‘Pooling resources, scattering the family’: transnational realities of Zimbabwean post-2000 migrants in the United Kingdom

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde

der

Philosophischen Fakultät

der

Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität

zu Bonn

vorgelgt von

Mercy Mashingaidze

aus

Kwekwe, Simbabwe

Bonn, 2020

Gedruckt mit der Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Zusammensetzung der Prüfungskommission:

Professor Dr. Conrad Schetter
(Vorsitzender)

Professor Dr. Eva Youkhana
(Betreuerin und Gutachterin)

Professor Dr. Julia Verne
(Gutachterin)

Professor Dr. Jörg Blasius
(weiteres prüfungsberechtigtes Mitglied)

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 02 September 2020

Abstract

This thesis analyses how international migration (re)shapes migrants' family life. Focusing on narratives drawn from purposively sampled Zimbabwean migrants living in the United Kingdom (UK), it examines how family life is (re)constituted, experienced, negotiated, sustained, and perceived in long-drawn-out transnational situations. Of particular interest to the study is the often overlooked extended transnational family life that is birthed out of asylum limbo circumstances. To address this subject, the thesis introduces the notion of asylum tenebrosity to explain and analyse the enduring limbo that is impeding the reunification of some migrants with their close family members who stayed behind in Zimbabwe. Nested within a growing body of literature on transnational families, the thesis critically analyses how migrants in limbo 'do', manage, and sustain transnational family life. It addresses themes related to transnational parenting, transnational married life, transnational family life cycle ceremonies, and transnational elderly parental caregiving, from both migrant and non-migrant perspectives. Their everyday practices and interactions are analysed through the lens of transnational social spaces, ICT-based co-presence, family practices, and transnational care circulation. The findings demonstrate that international migration (re)organizes family life by geographically scattering family members and shifting the primary location of family life from physical to virtual spaces. While information and communication technologies (ICTs) play a vital role in sustaining transnational family life, they fall short of creating wholesome experiences of familyhood. The thesis argues that without occasional physical co-presence, family dynamics become complicated as relationship boundaries, communication protocols, roles, and cultural norms are gradually overstepped. Although transnational family members ensure mutual material survival by pooling and sharing resources, indefinite transnational family life 'scatters' the family along physical, moral, and affective lines. Consequently, this unsettles the essence of culturally defined Zimbabwean family values associated with parenting, marriage, intergenerational relations, family roles and responsibilities. This unsettling of values inevitably attracts conflicting reactions. Following up on these reactions, the thesis concludes with a deliberation on long-term implications of transnational family life on cultural values.

Kurzfassung

Diese Arbeit analysiert die Auswirkungen der internationalen Migration auf das Familienleben von Migranten. Untersucht wird, wie sich das Familienleben in langwierigen transnationalen Migrationsprozessen (re)konstituiert; wie es erlebt, verhandelt, aufrechterhalten und wahrgenommen wird. Der Blick wird dabei auf Narrative gerichtet, die von ausgewählten simbabwischen Migranten stammen, welche im Vereinigten Königreich (UK) leben. Von besonderem Interesse für die Studie ist das transnationale Familienleben, das daraus entsteht, dass die Familienmitglieder sich in einem asylbedingten Transitzustand befinden. Zu diesem Zweck führt die Arbeit den Begriff der Asyl-Tenebrosität ein, um den anhaltenden Transitzustand zu erklären und zu analysieren, der die Wiedervereinigung einiger Migranten mit ihren engen Familienangehörigen, die in Simbabwe zurückgeblieben sind, behindert. Auf Grundlage einer wachsenden Literatur über transnationale Familien analysiert die Arbeit kritisch, wie Migranten im Transitzustand das transnationale Familienleben führen, verwalten und aufrechterhalten. Es werden die transnationalen Aspekte der Elternschaft, des Ehelebens, der Zeremonien des Familienlebenszyklus und der Fürsorge für alternde Eltern behandelt, sowohl aus der Perspektive der Migranten als auch aus der Perspektive der Zurückgebliebenen. Ihre alltäglichen Praktiken und Interaktionen werden durch die Linse der transnationalen sozialen Räume, der IKT-basierten Kopräsenz, der Familienpraktiken und des transnationalen Pflegekreislaufs analysiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass internationale Migration das Familienleben (neu) organisiert, indem Familienmitglieder geographisch verstreut werden und der primäre Ort des Familienlebens vom physischen in den virtuellen Raum verlagert wird. Die Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien (IKT) spielen zwar eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Aufrechterhaltung des transnationalen Familienlebens, aber sie reichen nicht aus, um eine ganzheitliche Familienerfahrung zu schaffen. Die Dissertation argumentiert, dass ohne gelegentliche physische Kopräsenz die Familiendynamik belastet wird, da Beziehungsgrenzen, Kommunikationsprotokolle, Rollen und kulturelle Normen nach und nach überschritten werden. Obwohl transnationale Familienmitglieder das gegenseitige materielle Überleben durch die Zusammenlegung und gemeinsame Nutzung von Ressourcen sichern, "zerstreut" das unbestimmte transnationale Familienleben die Familie entlang physischer, moralischer und affektiver Grenzen. Folglich verunsichert dies das Wesen kulturell definierter simbabwischer Familienwerte, die mit Elternschaft, Ehe, intergenerationellen Beziehungen, Familienrollen und Verantwortung verbunden sind. Diese Verunsicherung zieht unweigerlich widersprüchliche Reaktionen nach sich – anknüpfend an diese Reaktionen schließt die Arbeit

mit einer Betrachtung der langfristigen Auswirkungen des transnationalen Familienlebens auf kulturelle Werte.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is a product of thorough research influenced and supported by a network of academic, professional, personal, and family networks. I will forever be grateful for the tremendous support and guidance that I received at different stages of my doctoral studies. I would like to start by extending my sincere gratitude to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for financing my entire PhD journey. I am also deeply indebted to my academic supervisor Prof. Dr. Eva Youkhana for her excellent guidance. Thank you very much for always creating a relaxed meeting environment where I could openly share my ideas, concerns, and doubts – this made the journey enjoyable. I would also like to thank you for all your encouragement, for reading my drafts, and for your detailed thought-provoking feedback that helped to polish my ideas and arguments. To my academic advisor Dr. Epifania Amoo-Adare - thank you very much for all your academic and moral support. I will forever cherish our brainstorming sessions. Your critically thought-out advice, suggestions, and your constant encouragement always boosted my confidence whenever I felt overwhelmed. My sincere gratitude also extends to the esteemed members of my doctoral defense committee - Prof. Dr. Julia Verne who agreed to be my second supervisor even before seeing any of my work, Prof. Dr. Conrad Schetter who chaired the committee and to Prof. Dr. Jörg Blasius.

Special thanks to the Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology (BGHS) Start-up fellowship programme, to the 2015 BGHS start-up fellows, to Memory Mphaphuli, and to Prof. Thomas Faist and his summer semester 2015 Research Class 'Transnational Studies' for the support and feedback provided in the earliest stages of developing my PhD research ideas. I would also like to thank the ZEFa senior and junior researchers for the invaluable feedback on all my ZEF colloquium presentations. The insightful discussions, critical questions, suggestions, and advice, all contributed to shaping the arguments in this thesis. I am also grateful for the feedback that I received through various international academic and non-academic platforms at which I presented the progress of the work that culminated into this thesis. Special thanks to the Zimbabwe Netzwerk e.V (Germany) for inviting me to share my research findings as a keynote speaker at their 2017 seminar. My gratitude also extends to my ZEF 2015 batchmates and colleagues from other batches whose moral support kept me sane throughout the studies. Special thanks to Sneha, Melissa, Quyen, Poornima, Nina, and to my officemates Gabisel, and Galia. To the ZEF librarian Mr. Merx –thank you for your kind assistance and facilitation of access to the literature sources that I required throughout the production of this thesis. I am also grateful to the ZEF Doctoral programme team Maike Retat-

Amin, Dr. Manske, and the student assistants for contributing in so many ways towards making my PhD life at ZEF comfortable.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to Professor JoAnn McGregor (University of Sussex) who facilitated my UK short-term study visa -thank you very much for the academic advice you gave when I entered the research field, and for facilitating access to other experts on my topic. To Dr. Dominic Pasura (University of Glasgow) – thank you very much for allowing me to tap into your expertise on the Zimbabwean diaspora community in the UK. I am also immensely grateful to Rumbidzai Bvunzawabaya who on several occasions took time out of her busy schedule to share her expertise and professional experience with the UK immigration laws and migrant family life issues. Thank you Rumbi for also sharing my research interests with your networks, this facilitated access to some individuals that I would have never been able to reach on my own. I felt humbled by the fact that you all agreed to share your expertise at the very first instance that I reached out to you, despite not knowing who I was – thank you for being such great role models. My profound gratitude also extends to the individuals whose experiences are at the centre of this study. Although I cannot name you for ethical reasons, I feel so honoured that you passionately shared your intimate life experiences with me. It is your experiences that have made this thesis a reality, I hope I managed to capture them with the respect that they deserve –thank you! Many thanks also to my research assistants, and to my friend Beaular Nyakudarika who always accompanied me to research sites, sometimes at odd hours– thanks a lot Maza!

I am forever indebted to my sister Charity Marume who hosted me during my UK field research stay–you are one in a million! Tamuka and Cleo, thank you! To Edna Mapuranga, thank you for introducing me to Esther Madzimbamuto who ended up playing a significant role during my field research. Esther, your love is amazing -thank you so much for all your support during and after my field research! Many thanks also to my friend Yvonne, to my ‘homeboy’ Saul, and to my UK-Greece ‘cousins’ Precious, Tendai, Pat, Varaidzo, and sis Vimbai who adopted me into their friendship circles and made my field research experience enjoyable. To my Zimbo ‘family’ in Germany- Everjoy, Simon, Mary, Ruth, Gabriella, and Margaret – thank you for enabling a balance between my academic and social life. To everyone that directly or indirectly contributed to my studies and well-being during my entire PhD journey, I may not be able to list all of your names but you are all deeply appreciated, thank you! Last but not least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my family for their unconditional love and support- mum, Percy, Takudzwa, and the Muzorewas– I am so blessed to have you in my life!

Dedication

To my family and to the memory of my late father Benjamin Mashingaidze.

Table of Contents

List of tables

List of figures

Acronyms

AoM	Autonomy of Migration
BSAC	British South Africa Company
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
UCLU	Unregistered Customary Law Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Glossary of Shona terms

Baba	Father
Chimurenga	Zimbabwe's liberation war
Chinyau (plural zvinyau)	Person/people living without valid immigration papers
Chipoko (plural zvipoko)	Person living without valid immigration papers
Dare (plural matare)	Traditional discussion platform(s) for men
Gogo/Mbuya	Grandmother
Gupuro	Divorce token
Humwe	Oneness
Hunhu	Morality
Kubatana semhuri	Family solidarity
Kubatsirana semhuri	Reciprocity among family members
Kuchengeta vabereki	Provision of adequate care to one's parents
Kugarira vana	Persevering difficult marriage for the sake of the children
Kumaruzevha	Rural areas created for Africans during the colonial era
Kuperekwa	A bride welcoming ceremony into her husband's family
Kurairwa	Receiving moral counsel on behaviour considered appropriate for a married woman
Kuremekedza vabereki	To respect one's parents
Kushinga	To endure through challenging times
Kutamba chiroora/huroora	Performing daughter in law duties
Maenzanise	Equalizer
Mai	Mother, also used for the title Mrs.
Mapoto marriage	Cohabitation, living as husband and wife without *roora*
Masungiro	Ceremony associated with a woman's first pregnancy
Mhuri	Family
Roora	Traditional marriage ceremony/payment of bride price
Muroora	Daughter in law
Mukuwasha	Son in law
Sekuru	Uncle/Grandfather
Tezvara	Father in law

Vatete	Paternal aunt
Vamwene	Mother in law
Zvidhuura	People using fake identities/identity documents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The turn of the 21st century saw Zimbabwe experiencing a multifaceted crisis (Chiumbu & Musemwa, 2012; Mlambo, 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003; Raftopoulos, 2009). One of the consequences of the crisis was increased migration, which saw an estimated three million Zimbabweans emigrating between the period 2000 and 2010 (Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor, 2006; Pasura, 2008a). In what is widely seen as a legacy of a shared colonial past, between 200 000 and 400 000 of them reportedly migrated to the United Kingdom (UK), making it the top European destination country for Zimbabwe's post-2000 migrants (Mbiba, 2005, 2012; Pasura, 2006, 2008a). The gradual tightening of the UK immigration policy has contributed to a situation where some of these migrants have failed to reunite with their *staying behind* close family members, almost twenty years since their initial migration. Yet in spite of the knowledge of the existence of such long-term transnational family situations, research has paid negligible attention to how migrants entangled in such circumstances sustain everyday family life.

Notwithstanding the positive financial difference that remittances often make in the lives of transnational families, the associated social costs need not be ignored - particularly in cases where migrants are entangled in long precarious immigration status limbo. Refused asylum seekers whose deportation is for various reasons suspended, are the ones that come to mind here, as they often live in limbo for years on end with no clear prospects of regularization or safe return (Gonzales, 2016; Muižnieks, 2016)[1]. A UK parliament report suggested that there could be at least 70,000 Zimbabweans living in the UK as either refused asylum seekers or without valid leave to remain (UK Parliament, 2009). It is the lived experiences of such immigrants that lie at the centre of this thesis. Focusing on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements to the UK, the thesis examines how international migration (re)shapes family life. Informed by narratives of lived experiences of purposefully sampled Zimbabwean refugees and refused asylum seekers in the UK, this study explores how they do, manage, and sustain long-term transnational family life under different legal conditions. The narratives are complemented by in-depth interview data obtained from some of their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe.

[1] In this thesis I use 'refused asylum seekers' and 'non-removed' refused asylum seekers interchangeably

The thesis analyses everyday transnational practices and ICT-based interactions in order to tease out factors that contribute to understanding how migration has (re)shaped their family life. Through addressing themes associated with transnational parenting, transnational marriage practices, transnational life cycle ceremonies, and transnational elderly parental caregiving, this overall objective is fulfilled. Without undermining the significance of various ICTs in sustaining transnational family life, I interrogate what the prolonged physical separation of close family members implies for the idea and feeling of familyhood. Here I trace how the sense of 'being there for each other' (co-presence) is experienced, (re)constituted, and kept alive in protracted transnational situations. I question the long term implications of extended transnational family life on Zimbabwean normative values associated with marriage, parenting, symbolic life cycle ceremonies, and the intergenerational contract. Cognisant of the fact that not all families adhere to these normative values, I let the narrative data lead the analysis.

The research was guided by the following central question:
How has the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK (re)shaped their family life in terms of structure, functioning, maintenance, and cultural values?

The research questions that contributed to answering the central question are:

1. What are Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements?
2. How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family unit (re)shaped everyday family life?
3. How is indefinite transnational family life perceived by transnational family members, migration and family life experts, and sections of the public?
4. What implications does the prolonged migration-induced physical separation of families have on the future of Zimbabwean family values?

Conceptual considerations

This study is situated within the realms of transnational migration, transnationalism, transnational families and ICT-based co-presence, family practices, and refugee studies.

The existing analysis of the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK (in terms of migration drivers) has largely been informed by notions of crisis migration (Lindley, 2014; McAdam, 2014), and survival migration (Betts, 2010, 2013a). While the evidence of a crisis environment is irrefutable, I subscribe to a school of thought that rejects understanding migration as a mere response to economic and social malaise (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2017). It is for this reason that I adopt the concept of autonomy of migration (AoM) to analyse why

individuals migrated to the UK and why they continue to live there. AoM sees migration as having the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, and its own trajectories (Papadopoulos, 2018). It is from this conceptual standpoint that I contend that post-2000 migration movements to the UK are best examined through life stories of the individuals involved.

I approach the analysis of the UK immigration policy responses to Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements through the lens of domopolitics. Domopolitics views the nation state as a home that must be secured and protected from 'uninvited guests'(Walters, 2004, 2009). It suggests that any force that threatens the sanctity of home should be kept in check (Walters, 2004). Although I do not explore domopolitics in detail, it forms a crucial background from which I not only analyse the UK immigration policy responses, but I also identify autonomous strategies that asylum seekers adopt in order to negotiate their everyday lives under restricted conditions. The AoM concept and the notion of domopolitics constitute the basis upon which I build my own understanding of the reasons behind the indefinite transnational family life under study here. I introduce what I have called the concept of asylum tenebrosity to explain the immigration status positioning of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers who have lived restricted lives for more than a decade.

In order to explain and analyse the doing and maintenance of long-term transnational family life under the above explained circumstances, I rely on the concepts of transnational social spaces (Faist, 1998, 2000b; Faist et al., 2013; Faist & Özveren, 2017), ICT-based co-presence (Baldassar et al., 2016), family practices (Morgan, 2011a, 2011b), and displaying families (Finch, 2007, 2011). The family is seen in this study as "the ultimate unit of sharing and caring, directed at ensuring material survival, welfare and development, with intergenerational transfers of goods, services and finances flowing between family members" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 4). Focus is however placed on the transnational family practices rather than on the family unit itself. This is because it is these family practices that define everyday family life, produce, and maintain who counts as family (Morgan, 2011a). Family life is understood in this thesis as a set of routine practices and interactions that are partially shaped by legal prescriptions, cultural definitions and socially validated as being family-like activities (Cheal, 2008; Morgan, 2011a). The concepts of transnational family life cycle and the family life course are adopted to consider practices that carry a cultural, symbolic, and filial obligation. The everyday transnational family practices of the individual migrants thus become the measure against

which the analysis of how international migration reshapes and challenges cultural family life values.

Values are in this thesis defined as "collective ideas about what constitutes right or wrong, good or bad, desirable and undesirable in a particular culture" (Kendall, 2008, p. 54). They provide ideals about behaviour, while norms carry specific behavioural expectations (Kendall, 2008). Norms are thus "established rules of behaviour or standards of conduct" which can be formal or informal and are understood by people who share a common identity (Kendall, 2008, p. 56).

Main arguments of the thesis

Molded by the objective to examine how international migration (re)shapes family life in terms of structure, functioning, maintenance, and values, the main arguments of this thesis are that:

1. International migration (re)shapes family life by geographically scattering family members and shifting the location or the centre stage of family life from the physical to the virtual space (structure).
2. Transnational family members continue to ensure each other's material survival, welfare and development (Bryceson, 2019) by pooling and sharing resources across borders (functioning).
3. ICTs facilitate the perpetuation of transnational family life. They, however, fall short of providing adequate feelings of familyhood. In the absence of occasional physical co-presence in the form of visits or reunification, family dynamics gradually become complicated (maintenance).
4. Relationship boundaries, communication protocols, roles, and cultural norms are gradually disregarded when family is exclusively done in a transnational social space for many years (values).

The thesis concludes that extended transnational family life has become a new reality. It is a compromise solution to a complex situation of migration-induced separation, under which unequal reciprocal sharing and caring among family members continues, albeit under a lot of emotional strain. I contend that ticking every box of the efficiency of ICTs in maintaining familyhood, without exploring how the family members perceive transnational life, would be tantamount to taking the (re)shaping of family life for granted. What matters in my opinion is not the mere continuation of family practices across distance, but rather what extended transnational ways of doing family imply for family roles, responsibilities, and values - both in

the short-term and in the long-run. The values explored include morality (*hunhu*), oneness (*humwe*), reciprocity (*kubatsirana semhuri*), respect and decision making norms according to relationship type, age, and gender (*kuremekedza*), and solidarity (*kubatana semhuri*).

The narratives in this thesis should not be read as mere subjective experiences of long-term transnational family life in the age of advancing ICTs. My intention goes beyond providing evidence of how ICTs have brought the world into one big transnational social space. The narratives are a medium through which the complex interactions between individual migrants, migration policy, and international politics are beamed. They reflect agency, negotiations, adaptations, and becomings on all the levels of individuals, policy, and international politics.

Research significance and contributions

This study makes empirical, conceptual, and methodological contributions to the body of knowledge on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements to the UK. By placing the whole post-2000 migration movements to the UK in their rightful historical context, debates on the relevance of history to current and future phenomenon are brought to the fore. The thesis illuminates the thread connecting history to contemporary politics, post-colonial relations, international migration regulation, individual migration trajectories, and family life.

While the fact that some Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers in the UK live under certain rights restrictions is known, what these restrictions actually mean for their everyday family life has been under-researched. This thesis is therefore dedicated to highlighting the implications of immigration policy restrictions through the lived experiences of refused asylum seekers and their *staying behind* family members whose experiences are often overlooked in research. The few studies that have touched on *staying behind* family members have tended to focus on children (Kufakurinani et al., 2014; Madziva, 2015b; Madziva & Zontini, 2012). This study thus adds the lived experiences of spouses living across distance, a focus that existing research appears to have been shying away from addressing. Through questioning the implications of transnational family life on family norms and values, the thesis contributes to studies of contemporary Zimbabwean family life and culture.

Conceptually, through developing the concept of asylum tenebrosity, the thesis contributes to refugee policy research in general and to the conceptualization of protracted asylum limbo in particular. It provides a lens through which the policy inadequacies that bring about protracted limbo for non-removed refused asylum seekers and their consequences, can be analyzed. The

study also adds empirical examples to the analysis of ICT-based co-presence and to the understanding of protracted transnational family life.

Methodologically, whereas most studies on transnational families normally focus on migrant experiences, this study levels the ground between migrants and their non-migrating family members by engaging perspectives and experiences from both ends of the spectrum. Bringing together these two world views provides a comprehensive understanding of long-term transnational family life. Additionally, this study goes beyond the binary view of migrants and non-migrants by paying attention to the transnational social space and the practices therein, which characterize their shared transnational family life. The research also used modern online ethnography to get a glimpse into public perceptions of post-2000 migration movements and changing family life. This thesis therefore provides evidence that can be useful to assess the pros and cons of using online ethnography in migration studies. Another contribution is in the formulation and manner in which pseudonyms are used. Instead of creating random pseudonyms, I deliberately crafted pseudonyms that reflect the key themes that emerged from each narrative and also speak to some general discourses on migration, family life, as well as to the naming system used in Zimbabwe.

Structure of the dissertation

This thesis comprises of nine chapters. The **first chapter** which is the current one, sets the scene by providing an abridged version of the entire thesis.

The **second chapter** provides a historically tailored contextual overview of the Zimbabwe-UK colonial and post-colonial relations, Zimbabwe's previous migration movements and their impact on family life. Doing this exposes the role of the UK colonial policy in transforming indigenous family life and in influencing how Zimbabweans perceive and enact migration. Reference to these historical movements is important for this thesis as it helps to explain why the UK has been the main European destination, how and why migration patterns and migrant biographical characteristics have changed over the years. It also chronologically describes how Zimbabwe ended up in a 'crisis' situation that contributed to the loss of an estimated quarter of its population to migration since the turn of the 21st century. Moreover, the sociohistorical approach used in this chapter lays the foundation upon which the adoption of the AoM concept to explain why individuals migrated to the UK in Chapter 5 can later be understood. It also provides ample evidence why the post-2000 migration movements to the UK and the UK

immigration policy responses which are discussed in Chapter 6, cannot be divorced from their colonial roots.

Chapter three is dedicated to explaining the conceptual underpinnings informing this study, as well as to providing a thematically structured review of existing literature on post-2000 migration to the UK. The conceptual discussion is divided into four categories as follows: first, concepts that have been commonly used to describe the macro environment under which the post-2000 migration movements occurred (crisis migration and survival migration). The second category comprises concepts that contribute to explaining the decision-making, facilitation, and perpetuation of migration, the choice of the UK as a destination country, and migrants' continued stay in the UK (autonomy of migration and the migrant network theory). This is followed by the third category which captures concepts that explain settlement in the UK and maintenance of familyhood with non-migrating family members (asylum tenebrosity, transnational migration concepts, transnational families, transnational social spaces, ICT-based co-presence, transnational caregiving, translocational positionality). The fourth category encompasses concepts that explain the transnational family practices that the research participants engage in (concept of family practices, concept of displaying families). The conceptual discussion is then followed by the literature review section, under which I engage with the body of scholarship addressing transnational migration, transnational families, and how Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements have previously been researched, conceptualized, and portrayed.

