagurudzo idzi hadzina kugadzirirwa kukubatsirai imi pa chezvenyu asi zvichabuda zvichabatsira mu wongorori kuti adzidze zvakawanda mayererano nekusiyana kwema fungiro anoita vanhu ve Zimbabwe pa nyaya dze zvanofungira kuti ndiyo inonzi nhaka muupenyu. Ndinovimba kuti mukufamba kwenguva, vamwe vanhu vanokwanisa kubatsirika ne kudzidza zvakawanda kuburikidza nekuitwa kwe tsvagurudzo idzi, uyezve zvichawedzera pamusoro pezvagara zvakanyorwa mumabhuku pamusoro pe nhaka.

Ndinofanira kuva muwongororo idzi here kana kuti ndinogona kurega chero pane imwe nguva?

Kuvapo kwenyu mutsvagurudzo idzi madiro enyu, hapana anomanikidzwa uyezve munogona kuramba kuva pakati pe vanhu vachange vachibatsira. Kunyange mukazofunga kusiya zvekuva mu wongororo idzi, munobvumidzwa kusiya chero nguva yamungade. Munofanira kuziva kuti chero mukasiyira pa nzira mafunga kuti hamuchade ne zvazvo hapana mhosva yamunopihwa nekuti mune kodzero yacho.

Ko kana ndiine mibvunzo?

Tsvagurudzo idzi dziri kuitwa na Tatenda Godobi, mudzidzi we Masters in Child and Family Studies pa University ye Western Cape, South Africa. Kana mune mibvunzo mayererano nezve tsvagurudzo iyi munokwanisa kuridza nhare pa nhamba idzi: +27 67 059 0806 kana: godobitatenda@gmail.com. Kana mune mibvunzo inoyenderana ne wongororo iyi kana kodzero dzenyu semu batsiri uyezve mukada kutaura nezve matambudziko amasangana nawo kuburikidza nekuva mu wongoror iyi munokwanisa kutaura ne vanhu vakanyorwa:

Head of Department: Prof Marichen Van Der Westhuizen

Department of Social Work: Child and Family Studies

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Appendix 4 Consent form
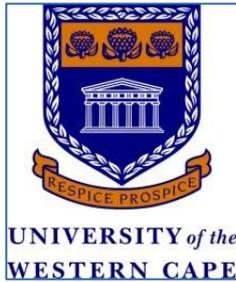
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CONSENT FORM

Research Topic: Moving into the Diaspora: An exploration of Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions regarding legacy beliefs while living in the Western Cape, Province, South Africa.

This study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that when I give permission to have the interview audio-recorded it will be stored in a safe place with only the researcher and supervisor having access to the audio-file. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits.

Please tick your answer below.

I hereby agree to have the interview audio-recorded. _____

I hereby disagree to have the interview audio-recorded. _____

Participant's name………………………..

Participant's signature……………………………….

Date………………………

Appendix 5 Interview guide

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section A: Demographic information

Where you have been given more than one option; please tick next to the answer you choose. And kindly fill in the blank provided for the questions that don't have options.

1. GENDER: M/F _____

2. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR AGE _____

3. WHEN DID YOU COME TO SOUTH AFRICA? _____

4. WHERE DO YOU LIVE IN CAPE TOWN?_____

5. WITH WHOM DO YOU LIVE APART FROM YOUR PARTNER? _____

6. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF ANY SOCIAL GROUP i.e. Church, business, women group, men   etc.

_____

7. DO YOU SPEAK ANY OF THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGES?

Shona

English

8. MARITAL STATUS?

Single

Married

Divorced

Widowed

Other

9. HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR HEALTH STATUS? Weak Good Not so bad Very good

Average

10. DO YOU HAVE ANY CHRONIC AILMENTS? Yes No If Yes, please specify;

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SPEND TIME WITH SOUTH AFRICANS? Always Frequently Occasionally Rarely Never

12. Educational Level

13. Occupation

Section B: Interview questions

I would like to no more about you or your life, could you describe your life for me whatever comes to your mind about what happened along the way? You can take as much time as you need.

1) To explore and describe the understanding of legacy among the Zimbabwean immigrants living in Cape Town, South Africa.

• Have you ever heard about legacy? Please tell me what you understand about the concept of legacy in general. What do you deem to be your definition of legacy?

• Tell me about your legacy as a Zimbabwean, how do you preserve them while living in South Africa?

2) To explore and describe Zimbabwean immigrants' perceptions of legacy beliefs while living in Cape Town, South Africa.

• Tell me about what do you think legacy beliefs are in general? Please share your examples of legacy beliefs

• Suppose you were asked as an older person to write down some advice on how to live that you, thought would be as good 100 years from now. What would you write down?

• Do you ever feel that you are living representative of a particular cultural, history, ethic, or racial tradition? If yes, please tell me more

• Would you say that your family's history is personally to you? How so? What things in particular?

• All and all what things in your life do you think will outlive you? Would you say that you feel your family's heritage or history? How so?

• Thinking about your family for a moment, all the generations and people that have come before you. What would you say are the most important beliefs, ideas, or values you got from them? Repeat for mother, father.

• What has been your parent's heritage (legacy) for you? Do you think that you have changed the meaning of their heritage for you and how so?

• Did you ever think you would like to have grand children? Elaborate.

• Thinking about your life as a whole, what have been your most important accomplishments in life?

• Considering your life today, would you continue to live the same way,/ change some parts/change many parts. What parts would you change and why?

• What activities have given you the greatest happiness/ satisfaction, or have the utmost meaning for you about the past 5 years and your entire life.

• What are the most important ideas or values you think you will pass on to the other. To whom?

• Has there been any time you ever felt the desire to describe what you know or what you have experienced to other people, so that it will not be lost when you pass on?

• Do you have any objects in this house that have special meaning (sentimental value) to you? For each: Do you know who will you leave that to when you pass on?

• Gather details of planned disposition for money, home. Also, will you do anything special with the photos you have in the house. Is there someone you have given your (cooking) recipes?

• Which people do you think you have had the greatest influence on their lives? How so? Do you see yourself in other people? Elaborate

• Thinking about your life as a whole/ the last five years, which people or groups do you feel you have influenced the most.

• Thinking about your life as a whole, do you ever think that you have been at an advantage/ disadvantage because you no children/ children.

• In the last 5 years, do you think that having no children/ children has had any advantages for you?

• Thinking about your life as a whole, is there anyone (other than your own children) to whom you have ever "acted like a parent" to? How so? (elaborate) Anyone else.

• What sort of special skills do you have? (Things like cooking, gardening, crafts and sewing). Have you ever taught any of them to anyone? Who? Elaborate.

• If a young couple in their late 20s came to you considering whether to have children but were undecided and they wanted your advice. What would you tell them?

• In the past 5 years, have you ever felt like no one would remember you, when you are gone?

• All in all, describe the meaning of legacy beliefs according to your understanding and in life in general.

• Have you made any plans for any care you might need in the future? What are they? Is there anyone who will help you with care giving needs?

• What do you think life will be for you in 5 years, in 10 years?

• Financially will you have enough to see you through the next few years?

• Given your life now, what do you believe are future options for you?

3) To explore and describe the factors influencing the Zimbabwean immigrants' legacy beliefs in Cape Town, South Africa.

• Are the any challenges that appeared to influence you from preserving your legacy beliefs while living in South Africa (Foreign Land)? Please explain how the challenges influence you from preserving your legacy beliefs.

• Are the any enablers/motivators that seemed to push you to preserve your legacy beliefs while living in South Africa (Foreign Land)? Please explain how the challenges influence you from preserving your legacy beliefs.