Having laid this contextual and conceptual foundation, the **fourth chapter** focuses on methodological issues, providing an overview of how this research was mapped and executed. Guided by the main objective of the research it explains the overall approach and methods used, and why they were adopted, how field entry was facilitated, the sampling criteria, the data collection procedure, how ethical issues were managed, the limitations, as well as the data analysis process. This chapter also discusses the various opportunities that arose and some challenges that were encountered during field research. It also deliberates upon my positionality and the impact it had on the overall research. This reflection is according to my own analysis and to an extent some feedback that was unconsciously given by some participants during interviews and informal chats. Power dynamics between the researcher and respondents are also reflected upon in this chapter.

The subsequent four chapters then engage with the collected migrant narratives and complementary empirical data from non-migrants to state and support the arguments advanced in this thesis. The first empirical chapter, **chapter 5** entitled- *When crisis hits and opportunity knocks: survival or autonomy of migration?* - explains Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements from the perspective of the research participants. The chapter largely draws from the narratives of four refused asylum seekers who have lived in limbo in the UK for almost fifteen years. It touches on themes related to migration motivations and immigration status in the UK, teasing out the complex reasons why generalizations and generic categorizations ought to be avoided when addressing Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements. In this chapter I advance the argument that the post-2000 migration movements and the biographical characteristics of the migrants involved are too complex to generalise as being about 'crisis' or 'survival'. In light of this, I contend that the migration movements are best explained through the concept of the autonomy of migration (AoM). The chapter also pays attention to the role of migrant networks in individuals' decisions to migrate to the UK.

Developing upon the foundation laid in the previous chapter, the **sixth chapter** entitled- *'Moving in the dark': when policy breeds asylum tenebrosity* - focuses on the UK immigration policy responses to Zimbabwean post-2000 asylum seekers and how these affect their everyday life. Paying close scrutiny to the policy experiences of refused asylum seekers whose deportation was temporarily halted pending improved political conditions in Zimbabwe, I argue that it is insufficient and counterproductive to offer them temporary discretionary sanctuary but deny them basic rights such as the right to work. I argue that the protracted asylum limbo created by such palliative discretionary measures has consequences stretching far beyond the individual migrants' lives in the UK. In my analysis of refused asylum seekers' policy experiences, I introduce the concept of asylum tenebrosity. I derive the idea of tenebrosity from my analysis of one of the research participants who likened his experiences as an asylum seeker to 'moving in the dark'. I am using this concept to explain a distinct form of protracted asylum limbo that not only evinces the gaps inherent in the current global refugee regime, but also contributes to explaining how refused asylum seekers exercise agency and enact citizenship (Isin, 2008; Isin & Nielsen, 2013) by subtly challenging and blurring the lines between the rights of citizens, accepted refugees, and themselves[2]. I explore the reasons for protracted non-removability of refused asylum seekers and I argue that asylum tenebrosity is

[2] Enacting citizenship involves engaging in what Engin Isin has conceptualized as 'acts of citizenship' which involve 'claiming' or in the case under study, clandestinely accessing rights reserved for citizens/'legal' residents

birthed out of a combination of 'domopolitical' immigration policy approaches in host countries, perpetual complex 'crisis' in countries of origin, as well as individual refused asylum seekers' decisions to continue staying in the host country. It exposes subtle politics of entitlement that are characteristic of some post-colonial relations between former colonisers and former colonies.

Chapter 7, *"In touch, but not on the ground": doing family in a transnational social space*, is built around migrants' experiences of protracted transnational family life. It analyses how transnational families that are caught up in asylum tenebrosity for more than a decade manage to (re)create and maintain a sense of familyhood across distance. It looks at the affective and transactional terrains of family life which constitute what has been conceptualized as family practices (Morgan, 2011a, 2011b) and circulation of care (Baldassar, 2016b; Baldassar & Merla, 2013). In this chapter I trace these terrains under the themes of transnational parenting, and transnational marriage/intimacy practices. I zero in on how ICTs enable family members in this study to engage in everyday virtual mobilities (Verne, 2014) by providing a space in which they continue to be virtually co-present. This allows for a critical look at how the idea and feeling of familyhood is kept alive within transnational families where members are simultaneously present (via ICTs) and absent (in the actual physical 'on the ground' sense).

Furthermore, it also interrogates how parents, children, and spouses experience, practice, and perceive long-term exclusive ICT-based co-presence and its (in)adequacies. The chapter argues that close transnational family members remain connected and keep their sense of familyhood alive via transnational practices and ICT-based co-presence. It further argues that although ICTs guarantee the continuation of family life, this is inadequate and challenging without occasional physical 'on the ground' co-presence. The research findings reveal that prolonged transnational family life and intimacy is maintained amid high levels of: effort, negotiation, compromise, distress, mistrust, insincerity, contested family power dynamics, gradual emotional distance, blurred relationship boundaries, shifting communication protocols, and marital insecurity, making the whole experience inadequate and challenging.

These discussions are then followed by **Chapter 8** entitled '*Performing family life cycle ceremonies and obligations in transnational social spaces*', which emphasizes the performative terrain of transnational family life. It critically looks at the traditional aspects of family life, that is, the culturally defined practices that family members are expected to do for, and with each other. Here I pay close attention to life cycle events and the associated

ceremonies, as well as aspects of the tacit intergenerational contract, under which adult children are expected to provide care for their aging parents. It therefore focuses on practices that have been conceptualized as transnational family caregiving and care circulation (Baldassar, 2016b; Baldassar et al., 2006; Baldassar & Merla, 2013).

I interrogate how long-term transnational families modify the cultural life cycle ceremonies associated with marriage (*roora* ceremony, *huroora*), first pregnancy and birth of a first child (*masungiro*), and death. I also explore how individuals who have had to modify/miss such ceremonies describe and feel towards this. I reiterate that although ICTs transcend physical borders and immigration policy restrictions, there are certain roles that require the embodied presence for certain rituals to be deemed complete. I conclude that the failure to physically perform or to be seen performing one's culturally-designed role as for example, a daughter in law (*muroora*), son in law (*mukuwasha*), mother in law (*vamwene*), father in law (*tezvara*) or grandparent (*mbuya/sekuru*) presents one of the biggest challenges to long-term transnational family life in asylum tenebrosity situations. The chapter also examines the shifting dynamics associated with transnational parental caregiving. Additionally, it explores the implications of these changes on Zimbabwean cultural values associated with marriage, intergenerational relations, family roles and responsibilities.

The concluding chapter, **Chapter 9** recaps and analyses the whole research, presents recommendations and possible future research areas. The concluding discussion reiterates the arguments made in the empirical chapters. Furthermore, it offers an overall analysis of the empirical, conceptual, methodological, and policy implications of the findings.

CHAPTER 2: ZIMBABWE AND THE UK: A HISTORICAL TALE OF COMPLEX 'FRIENDSHIP'

The purpose of this Chapter is to give a historically-tailored contextual overview explaining Zimbabwe's migration history, its colonial and post-colonial ties with the UK. It also explains how the country ended up in a 'crisis' situation that contributed to the migration of an estimated quarter of its population since the turn of the 21st century. To set the tone for this historical discussion, I begin by giving a brief overview of general information on Zimbabwe before proceeding to a short discussion on precolonial life. This synopsis lays the foundation for the subsequent discussion of the colonial period, under which the role played by the colonial system in restructuring the economic landscape, mobility, and family life is underscored. What follows after that is the chronicling of major post-colonial highlights, particularly emphasizing policies that gradually contributed to the 'Zimbabwe crisis' situation and to the post-2000 increased migration movements.

Zimbabwe – an overview

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country located in Southern Africa (see Fig.1). Previously known as Southern Rhodesia and later Rhodesia, Zimbabwe was a British colony from 1890 until 1980. The 2012 census report put Zimbabwe's population at 13 061 239 people, with females constituting 52% and males the remaining 48% (ZIMSTAT, 2013). This figure has since been updated to 13 572 560 following the Inter-Censal Demographic Survey (ICDS) which was carried out in August 2017.

Endowed with such rich natural resources as minerals and fertile agricultural land, the country's economy historically relied on agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. Zimbabwe used to be one of the most industrialized countries in sub-Saharan Africa and a major exporter of manufactured goods to its regional neighbours (Mlambo, 2017). It was also once labelled the breadbasket of the southern African region as it used to produce abundant food crops that catered for both the local and export markets. By the time I started working on the research upon which this thesis is based in 2015, Zimbabwe had however been reduced to "a nation of vendors, with an estimated 90 percent of its population unemployed and struggling to eke out a living in the mushrooming informal economy." (Mlambo, 2017, p. 99). An estimated 3-4 million of its citizens had migrated to various regional and international countries, purportedly pursuing better living standards (Crush & Tevera, 2010).

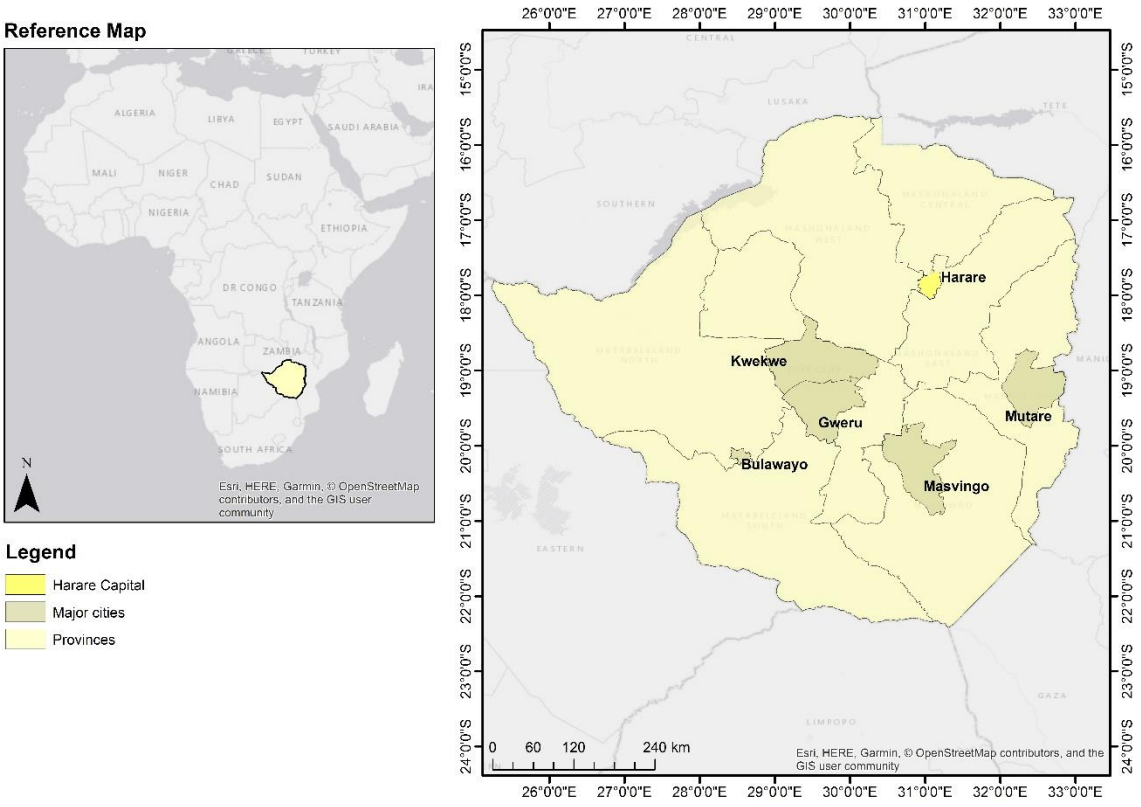


Figure 1 Map of Zimbabwe
Map data source: http://www.diva-gis.org/download, developed by author

Increased emigration was linked to the severe economic 'crisis' and political turbulence that rocked Zimbabwe during the first decade of the 21st century (Mlambo, 2014). Although the 'crisis' gradually started in the late 1990s and has as of now persisted for two decades, this thesis focuses on the period 2000-2010. The reason for confining the 'crisis' discussion to this period is that this is the decade that generated the unprecedented migration movements which are at the centre of this thesis. The 'crisis' decade was marred by severe political tensions over such issues as the amendment of the Constitution, land redistribution, political repression, and violence. These issues jeopardized national peace, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The deteriorating political situation had repercussions on all sectors of the country and on Zimbabwe's international relations.

At the peak of the 'crisis', there was 80% unemployment, severe basic commodity shortages, a cholera outbreak that claimed about 4000 lives in 2008, a collapsing social services sector and hyperinflation which reached 231million per cent in 2008 (Mlambo, 2014; Zanamwe & Devillard, 2009). The degeneration of Zimbabwe's situation cannot however be attributed to one single factor, neither can it be thought of as having been a sudden consequence of a single policy action. Attempting to do so would be tantamount to simplifying and falsifying a complex

Zimbabwe history. The reality is that, it was a gradual process whose roots can be traced back to the country´s long-term structural, economic, and political legacies of African nationalist politics (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). It is against this background that I now turn to the historical developments that contributed to shaping Zimbabwe's post-2000 trajectory.

2.1 Precolonial Zimbabwe: migration, economy, and society

Migration into and out of present-day Zimbabwe long pre-dates European conquest and the imposition of artificial colonial borders (Mlambo, 2010). Prior to the arrival of the British colonialists in 1890, the territory that is now known as Zimbabwe was at different time periods occupied by different societies. Some of the earliest known societies to occupy the Zimbabwe plateau[3] were the nomadic Stone Age hunter-gatherers known as the San who are believed to have inhabited the region from as far back as 200 BC (Mlambo, 2014). Their hunter-gatherer way of life is depicted on rock paintings that are found at various sites around Zimbabwe. The San, whose descendants are found in the present-day Kalahari Desert, were displaced by Bantu speaking Early Iron Age people who migrated into the region from the north of Zimbabwe[4].

These Bantu speakers are believed to be the ancestors of the present-day Shona speaking people (Mlambo, 2010). They are said to have brought a new way of life into the region, which for the first time saw people living in settled communities, cultivating crops such as sorghum, millet, ground bean and cowpeas, and herding cattle, sheep and goats (Huffman, 2007). From the seventh century onwards, they were engaged in trade with the Swahili coast traders on the Indian Ocean. They traded in ivory, animal skins, precious metals, as well as jewellery and ornaments that they crafted from copper (Mlambo, 2014). In exchange they imported Indian and Persian glass beads, ceramics, and other luxuries. Since these early farming people also made their own iron tools like hoes, axes, spears and arrows, archaeologists call this block of time that covers the unwritten history of pre-colonial farming societies, the Iron Age. Archaeologists studying the Iron Age period use ceramic style to establish culture-history sequences, which are then used as a framework to determine lifestyles (incorporating technology, subsistence and settlement patterns), and explain cultural change (Huffman, 2007).

Like many other African histories, the limited availability of written records of early life in Zimbabwe means that much of what is known about pre-colonial life is largely based on archeological and academic theory interpretations (Mazarire, 2008). The challenge with relying

[3] This is how historians and archaeologists refer to it

[4] Bantu refers to a group of similar languages that are spoken throughout central and southern Africa. The Bantu-speaking people are believed to have migrated from Western Africa near modern-day Nigeria-- southward and eastward, spreading out across all of the southern half of the African continent. https://www.chegg.com/tutors/what-is-The-Bantu-Migration/

on archaeology lies in that, because archaeologists study material culture, they are easily bound to fall into the trap of overemphasizing the importance of physical objects to the social aspects of culture (Huffman, 2014). Huffman argues that "material culture traits can be symptomatic of different kinds of society, say rank-based versus class-based, but they can never be its definition" (Huffman, 2014, p. 215). This means that pre-historic social life aspects like traditions, language, and culture remain largely unknown and are therefore only inferred through archaeological remains. For this reason, little can be said about pre-colonial family life.

One of the widely studied Iron Age kingdoms is Great Zimbabwe which existed from around 1270AD until about 1550 AD. It comprised of the Karanga people and the country name Zimbabwe was derived from this kingdom[5]. During its peak, the Great Zimbabwe empire's stone-walled complex covered some 78 ha and is estimated to have housed more than 18 000 people (Huffman & Vogel, 1991). It encompassed elite residences, ordinary people's houses, worship or ritual centres, as well as markets (Mlambo, 2014; Pikirayi & Vogel, 2001). This suggests a class-based, religious society. Archaeological remains of such artefacts as glass beads and china ware of Indian and Persian origin as well as Portuguese documented evidence of trade, suggest that Great Zimbabwe was an important trading centre (Luedke, 2004; Pikirayi, 2002). Archaeological work at the Great Zimbabwe site paid less attention to some crucial aspects of social life, instead emphasizing its giant political economic position (Luedke, 2004). As a result, not much is known about the life of ordinary people although the importance of cattle as a measure of wealth and the practice of polygyny were established (Pikirayi, 2002).

Other states that are also known to have existed on the Zimbabwe plateau include the Torwa (1450 -1650), the Mutapa state (1540-1900), and the Rozvi empire (1680-1830) (Pikirayi, 2002). Due to their long term contact with Portuguese traders and the availability of Portuguese records dating back to AD1506, some aspects of socio-economic and political life of the Mutapa are known (Pwiti, 1996). They practised polygamy and the number of wives and relatives living around a leader are said to have been the yardstick of their power and influence (Pwiti, 1996). First wives had powerful influential roles in local politics and external trade. Polygamy and how it transformed over time will be explored in later chapters of this thesis. Influential leaders made matrilocal politically strategic marriage arrangements for their sisters and daughters, under which the sons in law offered their services as either henchman, guards,

[5] Karanga in present day Zimbabwe is an ethnic group within the Shona tribe and also refers to a dialect of the Shona language

spies, or councillors (Kramarae & Spender, 2004; Mazarire, 2008). Totemic kinsfolk occupied strategic positions such as governors (Mazarire, 2008). This suggests that extended families and totemic kinsfolk lived together and maintained close ties. Totemic kinship is still a valued aspect of Zimbabwean family life as shall be demonstrated in the empirical chapters. Women in precolonial societies were active in agriculture and craft work, but had no control over the land (Cheater, 1985). Cheater attributes this lack of control over means of production to the tradition of bride wealth (r*oora* in Shona/*lobola* in Ndebele) which is paid by men to the families of their wives.

Immigration of the Ndebele and settlement on the Zimbabwe plateau

Besides the Bantu migration and the internal migration that occurred as some states declined and new ones emerged, other documented early migration into Zimbabwe is that of the Ndebele people from present day South Africa during the 1830s. Early accounts of migration in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, like in much of Africa at that time were associated with prevailing socio-political and ecological conditions, especially internecine warfare, natural disasters (Adepoju, 1998). It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that the migration of the Ndebele people happened during what is historically known as *mfecane*[6] which was a 19th century revolution that was characterized by violence, disruptions, and migrations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009b; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2016). As Gerald Mazarire pointed out, between 1826 and 1838 much of the present day southern African region fell under heavy pressure of migrants who were fleeing from the Zulu kingdom which was located in present day South Africa (Mazarire, 2008). During this period, at least five Nguni groups[7] either passed through or settled within the region (Mlambo, 2014).

These migration movements, whether transit or permanent, transformed the local ways of life on the Zimbabwe plateau (Mazarire, 2008). The migration and eventual settlement of the Ndebele in the late 1830s contributed to the destabilization and eventual demise of such states as the earlier mentioned Rozvi kingdom. The Ndebele were portrayed as raiders who terrorised the societies that they found already living on the Zimbabwe plateau. Although the raiding allegations have been dismissed by some historians as an exaggeration and an excuse by the colonizers to invade and colonize (Mlambo, 2014), this early history of the Ndebele in Zimbabwe has a bearing on the challenges that bedevilled Zimbabwe's post-colonial nation-building attempts. These will be discussed as the chapter unfolds because they contributed to

[6] Mfecane is a Zulu word meaning 'crushing' or 'breaking' (Freund, 2016)
[7] The Nguni are a Bantu-speaking ethnic group

one of Zimbabwe's post-independence migration movements between 1983 and 1987.

2.2 Colonization and colonial migration movements

In addition to contact with traders, explorers, and immigrants, missionaries were also part of the earliest outsiders to have contact with the societies on the Zimbabwe plateau. As Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni noted, "Christian missionaries were not only carriers of the gospel but were also traders and brought with them modern medicine and other modernist goods and ideas." (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009c, p. 016). It is important to mention the missionaries at this point because they played a significant role in facilitating the colonization of Zimbabwe and in transforming native people's religious belief systems and ways of life. The formal colonization of Zimbabwe was facilitated through John Smith Moffat who was the son of a missionary named Reverend Robert Moffat. John Smith Moffat signed a treaty of friendship (the Moffat treaty) with Lobengula, the then king of the Ndebele, in February 1888. This was enabled by the social ties that already existed between these two parties whose fathers Robert Moffat and Mzilikazi (who was the founding king of the Ndebele kingdom) were friends (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008b).

The Moffat treaty paved way for the October 1888 Rudd Concession, which gave the British representatives, their heirs, and whoever they assigned, exclusive control over all metals and minerals situated and contained in Lobengula's kingdom (Zvobgo, 2009). The Rudd Concession was signed by Charles Rudd, who was representing a South African-based British businessman and politician called Cecil John Rhodes, and Lobengula, in his capacity as the king of the Ndebele. It is important to point out that the Rudd Concession covered the whole territory encompassing parts that were outside Lobengula's area of jurisdiction and belonged to the Shona speaking people. It was through the Rudd Concession that the British South Africa Company (BSAC) was able to petition the British government for a Royal Charter in 1889. Once the Royal Charter was granted, Rhodes sent approximately 700 men under a regiment called the Pioneer Column in 1890 (Mlambo, 2010). This Pioneer Column regiment was the first biggest immigration of Europeans into Zimbabwe, marking the colonization of the territory. The colony was named Southern Rhodesia, in honour of Rhodes who was the founder of the BSAC.

The arrival of the Pioneer Column and the hoisting of the Union Jack at present day Harare on 12 September 1890 officialised white settler occupation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008b). The Bantu people living on the Zimbabwe plateau became known through two main linguistic groups, the

Shona and the Ndebele or as early official records show, the *Mashona* and the *Matebele*. It is interesting to note that these still exist as province names Mashonaland and Matebeleland, depicting geographical areas predominantly occupied by the Shona and the Ndebele respectively. Historians like Mazarire argue that such a categorization was an oversimplification of history (Mazarire, 2008). They contend that the 'Shona' as an ethnic category was a creation of colonial rule because there was no ethnic group that identified itself as the 'Shona' before the nineteenth century, neither were there people who called themselves or their language Shona (Mazarire, 2008). The same can be said for the ethnic group that is today identified as the Ndebele, which comprised people of Nguni origin (as earlier explained) and some groups of the Rozvi, Kalanga, Nyubi, Venda, Birwa, Tonga, and 'Shona' speakers who were incorporated along the migration route (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008c).

The British established their colony without paying much attention to the ways of life of the people they found already living on the Zimbabwe plateau. What mattered for them was an extension of their commercial gold mining activities from South Africa into Zimbabwe. The Shona and the Ndebele initially resisted working for the colonial administrators, forcing the latter to devise ways of coercing them into wage labour. In their mission to recruit and organize the labour force needed to facilitate the efficient running of their economic project, the BSAC disrupted the traditional lifestyles of the Zimbabweans. There were various forms of active and passive resistance against the colonial administrators by both the Ndebele and the Shona. The most documented of these being the 1893 Anglo-Ndebele war (also known as the *Matebele* war) and what came to be known as the first *chimurenga,* which was a multifaceted set of resistance actions during the period 1896 to 1897[8]. Following the successful suppression of the first *chimurenga,* the colonial administration introduced new regulations to force the natives into submission. They advanced and protected their colonial interests through the following three main ways: regulated labour recruitment, controlled labour mobility of natives, and controlled racially segregated residence systems. These systems of control were also used in other British colonies such as Kenya and South Africa.

Colonial regulated labour system

As a means of coercing the indigenous people into wage employment, the BSAC introduced taxation (Madhuku, 2015). They established the Native Affairs Department in 1894, whose mandate included collecting taxes from all adults (Fage et al., 1985). Tax was in the form of

[8] Chimurenga is the Shona word for war. In Ndebele it is known as *umvekela*

such levies as hut tax which was introduced through the 1894 Hut Tax Ordinance[9]. The tax was to be paid by every native adult and tax evaders or defaulters would be punished by way of forced unpaid labour to wherever the administrators decided. Additionally, the administration passed the Natives Employment Ordinance in 1899 which regulated recruitment, and prohibited the recruitment of labour for external territories (Madhuku, 2015). The colonial labour system saw the economic system changing from that of communal subsistence agriculture, mining, and trade which existed during the pre-colonial era, to that of formal employment and wage earning. The introduction of a formal labour system transformed the everyday lives of the indigenous people.

2.2.1 Internal migration, social control, and disruption of traditional family life systems

To ensure the efficient running of the newly established colony and to avoid another *chimurenga*, the BSAC introduced various systems of social control. The social control of labour was achieved through two main ways namely: controlled mobility which was enforced through pass laws, and controlled residence which was enforced through the introduction of native reserve areas, compound system of residence on mines and commercial farms, as well as the establishment of African locations or townships for urban based employees. Although strict mechanisms to enforce and monitor these controls existed, Africans constantly found subtle and sometimes active ways of defying or going around the social control system.

Controlled and gendered mobility: shifting family dynamics

Whereas mobility on the Zimbabwe plateau had previously been driven by trade, politics, natural disasters, and other environmental dynamics, it suddenly fell under state regulation. In their quest to control labour mobility and reduce desertions, the colonial administrators introduced pass laws targeting the African population. The Native Pass Ordinance was instituted in 1902. It required all male Africans above the age of fourteen to have a registration certificate and a job search pass (Mlambo, 2014). By the early 1930s, all African men were required to carry identification certificates (passes) that also served as a record of employment. Passes contained comprehensive biographical and employment information about each male worker, making desertion, trespassing, and tax evasion easily detectable (Barnes, 1992). The African men needed an additional pass to enter any town or European area (Barnes, 1992). African women were not issued passes until the 1950s and they ideally required their fathers' or husbands' consent to enter town areas (Kramarae & Spender, 2004). This suggests that their

[9] A hut is a pole and dagga round thatched house typically found in Zimbabwe's rural villages

status was perceived to be lower than that of fourteen-year-old males who were legally liable to hold passes.

Such social control and regulated gendered mobility isolated the native population from their kinship and other social networks. It significantly contributed to the deterioration of previously strong extended family ties that existed in pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies where extended families lived together. Henriette Bonnevie claimed that colonial labour migration split families in more than the geographical sense of the word (Bonnevie, 1987). She observed that the wives and children who usually remained in the villages, lived in conditions which were below the living standard that they would have potentially had, had they permanently joined the husbands. Following along a similar trail of thought, Elizabeth Schmidt argued that colonization reinforced the patriarchal tendencies that already existed in pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies (Schmidt, 1991). She observed that "indigenous and European structures of patriarchal control reinforced and transformed one another, evolving into new structures and forms of domination" (Schmidt, 1991, p. 734). Whilst such observations are valid, it should be noted that women were not passive victims of this new system. Whereas married or 'respectable women' as they were referred to in colonial records (Barnes, 1995; Hungwe, 2006; Jeater, 2000; Weinrich, 1979), were officially allowed to be in urban areas, single women exercised agency by migrating to urban areas even though this was frowned upon by their families.

Traditionally, single women were only allowed and expected to leave their family homes upon marriage. Yet with the coming of colonization some single women started leaving home to find opportunities elsewhere. It is for this reason that single women's exercise of mobility in the early colonial years caused problems within African households (Barnes, 1992). Given the new way of life that the migratory labour system had created, traditional systems of control were struggling to keep up with the mobility of single women. African single women were accused of prostitution and blamed for the spread of venereal diseases in towns, farming, and mining areas (Barnes, 1992; Jackson, 2002; L. Vambe, 1976). Starting from the 1920s, single women became subjected to compulsory venereal disease examinations (*chibeura* as it was colloquially called in Shona) whenever they travelled to mining compounds and township areas in colonial Zimbabwe (Jackson, 2002). They were only allowed to stay if they had been cleared through this medical examination. Being single and outside the rural village therefore carried the stigma of being 'loose' and diseased. The stigma against African single women as well as their victimization became deeply entrenched to the extent that it still persists in present day

Zimbabwean communities.

As mobility flows increased, so too did concerns around moral decadence throughout the colony. Concerns over increasing immorality were also raised in the rural areas where civil court cases of adultery involving married women became common (Barnes, 1992). Archival court reports show that most of the adultery cases involved wives of natives who had migrated to work on mines or farms. Responding to calls by African men for the colonial administration to intervene and solve the adultery issue, the administration ratified the Natives Adultery Punishment Ordinance in 1916. This ordinance criminalized adultery between African men and married African women. An adultery offense became punishable by a fine of 100 pounds or one year's imprisonment with hard labour (Schmidt, 1991). Interestingly however, married women caught up in infidelity scandals were not as stigmatized as single women in urban areas were. Instead, there is a Shona proverb that subtly acknowledges adultery among the Shona: *Gomba harina mwana*. This proverb basically means that in the event that a married woman bears a child out of an extramarital affair, the "illicit lover has no paternal rights to that child" (Chitakure, 2016, p. 74). The child is automatically considered to belong to her husband

Writing on the fight for control of African women's mobility in colonial Zimbabwe, Teresa Barnes advanced the view that the colonial government did not severely deal with the mobility of single women because:

> […]their daily performance in the urban and mining areas of the myriad tasks of domestic labour, -cooking, cleaning, sewing, child rearing, supplementing male incomes, and providing sexual services-was vital for the reproduction of the migrant male labour force and for the development of the colonial capitalism that was predicated on that labour (Barnes, 1992, p. 608).

The continued presence of single African women in mining and urban areas was also advantageous to the whites (Europeans) as it somehow eased their fears of the so-called black peril. Black peril referred to "the rape or attempted rape of a white woman by a black man and reflected a perceived omnipresent sexual danger posed by black males" (Jackson, 2002, p. 194). As colonial administrators dragged their feet on addressing the concerns over African women's mobility, another morality challenge arose in the form of what came to be known as *mapoto* marriages in urban areas and mine workers' compounds[10].

Mapoto marriages or transitory sexual relationships by all means defied the African traditionally accepted way of marriage which is a union of two families that is sealed by the

[10] Mapoto relationships were informal marriages that African men who would not or could not bring rural women into towns to live with them resorted to. Others entered into shorter-term liaisons with prostitutes (Barnes, 1997)

payment of *roora/lobola* (bride wealth) (Barnes, 1992; Chitakure, 2016; L. Vambe, 1976). These informal marriages were not recognized traditionally and at law in colonial Zimbabwe[11] and this position still holds true for post-colonial Zimbabwe. The colonial government created a dual legal system under which customary law operates alongside general law (Madhuku, 2010). Under this dual system, which has since continued to exist in present day Zimbabwe, there are two fully recognized regimes of marriage, that is, marriages solemnized under the Marriage Act Chapter 5:11 and those registered under the Customary Marriages Act Chapter 5:07. There is also a third type known as the Unregistered Customary Law Union (UCLU) which is partially recognized for purposes of inheritance. Marriages under the Customary Marriages Act Chapter 5:07 and the UCLU are potentially polygamous.

Women's independence and empowerment: an inadvertent offshoot of social control

Looking at controlled mobility from a different perspective other than that of controlling labour, reinforcing patriarchy, and weakening traditional family/traditional systems, it is evident that some women who remained in the rural areas ironically became empowered and enjoyed some degree of independence and decision-making authority. Although they were still bounded by tradition, they practically took over the management of the family and the rural home. This is perhaps the origin of the adage *'musha mukadzi'* which is a Shona adage stating that the image, prosperity, and happiness of a family depend on the presence of the wife (Nhongo, 2005). The idea of *'musha mukadzi'* was reinforced through the missionary schools, church weekly meeting groups for married women known as *Manyano/Ruwadzano,* as well as the African women's homecraft movement which emphasized domesticity[12]. Women learnt a myriad of new skills and life lessons through such platforms as homecraft clubs, which have been perceived by some as having proto-feministic characteristics (C. M. Shaw, 2015). The '*musha mukadzi*' adage partly influences the later analysis of how the feminized nature of the post-2000 migration movements contributes to the reshaping of family life[13].

Controlled segregated system of residence: compounds, reserves, and townships

In addition to regulated mobility, the social control of labour within the colony's mining and farming areas was also enforced through a prison-like system of residence known as the compound system (Mlambo, 2014). Explained in simple terms, compounds were residential

[11] The colonial administration introduced the Native Marriages Ordinance in 1901 to regulate customary marriage. It made the payment of lobola/roora a legal requirement and fixed acceptable maximum roora charges. See (Keppel-Jones, 1983)

[12] Refer to (Kaler, 1999; C. M. Shaw, 2015; West, 2002) for the African women's homecraft movement and the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement. These groups created spaces for women to share tips, recipes, home remedies and to impart skills on being a good home maker

[13] The reasoning behind this emanates from the observation that the women's church prayer group meetings are still running in Zimbabwe and among Zimbabwean diaspora communities, as shall be demonstrated in the later chapters.

areas specifically meant for contracted African employees of a mining company or a commercial farm. There was strict access control into the compounds, coupled with surveillance, and disciplining enforced through a compound residence police force. Compound residence was rent-free and possible for as long as the mining worker was employed by the mine. Most mines adopted a three-tier compound system, where the first tier was under extreme surveillance as it accommodated short-term labourers who were assumed to have high risks of desertion (Rubert, 1998). The second tier housed skilled and experienced single labourers, whilst the third tier was set aside for married labourers and their families (Rubert, 1998).

Married employees required authorization from their employers to live with their wives and children. Due to the limited availability of married quarters at most mining compounds, only a few workers had the privilege of living with their families. This controlled residence system also discouraged polygamy as the residential married quarters only catered for one wife. By the 1940s it had thus become typical for families to live apart. Children were split, often with one to three living in the compounds with their parents and the others with relatives in the countryside (Vickery, 1999). Some mines and farms had schools to cater for the children of their workers, clinics, as well as recreational facilities. Given the ethnic diversity of the labourers, some farms had separate compounds for the different ethnic and linguistic groups to minimize conflicts (Rubert, 1998).

Mine workers earned 'bachelor wages' which were never related to family needs because the authorities viewed the mine worker as a single male migrant who could supplement his income from the subsistence economy of the rural areas (G. T. Ncube, 2012). This was challenging given that the colonial state had seized much of the fertile land that used to be the Africans' source of livelihood and pushed them into less fertile native reserves (*kumaruzevha* in Shona). Native reserves (later renamed to tribal trust lands) were rural villages created and designated for African people to settle and do subsistence farming. The first two reserves were created in 1898 and by 1905 there were about sixty reserves occupying 22% of the colony (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008b). This is where the wives of those who had migrated to work on mines, commercial farms and in the later years to South Africa were expected to remain "in order to maintain usufruct rights to land" (Jeater, 2000, p. 38). The husbands could occasionally visit their families in the native reserves and wives could also pay them occasional visits, typically during the off agricultural season. Land allocation continued beyond the creation of reserves, with the 1930 Land Apportionment Act creating strict division of the country's land along racial lines.

African townships

Apart from the compound system and the native reserves in the rural areas, African residents employed in urban areas were expected to either live on the premises of their employers or in the municipality-run townships. Township residents were subjected to regular police patrols and night raids searching for 'unauthorized' visitors. Tenants were required to be in regular employment and respect the township night curfew system which required them to be inside the township between the hours of nine at night and six in the morning, unless they sought an additional pass (Barnes, 1992). Visitors were not allowed to remain inside the location for more than twelve hours without official permits (Yoshikuni, 2007). Similar to the compound system, houses in certain parts of the townships were reserved for married workers and their families, whilst single employees lived in hostel type accommodation. Once an African worker lost his job or retired, they were expected to return to the native reserves. The townships were home to both native and immigrant Africans from present day Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia. The ethnic diversity in these townships meant that they became sites of cultural diversity and acculturation.

2.2.2 Immigration from neighbouring territories

The high demand for labour in mines and on farms could not be met by the locals, therefore, the administration engaged in external recruitment. During the period 1903 to 1933, outside territory African labour recruitment was organized through a government agency called the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) (Mlambo, 2010). The RNLB supplied an average of 13 000 workers to employers per year (Mlambo, 2010). Migrants were recruited from such countries as Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia. By 1912, out of an estimated 48 000 African mine labourers in colonial Zimbabwe, about 10 000 were of Malawian origin (Mlambo, 2010). There is evidence that women also immigrated to colonial Zimbabwe. As the 1921 census figures show, about 5 904 African women in colonial Zimbabwe's urban areas were immigrants (Barnes, 2002). It is however difficult to determine whether these migrant women arrived as accompanying spouses, or as independent individuals seeking employment opportunities.

In 1946, the Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission (RNLSC) was established to recruit migrant labour for the farming sector (Mlambo, 2014). Between 1946 and 1971, the RNLSC brought in an average of 14 000 migrant workers per year (Mlambo, 2014). The immigration of Malawians and Zambians into colonial Zimbabwe increased during the period 1953 to 1963 when these two colonial countries and colonial Zimbabwe were merged to form the Federation

of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. During the federal period, the colonial government offered free round-trip bus services (referred to as *ulere*[14]) to workers from colonial Malawi and Zambia as an incentive for them to seek employment in colonial Zimbabwe (Barnes, 2002). The immigrants were allowed to bring their families and could settle after serving a number of years. By 1958 about 123 000 of an estimated 169 000 Malawian men living outside their territory, were reportedly in Southern Rhodesia (Mlambo, 2010).

2.2.3 Emigration of labour to South Africa

Besides being a country of immigration, colonial Zimbabwe also contributed labour to South African mines through the recruitment agency called Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). The WNLA or *Wenela* as it is sometimes referred to in literature, recruited labour from Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique (Mlambo, 2010). An estimated total of 28 570 Zimbabweans were registered as contract labourers in South African mines at different times during the period 1920 to 1980[15]. Zimbabwe's labour supplies to South Africa through WNLA, were lower compared to the other labour supplying countries under the same scheme (Mlambo, 2010). Migration to South African mines (going to *Wenela* as it came to be colloquially known) became more of a rite of passage for young men, particularly from the Matebeleland region. It was used as a way to raise money to meet colonial tax requirements and save towards *lobola* (bride wealth) money required for them to marry start their own families (Mlambo, 2010). This regulated supply of labour to South African mines was officially abolished in 1981. It is important to note that there was also self-initiated migration, for which no accurate statistics exist.

2.2.4 Liberation war-related migration movements

Over time Africans showed their disgruntlement against colonialism through strike action, protests, and eventually through forming political parties. The colonial government responded harshly to these, at different points banning trade unionism and political parties. Industrial actions occurred over a long period of time starting from as early as the 1920s when mine workers started organizing themselves to protest against their working conditions (Shillington, 2013). These political actions are explained and analyzed at length elsewhere (Barnes, 1997; Chung, 2006; Mlambo, 2014; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008; West, 2002; Yoshikuni, 2007), and so I will not repeat them here. For purposes of this thesis, it suffices to single out only those

[14] Ulere means 'free' in Nyanja language spoken in Zambia and Malawi

[15] I arrived at this estimate by calculating the figures of contract labour migration to South African mines adopted by (Mlambo, 2010) (Table 2.14 on page 68). I only focused on the statistics for Zimbabwe and for the period 1920-1980

events that are directly related to the migration movements created by the liberation war (also known as the second *chimurenga*).

As this chapter has so far demonstrated, the British colonial system was on the one hand moulded around white privilege and supremacy, and on the other hand structural marginalization of the black Africans (Mlambo, 2014). This structural marginalization, which was institutionalized through the racially segregated land allocation system, became an entrenched perpetual source of tension and conflict between the whites and blacks in colonial Zimbabwe. The 1930 Land Apportionment Act divided the land along racial lines which could not be crossed. It created white areas, communal reserves (tribal trust lands), native purchase areas for Africans who could afford to purchase land, as well as crown lands which were reserved for future allocations (Mlambo, 2014). About 51% of the total land was allocated to the approximately 50 000 white settlers, whilst the more than 1 million Africans were allotted 29, 8% of the total land (Mlambo, 2014). This became the basis of the rest of the land policy amendments that the colonial government made.

As more and more Africans were pushed out of the white allocated areas, the native reserves became overcrowded. The colonial government tried to correct this through the 1969 Land Tenure Act which revised the land allocation to a 50% each share between the blacks and the whites. This did not resolve the problem. Whites constituted only 5% of the population and so it made no sense for them to have a similar share of land to the majority African population. The land issue thus became one of the central issues that led to Zimbabwe's war of liberation which started in earnest in late 1966 and became fully fledged in 1972. The guerrilla war was led by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), which was the military wing of the Zimbabwe National Union party (ZANU), and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), which was the military wing of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

It is estimated that between 1976 and the time of independence in 1980, the population of whites had dropped by almost 50 000 (Smith, 2008). Apart from fleeing the insecurity that the war presented, some of them were alarmed by the fact that all whites up to the age of sixty were liable to a military draft (Smith, 2008). By 1979, an estimated 150 000 people had fled the war and emigrated to neighbouring countries (Mlambo, 2010). The war displaced villages and separated families as many young men and women left to join the war and others were

pushed into protected villages[16]. Some political activists were either imprisoned or kept in detention for many years[17]. According to Mlambo, by 1980 approximately 1.4million people had been displaced as a result of the war (Mlambo, 2010). The effect of the second *chimurenga* on family life is yet to be fully documented although efforts have been made through such projects as the National Archives of Zimbabwe's *'Capturing a fading national memory'*. The project collected oral history accounts of the second *chimurenga* from different parts of the country. It was concurrently run with the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the University of Zimbabwe (History department).

2.2.5 Overall impact of colonization and labour migration movements on family life

State-regulated labour migration and controlled residence had far-reaching consequences that have a direct bearing on family life in contemporary Zimbabwe. Colonial social engineering which privileged male labour migration and wage earning, and was supported by Christian missionaries, left an indelible imprint on the Zimbabwean family and cultural ideals (S. M. Shaw et al., 2018). The advance of Christian and Western education severely affected the African people's culture, belief systems, attitudes, and self-perception (Mlambo, 2014). It transformed the way they perceived their traditional lifestyles and religion. The ideal model of family life for African Christian converts became a family with a "[…]wage-earning husband and a dutiful homemaker, the latter supreme in the domestic sphere and devoted to the care of her husband and children […]" (West, 2002, p. 69). The creation of this Christian influenced marriage model resulted in the shunning of polygamy.

Until independence in 1980 the average Zimbabwean family was therefore, ideally composed of a male urban migrant and wage earner (relatively better educated), married to a woman who lived in the rural areas, where she occupied herself as a subsistence farmer working on land that belonged to the male migrant or his family (S. M. Shaw et al., 2018). Some government archival records highlight the effects of such a set-up on African family life. An example is found in the 1920 Chief Native Commissioner's Report, in which the Native Commissioner for Gwanda district reported that:

> […] cases have come before me where a native has been absent from home for a number of years and has done nothing for his wife and children. He is an industrious member of the community, but is failing to recognize his domestic obligations with the result that when he comes back his wife will have nothing to do with him (Chief Native Commissioner, 1920, p. 5).

[16] Protected villages were fortified villages into which civilian Africans were resettled to isolate them from the African freedom fighters (see Mazambani, 2014)
[17] See Munochiveyi, 2014 for a detailed discussion on political detention

Although the above excerpt overlooks the role of the colonial government in creating the situation that led natives to neglect their 'domestic obligations', it exemplifies the family situation in the colonial areas. The Native Commissioner's view and that of the earlier mentioned image of a migrant urban worker and a rural-based wife, can however, not be generalized. There were other African middle-class families that lived together and benefited from the privileges that the system afforded to the 'educated Africans'[18].

The impact of the colonial labour policy on collective identity and belonging

By isolating workers from members of their immediate and extended families, the system not only weakened family bonds, but also introduced Zimbabweans to the notion of having two homes – a rural home (perceived to be a permanent village of origin and belonging), and an urban home where the husband or the patriarch of the family was employed (perceived to be temporary). It was considered important to maintain a connection to one's rural village of origin. This multilocality of people is still officially reflected on present-day Zimbabwe's national registration identity cards, and has a bearing on how issues of identity, place-based belonging, citizenship, and access to land are understood in Zimbabwe. The first two digits on individual Zimbabwean national identity card numbers represent the district of registration, whilst the last two digits represent the identity card holder's district of origin. Descendants of immigrants from countries like Malawi have the inscription *Alien* on their national identity cards. Descendants of European immigrants have the last two digits of their identity cards as 00, reflecting their immigrant background.

These identity issues are vital to mention here as they were the basis upon which some descendants of British settlers applied for British ancestry visas during the post-2000 migration movements. Some descendants of Malawian migrants also reclaimed their Malawian citizenship and used Malawian passports to migrate to the UK. Other indigenous Zimbabweans also took advantage of this and obtained Malawian passports using false identities. This is elaborated upon in Chapter 5 where I discuss the migration trajectories of my research project's participants.

Cultural diversity - a product of colonial labour migration

Given the diversity of compound and township residents, ethnic associations made efforts to keep their respective cultural activities alive. Examples of the ethnic associations that were modelled around tribal lines, regions, and countries of origin, are burial societies and traditional

[18] more information on such families can be found in West, 2002 and Vambe, 1976

dance groups (Potts, 2010b). Migrants from Malawi for example, had their own societies which included the secret-shrouded Nyau society (see Banda, 2017). Members initiated into this group were known in Zimbabwe as *zvinyau* (singular form -*chinyau*). *Zvinyau* concealed their identities by wearing huge full face covering masks during dance performances (see chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis for the modern use of the word or idea of *zvinyau*). The motivation to belong to such associations lay in the need to maintain cultural ties with their places of origin and to pass down cultural values to the children born and bred in compounds and townships. Burial societies offered moral and practical support to their members during bereavement. The deceased would normally be buried in their rural villages of origin because of the deep cultural significance attached to one's location of burial, and the belief that for one's soul to rest in peace they have to be buried among their own people and ancestors (Potts, 2010a). This is still relevant to Zimbabweans as shall be highlighted in the empirical chapters.

In compound and township multicultural settings however, some traditional lifestyles became modified as exposure to diverse cultures, religions, and state regulation of such practices as marriage and dispute resolution occurred. This resulted in hybridized cultural and family lifestyles. As earlier mentioned, kinship extended beyond consanguine and affinal ties, as sharing the same totem increasingly became a ground for claiming fictive kinship. Whereas totemism was traditionally a ground for kinship, originating from the same rural village became an additional dimension to forging fictive relations. This colonially-influenced form of collective identity, place of origin-based belonging, and kinship has up to date remained alive among Zimbabweans. The role of fictive kinship and its limits is therefore an important part of this thesis.

2.3 Post-colonial migration movements: 1980 – 1999

Zimbabwe's political independence from Britain in April 1980 brought with it new migration patterns. The early period of independence recorded a multidirectional kind of migration. There was return migration as those that had left the country on account of war returned. The country also witnessed increase internal migration (mostly rural-urban) as mobility and residence restrictions were no longer in place. There was also immigration of refugees from Mozambique and apartheid South Africa, as well as emigration of whites and some Ndebele people due to political factors explained in the ensuing sections.

Migration movements in the 1980s

Following the attainment of political independence, an estimated 60 000 ZANLA and ZIPRA ex-combatants and thousands of ordinary civilians that had fled the war returned to Zimbabwe.

The ex-combatants were first accommodated at designated Assembly Points where they were registered before being reintegrated into society. The return and resettlement of civilian war time refugees was coordinated through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which facilitated the return of 72 000 refugees by the end of 1980 (Mlambo, 2010). The number of returnees outside of the UNHCR programme is unknown.

Some of the people that had been internally displaced by the war and forced into protected villages or had sought refuge in relatively safer areas also returned to their homes. The government removed the colonial mobility and residence controls. This shift from the colonial institutionalized labour migration system meant that people could freely choose where to work and reside with no state restrictions. Women were elevated to full citizens with full rights through the 1982 Legal Age of Majority Act, emancipating them from the colonial policies which had basically made them perpetual minors under the guardianship of either their fathers or husbands.

Given that the economy was thriving during the 1980s (Mlambo, 2017), rural to urban migration increased as many rural people pursued higher urban incomes and better social facilities (Potts, 2010b). The national annual urban growth rate for the period 1982 to 1992 was estimated to be 5% (Potts, 2010b). Some families however, maintained colonial living arrangements where the husband worked and lived in the city, whilst the wife and children lived in the rural areas and visited the city during off-peak agricultural seasons. In other cases, children lived with their fathers in towns where there were relatively better education facilities compared to the rural areas. Internal migration during this decade of was also driven by the government's land resettlement exercise (Potts, 2010b). As per the Lancaster House Agreement[19] which set the terms for land reform during the first decade of independence, the government could only acquire land for resettlement purposes through a willing buyer-willing seller basis. To this end, the government purchased some commercial farms and resettled about 52,000 families by the end of June 1989, representing about 32 per cent of the notional 162,000-family target that it had set for that period (Palmer, 1990).

Emigration – white and Ndebele minorities

The early years of independence saw roughly 50 000 to 60 000 whites who were against black majority rule migrating to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the UK (Tevera & Crush, 2003). Despite the call by Zimbabwe's first prime minister Robert Mugabe to put war

[19] This was the cease-fire agreement between the Zimbabwean guerrilla parties and the Rhodesian armed forces signed in December 1979. On land, the agreement was that the UK would partly finance Zimbabwe's land reform.

differences aside and reconcile, white emigration continued. White population had by 1987 reduced to 110 000, which is approximately half of the 1980 white population (Mlambo, 2010). Notwithstanding this, it is important to note that Zimbabwe enjoyed cordial relations with the UK government throughout the 1980s.

In addition to white emigration, thousands of Ndebele people also emigrated in the 1980s following the Zimbabwe government's military operation that brought terror to the regions of Matebeleland and parts of Zimbabwe's Midlands province. This operation which was codenamed *Gukurahundi*[20] was launched with the aim of quelling alleged anti-government rebels who were labelled as 'dissidents'(Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997; Mlambo, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017). The ZANU-PF government accused its liberation war ally, PF-ZAPU, of plotting to destabilize the country following an alleged discovery of arms caches on properties belonging to PF-ZAPU in 1982. The infamous operation took place between 1983 and 1987 through a North-Korean trained army wing known as the Fifth Brigade[21]. *Gukurahundi* reportedly led to the death of between 10 000 and 20 000 civilians (Sachikonye, 2011). It also led to the migration of thousands of Ndebele people to South Africa, Botswana, and the UK. The exact number of emigrants is unknown. Migrating to the UK had no major barriers as Zimbabweans were at that time exempted from pre-travel visa requirements. The Matebeleland disturbances ended with the signing of the December 1987 Unity Accord between Mugabe's ZANU-PF and Joshua Nkomo's PF-ZAPU. The two parties were merged under the name ZANU-PF.

ESAP, opposition politics, and skilled labour migration in the 1990s

The 1990s marked the beginning of Zimbabwe's economic woes and the migration of skilled labour. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which was adopted with the aim of shifting from a highly regulated economy to a more open market-driven one, had a devastating effect on Zimbabwe, economically and politically (Kararach & Otieno, 2016; Moyo & Yeros, 2013). The restructuring programme entailed reduced public spending, currency devaluation, the liberalization of prices, interest rates and trade as well as the deregulation of capital accounts and labour relations (Moyo & Yeros, 2013). ESAP created vast negative consequences which were both immediate and sustained. These consequences included unprecedented increases in interest rates and inflation, a 65% fall in the stock market, deindustrialization precipitating a 40% decline in manufacturing causing company closures and

[20] *Gukurahundi* is a Shona word referring to the early rain which washes away the chaff before the spring rains

[21] See **Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace: A report on the disturbances in Matebeleland and the Midlands 1980 to 1988** published by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997 for detailed *Gukurahundi* discussions

massive job cuts, and substantial decline in real wages and overall standards of living (Bond, 2001). Ordinary people bore the brunt of ESAP as job losses increased and government subsidies on basic goods and services were removed, pushing costs beyond the reach of many (Moyo & Yeros, 2013; Sachikonye, 1995). By 1992 an estimated 25 000 employees had been laid off from their jobs in different sectors (Mlambo, 2017).

Loss of employment gave rise to the growth of the informal sector and illuminated the role of women cross-border traders in supplementing household incomes. Women cross-border trade activities to countries like South Africa, Botswana, and Zambia had started soon after independence. Research has shown that through cross-border trade activities, some married women made enormous economic contributions to their households, in some instances becoming the sole breadwinner in the home (Mupedziswa & Gumbo, 1998). The trade was, however, negatively portrayed in the media. Women traders were denigrated as being agents of darkness (witchcraft) and immorality (prostitution and the spread of the HIV virus) (Mupedziswa & Gumbo, 1998; Muzvidziwa, 2001). This reflected a continuation of the colonial negative perception of women's mobility. The denigration is suggested to have emanated from the fact that women's mobility in post-independence Zimbabwe challenged the traditional female role of subservience to men (Muzvidziwa, 2001). Women's mobility is also said to have threatened the men's role as family heads and breadwinners (Mupedziswa & Gumbo, 1998). Given that some of my research participants were once cross-border traders, my analysis of shifting family dynamics after post-2000 migration movements considers these pre-existing disapproving perceptions.

Faced with the ESAP-induced rising costs of living, liberation war veterans demanded compensation for their role in liberating the country. In what has generally been described as an imprudent decision, the Zimbabwe government succumbed to the pressure and granted the approximately 60 000 war veterans Z$50 000 (US$3 000) each in November 1997 (Mlambo, 2017). Given that this was unbudgeted for, it triggered a 74% decline in the value of the Zimbabwe dollar within a few trading hours (Mlambo, 2017). Government expenditure was further increased by its involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) war starting from 1998. Under a SADC regional peacekeeping initiative, the government deployed an estimated 10 000 soldiers to defend the government of Laurent Kabila who was apparently facing rebel attacks. The DRC involvement cost the country an estimated $200 million over two years, aggravating the economic meltdown (Copson, 2006).

Due to the pressure that the economic meltdown exerted on workers, strike action and other demonstrations became a common sight of the 1990s. Disgruntled workers, college and university students engaged in a series of strike actions, protests, and food riots. The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) led a series of strikes which were violently suppressed by the country's security forces (Tarusarira, 2016). As the economic situation continued to decline, workers through the ZCTU facilitated the formation of an opposition political party in 1999. The political party was named the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and was led by ZCTU's former Secretary General Morgan Tsvangirai. While some workers used the new political party as an outlet through which they could register their displeasure with the declining situation, others started leaving the country.

Professionals started "voting with their feet"[22] in response to the deteriorating working conditions and rising cost of living (Gaidzanwa, 1999). The country consequently experienced a debilitating flight of professional and skilled people from such sectors such as banking, education, engineering, health, information technology and law (Chinembiri, 2016; Crush & Tevera, 2010). Health professionals initially migrated to Botswana and South Africa, and from the late 1990s recruitment agencies from the UK started recruiting nurses, social workers, and teachers from Zimbabwe (Chikanda, 2005b; JoAnn McGregor, 2006). The UK thus became the leading destination for nurses leaving Zimbabwe from the late 1990s onwards.

2.4 The 'Zimbabwe crisis' decade and the post-2000 migration movements

The first decade of the 21st century saw the deepening of the economic meltdown whose signs had started showing in the late 1990s. Zimbabwe experienced severe economic, social, and political turbulence that reversed some of the gains and achievements of the past decades (Mlambo, 2014). Labelling the period 2000 – 2010 a 'crisis' decade should not be taken to mean that the country was crisis-free before the year 2000, neither should it imply that the 'crisis' ended in 2010. It is just an acknowledgement of the complex unprecedented nature and depth of the 'crisis', as well as the international attention it attracted and the increased emigration that it generated. The roots of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' as it came to be known, can be traced back to the country´s long-term historical, structural, economic, as well as political policies (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). The 'unfinished business' of the colonial past related to land, economy and nation building which had long haunted post-colonial Zimbabwe, turned into a complete crisis after the year 2000 (Hammar et al., 2003).

[22] Rudo Gaidzanwa coined this phrase to explain the rise in emigration during the 1990s.

There has been so much debate on what constituted and what caused the crisis, what its consequences were, and for whom (Hammar et al., 2003). Brian Raftopoulos marked the late 1990s as the period during which Zimbabwe generally entered the 'crisis' phase (Raftopoulos, 2009). For others, it was the events following the 2000 Constitutional Referendum which marked the beginning of the so-called 'Zimbabwe crisis' (Rukuni & Jensen, 2003). The unresolved racial inequalities around land ownership and use contributed to the 'crisis' (Muzondidya, 2011). Raftopoulos summed it up as follows:

> The crisis was manifested in multiple ways: confrontations over the land and property rights; contestations over the history and meanings of nationalism and citizenship; the emergence of critical civil society groupings campaigning around trade unions; human rights and constitutional questions; the restructuring of the state in more authoritarian forms; the broader pan-African and anti-imperialist meanings of the struggles in Zimbabwe; the cultural representation of the crisis in Zimbabwean literature and the central role of Robert Mugabe (Raftopoulos, 2009, p. 202).

Historian and decolonial scholar Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni rejected narratives that reduce the 'Zimbabwe crisis' to what he called a mere problem of governance. He contended that the multiple political manifestations of the crisis were a symptom of a bigger wave which should be properly conceptualized and historicised. The 'Zimbabwe crisis' should therefore not just be reduced to Robert Mugabe as symbol of African dictatorship (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2006).

Another interesting, but often-overlooked facet of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' is that it had generational dimensions to it. On the one hand, the idea of democratic change and a 'new Zimbabwe' that was preached by the opposition MDC appealed to mostly young and urban population. On the other hand, the land acquisition and anti-colonial propaganda (politics of nativism), which was at the centre of ZANU-PF's campaigning strategy, appealed to the older generation that had experienced the liberation struggle (Muzondidya, 2011). While historians held different views of the 'crisis', the media also presented its own versions of it. Local music and drama productions addressed themes related to the 'crisis', rising poverty, and migration, leading to increased state censorship on the portrayal of the 'crisis' situation (Manase, 2009; B. J. Ncube, 2017; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Sibanda, 2004; Thram, 2016). Some of the songs produced between 2002 and 2004 portrayed migration as a temporary mission to make money, after which individuals return with financial security for their loved ones[23]. These songs, though

[23] Examples of such songs include '*Handirege*' (I will not stop loving you) by Roy and Royce (2002) in which a young man remembers the day that he migrated and 'left behind' his partner. He reassures his non-migrating partner of his love for her, explains that he is working for their future financial security, and that he will return to be with her. In another song entitled '*Unodzoka here*?' (Will you return?) by MC Villa (2004), a *staying behind* partner pleads with her partner who migrated, to return to her as she feels incomplete in his absence. The man reassures her that he will return to her with love and money.

anecdotal, provide insights into the general crisis and migration perceptions then. I will return to these different standpoints on the 'Zimbabwe crisis' in the empirical chapters. Although I subscribe to the narrative standpoint that sees the 'Zimbabwe crisis' as multi-layered, in this chapter I emphasize the crises around the land reform and political violence as these had a direct bearing on the economy, on diplomatic relations with the UK, and on post-2000 migration movements. I also briefly highlight the humanitarian crisis caused by the 2005 so-called urban clean up exercise (Operation *Murambatsvina*) as it influenced mobility. I will then touch on the other facets of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' as and when they arise from the research data in the empirical chapters.

Land reform and the fall-out with the UK

As earlier stated, an estimated 4 500 white commercial farmers occupied about 70% of Zimbabwe's prime fertile land. Following intense pressure from the war veterans in the late 1990s, the government drafted a new constitution which sought to seize land from white farmers with no compensation. This draft constitution was rejected through a referendum vote in February 2000. The rejection was followed by violent farm invasions, which saw at least six commercial farmers reportedly murdered and many farm workers attacked and injured in the year 2000 (UK Home Office, 2002). The government took no action against the perpetrators of violence, as it considered white farmers new enemies of the state who deserved the treatment that they were receiving (Mlambo, 2014).

The government had announced its intention to acquire approximately 1500 farms for resettlement (I. Taylor & Williams, 2002) under the terms set by the earlier mentioned Lancaster House ceasefire agreement. Following the chaos and violence that marred the run up to the implementation of the land reform exercise, the Commonwealth facilitated deliberations between Zimbabwe and the UK to solve the land reform issue (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003). At the Commonwealth meeting held in Abuja in September 2001, the Zimbabwe government agreed to enforce the rule of law. It agreed to stop all illegal occupation of private farms, and abide by the Commonwealth political values in return for financial assistance (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003). Upon failing to honour the agreement, Zimbabwe was suspended from the Commonwealth in 2002. It subsequently withdrew in 2003 and developed a grand anti-imperialism narrative accusing the UK of working with the opposition MDC party to recolonize Zimbabwe (Manase, 2019). According to this narrative, the land had to be liberated and protected from the whites. The land reform was considered the road to economic independence, and was thus codenamed the third *chimurenga*.

Apart from ruining diplomatic relations with the UK, the fast track land reform also disrupted Zimbabwe's commercial agricultural sector. At least 4000 of the 4 500 white commercial farmers were reportedly evicted from their farms (Sachikonye, 2004). This not only affected agricultural sector employment and production levels, but also had a ripple effect on the manufacturing sector which heavily relied on it for raw materials. It had far reaching consequences for the economy and inevitably the general population. By the end of 2002 more than 200 000 jobs had been lost since the beginning of the land reform exercise (Mlambo, 2014; Sachikonye, 2004). Whilst indigenous Zimbabweans were able to relocate to their villages of origin, the descendants of regional migrants who migrated to Zimbabwe during the colonial era had limited choices. Some of the commercial farmers migrated to the neighbouring countries, whilst others retraced their ancestral roots and migrated to the UK. Farm workers also migrated to farms in the neighbouring countries, with South African farmers employing an estimated 15 000 to 20 000 Zimbabwean farm workers (Jinnah, 2017).

The 2000/2002 electoral violence

In an environment already marred by a deteriorating economy and tensions over land reform, the violence that accompanied the 2000 parliamentary and 2002 presidential elections amplified the crisis situation. Although election violence was nothing new given that since the 1980s opposition movements have always been treated as political enemies rather than political opponents (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003), this wave of violence came at a time that the country was already reeling in wave of controversial farm invasions. Opposition MDC leaders and supporters were harassed, tortured and vilified as traitors and puppets of the West (Mlambo, 2013). The government outlawed dual citizenship and the descendants of white and African immigrants had to renounce the citizenship of their ancestral countries for them to retain Zimbabwean citizenship. The wave of politically motivated violence resulted in the increase in Zimbabweans seeking political asylum in the UK (Raftopoulos, 2002). It also attracted targeted sanctions from the United States of America and the European Union in 2002.

2005 Operation *Murambatsvina*/Restore Order

In 2005 the Zimbabwe government conducted a so-called clean-up exercise code-named Operation *Murambatsvina* (Restore Order/Clear out the trash). This exercise "was launched against all forms of informality in urban Zimbabwe, especially embracing housing and informal jobs" (Potts, 2010b, p. 100). According to the UN report on this operation, an estimated 700,000 people lost either the basis of their livelihoods or their homes, or both (Potts, 2010b). According to Potts, "the government argued that all "true" Zimbabweans had rural "homes" so

the displaced could, and should, go to these homes"(Potts, 2010b, p. 101). Potts views Operation *Murambatsvina* as a form of punishment against urban dwellers "for their almost universal tendency since 2000 to vote for the opposition MDC[…]"(Potts, 2006, p. 291). The loss of livelihoods and homes worsened the 'crisis' situation that was already obtaining in Zimbabwe at that time.

2008 hyperinflation and deteriorating public service delivery

As the situation continued to deteriorate and Zimbabwe continued to be isolated by the Western world, Zimbabwe´s annual inflation rate reached an unprecedented high of 231 million percent in 2008 (Zanamwe & Devillard, 2009). Research conducted at the peak of the 'crisis' in 2008 shows that many young people no longer identified with the country Zimbabwe, even though they still lived there. For some of them, there was no longer one, but two Zimbabwes – one of the 1980s that they identified with and another one of the 1990s and 2000s that they were ashamed of identifying with (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a). Zimbabwe came to be viewed by some as "a private property of President Robert Mugabe" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a, p. 16). Yet, in the midst of all apparent signs of crisis, the Zimbabwe government had a 'no crisis' attitude.

In the early 2000s, Zimbabweans were inundated with songs, poems, media articles, news, and government speeches that blamed Britain and the West for the 'Zimbabwe crisis' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). When the cholera outbreak hit the country in 2008, the then Minister of Health denied that it was due to poor sanitation and general service delivery failure. The Minister initially downplayed the extent of the epidemic, blatantly claiming that it was a form of biological warfare instigated by Britain and her Western allies (Muzondidya, 2011). It was however impossible to conceal given the collapsing health delivery system in Zimbabwe. The outbreak was also beginning to spread across the border to South Africa and Botswana where people were seeking health services. It had become a humanitarian crisis which heightened mobility (Martin et al., 2014). I will continue and elaborate on this discussion as the thesis unfolds.

This chapter has explained the historical ties between Zimbabwe and the UK, how colonization altered the everyday lives of indigenous Zimbabweans, as well as some of the roots of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' and increased emigration. Chapter 3 provides a synopsis of how previous studies have explored and conceptualized the nexus between the 'Zimbabwe crisis' and post-2000 migration – in the process highlighting the conceptual and empirical lacunae that this study attempts to fill.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY AND STATE OF THE ART

This Chapter provides a theoretical discussion around transnational migration theories, survival/ crisis migration, transnational families, family-related theories. This forms the basis upon which my conceptual framework is designed. To kick-start the state of the art section of this chapter and situate the research into the global context, a brief overview on migration as discussed in literature in general ensues. This brief discussion then paves way to a discussion of literature on Zimbabwean migration. It also reviews relevant existing literature on the migration of Zimbabweans to the UK.

CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

To use King's words, "it should be clear from the foregoing that migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained in a single theory" (King, 2012, p. 11). Writing along a similar line of thought, Stephen Castles argues that:

> a general theory of migration is neither possible nor desirable, but that we can make significant progress by re-embedding migration research in a more general understanding of contemporary society, and linking it to broader theories of social change across a range of social scientific disciplines (Castles, 2017, p. 3).

Migration as a field of study is under-theorized perhaps because of its proximity to policy (de Haas, 2014a). With this in mind, this section introduces the theories and concepts that are relevant to this study and streamline my analysis. I have divided these into:

1. Concepts that help to explain the macro environment under which the post-2000 migration movements occurred (crisis migration and survival migration)
2. Concepts that contribute to explaining the decision-making, facilitation, and perpetuation of the migration; the choice of the UK as a destination country; and migrants' continued stay in the UK (autonomy of migration and the migrant network theory)
3. Theories and concepts explaining settlement and maintenance of familyhood with non-migrating family members (asylum tenebrosity, transnational migration, transnational families, transnational social spaces, ICT-based co-presence, transnational caregiving, translocal positionality)
4. Concepts explaining the transnational family practices that the research participants engage in (concept of family practices, concept of displaying families).

Given the unprecedented numbers involved, the post-2000 migration movements have been described in some studies as an "exodus" which added Zimbabwe to the list of Africa's "crisis-driven" migrations (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Others have chosen to refer to them as a "survival

migration" (Betts, 2013a), an "enforced dispersal" (JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010) or simply a move that was aimed at ensuring basic survival (Castles & Miller, 2009; Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor, 2006). The fast-shrinking economy forced families from all social classes to send members abroad to ensure basic survival (Betts, 2013a; Castles & Miller, 2009; Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor, 2006). Alluding to the same idea of adopting migration as a survival strategy in the introduction of their book **Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwe Crisis,** Chiumbu and Musemwa stated that:

> in periods of crisis, spatial and physical dislocation in the form of internal and external migration is often pervasive, as people, facing difficult situations, move away from their places of location to seek new livelihoods and other forms of survival (Chiumbu & Musemwa, 2012, p. xiii).

Given these perspectives linking Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements to crisis and survival, I include the concepts of crisis migration and survival migration in this chapter in order to point out the limitations of viewing the migration movements through these lenses.

3.1 Migration concepts

The concepts under this section largely inform the arguments and analysis of the research data presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

3.1.1 The concept of crisis migration

Writing on the concept of crisis migration, Anna Lindley has viewed crisis as something that is "loud and vague" as it demands attention, communicates danger and urgency, implies overturning of normal life, tops political agendas and demands social scientific scrutiny (Lindley, 2014). Crisis migration is therefore best understood as a response to a complex combination of social, political, economic and environmental factors, which may be triggered by an extreme event but not caused by it (McAdam, 2014). Jane McAdam argues that the problem with conceptualizing crisis migration as an individual's or community's response to an external event is that it can obscure pre-existing fragilities, placing the focus on a physical occurrence rather than a holistic appraisal of socio-economic circumstances. Along with this line of thinking, Lindley feels that "the crisis label may conceal significant continuities or the emergence of new normalities and routines for the people on the ground"(Lindley, 2014, p. 5). What this suggests is that the crisis migration label should be used with caution. This is important to point out because as earlier stated, Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements have often been labelled under crisis migration (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Hammar et al., 2010; JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010).

Bearing in mind all these points, I therefore use this concept as a critical point of departure to explain the political and economic environment obtaining in Zimbabwe during the period under study. This builds a foundation upon which I shape the analysis of my findings on the reasons why the participants in my study migrated to the UK. In my conceptualization of Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration, I take heed of the fact that political actors promulgated a non-crisis discourse denying empirical experiences and objective indicators of economic decline and systematic violence (Lindley, 2014). These denials were also echoed by the then South African president Thabo Mbeki during a visit to Zimbabwe in April 2008. Mbeki said there was no crisis in Zimbabwe, yet at that time Zimbabwe was experiencing a whole range of socio-economic challenges and post-election violence and agitation (T. Taylor, 2008). Stating these points here serves to highlight that I do not take the seemingly obvious 'crisis' environment for granted. Instead, I analyse its perceived manifestations against the findings of this research.

I also follow McAdam's lead in using the 'crisis migration' concept. She introduces the idea of tipping points which she argues differ from person to person and are "triggered not just by events but also by underlying structural processes" (McAdam, 2014, p. 10). McAdam therefore suggests an analysis into such factors as the point at which the cumulative impact of stressors tip someone over the edge (McAdam, 2014). Asking such questions as "when is moving away preferable to staying put?", her article is a good reference point for my analysis. In the context of this study, the stressors are taken to be the micro, meso, and macro-level challenges that were brought about by the 'Zimbabwe crisis'. The tipping points are the points at which the participants in my study made the decision to leave Zimbabwe.

To circumvent the potential of obscuring pre-existing structural fragilities and possible pre-existing individual migration aspirations, I used a socio-historical approach to this study (see Chapter 2, and the narrative interviewing technique (see Chapter 4). This method gave respondents a chance to share their pre-crisis experiences, making it possible for them to define their own 'tipping points' and share their understanding of the 'Zimbabwe crisis'. For purposes of this thesis, a crisis is defined as "any situation in which there is a widespread threat to life, physical safety, health or subsistence that is beyond the coping capacity of individuals and the communities in which they reside." (Martin et al., 2014, pp. 5; 199). This definition resonates with the concept of survival migration, which is discussed in the next section.

3.1.2 The concept of survival migration

Alexander Betts developed the concept of survival migration to highlight the challenges that arise out of the continued use of the 1951 definition of refugees in addressing contemporary

refugee issues. He used the term survival migration to refer to the situation where people flee basic rights deprivations rather than persecution (Betts, 2010). Survival migrants are defined as "people who are outside their country of origin because of an existential threat for which they have no access to a domestic remedy'' (Betts, 2013a, p. 4). He argues that there is no framework to describe such migrants, who in his opinion deserve international protection but fall outside the existing refugee regime (Betts, 2013a). Betts bases his concept on the idea of not privileging particular causes of movement over others. He opines that there should rather be a set threshold of fundamental rights, "which when unavailable in a country of origin requires that international community allow people to cross an international border and receive access to temporary or permanent sanctuary" (Betts, 2013a, p. 5). This concept was thus introduced to cater for people who deserve normative asylum based on human rights grounds.

In substantiating his argument, Betts uses the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and Zimbabwe as case studies to expose the complex nature of survival migration and the international responses to it. I put this concept to test as I analyse it against the migration motivations of my research participants and the UK policy responses. This analysis contributes to justifying my preference to adopt the concept of autonomy of migration to explain the post-2000 migration movements that are under study here.

3.1.3 The Autonomy of Migration concept (AoM)

The autonomy of migration approach refers to a shift in migration studies from emphasizing the structural causes of migration and migration management and control to paying attention to migration practices and seeking instances of independence from institutionalized constraints (Pajnik, 2019). It argues that focusing on the objective or structural factors risks neglecting the subjective reasons why people move (Nyers, 2015). AoM rejects understanding migration as a mere response to economic and social malaise (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2017). It sees migration as having the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, and its own trajectories (Papadopoulos, 2018). The AoM approach posits that migrants constantly devise new techniques to exercise their mobility, to which the forces of control are compelled to constantly respond (Nyers, 2015). Migrants' practices and moments of autonomy during which they successfully evade or confront structural barriers are captured through the notion of imperceptible politics or simply imperceptibility (Gebrewold & Bloom, 2016; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008). Instead of treating borders as fixities, AoM focuses on migrants' capacity to change borders and render them porous (Pajnik, 2019). The very act of migration becomes a political and social movement (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2017). Human agency is thus at the

conceptual, analytical, and political forefront of the AoM perspective (Nyers, 2015).

The AoM concept is relevant and central to this study as it informs my analysis of the diverse motivations that the migrants in this study had for migration, their migration trajectories, and how they continue to navigate around the restrictive UK immigration policy. It contributes to shaping my argument on how Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements ought to be conceptualized if overselling the crisis and survival narratives is to be avoided. Additionally, the AoM approach provides a good bedrock upon which the UK immigration policy responses to Zimbabwean migrants can be understood. Basing the argument entirely on AoM is however inadequate, as there is a need to also elucidate the hardly noticeable factors that influence individuals to migrate, as well as the concealed dynamics and players involved in their autonomous acts throughout their migration trajectories. For this reason, I also draw from the migrant network theory to explore the role of migrants' social networks in influencing their actions.

3.1.4 Network theory in migration studies

Motivations for migration lie in a complex web of interconnected individual, collective and external factors. The network theory explains the perpetuation of migration under which the importance of networks can hardly be overstated (Arango, 2000). Migrant networks have been defined as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey et al., 1993, p. 48). The dominant view of social networks in the migration literature is that they facilitate and perpetuate migration. They do this by providing information and contacts, directing migrants to particular destinations where help regarding accommodation, finding a job, financial assistance and other forms of support are available (King, 2012).

Migrant network connections are thus viewed as a form of social capital which paves way to migration and make migration less costly. This theory is useful to this study as it informs the analysis on why individuals migrated to the UK in particular and the influence that other people had at different stages in the research participants' migration trajectories. Apart from external influences, the motivation to migrate is also stimulated by individual perceptions of destination countries and personal goals. To cater for these in my analysis, I also draw from the concept of migration aspirations. It has been suggested that the context of migration aspirations includes social norms and expectations about migrating or staying, opportunities for migration as well

as structural forces that facilitate or constrain particular migration trajectories (Carling & Schewel, 2018).

3.2 Asylum tenebrosity – introduction and conceptualization

To explain and analyse the legal positioning and everyday circumstances of the refused asylum seekers whose experiences are at the centre of this study I introduce the concept of asylum tenebrosity. I develop this concept based on the conviction that their immigration status and the conditions thereof require a framework that enables thorough analysis of their limbo experiences. Existing frameworks inadequately explain the circumstances of Zimbabwe's non-removed refused asylum seekers. This shall become clear in Chapter 6 where I elaborate on the concept of asylum tenebrosity and embed it into existing literature.

The word tenebrosity originated from the Latin word *tenebrae* which means darkness[24]. It is derived from the word tenebrous, which is defined as dark, obscure, or murky or simply refers to something that is "shut off from the light" (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.). I am using the term asylum tenebrosity to refer to the status of being a long-term 'tolerated' refused asylum seeker who in essence is 'shut off from the light'[25]. The light here being the rest of society in terms of membership, rights, and participation. To use terms related to domopolitics, a refused asylum seeker who is experiencing asylum tenebrosity is the 'uninvited, bogus refugee' who should be returned to their 'home' (Walters, 2004, 2009), but cannot immediately be returned because of supposedly unsafe conditions in their 'natural home'. Asylum tenebrosity is therefore that state of uncertainty that is brought about by complex protracted asylum limbo situations that are created by conditions in both the host and origin countries. It is also a result of the decision made by the refused asylum seekers to continue living in the host country. It is a complicated, contradictory, and unsettled floating space positioned between the dim lighting of being acknowledged and tolerated, but unwanted, and the dark incertitude of possible deportation at any time.

Basing the conception and elaboration of asylum tenebrosity on my research findings, in which metaphoric notions of 'moving in the dark' were expressed and evinced, I try to comprehend the nature and intensity of the 'darkness' that the research participants experienced. Unpacking this 'darkness' enables me to explain how the concept of asylum tenebrosity on the one hand differs from, and how on the other hand it adds on to existing concepts like 'liminal legality'

[24] Adopted from (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.). The word *tenebrae* is also found in the Catholic Church in reference to the ancient Tenebrae service during the Holy Easter week. The service involved the chanting and reciting of Matins and Lauds with candles gradually extinguished until only one remains lit at the end of the service. (Bowskill, 2016; Jesuit Institute, n.d.)
[25] Asylum tenebrosity is related to the AoM notion of imperceptibility, see (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008)

(Menjivar, 2006), 'permanent temporariness' (Bailey et al., 2002), and 'gray spaces' (Yiftachel, 2009) - which come close to, but fall short of explaining the situation of the refused asylum seekers in this study. I conceive asylum tenebrosity as:

a. a consequence of a discretionary asylum policy measure that is shaped by the broader politics of the state as a home and the politics of belonging to that home (membership, inclusion, and exclusion) (Walters, 2004, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2011)
b. a challenge to the binary of granted/refused asylum status
c. having transnational characteristics since it is dependent on conditions in both countries of origin and of migration, and affects both migrants and their non-migrating family members
d. being manifest through a 'tolerated' stay with restricted rights, and state surveillance
e. being characterised by the "status paradox of migration" (see Nieswand, 2012)[26] under which they are on the one hand relegated to a diminished socio-legal status as refused asylum seekers living at the mercy of a discretionary policy in the UK, while on the other hand they are perceived to be successful 'diasporans' sending remittances that improve the social standing of their *staying behind* family members in Zimbabwe.

I argue that asylum tenebrosity is a spectrum, it is not a binary between 'lightness' and 'darkness' or 'granted' and 'refused'. Conceiving it as a spectrum makes it possible to see the way refused asylum seekers exercise their 'autonomy of migration' and move in this space. That is, whether they move towards the state's 'dim light' by abiding by their conditions of stay or further away from it by breaching their conditions of stay and finding ways of accessing restricted rights and spaces. I contend that asylum tenebrosity transcends immigration status labels such as 'refused asylum seeker'. It becomes an embodied experience of everyday life, a way of being, a practice of autonomy, and a state of legal, social, and political un(belonging)[27]. Un(belonging) because asylum tenebrosity revokes the rights to work, travel outside the UK, and fully participate in society. It therefore messes up with feelings of belonging, understood here as a "socio-material resource" that "describes alterable attachments that can be social, imagined, and sensual-material in nature." (Youkhana, 2015, p. 16). The concept of asylum tenebrosity complements the AoM and casts light on how refused asylum seekers (re)define their policy-created (un)belonging and claim, practice, and sustain autonomy.

[26] "The transnational dynamic of losing social status and gaining it at the same time, which occurs along with mutually conditioned forms of status inconsistency, is theorised as the status paradox of migration" (Nieswand, 2012, p. 3).
[27] Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 4). By un(belonging) I mean the feeling of not being at home, of being acknowledged but unwanted. I discuss belonging in reference to social and legal locations

I perceive asylum tenebrosity to be a period of uncertainty that commences at least a year after the initial claim of asylum is made. It excludes periods prior to official asylum claims, regardless of the number of years a person might have lived in the host country as undocumented. Asylum tenebrosity therefore applies to cases of long-term asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers who are known to the authorities and await either appeal decisions on individual cases, discretionary blanket decisions, or possible deportation once the essential human rights and political conditions in the country of origin are considered safe. It is therefore a fluid status characterised by unpredictable changes which are reliant on conditions in the host country, country of origin, and personal/family decisions. In light of this, I let the experiences of the affected lead my analysis of what happens in the state of asylum tenebrosity.

I do so through interrogating how they talk about their immigration status and analysing how the meanings associated with their status are socially constructed and discussed within their communities (in this case in the UK, in Zimbabwe, and on online community platforms). This concept also enables me to analyse the strategies of 'imperceptibility' that they use to defy the system and continue their lives in the 'new normal' that they create for themselves. 'Imperceptibility' is understood here as being an inherent part of asylum tenebrosity. I also argue that asylum tenebrosity is responsible for the long-term transnational family life that this thesis examines. Shedding light into the realities and complexities of transnational family life in situations of asylum tenebrosity requires an understanding of some relevant migration concepts. This calls for an elucidation of transnational migration approaches, which is done under the next section.

3.3 Transnational migration approaches

Transnational migration approaches do not form a coherent theory or set of theories as yet, they are rather a lens/perspective (Faist et al., 2013). Contrary to conventional migration theory's binary focus on the process of emigration from and immigration to particular nation states, transnational approaches suggest that migration should be understood as social processes linking together countries of origin and destination (Van Hear & Nyberg Sørensen, 2003). They take into account the fact that migrants do not typically break off contact with their communities of origin upon settlement in new countries, rather they often maintain ties with significant others (Faist et al., 2013). Transnationalism has been defined as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 6). It is seen as "[…] a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations

create social fields that cross national borders" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7). Transnationalism therefore challenges the binary model of emigration and immigration by acknowledging the everyday border-crossing practices of migrants.

Transnational migration takes place within fluid social fields that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) . The social field is seen as "a set of multiple inter-locking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1009). The transnational approach "explores the principles by which geographical propinquity, which implies the embeddedness of ties in one locality is supplemented or transformed by transnational exchanges" (Faist, 2017, p. 4). Transnationalism is all about relationships and following them, rather than assuming them (Madianou & Miller, 2013). The following key concepts have been delineated within transnationalism: transnationalization (process by which ties, events and activities across borders are sustained), transnationality, and transnational social spaces. Transnationality is seen as the degree of connectivity between migrants and non-migrants across national borders (Faist et al., 2013) or simply the degree to which an actor entertains ties across borders (Faist, 2019). Transnational social spaces are a derivative of transnationalism, which is used to connote everyday practices of migrants engaged in various cross-border activities (Faist, 2010).

3.3.1 The concept of transnational social spaces

Transnational spaces are understood to be "the relatively stable, lasting, and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across the borders of sovereign states" (Faist, 2010, p. 13). They are a social structure comprising dynamic social processes that span several states (Faist, 2019). It is the networks and ties connecting sending and receiving societies that make up transnational social spaces (Faist, 1998). In the conceptualization of transnational spaces, the migratory system is considered "as a boundary-breaking process in which two or more nation states are penetrated by and become a part of a singular new social space" (Faist, 2013, p. 452). This space in part encompasses "the circulation of ideas, symbols, activities, and material culture" (Faist, 2013, p. 452). It is therefore jointly produced by both migrant and non-migrant actors. The practices that both actors engage in via ICTs bring the realisation of transnationality to life. The constant advancement of ICTs makes migrants' transnational practices more visible.

Thomas Faist identified three types of transnational social spaces, namely, transnational kinship groups –for example- families, transnational circuits which he argues are characterized by constant circulation of goods, people, and information across the borders of sending and

receiving states along the lines of exchange, and lastly, transnational communities which emerge over time (Faist, 2000a). He argues that space in this situation does not only refer to physical features, but also to larger opportunity structures, the social life and the subjective images, values, and meanings that the specific and limited place represents to migrants. Space is thus seen as being different from place in that it encompasses or spans various territorial locations.

The smallest unit of analysis in a space is a social or symbolic tie representing a continuing series of personal transactions to which the people involved ascribe common interests, obligations, expectations and norms, or "link common meanings, memories, expectations for the future, and collective representations" (Faist, 2017, p. 4). Migrants and their closely related non-migrant family or social networks "engage in transnational social practices by travelling back and forth, through long—distance communication and by transferring financial and social remittances, among other means" (Faist et al., 2013, p. 1850). Inherent in these transnational social practices are political, legal, economic, socio-cultural, symbolic, and material aspects in the form of policies regulating migration, and communication, ICT costs, infrastructures, and access, as well as other not so obvious factors that facilitate or hinder them.

Despite ample debates in the field of transnational studies, there is little agreement on the concepts to be used. Transnational migration and connection are not inherent features of migration, but reflect conditions in localities in more than one state (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). Scholars of transnational migration have been criticized for methodological nationalism, that is, binding their unit of study along the lines of national or ethnic identities and thereby conflating the nation state with the concept of society (Bauböck & Faist, 2010; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). Whilst acknowledging that transnationalism is a highly debated, complex, and often contested theory, its relevance to this research cannot be overemphasized. I adopt the concept of transnational social spaces to analyse how reciprocity and solidarity work in transnational family settings (Faist, 2000a). I keep my use of this concept at the level of transnational kinship groups as this enables me to analyse the various multi-directional and uneven reciprocal economic, social, and cultural exchanges that occur between migrants in the UK and their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe. Bearing in mind the critique against methodological nationalism as well as the enduring importance of localities as sources of meaning and identity for migrants, I also embed my analysis with translocal and translocational perspectives.

3.3.2 Translocality and translocational positionality

Translocality has been viewed by some as:

> the sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfers. It designates the outcome of concrete movements of people, goods, ideas and symbols which span spatial distances and cross boundaries, be they geographical, cultural or political (Freitag & von Oppen, 2010)

I draw my understanding of translocality from Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta who "retrieve translocality from within the confines of transnationalism to examine local-local connections in their own right and without privileging the national" (Brickell & Datta, 2011). Translocality calls attention to multiplying forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in people's lives (Datta, 2016; Oakes & Schein, 2006). Research on translocality primarily refers to the manner in which social relations across locales shape transnational migrant networks, economic exchanges and diasporic space (Brickell & Datta, 2011). A translocal perspective captures the diverse and contradictory effects of interconnectedness between places, institutions and actors (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013). The notion of translocality thus complements well with that of transnational social spaces as it adds the element of 'locality' to my analysis of transnational family life.

Building upon the foundations of translocality, Floya Anthias advances the concept of translocational positionality, which she argues is structured by the interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialization (Anthias, 2008). Translocational positionality pays attention to social locations and processes (Anthias, 2008). The notion of translocation references the idea of 'location' as a social space which is produced within contextual, spatial, temporal, and hierarchical relations around the 'intersections' of social divisions and identities of class, ethnicity, and gender (amongst others).

The translocational frame "recognizes that people have multiple locations, positions and belongings, in a situated and contextual way" (Anthias, 2008, p. 6). It emphasizes the multiplicity of locations which span such terrains as gender, class, ethnicity, nation, political and values systems (Anthias, 2008). The concept of translocational positionality "signals a refusal to think of issues of population movement and settlement in terms of dislocation as this assumes a fixed and given location from which we become dislodged" (Anthias, 2008, p. 15). Migrating and being 'dislocated' at the level of nation does not automatically imply dislocation in other social locations (Anthias, 2008). The multiplicity of locations also complements the analysis of the role of migrant networks in facilitating the imperceptibility (AoM) of migrants

in asylum tenebrosity.

Having explained the concepts informing my analysis of how migrants manage simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society, I will now turn to the notion of transnational families.

3.3.3 Transnational families

Transnational families are "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p. 3). Bryceson and Vuorela view transnational families as being primarily relational in nature and they argue that any attempts at (physically) 'locating' transnational families would be self-defeating. They postulate that these relational ties "aim at welfare and mutual support and provide a source of identity" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p. 7). Transnational families conceive themselves as both an economic unit and a unit of solidarity, where economic assets are transferred to those who remain behind and continue to run the main household 'back home' (Faist, 2017).

Transnational families "make use of resources inherent in social ties like reciprocity, and also resources existing in symbolic ties, such as solidarity" (Faist & Bilecen, 2017, p. 8). Reciprocity is central, hence they have been described as "[…]an evolving institutional form of human interdependence, which serve material and emotional needs, in the twenty-first century's globalising world" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 2).They do not simply exist, mutual effort is required to sustain them over time and place (Wilding, 2018). Sustaining transnational family relationships is typically facilitated by such factors as migration policies, visits, and communication through the constantly improving information and communication technologies (ICTs). Whilst the same can be said for proximate families, the role of ICTs becomes amplified in transnational families. The next section therefore touches on the concept of ICT-based co-presence which I draw from in my analysis of how family life is sustained in extended transnational settings.

3.3.4 The concept of ICT-based co-presence

Co-presence is understood here as "the emotional support experienced as a sense of emotional closeness or 'being there' for each other" (Baldassar, 2016b, p. 145). In transnational settings co-presence is mediated through ICTs. The notion of ICT-based co-presence "is used to capture and explore the diverse ways in which people maintain a sense of 'being there' for each other across distance"(Baldassar et al., 2016, p. 134). ICT-based co-presence speaks to the existence of a new social environment of ubiquitous connectivity (Baldassar et al., 2016) and of 'ambient

co-presence'(Madianou, 2016). Using this concept allows for an interrogation of the effectiveness of new technologies and transnational family practices in "approximating or 'standing in for' the physical co-presence and 'being there' that has long been taken for granted as the bedrock of family and other significant relationships" (Baldassar et al., 2016, p. 134). This interrogation is important because although ICT-based co-presence is a contemporary reality of social life, "the structures, processes and expectations of family relationships remain largely unchanged" (Baldassar et al., 2016, p. 135). I am able to analyse the nature and dynamics of technology based co-presence through exploring the research participants' everyday transnational care circulation activities.

3.3.5 The concept of transnational caregiving and care circulation

Care is understood in this thesis as being in the form of practical (advice, assistance), emotional, financial and material (remittances or goods) provisions that are exchanged across space and time (Merla et al., 2020). Transnational caregiving has been defined as the "exchange of care and support across distance and national borders" (Baldassar et al., 2006, p. 14). It is guided by individual capacity, cultural obligations, and negotiated commitments (Baldassar et al., 2006). In the analysis of my findings, I engage with the concept of transnational caregiving through the care circulation lens. The care circulation framework enables the identification of the positioning of transnational migrants as both givers and receivers of care (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). Care circulation has been defined as,

> the reciprocal, multidirectional and asymmetrical exchange of care that fluctuates over the life course within transnational family networks subject to the political, economic, cultural and social contexts of both sending and receiving societies (Baldassar & Merla, 2013, p. 22).

Using the prism of care circulation makes it possible to not only capture all the transnational actors involved in the management of caring relationships, but also the full extent of their care activity (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). My analysis also factors in the multiple socially-scripted roles that each family member is expected to play in the different capacities that they hold in their consanguineal and affinal families.

3.4 Family life concepts

Given the research focus, it is imperative to discuss some literature that defines family and to explain how family is understood in the context of this thesis. Although family affairs are generally seen as private, the family as an institution is very much part of the public agenda (Andersen et al., 2014). It serves both the society and the individual (Cox, 2008). The family is traditionally one of the major social institutions and is a fundamental foundation of society.

It is where the socialization of human capital begins. This implies that any instability in this pivotal unit of society has the potential of shifting individual and collective values, aspirations, plans, priorities, and contributions to societal development. Early family sociologists and theorists saw family as a social unit that is characterized by economic cooperation, the management of reproduction, and child rearing (Ferraro & Andreatta, 2014).

Some have defined family as "as a set of people related by blood, marriage or some other agreed-upon relationship, or adoption, who share the primary responsibility for reproduction and caring for members of society" (Shehan, 2016, p. 321). Others perceive family to be "the ultimate unit of sharing and caring, directed at ensuring material survival, welfare and development, with intergenerational transfers of goods, services and finances flowing between family members" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 4). Contemporary families have however become so diverse that it is now impossible to speak of 'the family' as if it were a single thing (Andersen et al., 2014).

It is important to note that there is no static or natural form of family, families are rather seen as something that is socially constructed by groups of people in their interactions, and gives meaning to their social relations (Cheal, 2008). Family members regardless of their ages, have rights and obligations towards one another (Ferraro & Andreatta, 2014). According to Teresa Ciabattari each family member has multiple socially-scripted roles to play, for example, an individual can be a daughter, sister, wife, or an aunt (Ciabattari, 2016). This goes with the functionalist perspective of family which postulates that the family exists to perform six functions namely: reproduction, protection, socialization, regulation of social behaviour, affection and companionship as well as the provision of social status as an individual becomes a spouse, parent or grandparent (Barry, 2010).

The interactionist perspective is concerned with how different people define and understand their family experiences. Interactionists are preoccupied with studying how people "negotiate family relationships, such as deciding who does what housework, how they will arrange child care, and how they will balance the demands of work and family life" (Andersen et al., 2014, p. 311). They understands that families evolve, which is an understanding that resonates with how I conceive family life in my transnational study context. Although 'family' is used as a unit of analysis in this study, it is more the family practices that are given priority and not so much the structure. It is for this reason that I make David Morgan's concept of family practices the main concept informing my analysis of the transnational family practices in this study. My

adoption of the family practices concept is anchored on the understanding that family is seen here through a hybridized lens illuminated through functionalist and interactionist theories.

3.4.1 The concept of family practices

Morgan's concept of family practices emphasizes the actions or the everyday practices that reproduce "the sets of relationships (structures, collectivities) within which these activities are carried out and from which they derive their meaning" (Morgan, 2011b, p. 2). The concept understands family life as a set of activities or practices that are already partially shaped by legal prescriptions and cultural definitions (Morgan, 2011a). Practices are said to be organised nexuses of activity (Schatzki, 2005). As Theodore Schatzki pointed out, "the actions that compose a practice are either bodily doings and sayings or actions that these doings and sayings constitute" (Schatzki, 2005, p. 56). In his elaboration on what informed his concept, Morgan uses the example of friendship. He illustrates that friendship goes beyond just the indication that "such a person is a friend", it is "much more a matter of activities and thoughts which reproduce that particular friendship and, to some extent, the very idea of and expectations associated with friendship" (Morgan, 2011b, p. 2).

Morgan argues that we do everyday family life through family practices, and we produce and maintain who counts as family through these practices. For him family actors are not simply persons defined as mothers, fathers and so on but rather those that can also be seen to be 'doing' mothering or fathering (Morgan, 2011a). Family practices therefore consist of all the ordinary, everyday actions that people do and everyday routines that people follow, insofar as they are intended to have some effect on another family member (Morgan, 2011b). They thus emphasize an element of relationality. Everyday life is viewed in this context as the observable manifestation of social existence which always includes relationships with other people (Sztompka, 2008). These observable mundane family practices reveal how migrants and their non-migrating kin actively engage in the process of 'becoming' a transnational family that works well (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008).

Using the concept of family practices therefore shifts emphasis away from looking at family as a mere institution where people with consanguineal and affinal ties belong (structure), to looking at actions that are symbolically and culturally understood as being family-like (practices). A sense of family itself is said to be reconstituted through engaging in these routinized practices. It is these routine practices that "give rhythm to the everyday life of transnational families with regard to various day-to-day situations" (Nedelcu, 2017, p. 380). Family is in in this sense actively created by its members, it is what individuals do rather than

who they are (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010). The concept of family practices helps "to better understand the fluidity of any given family across the life course of any given individual" (Wilding, 2018, p. 121). It brings to light the fluid and active nature of family life which may be overlooked if family is treated as a rigid structure. It has been argued that for a group of people to be recognized as living in a family their lifestyle has to be socially validated and supported (Cheal, 2008). In some instances, this calls for the displaying of families, which is another concept that I draw from in my analysis.

3.4.2 The concept of displaying families

Display is the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute doing family things and thereby confirm that these relationships are family relationships, and they work (Finch, 2007). Finch argues that there are certain circumstances and changes which may result in the need for intense display. These may be linked to such events as divorce or in the current context, lengthy migration-induced geographical separation of close family members. Changing circumstances over time often result in changes in the way family members relate and sometimes familyhood would have to be redefined, renegotiated and actively demonstrated (Finch, 2007). "Every time a reminiscence is shared or a gift is given within a family group, the family itself and the relationships and the roles of the members within it are on display" (Wilding, 2018, p. 121). Through the display of photographs be it on the phone, on social media, or in digital/physical photo albums, family is made material in the spaces of everyday life. Displays are moments in which the specifics of a particular family and its sets of relationships are placed in dialogue with the larger ideologies of kinship and family (Wilding, 2018). These acts of display help families assert their right to recognise themselves and be recognised and validated by relevant audiences as familial (Finch, 2007; Wilding, 2018).

3.4.3 The concept of the family life cycle and the life course concept

The concept of family life cycle typically sees marriage or coupledom as the first stage of family formation, followed by parenthood, childrearing, old age, and death (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010). In this study I adopt the definition of family life cycle from Deborah Bryceson who defined it as "stages of the physical and social reproduction of a conjugal couple beginning with marriage or cohabitation, followed by the birth of children, childrearing, generational fission and death" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 4). Although the concept has been criticised for suggesting 'normal and standard' stages and somehow overlooking the interweaving of social processes within and beyond families (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010), it remains relevant to the

analysis of the empirical data in this study as it enables me to discuss the family life cycle stages in light of how my research participants have experienced them.

The adoption of the family life cycle concept enables a sequential analysis of the cultural ceremonies and intergenerational obligations whose modification in transnational families constitute the pith of this study. These are studied through such significant life events as marriage, parenthood, divorce, and death. I also borrow from the family life course concept, which looks at a person's individual life trajectory as they move through different roles and experiences (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010). It suggests age-related life stages with associated roles, through which individuals pass. These include birth, childhood, youth, adulthood, old age, and death (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010). It "enables a flexible analysis of the interactions between biological change and social role and status within the context of family and historical changes, without assuming any cyclical pattern" (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010, pp. 80–81). This is possible to do in this study because of the individual biographical approach that it employed in collecting data. Through this approach the study gets insights into individual's understandings of their own lives within specific social contexts and time periods. It thus eases the process of identifying and analyzing how the research participants' family lives have been reshaped from pre-migration to post-migration.

3.5 The consolidated conceptual framework

Having explained all these individual concepts and how they are utilized in this thesis, the next section presents a visualization overview of how the concepts relate with each other in the data analysis (see Figure 2 on the next page). The base of the conceptual framework diagram (labelled Zimbabwe Crisis Context) indicates the 'Zimbabwe crisis' context (introduced in Chapter 2.4) in which the post-2000 migration movements under study here occurred. The diagram also shows that there were opportunities to migrate to the UK that were influenced by individual and external factors (which will be highlighted in Chapter 5). The analysis of these factors and how they influenced post-2000 migration movements (represented by the green upward arrow labelled post-2000 migration), will be informed by the concepts of migrant networks and autonomy of migration. The intersecting upper part of the conceptual diagram shows the geographical (UK/Zim), virtual (transnational social space), and translocational positionalities of both migrants and their non-migrating family members. It also shows that they are all affected by asylum tenebrosity and that they only 'meet' and interact (reflected by 'family practices') in the transnational social space.

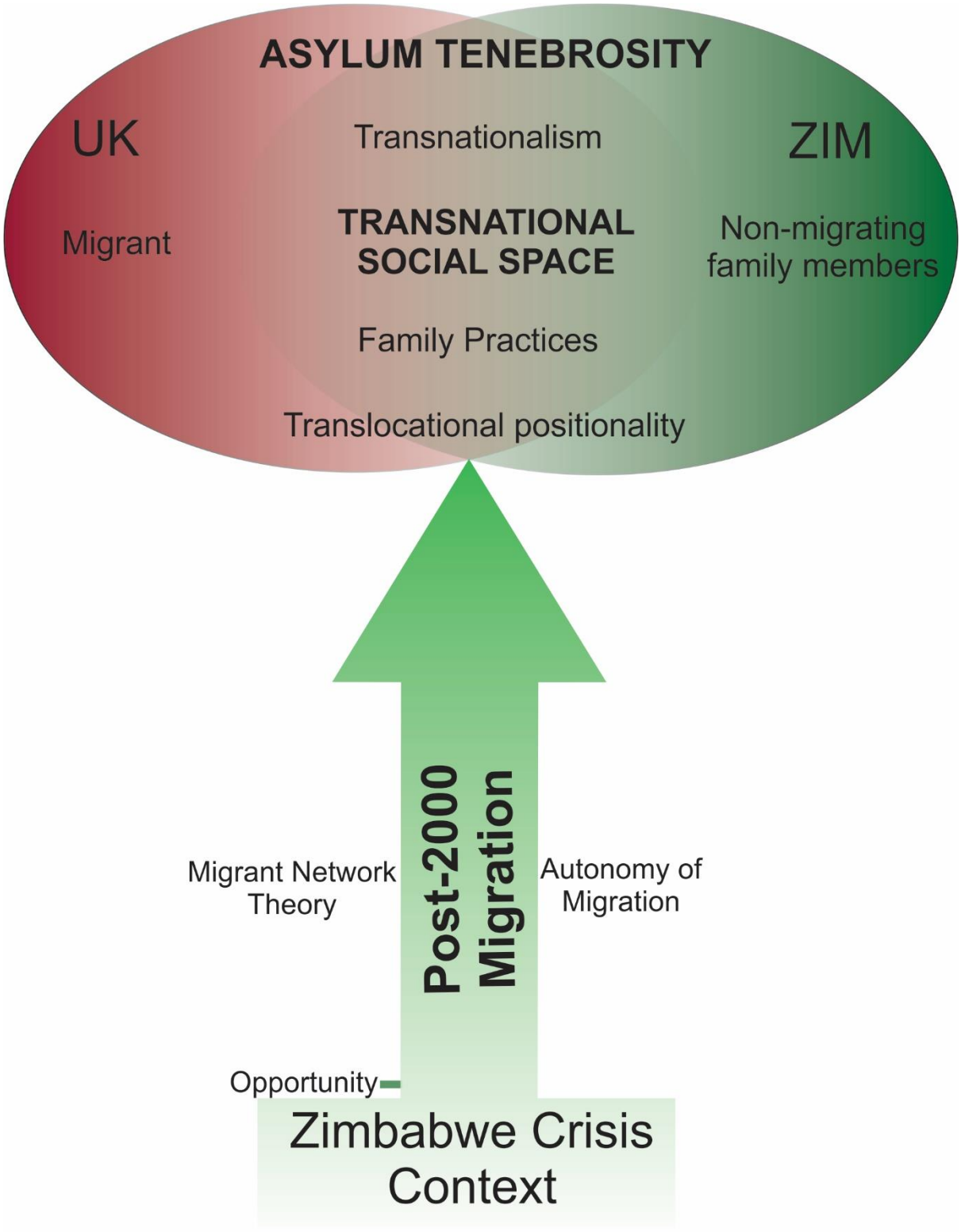


Figure 2: Consolidated Conceptual Framework

An explanation of the above consolidated conceptual framework diagram (Figure 2) is provided on the previous page.

LITERATURE REVIEW

International Migration – an overview

Migration involves the movement of people (migrants) across places and for a certain period of time (Boyle et al., 2014). It is viewed as a complex activity whose impact is felt in different ways in different settings, thus, making it perilous to generalize (Carbone, 2017; Hanlon & Vicino, 2014; King, 2012; Newland, 2013). Others have suggested that migration should be understood as a multidimensional process consisting of movements and links between two or more settings in various nation states (Schunck, 2014). Seen by some economists as a household rather than an individual decision , migration not only affects migrants but also non-migrating members of their households (Massey et al., 1993; Stark & Bloom, 1985). Migration is seen by others as "a process which affects every dimension of social existence, and which develops its own complex 'internal' dynamics" (Castles et al., 2013, p. 27). Given that this study analyses how Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration has reshaped family life, it draws from such understandings of migration that acknowledge that migration is a multifaceted phenomenon.

Having alluded to the multifaceted nature of migration, it goes without saying that it is impossible to pin migration to a single cause. In a world where new forms of migration are continuously emerging, separating economic from socio-cultural and political causes of migration is difficult (Castles et al., 2013). This explains why scholars like Hein de Haas feel that asking why people migrate is "a simple and difficult question" (de Haas, 2014b, p. 1). It is therefore plausible to state that migratory movements are "a result of interacting macro and micro structures" (Castles et al., 2013, p. 26). What makes it complex is that there are multiple drivers that get migration going and keep it going once begun (Van Hear et al., 2012). To borrow from the work of de Haas , "conceptualizing migration as a function of people's capabilities and aspirations to move can help to achieve a richer understanding of migration behaviour" (de Haas, 2014b, p. 1). Aligning my work with such lines of thinking facilitates an analysis of the extent to which capabilities and aspirations influenced or enhanced people's agency in making decisions to migrate to the UK.

Apart from these perspectives, poverty debates have also been previously incorporated into the conceptualization of migration drivers (Carbone, 2017; Van Hear & Nyberg Sørensen, 2003). Whilst there may indeed be a strong relationship between migration, poverty, and its alleviation, poverty in itself may not be a driver of migration (Van Hear & Nyberg Sørensen, 2003). This is interesting because several publications on migration from the global south link

migration to escaping poor economic conditions. Yet in reality, migration is not just a reaction to difficult conditions at home, but is also motivated by the search for better opportunities (Castles & Miller, 2009). The search for better opportunities ties in well with the already mentioned idea of capabilities and aspirations. In his chapter entitled *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Why Africans Migrate*, Giovanni Carbone exhorts researchers to go beyond analysing economic, political and policy conditions in origin and destination countries (Carbone, 2017). Contributing to a volume whose central argument is moulded around challenging stereotyped perceptions on why some Africans migrate, Carbone pushes for research that also accounts for the crucial role that a migrant's personal circumstances, the family and the social networks play in migration decisions to move.

My study subscribes and adds to this school of thought in its quest to analyse reasons behind Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements from the perspective of those directly involved. Notwithstanding the dire political and economic conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe during the period under study, I pay close attention to analysing individual motivations for migrating to the UK. I take the quest further and question how family and social networks influence migrants' trajectories. I am drawn to this line of thinking because it enables a comprehensive analysis of the reasons behind the choice to migrate to the UK in particular and not any other country. It also emphasises the individual agency that migrants possess and exercise. Although different individual reasons such as the need to meet aspirations for accumulation or education have been explored in previous studies, see (Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor, 2008b; Pasura, 2009, 2011; Tevera & Crush, 2003), there is still need for further exploration as such reasons have a direct bearing on post-migration family dynamics.

Having laid this general foundation, I now turn to literature on the migration of Zimbabweans to the UK. I begin the Zimbabwe migration discussion with an overview on what triggered the post-2000 migration movements and the numbers involved, before turning focus to how they have been described and the major themes that existing studies have explored. This paves way for the identification and justification of the themes that this study focuses on.

3.6 Existing research on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements

Existing literature on Zimbabwe migration confirms that Zimbabwe is historically a country of migration – it has for decades played the role of a sending country, receiving country and a transit corridor (Mlambo, 2010, 2014). Literature identifies up to five different waves of migration in Zimbabwe (Mlambo, 2010; Pasura, 2013). This current chapter confines itself to

what has been written about the post-2000 migration movements, whose causes have been linked to the 'Zimbabwe crisis' explained in the previous Chapter.

Scholars from different academic disciplines have established and agreed that the post-2000 migration movements were a direct response to the 'Zimbabwe crisis' (Betts, 2013a; Bloch, 2010; Chiumbu & Musemwa, 2012; Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor, 2006, 2008b). As highlighted in Chapter 2, what came to be known as the 'Zimbabwe crisis' manifested itself in various ways. There are varying positions as to when exactly the crisis began and which aspects of the 'crisis' to emphasize as having been the most 'defining' ones of the 'Zimbabwe crisis'. What appears to be uncontested is the multi-rootedness and multi-layered nature of the crisis and its connection to mass migration (Chiumbu & Musemwa, 2012; Hammar et al., 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Raftopoulos, 2009). One of the commonly cited roots of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' is the ESAP programme which as previously discussed, had a devastating effect on Zimbabwe, economically and politically (Kararach & Otieno, 2016; Moyo & Yeros, 2013). Apart from the ESAP consequences, the rise in emigration has also been attributed to political policies and events, which, as already highlighted were evidently an inherent part of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' (see Chapter 2). What is apparent from previous studies and media reports is that during the 'Zimbabwe crisis', people became Zimbabwe's number one export (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2004).

There is, however, lack of consensus on the official number of Zimbabweans who migrated since the year 2000. It is estimated that between three and four million Zimbabweans migrated to various international destinations, with the majority migrating to South Africa and the UK (Crush & Tevera, 2010). The choice of South Africa as a destination was among many other historical reasons influenced by its proximity to Zimbabwe, since the two countries share a border. The UK became a popular destination largely due to its shared colonial and post-colonial ties with Zimbabwe, facts that are well articulated by historian Alois Mlambo (Mlambo, 2010). The estimates of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK have been put between 200 000 and 400 000 (Mbiba, 2005, 2012; Pasura, 2006, 2008a). As Alice Bloch rightly put it, the difficulty in estimating numbers is exacerbated by the fact that some people have continued to live as undocumented migrants in the UK after overstaying, or after their asylum claims have been rejected (Bloch, 2010). Additionally, after the November 2002 pre-travel visa introduction, some Zimbabweans entered the UK on false Malawian passports making it difficult to link them to Zimbabwe (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Joann McGregor, 2010).

Other popular destination countries of migration that have been noted are Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America (JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010). A lot has since changed over the years and new destinations have emerged, such as Cyprus and Germany. This study therefore adds to the list of destination countries and in the process highlights the reasons cited by research participants in explaining why these destinations have become popular. Discussing these new destinations emphasizes the 'scattering' of the family, which is at the centre of this study.

3.6.1 Main themes addressed in previous studies

Taking into account the prevailing situation at that time, it comes as no surprise that the research published during the period 2000-2010 tended to emphasize the unprecedented numbers involved, brain drain, and household remittance uses (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2006, 2008). Also widely covered are deskilling issues, migration status and employment in destination countries, post-migration gender dynamics in both domestic and public spaces, everyday life in the countries of migration and to an extent migrants' transnational activities (Bloch, 2008, 2010; Crush & Tevera, 2010; Hammar et al., 2010; Joann McGregor, 2010; JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010; Pasura, 2008a, 2008a, 2009, 2010a, 2014a; Tevera & Crush, 2003; Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014). Scanning through the several publications on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration to the UK, there are two edited volumes that stand out for me as they explore the main themes that my study resonates with. These are the **Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival** co-edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera as well as **Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival** edited by JoAnn McGregor and Ranka Primorac (Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010). These publications bring together scholars and experts from multiple disciplines and unveil a whole range of themes and conceptual discussions around migration to the two main destinations – South Africa and Britain. The choice to single out these two publications is informed by the fact that they have managed to also situate the post-2000 migration movements within the global concepts of crisis migration and transnational diasporas.

The Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival provides a rich overview of Zimbabwe's migration from the precolonial era to the post-2000 migration movements. Confining attention to the themes that the book explores on migration to the UK, it suffices to say that it offers a useful insight into who migrated (Chikanda, 2010), the main industry/sector they joined (Joann McGregor, 2010), post-migration gender dynamics (Pasura, 2010b) and

migrants' transnational activities (Bloch, 2010). Important to also mention is the historical chapter by Mlambo, which places Zimbabwe's migration in its proper historical, regional and international context (Mlambo, 2010). With thorough historical and statistical evidence, Mlambo's chapter confirms Zimbabwe's position as a country of migration as I have also explained in Chapter 2. Building upon what is already known about these historical migration movements, I use my research findings to add analysis on how family life has evolved with each episode of migration. This directs attention to some of the previously overlooked socio-cultural costs of migration that have long-term consequences for family life.

What I find inadequately addressed in the **Zimbabwe's Exodus** are the perspectives of migrants' non-migrating family members, which is an aspect that this study pays attention to. The closest the book gets to discussing the non-migrating family members is through Bloch's chapter on transnational activities (Bloch, 2010) and McGregor's chapter on how Zimbabwean migrants in Britain grapple with the 'shame' and ridicule associated with the 'dirty' care jobs that most of them do to meet their transnational family obligations (Joann McGregor, 2010). Basing her conclusions on the results of her 2004-5 survey which showed that 94% of her respondents had close family in Zimbabwe that they remitted money to and frequently communicated with, Bloch asserts that Zimbabweans are "active economic, social and political transnational actors" (Bloch, 2010, p. 167). My study adds the voices of the non-migrating family members who receive the remittances and explores the dynamics/politics around remittance use. I analyse how these impact or influence family life in terms of obligations, decision making, relationships, and communication (see Chapters 7 and 8.2).

Leaving Zimbabwe, entering 'the Diaspora'

Before deliberating on the specificities of the profile of Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements to the UK, it is imperative to briefly explain the use of the word 'diaspora' in relation to Zimbabwean migration. Diaspora communities are seen as "an outcome of historic, political and cultural processes through which ideas of belonging come to be defined primarily in terms of attachment to a distant homeland and shared national imaginaries" (JoAnn McGregor, 2010b, p. 6). Diaspora as a concept has been around for several decades. The term diaspora which was first used in the context of the Jewish community many centuries ago has something to do with scattering and dispersal of people. Zimbabwean popular discourse generally uses 'diaspora' as a noun, referring to 'the Diaspora' or being 'in the Diaspora' when writing about Zimbabweans living outside the country's borders (JoAnn McGregor, 2010b). According to Pasura Zimbabweans depict 'the Diaspora' in various ways (Pasura, 2010a).

Whilst some view it as a form of reverse colonization, others associate it with past migration movements such as the colonial state regulated labour recruitment to South Africa (WENELA) which has been discussed in Chapter 2. By viewing their migration as a form of reverse colonization, some members of 'the Diaspora' have a feeling of entitlement. They feel that Britain somehow owes them and so they have a moral right to be there to utilize whatever opportunities available, the same way the British people benefitted from Zimbabwe during the colonial era (Pasura, 2010a).

In her discussion of how the term diaspora is used in the book **Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival**, McGregor states that "*madiaspora"* or "*amadiaspora"* (the Shona and Ndebele versions of the term diasporas) are self-identities and ascribed labels of those Zimbabweans living outside the country's borders (JoAnn McGregor, 2010b). Furthermore, the use of the prefix 'new' "emphasizes the unprecedented dispersal of Zimbabweans over the last decade and differentiates recent movements from the previous displacements that have so profoundly shaped Zimbabwean history" (JoAnn McGregor, 2010b, p. 4). Here I will not go into a deep discussion of the conceptual use of the term as this has already been exceptionally done by McGregor who also explains the different connotations that the term carries (JoAnn McGregor, 2010b). What is however worth pointing out is that Zimbabwe's 'new diaspora' is far from being homogenous, it is instead understood to be fractured and fragmented (Pasura, 2014a), politically contingent (Betts & Jones, 2016), and racially diverse (Zembe, 2016). Like many other diasporas, it is said to exhibit a life cycle, as it is neither static nor fixed (Betts & Jones, 2016). It is a multifaceted fluid entity which continuously evolves over space and time (Pasura, 2014a).

The various political and economic roles as well as experiences relating to host land, homeland and the 'new diaspora' group itself have been widely discussed (Betts & Jones, 2016; Kufakurinani et al., 2014; JoAnn McGregor, 2010a; JoAnn McGregor & Pasura, 2014; JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010; B. J. Ncube, 2017; Pasura, 2008a, 2010c, 2010a, 2011, 2014a). What I feel could benefit from more studies are the 'new diaspora's' socio-cultural roles and influence on the changing face of (transnational) family life, hence the focus of this study. Although some of the cultural dimensions and cultural changes brought about by migration have to an extent been highlighted, (Kufakurinani et al., 2014; Madziva, 2015a; JoAnn McGregor, 2008b; Pasura, 2008a, 2010b), there has been a tendency to tackle these from one-sided perspectives, mostly biased towards those living in 'the Diaspora'.

It is encouraging however, to note that there is now a small but growing body of literature that focuses on the left behind children and to an extent on non-migrating spouses and guardians of left behind children (Cuffe, 2017; Filippa et al., 2013; Kufakurinani et al., 2014; Madebwe, 2014; Madziva, 2015b). This is the body of literature that my research strives to contribute to by drawing from both migrants and selected members of their left-behind families. This study is timely given that it is now almost twenty years since the migration movements under study began. What this means is that over the past years there has been permanent settlement for some, return migration for others and there is interestingly enough, a group of people that still live in what McGregor refers to as abject spaces (JoAnn McGregor, 2008a). These are basically undocumented migrants or failed asylum seekers awaiting deportation. Roda Madziva talks of immigrants falling in this precarious category as people experiencing a living death (Madziva, 2011). With the contextual use of the word 'diaspora' explained, the next section elaborates on the general profile of post-2000 migrants to the UK. For ease of discussion, I have categorized the ensuing sections as follows: literature on characteristics of post-2000 migrants, literature on life in the UK and literature that has looked at family life from a transnational perspective.

3.6.2 Characteristics of post-2000 migrants

Health Professionals – taking the lead out of Zimbabwe into 'the Diaspora'

As already highlighted, health professionals had started "voting with their feet" (Gaidzanwa, 1999) in the mid to late 1990s. Whilst Gaidzanwa emphasized the role played by ESAP in pushing out health professionals, it is interesting to note that there was also organized formal recruitment by countries like Britain (JoAnn McGregor, 2010). Britain was facing labor shortages in some of its crucial public service sectors. To ease these labour shortages, Britain turned its attention to Zimbabwe "as a source of nurses, social workers and teachers – a process in which colonial legacies were deemed an asset" (JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010, p. 124). To use McGregor's words, "the popularity of the UK as a destination reflected not only postcolonial connections, but also organized recruitment; agencies supplying professionals to UK public service labour markets had offices in Zimbabwe until 2002, when their activities were politicized and war veterans disrupted public recruitment drives." (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b, p. 601). By late 2002, Zimbabweans had become the fourth largest nationality in the UK nursing workforce after the Philippines, India and South Africa (JoAnn McGregor, 2006).

Using survey data generated from a 2002 national representative study on examining the trends in the migration of nurses and midwives from Zimbabwe, Abel Chikanda concurred with the

fact that most health professionals migrated because of deteriorating working conditions and the availability of job prospects and global opportunities for mobility (Chikanda, 2005a). This point was also confirmed by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP)'s attitudinal surveys in 2001 and 2005 which sought to determine the potential future migration. Chikanda established that the temporary visitor route also contributed to the increase in Zimbabweans that joined the UK healthcare sector (Chikanda, 2010). Some temporary visitor holding Zimbabweans often ended up in non-nursing jobs or in nursing homes that did not require them to register with the Nursing and Midwifery Council (Chikanda, 2010). The care industry has over the years become one of the major employers of Zimbabwe's 'new diaspora' in the UK (Bloch, 2010).

Based on the findings of her qualitative research conducted between 2004 and 2005, McGregor highlighted that the huge scale at which Zimbabweans joined the care industry has seen care work becoming one of the national stereotypes of the process of migration to Britain (Joann McGregor, 2010). The job is seen as dirty and demeaning and as McGregor explained, "Zimbabweans joke derogatorily of their compatriots "joining the BBC" ("British Bottom Cleaners"), and call care workers and cleaners "bum technicians" or "ma.dot.com" ("dot" implying dirt)" (Joann McGregor, 2010, p. 179). It is important to emphasize on this as it is a female-dominated industry, which therefore contributed to the feminization of the post-2000 migration. To give an idea of how the number of Zimbabweans joining the UK Healthcare increased, Figure 3 illustrates how the number of registered Zimbabwean health professionals gradually rose from 1995 to 2003.

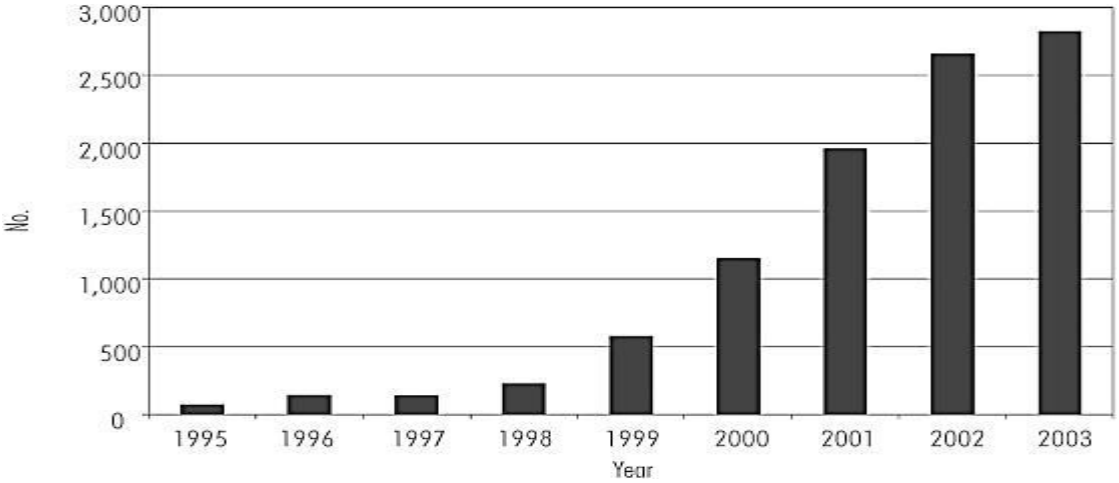


Figure 3 Registered Zimbabwean Health Professionals in the UK, 1995-2003
(adopted from Chikanda, 2010, p. 137)

The diversification of the forms of migration

Previous studies also reveal that many professionals in other sectors such as engineering, banking, information technology and law also "voted with their feet" (Chinembiri, 2016; Crush & Tevera, 2010). In addition to healthcare and other professionals, public servants, particularly teachers stationed in the rural areas who had become targets for persecution (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b) migrated and sought refuge in the UK. Student migration from Zimbabwe was also on the increase (Bloch, 2010; Joann McGregor, 2010). As earlier noted, widespread political violence during and after the 2000 parliamentary and 2002 presidential elections contributed to many Zimbabweans emigrating (B. J. Ncube, 2017; Raftopoulos, 2002).

Owing to the already mentioned historical ties with the UK, Zimbabweans were exempted from visa regulations from 1980 until late 2002. The visa exemption coupled with the use of migrant social networks, comprising of health professionals and others that had migrated before, such as what has been called the pre-2000 Ndebele Diasporic community, made it relatively easy for Zimbabweans to migrate to the UK (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008a). This resulted in Zimbabweans becoming one of the largest groups of asylum seekers in the UK by late 2002 (JoAnn McGregor, 2006). For a country that was not at war, appearing in the top four asylum seeker countries suggested an abuse of the system, prompting Britain to introduce pre-travel visa requirements for Zimbabweans in November 2002. The visa introduction came at a time when the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK had just turned sour following the land reform exercise (McGregor & Primorac, 2010). McGregor noted that visa restrictions drove Zimbabweans into the hands of human traffickers, such that they increasingly entered the UK on fraudulent Malawian and South African passports (Joann McGregor, 2010). Entry on such false travel documents has subsequently had negative implications on their asylum claims as my research findings will demonstrate.

In a 2010 **ICAR Population Guide on Zimbabweans in the UK**, Rachel Humphris put the number of Zimbabwean asylum applications between 1999 and 2008 at 28 000 (Humphris, 2010, p. 3). Referring to asylum applications from the year 2000 to roughly 2008, McGregor suggested that there had been 19 585 asylum applications between the years 2000 and 2008 and a refusal rate of 74% (JoAnn McGregor, 2008a). From 230 asylum applications in 1999 to 1010 in 2000, this drew attention to the authorities (Humphris, 2010, p. 3). According to a mapping exercise conducted in 2006, Zimbabwean asylum seekers and refugees were spread across Britain, notably in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Luton, Slough, Coventry, Edinburgh, Leicester, Sheffield, Doncaster, Bournemouth, Oxford, and Bristol (Pasura, 2009). Leeds and Milton Keynes are also reported to be Zimbabwean 'hubs'

(Humphris, 2010). The creation of these 'hubs' was partly due to the British dispersal policy for asylum seekers and also the importance of care work in some areas more than in others (Bloch, 2010). Knowledge of these 'hubs' informed my choice of research locations (see Methodology chapter). Another defining feature of the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans was that it was more feminized in nature than the previous movements (Chikanda, 2005a; Mbiba, 2012; Pasura, 2010b).

Feminized nature of post-2000 migration movements

Unlike in colonial times when it was mostly men who migrated, post-2000 migration movements are more feminized in nature. Pasura pointed out that whereas in the past men dominated migration, women are at the centre of the recent migration to Britain (Pasura, 2010b). Writing extensively on "the regendering of the diaspora" and masculinity issues Pasura dissects how migration has reshaped gender dynamics within Zimbabwe's "new diaspora" families (Pasura, 2008a, 2010a, 2014b; Pasura & Christou, 2017; Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014). He argues that the fact that women were in most cases primary migrants has contributed to the regendering of households in Britain. Pasura goes further to highlight some of the challenges that have arisen out of this, which include according to his qualitative research findings, marriage breakdowns, a challenge on men's 'hegemonic masculinity', and in some instances, men opting for return migration (Pasura & Christou, 2017). These findings are confirmed by my study. I however analyse them with slightly different lens and emphasis. I rope in the '*musha mukadzi'* adage (explained in Chapter 2) and introduce the notion of *ndini baba* (see Chapter 8.2) into the analysis. This enables me to question how the role of women in everyday family life has evolved from the colonial era during which their mobility was controlled to the current period within which they have become primary migrants (see Chapter 8.2).

This feminization of migration is, however, not peculiar to Zimbabwe. Sources at the British High Commission in Dhaka estimate that about half of the British partners bringing Bangladeshi spouses to Britain are now women (Gardner, 2009). Given that women are often viewed as "the centre of the household that holds the family together" (Schiff et al., 2007, p. 191), their increased participation in migration and their prolonged absence due to migration tends to cause a strain to the marriage and often results in marriage problems and break-ups (JoAnn McGregor, 2006; Sachikonye, 2011). In some countries like the Philippines where the migration of women is high, "the migration of women is sometimes referred to as a "**Philippine divorce**" (Schiff et al., 2007, p. 192). Given that my research sample includes migrant women who have lived away from their spouses for more than ten years, this study

contributes to the existing knowledge of the impact of long-term migration-induced separation on marriage relationships.

3.6.3 Literature on life in the UK and transnational family life

In her 2008 article *"Abject spaces, transnational calculations: Zimbabweans in Britain navigating work, class and the law"* McGregor explored issues of how legal status and class shaped the dynamics of new diaspora communities in Britain (JoAnn McGregor, 2008a). McGregor has also examined how Zimbabwean professionals reconfigured family life after the post-2000 migration (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b). She bases most of her writings on Zimbabwe's 'new diaspora' on data that was derived from a qualitative study conducted between October 2004 and April 2005 whose primary focus was on issues of inclusion and exclusion in employment (JoAnn McGregor, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Joann McGregor, 2010). Issues of family and children had apparently emerged as important preoccupations during her semi-structured interview sessions with professional teachers and nurses.

McGregor has analyzed the dilemma that most transmigrants faced in deciding on whether to migrate with their children given the cultural differences between Zimbabwe and Britain. She analyses this from the perspective that sees children both as objects of responsibility around which support networks of different sorts are organized, and as moral markers in diasporic debates about identity and belonging. Besides the socio-cultural concerns, McGregor also highlights the challenges in finding affordable childcare arrangements as a deterrent to bringing children to Britain. Taking into consideration that her study was conducted a few years after most of her research participants had migrated, it is not surprising that at that time they "saw Britain as a temporary home that they had created by force of circumstances (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b, p. 606). The preference according to McGregor's study was for the children to grow up in Zimbabwe and be socialized according to "African values of respect for family and authority" (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b, p. 607). As my research findings will show, this has continued to be a debate among Zimbabwe's 'new diaspora'.

The issue of transnational parenting is also explored by Madziva who has researched and published on transnational motherhood, particularly focusing on long-term asylum seekers (Madziva, 2011, 2015b; Madziva & Zontini, 2012). She analyses the relationship between the extent to which immigration regimes increasingly curtail asylum-seeking parents' access to paid work and how this can render transnational family life dysfunctional. Writing in the context of suspended forced return of refused asylum-seekers to Zimbabwe, she lays bare the role of policy in shaping and determining how migrants 'do family'. Madziva also discusses

issue of transnational communication and the challenges of dealing with the day-to-day problems affecting children and their relations with guardians (Madziva, 2015b). Given that my study is set along similar lines, I take the discussion further and show how migrants with restricted rights exercise agency (autonomy of migration) to sustain their transnational family lives. I go further to analyse how new ICTs have over the years transformed the face of doing family in transnational social spaces.

My study contributes to the small but growing body of literature that focuses on the non-migrating family members , particularly children, spouses, and guardians of *staying behind* children (Filippa et al., 2013; Kufakurinani et al., 2014; Madebwe, 2014; Madziva, 2015b). An example of research that focuses on *staying behind* children is that by Kufakurinani, Pasura and McGregor which explores the emergence of what they have termed 'diaspora orphans' over the course of Zimbabwe's crisis (Kufakurinani et al., 2014). They address the issue of transnational parenting and the emotional and practical problems that it breeds for all involved.

Turning the discussion to the non-migrating spouses, it seems there has been a tendency to tip-toe around the implications of prolonged transnational family life on marriage as an intimate relationship. What has been brought to light are issues around the use/abuse of remittances (JoAnn McGregor, 2008b), pre and post-migration spouses' decision making on allocation and use of resources (Chereni, 2014b), and moral judgements (Madziva, 2015b). This study tries to break this seemingly deliberate avoidance of marriage in the discourse of social costs of migration.

Another subject of research has been on how cultural perceptions of gendered and sexual identities have been challenged, negotiated, and contested within the 'new diaspora' community (Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014). Reverberating the views that are shared in previous works, Tinarwo and Pasura's article highlights issues of masculinity and the bruising of some Zimbabwean men's egos. In a series of publications Pasura established that upon arrival in the UK, Zimbabwean women migrants gained an upper hand (power) over their male counterparts. Likening the purported upper hand to the UK Home Office (authority), Tinarwo and Pasura discuss how some married men negotiate for visas (permission) to go out to socialize in different social spaces (Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014). Using the same language that is used in reference to actual Home Office visas, such as 'being denied a visa', they are able to lay bare the change in marital power and decision-making dynamics.

The Home Office analogy is interesting in that it implies that this visa issue in marriages started after migration. Although a search for previous work alluding to this yielded no results, it is something that was widely talked about in Zimbabwe particularly within what one may call Friday after work social circles. Through using the narrative interview approach, this study traces this visa issue back to pre-migration among some couples. It is also possible to establish if some women who never used such approaches before migration had adopted them, making it possible to see how migration changed power dynamics for some couples. This also raises the important issue of marriage cultural values. In that same study the authors introduce the notion of the "second husband phenomenon", which is "a flexible and semi-marital arrangement between a married woman and a man." (Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014, p. 529).

They highlight how isolation from the extended family, which would normally be what one may call an ombudsman of family values, has led to the normalization of what would normally be 'unacceptable' or immoral behaviour (e.g. second husband/move in marriage). Whilst there are similarities to other versions of cohabitation, they emphasize that the main purpose of the 'move in' marriage is not to have children but rather to improve the economic and social wellbeing of the individuals concerned. Through this discussion, they are not only exposing what happens far from the 'family gaze', but also hinting at acculturation issues. They, however, confine the discussion to what happens in Britain. My study interrogates this further to include how the meaning, value and moral compass has revolved among non-migrating Zimbabweans.

New forms of marriage and partnerships are discussed and distinguished from previous versions in Zimbabwe's history. The fact that this has been explored makes it easy to bring in the issue of "small houses" (Chitakure, 2016; Hungwe, 2011; Ndlovu, 2013), which Tinarwo and Pasura also mention in passing (Tinarwo & Pasura, 2014). My study adds to this discussion on the 'normalization' of cohabitation and questions whether the 'second husband' and 'small house' are new occurrences, or just new terminologies for practices that existed for long. I use interview data and archival sources for this analysis. Examining the marriage issue from a different standpoint, Madziva explores issues of guilt and fear of societal/moral judgements (Madziva, 2015b). Using empirical evidence, she points out how some of her respondents expressed feelings of inadequacy and shame as a result of the many years of non-productive separation from spouses. Also highlighted is the time lost, questioning of the meaning of marriage and family when women describe themselves as having failed their husbands and

children. These are the issues that I also analyse in this thesis and add voices of the non-migrating spouses, children, and discourse analysis.

3.6.4 Literature on transnational activities

In a survey that was conducted in 2005, Bloch explored the transnational activities and capabilities of 500 Zimbabweans living in the UK and 500 Zimbabweans living in South Africa. The analysis of the data showed the strong relationship between kinship networks and transnational activities, leading to the conclusion that Zimbabweans in the UK were active economic, social, and political transnational actors (Bloch, 2008). 94% of the participants in Bloch's sample had close family members (including spouses and children) in Zimbabwe and were in regular contact with them. This study sheds light on transnational activities but given the methodology used, it does not provide further explanations. This is where qualitative research such as that done by Madziva comes in (Madziva, 2015b). Madziva debunks the "tendency to assume that migrant parents have ready access to paid work once they arrive in countries of destination, which subsequently enables them to maintain transnational ties with children and kin left behind." (Madziva, 2015b, p. 1). She explores how asylum-seeking parents' access to paid work potentially affects their transnational capabilities and transnational family life. She looks at how both transnational mothers and transnational fathers fare in their transnational obligations.

There has also been some research on remittance uses/abuses by the non-migrating family members (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2008; Madziva, 2015b; JoAnn McGregor, 2014; Tevera & Chikanda, 2009). McGregor highlighted that stories circulate about remittances sent home from Britain being misused by relatives or unreliable spouses but did not elaborate on this (JoAnn McGregor, 2006). In another article published in 2014, McGregor explored issues of transnational families and the (mis)management of investments (JoAnn McGregor, 2014). Madziva also touches on this issue and argues that in some instances, children are used as "meal tickets" (Madziva, 2015b). This means that the family members under whose guardianship children are left, sometimes 'hide' behind migrants' children's needs to get more remittances. It is however not always that remittances are misused. Empirical data also confirms the positive economic impact of remittances on many Zimbabwean households[28] particularly at the peak of the crisis in 2008 (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2008; Tevera & Chikanda, 2009). Remittances were a survival and not development strategy in contemporary Zimbabwe. In concurrence with

[28] A study conducted on Migrant Remittances and Household Survival in Zimbabwe by the Southern African Migration Project concluded that ''remittances have reduced vulnerability to hunger, ill-health and poverty in both rural and urban households'' (Tevera & Chikanda, 2009, p. 37).

these findings, Crush and Tevera stated that, “what is sometimes forgotten is that without remittances of food and cash to purchase food, the hunger and malnutrition situation in Zimbabwe would be even more dire than it has become” (Crush & Tevera, 2010, p. 15). They further argue that the economic and social collapse of Zimbabwe would have been faster and more catastrophic.

A quick analysis of the literature discussed so far on Zimbabwe’s transnational migration reveals a kind of imbalance in that, there seems to be a dearth of studies that consider the perspectives of both the transnational migrants and the non-migrating family. In her PhD thesis on *Husband immobility and the international migration of married women from Zimbabwe*, (Madebwe, 2014) focused on women who migrated to South Africa and the UK whilst their husbands remained in Zimbabwe. The idea of focusing on husbands who stay also takes centre stage in my research. There also seems to be a lot of emphasis on how children are affected and near silence on how the marriage relationship (of those children’s parents) is affected in cases where one spouse migrates. It is these two points that make this research imperative. My research builds upon the discussed literature and other literature that I may have overlooked. Engaging these previous works, my study interrogates family practices, family values and the future of doing family in transnational social spaces. By taking this approach, I seek to cast light upon areas of family life that are often taken for granted.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of how this research was conceived, mapped, and executed. Guided by the main objective of the research it explains my motivation to work on this topic, the research paradigm, the methodology and methods employed, how field entry was facilitated, the sampling criteria, data collection, ethical issues, limitations, as well as the adopted data analysis techniques. The chapter also discusses my positionality and the impact it had on the overall research. This reflection is according to my own analysis as well as some feedback that came in the form of comments from some research participants during interviews and informal chats. I also deliberate upon gender and power dynamics between myself as a researcher and the research participants.

Main Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine how the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK (re)shaped their family life in terms of structure, functioning, maintenance, and cultural values.

4.1 Research Questions

Central Research Question

How has the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK (re)shaped their family life in terms of structure, functioning, maintenance, and cultural values?

Specific research questions

1. What are Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements?

   This question was interested in the following themes:

   a. What factors led to increased international migration after the year 2000?
   b. How does post-2000 migration differ from the previous migration movements?
   c. How many people migrated to the UK since the year 2000 and what were their reasons?
   d. How has the UK responded to the post-2000 immigration of Zimbabweans?
   e. How have post-2000 migration movements been conceptualized in academic literature?

2. How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family unit reshaped family life?

   This question sought to cover the following aspects:

   a. What is the birth order position and culturally assigned role of the migrant in the family?
   b. How their family was structured pre- migration and how it is structured post-migration?
   c. What role did the migrant play pre-migration and what role do they play in the transnational family setting?
   d. Why and how did they migrate to the UK?

e. Who do they consider as part of their transnational family?
f. What everyday practices constitute their transnational family life?
g. What is the role of ICTs in their everyday transnational family life?
h. How do they perform/participate in lifecycle rituals in transnational settings?

3. How is indefinite transnational family life perceived by transnational family members, migration and family life experts, and sections of the public?

   The question covered these issues:

   a. How do the transnational family members based in Zimbabwe perceive transnational family life?
   b. How do migration and family life experts in both Zimbabwe & the UK perceive long-term transnational family life?
   c. What is the general public opinion on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration and its impact on family life?

4. What implications does the prolonged migration-induced physical separation of families have on the future of Zimbabwean family values?

Before setting to explain how I went about designing the methodological approach and data collection to answer the above mentioned research questions, I begin by declaring my positionality in the following section. I will return to the questions and the research methods used to find empirical responses to them under section 4.5 of this chapter.

4.2 'As old as Zimbabwe': my positionality and its influence on the choice of research

Positionality in qualitative research refers to the fact that a researcher's characteristics affect both substantive and practical aspects of the research process—from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received (Carling et al., 2014, p. 37). I subscribe to the view that research ideas are not as random as they may appear to be but are rather a reflection of the viewpoints that researchers have developed over time, which are largely influenced by their lived experiences, readings, encounters, values, and perceptions. I therefore agree that, "as migration researchers, being reflexive about our own positions in social settings, our own thought categories, beliefs, emotions, points of view and conceptual schemes, has to be an explicit and vital part of our research endeavours" (Iosifides, 2018, p. 103). Given that I was born in the year that Zimbabwe attained political independence from the British, naming this section, "as old as Zimbabwe" is a deliberate attempt to position myself and my lived experiences within the Zimbabwe general history narrative.

Being ‘as old as Zimbabwe’, I have experienced and lived through all the economic, political, socio-cultural, and development highs and lows of independent Zimbabwe that I have explained in the preceding chapters. Furthermore, apart from the first-hand knowledge of some of the socio-economic and political situations that are discussed in this thesis, I have also in a way ‘seen’ life in colonial Zimbabwe. I make this assertion based on the fact that I am a trained historian who not only studied Zimbabwe’s economic and social history, but also worked as an Archivist at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ)[29]. With this background I feel that attempting to separate myself from Zimbabwe’s macrolevel experiences would be tantamount to running away from my own shadow. I should however state that although it is difficult to separate myself (as a person) from independent Zimbabwe’s experiences (which mirror my own lived experiences), as a researcher I had to consciously engage in making the familiar strange (Holliday, 2007, 2016). I approached the research field and analysis of my findings with an open mind and let the participants share their own understandings of Zimbabwe’s history as part of their lived experiences.

This was relatively achievable because as a historian I was trained to understand the importance of collecting people’s subjective oral history accounts and the basics of interpreting these accounts. This training enabled me to approach the subject with an awareness of the experiential baggage that I carried and with considerable knowledge of how to prevent my baggage from influencing the participants’ narratives. Instead of taking the field ‘as a natural given’, I became constantly involved in “(self)-critical engagements with the research process” that laid open not only my positionality in respect to my encounters “with “the researched”, but also the construction of “the field” itself” (Verne, 2012, p. 563). This leads me to the explanation of how I ended up particularly researching on migration and transnational family life, and how I designed the whole research project.

Choosing the research topic

The onset of the ‘Zimbabwe crisis’ decade coincided with the commencement of my undergraduate studies. I studied, worked, and lived in Zimbabwe throughout the ‘crisis decade’ and I was therefore directly and indirectly affected by all the socio-economic and political developments that occurred during that decade. Although it was not my first encounter with mass emigration, having had lost about a third of my schoolmates during the ESAP-induced emigration in the 1990s, the period under study occurred when I had matured and could

[29] NAZ is the custodian of Zimbabwe’s documented history, and it holds various government departments’ official manuscripts as well as other historical documents from the colonial era through to recent times.

therefore comprehend its full implications. I found myself struggling to get past how society generally seemed unperturbed by the increasing migration-induced separation of close family members. As briefly stated in the background chapter, migration was generally perceived as being good for improving family standards of living as remittances were being sent to build houses and start business ventures.

In as much as standards of living indeed appeared to have been improving for families with at least one migrant (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2006, 2008), I was personally disturbed by the number of years that passed by without any visits or reunification of spouses, or parents and children. My concerns emanated from my own understanding of family life, which prioritizes relationships and constant physical co-presence, over the provision of material resources. I was curious to understand how family life is managed under such protracted transnational migration circumstances. I eventually enrolled for a Master program (MA) in migration studies with the aim of understanding the ins and outs of migration. This is the path that then led me to this current research, whose design and execution are explained in the following sections.

4.3 Qualitative research design

Given that my research objective was to understand individual family life experiences in the context of international migration, I built the study around constructivism. This is rooted in relativist ontology which postulates that reality is shaped by context and individual experiences. It argues that there are multiple and varied meanings to situations (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Since this study is centred on the lived experiences of migrants and some of their selected family members, a qualitative methodology was adopted to capture their varied experiences of transnational family life. Qualitative research "looks deep into the quality of social life"(Holliday, 2007, 2016). It also enables studying the meaning of people's lives as experienced under real world or naturalistic conditions, as well as the collection of detailed accounts of specific life events (Bentzon et al., 1998; Miles et al., 2014; Yin, 2015). Moreover, with qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, see which events led to what consequences, and derive fruitful explanations (Miles et al., 2014). These points were key to informing my research methods which are discussed later on in this chapter.

Multi-sited approach

Migration research often calls for multi-sited ethnography (Amelina, 2008; Madianou & Miller, 2013; Marcus, 1995; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011; Nadai & Maeder, 2005). Multi-sited ethnography applied to this study as it enabled the capturing of experiences from both migrants in the UK and their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe. According to Mark-Anthony

Falzon "the essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contagious)" (Falzon, 2016, pp. 1–2). Through this approach I was able to identify and follow specific transnational relationships and practices relevant to the study objectives. Taking a multi-sited approach also facilitated the analysis of why some migrants may appear more transnationally active than others as it provided an opportunity to examine the determinant conditions in both Zimbabwe and the UK. Although the research inevitably occurred in two different geographical countries (Zimbabwe and the UK), I was cognisant of the critique against methodological nationalism which warns against the assumption that "nation-states are quasi-natural units of describing and theorizing the social world" (Nieswand, 2012, p. 1). To this end the research transcended the physical spaces (Zimbabwe and the UK) by also factoring in the various ICT- mediated interactions that occur in transnational social spaces (Faist, 2000b) between migrants and their non-migrating family members. The transnational social space became one of the many sites of my research and in this 'site' I was able to follow the ICT-mediated transnational family members' practices and relationships across distance.

Purposive and Snowball sampling

Sampling in qualitative research refers to the strategy that is employed for the selection of participants, cases or units of analysis (Iosifides, 2013). It involves decisions not only about which people to observe and/or interview, but also about settings, events, and social processes (Miles et al., 2014). This study employed purposive sampling to determine the research target group. With this sampling technique, desired characteristics of participants are established, and participants are selected because they possess the relevant attributes (Barglowski, 2018; Bryman, 2012). My study targeted Zimbabweans who migrated to the UK during the period 2000-2010, as well as selected members of their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe. Research was thus conducted in two phases as follows: the first phase focused on migrants (UK), and the second phase focused on non-migrating family members (Zimbabwe). Two sampling criteria sets were thus prepared for the two research phases as explained below.

The sampling criteria for the first phase of the research was as follows:

a) participant had to be either married, divorced, or a lone parent at the time of the research
b) they should have a spouse, children (where applicable), or parents living in Zimbabwe
c) they should have close family members either still living in Zimbabwe or elsewhere other than the UK, with whom they maintain close contact (familyhood)
d) they should have lived as transnational family members for at least five years

e) they identified themselves as being Zimbabwean prior to their migration regardless of their racial/ethnic background

The sampling criteria for the second phase of the research was as follows:

a) the research participant should have been a spouse, child, parent, sibling, or specifically mentioned relative of the migrants interviewed during the first stage of the research
b) they should have been suggested to me by the migrants interviewed during the first stage of the research
c) they should have been personally willing to participate in the research

I had to redraw some of the sampling parameters during the second research phase because some of the family members who were suggested by the migrants were unwilling to be a part of the research. Faced with this challenge, I decided to add four return migrants to the original sample to give a different perspective to the research. The four returnees were all married and had lived in the UK for periods between seven and twelve years. One of the returnees' spouse remained in the UK and at the time of the research they had lived apart for five years.

Once the target group had been identified, a snowball sampling technique was then used to identify more participants. This is a nonprobability-sampling technique through which the researcher collects data on a few members of the target population he or she can locate, then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population that they might know (Babbie, 2007). It is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate, such as homeless individuals, migrant workers, or undocumented immigrants (Babbie, 2007). This technique was therefore relevant given that my potential sample included undocumented migrants and refused asylum seekers. To identify initial participants, I utilized my long-standing personal social networks as well as the ones created during the Greece 'pilot study' which is explained under the section on gatekeepers.

4.4 Gatekeepers and research field entry

Research into families and communities is seen as a delicate and sensitive matter and therefore selection and access require careful consideration and negotiation (Goulbourne et al., 2010). Having previously done family-related research focusing on women, and migration research on young unaccompanied asylum seekers, I was conscious of the importance of identifying the right gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are the people with some level of insider knowledge on the research target group and are able to facilitate access to the intended participants. I identified gatekeepers who could connect me with migrants, as well as with experts in immigration and

family life issues.

As far as accessing migrants is concerned, I had an unexpected opportunity to conduct an *ad hoc* three-day pilot study immediately after my PhD proposal defence in April 2016. The opportunity arose when a close family friend who is based in the UK invited me to her destination birthday party in Greece. At this party, which I now consider to have been my preliminary field entry, I met and interacted with eighteen UK-based Zimbabwean women aged between 23 and 45. Having spent a whole weekend socializing with them, I got a glimpse into the type of migration stories to expect in the UK, as well as snippets of their immigration experiences in the UK. I managed to create a small network of potential gatekeepers in the form of social workers and a church elder, some of whom eventually helped me identify research participants in August 2016. My family friend subsequently became my primary host during my research stay in the UK.

For the expert side, I had previously established contacts with Professor JoAnn McGregor (Sussex University, UK) who has done extensive research on Zimbabwe's history and on its 'new' diaspora. She inevitably became the main gatekeeper to my research field entry as she helped facilitate my UK short-term study visa. Professor McGregor also provided comprehensive academic and immigration policy-related insights and facilitated contact with Dr. Dominic Pasura (University of Glasgow), who is another research expert on Zimbabwean migrants in the UK. I had an interview meeting with Dr. Pasura in October 2016 during which he shared useful literature, insights and tips on how to navigate the research context. In order to comprehend the UK immigration policy responses to Zimbabwean migrants, I approached Rumbidzai Bvunzawabaya, who is an immigration solicitor and founder of a non-profit organization that assists migrant families. I first came across her through a You Tube video explaining the work that she does through her organization, the Migrant Family Support[30] (Bvunzawabaya, 2016). She not only shared experience-based views which were crucial to my understanding of the UK migration policy in practice, but also facilitated interviews with some of the participants in this study.

4.5 Research overview

Between August 2016 and November 2016, I conducted twenty narrative interviews with Zimbabwean migrants in the UK, five expert interviews with immigration lawyers, a family life practitioner, and academic migration researchers. The narrative interviews were conducted

[30] http://www.migrantfamilysupport.co.uk/about-us/

in Bedford, Derby, London, Luton, Manchester, and Southampton, whilst the expert interviews were conducted in Brighton, Glasgow, and Coventry. I attended eight social events in Bedford, Leicester, London, Luton, Manchester, and Swansea.

Of the twenty migrants interviewed, thirteen were female and seven were male. Their ages ranged from early 20s to mid-60s (see Appendix 6). Thirteen of the twenty migrants interviewed in the UK had consented to having some of their family members that *stayed behind* in Zimbabwe included in this study. This was, however, subject to the suggested family members' own consent and willingness to participate. Consequently, I managed to conduct in-depth interviews with seven family members of only five migrants from the first phase. These in-depth interviews were with a spouse, children, and siblings (see Appendix 6). These interviews were conducted in the cities of Harare and Kwekwe. Bearing in mind that this thesis is centred on narratives, the number of matched samples (five) in a way eased the process of choosing the narratives that are central to some of the empirical chapters. In addition to the interviews with *staying behind* family members, I also interviewed four return migrants, one *staying behind* child (not related to any of the migrants), three experts (family lawyer, African traditionalist, and a church Pastor), and had a couple of informal chats with various people that I met at different social events in Harare and Kwekwe. I also conducted archival research at the National Archives of Zimbabwe to contribute to the contextual background chapter.

Summary of interviews

An overview of the interview data generated from the research phases is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Summary of interview data

Research Method	Number of interviews	Research Phase
Narrative interview	20	UK: August –November 2016
In depth interview	12	Zimbabwe: January – April 2017
Expert interview	7	UK and Zimbabwe
Other (informal)	5	Zimbabwe
Total interviews	44	UK and Zimbabwe

4.5.1 Research sites

A visualisation of the research sites and the research activities done at each location is provided in the map shown in Figure 4.

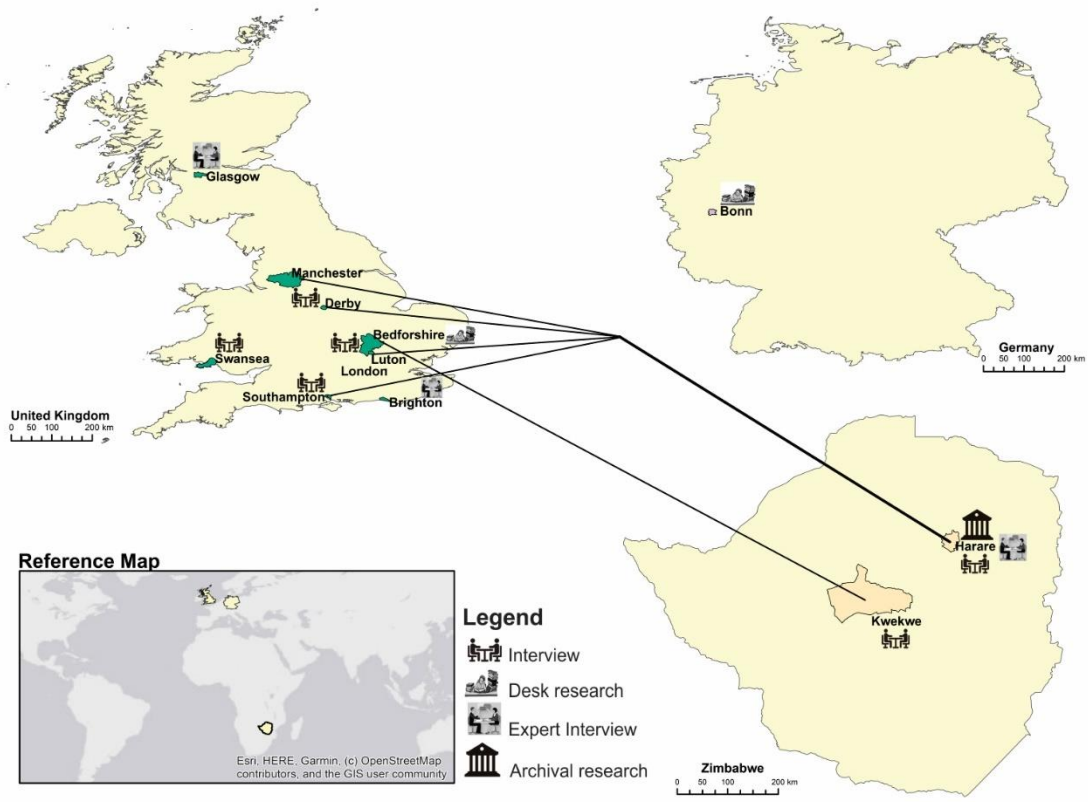


Figure 4 Map showing research sites
Map data source: http://www.diva-gis.org/download, developed by author

4.6 Research Methods

Castles defines methods as those specific techniques that are used to collect and analyse data (Castles, 2012). In line with the adopted qualitative approach, I conducted narrative interviews with individual migrants, in-depth interviews with migrants' non-migrating family members, expert interviews, as well as desk and archival research to contribute to the background chapter. These methods were complemented by participant observation and limited online ethnography which enabled the gathering of views that I could have otherwise missed from the other methods. The subsequent sections explain how I operationalized each of these methods (for an overview of how all the research methods were operationalized please see Appendix 4).

Participant observation

Participant observation is a way of collecting data in naturalistic settings through observing or taking part "in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 2). Although it was impossible for me to take part in all the research participants' everyday activities, I participated in a number of social activities and attended events ranging from life cycle celebrations, to religious services (see research overview section for participant observation sites). The events included a bridal shower, a baby shower, a

graduation party, ‘ladies only’ social evenings, and birthday parties. In October 2016 I was invited to attend a refugee event in Manchester which was hosted by one community based organisation in Salford. There, I met and interacted with asylum seekers from different countries, including three from Zimbabwe. I got insights into their positive and negative experiences as asylum seekers. On different occasions I attended different Zimbabwean church services in Bedford, Luton, Manchester, and Southampton. I also got the opportunity to live with some of my research participants for periods ranging from one to two weeks. These opportunities provided a chance to observe how they do everyday family life, in the process getting insights into some family life aspects that had somehow failed to make it into the narratives. I also observed and followed discussions on various online platforms as part of the online ethnographic research method explained below.

Online ethnography

With digital media and technologies increasingly being used to create a sense of presence over space and time, there is an increasing move towards online ethnography which extends traditional ethnography to settings where interactions are technologically mediated (Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018). I followed two Zimbabwean online television stations that are run by UK-based Zimbabwean migrants and broadcasted through the Facebook Live button feature. These online channels discuss various topical issues affecting Zimbabweans and attract thousands of online views. During the period January 2017 to the end of 2018 I followed a total of 25 Facebook shows and discussions that focused on topics related to marriage, parenting, gender roles, remittances, immigration policy changes, balancing work and family life, as well as fatal crimes of passion among the Zimbabwean diaspora (see Appendix 5). In the absence of an internationally accepted framework for online ethnographic research ethics, I kept the use of social media findings at a bare minimal. I therefore only highlight main issues discussed and anonymise the general sentiments elicited through opinions shared via live audio and video calls as well as public comments shared through the comments section on Facebook. The general discourses gathered through this method contributed to the triangulation of some of the data gathered through one on one interviews.

Desk and archival research

I conducted desk and archival research to build a comprehensive contextual background to the study and to establish how the post-2000 migration movements have generally been conceptualized. I used academic books, newspapers, policy documents, and peer reviewed articles. I accessed these sources through libraries in Germany, UK, Zimbabwe, online. I also

obtained some peer reviewed journal articles directly from their authors. Additionally, I consulted archival records on the UK colonial policy and administration in Zimbabwe. The sources used are listed in the References list of this thesis. To manage the secondary data sources in terms of citations, library and creating the final reference list, I made use of the Zotero software. I also created an Excel sheet backup document capturing the source title, citation details, and theme addressed, extracted quotation plus page number, and targeted chapter for the quote. Desk and archival research were mostly used to gather data for the first research question (see Table 2).

Table 2 Operationalization of the desk and archival research method

Question 1	Research Method	Sources	Concepts
What is Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration, and how has it been conceptualized?	• Desk research • Archival Research • Expert interviews	• Secondary sources – books, journal articles • Archival documents • Statistical docs (ZIMSTAT & UK Home Office) • UK immigration policy briefs • Immigration experts & academic researchers	• Crisis migration • Survival migration

Narrative interviews

Narratives are "retrospective accounts of decisions, actions and events, often relating to distant periods of the life course and located in particular contexts, situations, relationships, emotions and moral judgments pertaining to these" (Phoenix & Brannen, 2014, p. 14). They are a way of communicating personal experiences, combining life stories and sociohistorical contexts in which the stories are set (Flick, 2014; Muylaert et al., 2014; Torill, 2006). I used the narrative method for research question two which solicited individual migrants' family life experiences, the Zimbabwe crisis, post-2000 migration, transnational family life, and life in the UK. I collected twenty narratives from migrants in the UK. The interview sessions were guided by protocols (see Appendix 1). I began by asking the migrants to share their life experiences from as far back as they were willing to. Such an approach tends to put research participants at ease and provides researchers with valuable information regarding the basic facts about, and important events in the respondents' lives (Morawska, 2018). It goes beyond the mere eliciting

of data by focusing on the meanings these events have for the them (Yin, 2015). The narrative sessions lasted between one and two hours and were conducted in English and Shona languages. All interviews were audio recorded with the consent of the participants. Since I am proficient in both languages I did all the translations. Table 3 shows how I operationalized the narrative interviewing method.

Table 3 Operationalization of the narrative interview method

Question 2	Research Method	Sources	Concepts
How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family unit reshaped family life?	• Narrative interview	• Individual migrants	• Autonomy of migration • Family practices • Transnational social spaces • ICT-based co-presence • Transnational caregiving • Family life cycle

In-depth interviews

Interviews provide researchers access to interviewees' thoughts, reflections, motives, experiences, memories, understandings, interpretations, and perceptions of topics under consideration (Morris, 2015). In-depth interviewing allows a researcher to approach the field with general topics of interest and guiding questions that probe into that area (Monette et al., 2010). It also allows for follow-up questions, making it more of a conversation between the researcher and the researched (Monette et al., 2010; Silva et al., 2014; Sloan & Quan-Haase, 2017). In-depth interviews were used to contribute to answering the third research question (see Table 4 for the operationalization). The in-depth research interview guide, with the guiding questions is attached as Appendix 2. I conducted a total of twelve in-depth interviews with selected family members of the migrants interviewed in the first phase of the interview, and with return migrants.

Table 4 Operationalization of the in-depth interview method and online ethnography

Question 3	Research Method	Sources	Concepts
How is protracted transnational family life generally perceived? a) by transnational family members based in Zimbabwe b) by migration & family life experts c) in public discourses	• In-depth interviews • Expert interviews • Online ethnography	• Selected *staying behind* family members • Migration scholars • Immigration practitioners • Family law experts • Traditional/ religious leaders • Facebook platforms	• Family practices • ICT-based co-presence • Family/immigration law

A consolidated operationalization table is provided in the appendices (please see Appendix 4)

4.7 Challenges encountered during data collection

Interview locations: gender and host influence

Interview locations to an extent influence research and implicit power dynamics between the research and the participants. All of the interviews with migrants were done in a home setting, either the participant's own home, the referring person, or where the migrants worked as live-in carers. In some cases, I was invited to stay for a couple of days at the participants' houses. This happened with four of my research participants whom I had met through my host family. There was an element of gender and cultural morality at play in my agreeing to suggested interview locations. Given my gender and marital status, I had to conduct the interviews with the male participants at the houses of the female gatekeepers who had connected us. This sometimes brought in external influence that needed diplomacy and sensitivity to manage. The very first interview that I conducted in such a setting felt awkward for both the research participant and me.

To explain the awkwardness, I refer to an excerpt from my research log capturing my post-interview reflections:

> *The interview went well after all! In the initial stages I felt uncomfortable as the owner of the house* (interview location) *who had introduced me to the research participant made it a bit difficult for me to explain the interview process. Because of her close*

> *relationship with the participant, she was kind of taking over on explaining the interview process and trying to convince the participant that it was important for me to record the interview. I appreciate her efforts and enthusiasm, but it makes me wonder if this can be considered a form of coercion by a gatekeeper? How does one effectively handle such a situation without offending their host?* (Personal research log, Aug 2016)

I had anticipated a number of potential challenges, but this was not one of them. I had considered neutral venues such as public cafes or parks, but in some cases I had to adapt to what the participants considered convenient. The location referred to in the above quoted excerpt was convenient for the participant since he already had a close family relationship with the gatekeeper. To ensure that the interview ethics were not compromised, I waited until we had our privacy and then reiterated to the interviewee that he was under no obligation to participate in the research. I further reminded him that he had the right to withdraw his consent at any time, and I double-checked if he was indeed okay with me recording the interview. What gave me the assurance that he was indeed willing to be a part of the research is that I had already built rapport with him as we had previously communicated on Whatsapp prior to that evening's encounter.

Managing emotional interviews

It was sometimes hard and emotionally draining to listen to accounts of political violence, domestic violence, and heart-breaking experiences of family separation. Whenever participants ventured on a path that led them to talk about traumatic or heart-breaking episodes in their lives, I reminded them to only share episodes that they felt comfortable sharing. I also reminded them that we could stop the interview at any time if they felt that they were unable to continue. One example of an emotional interview that stood out for me was when Kundai, a woman in her mid-twenties broke down as she recalled the day that her mother migrated and expressed her diminishing hope of ever seeing her mother again. Kundai who was aged ten when her mother migrated to the UK said:

> *I have since thrown the idea of seeing my mum out of the window. My granddad passed away three years ago, and I thought she was going to come, but she didn't come….so I thought ah, if death can't even bring her here, who am I to think that I can bring her here? I don't think I will ever see her again, but if she dies and I don't see her, I will be so mad at her, I will not forgive her if that happens.* (Kundai, Interview, 2017)

I gave her time to express her feelings and once she had composed herself, I suggested pausing the interview or ending it there until a later date. Kundai however chose to continue as she felt that it was good for her to open up about these feelings that she had only previously shared with a professional therapist. I would have preferred ending the interview at that point because

of the emotions that it evoked in me, but I had to respect her decision and deal with my own emotions afterwards. I used my research and reflection log to write down and reflect on all the feelings that such interviews evoked in me.

4.7.1 Reflexivity and insider/outsider position

Reflexivity is the way in which researchers come to terms with and capitalize on the complexities of their presence within the research setting, in a methodical way (Holliday, 2007, 2016). It "involves a self-scrutiny on the part of the researcher; a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and an 'other'" (Bourke, 2014, p. 2). As a migration scholar and migrant, I was sometimes unsure of which hat to wear – the migration scholar hat or the migrant hat? When it comes to my subject of research, migration and family life, I was sometimes tempted to compare what I knew and what I have personally experienced, against what the research participants shared with me. This is because I have my fair share of experiences of life before the crisis, the build-up to the crisis decade, the crisis decade itself and I witnessed the increased migration. Having become a migrant scholar myself, I also became a transnational family member. Although the conditions under which I migrated and the rights that I am entitled to under my immigration status are different from the ones I studied, I have come to experience transnational family life and so I have my own personal thoughts on it. I therefore had to always remind myself that my family and migration circumstances were different and consciously tried to let my analysis be based on the narratives that I had collected.

In migration research, the insider–outsider divide typically assumes a specific form: an insider researcher is a member of the migrant group under study, whereas an outsider researcher is a member of the majority population in the country of settlement (Carling et al., 2014, p. 36). I was both an insider and an outsider. I was an insider by virtue of being a Zimbabwean researching on fellow Zimbabweans. My insider position enabled me to follow and understand everyday conversations in the research field. It was also useful for online ethnography, particularly to the online TV shows and discussion platforms that I followed on Facebook. As an insider I am familiar with the language and social codes used among Zimbabweans. I was, however, also an outsider in the sense that I was a visitor to the UK and therefore held a different migration status from the researched. My outsider status was also evident on the family front because none of the families that I researched on were related to me in a consanguineal or affinal way. Although some of them made efforts to make me an insider through bestowing fictive kinship titles on me, this fictive kinship was only acknowledged by them and the few family members that they introduced me to. I was not part of their

transnational family networks.

When I initially entered the field, I constantly felt like an outsider at social events and churches because I was not familiar with some of the UK colloquial speech used by the migrants as they discussed various everyday issues. Additionally, in as much as the social events and gatherings resembled how events are generally held in Zimbabwe, there was a certain UK diaspora twist which took me time to adapt to. Besides, I was usually the only visitor and had to be introduced at most functions. What however worked to my advantage is that I was not being introduced as a researcher, but rather as a 'sister' visiting from Germany. Once the introductions were made, I was then to a large extent treated as one of them - a sister, an insider. I volunteered to help at most of the events that I attended, be it with running errands, cooking, setting up, or cleaning up. The people that I got to interact with at these social gatherings would then naturally enquire on what I was doing in Germany. This inevitably directed the interactions towards my research agenda. It assisted in identifying more research participants as some of the people would then volunteer to take part in the research or suggest connecting me to potential research participants.

As some scholars have discussed, insider–outsider divides are relationally constructed in the encounter between researcher and informant (Carling et al., 2014). While some research participants introduced me as a 'sister' and incorporated me into their social circles (for example, the ladies that I met during the Greece 'pilot study' mentioned under section 4.2), other participants constantly reminded me of my outsider status. They would repeatedly explain how different things and systems work in the UK, qualifying that with, 'since you live in Germany, you might not get it'. To an extent, being viewed as an outsider was beneficial because it enabled me to learn a lot more about the research context, the immigration policy, and immigrants' everyday life. Their detailed explanations as they narrated their experiences pointed me to areas and topics that I would have perhaps overlooked had I adopted a different methodology. For example, I first got to know about the reporting system for asylum seekers through a refused asylum seeker's narrative.

Another fact that reminded me of my outsider position was related to marriage and parenthood. It was common for some of the participants to remark that I would understand their situation better once I marry and become a mother. This confirms Admire Chereni's assertion that, although researchers may share several subject positions with participants, there is an unavoidable state of difference which the researcher must address in order to gain and maintain

access to the field (Chereni, 2014a). What became clear to me as I oscillated between the insider/outsider roles is that there is no fixed position and therefore, using such dichotomies (insider-outsider), borders on simplifying a complex, flexible and context-dependant process. These issues have also been discussed by Chereni in his article on his own positionality during his research on Zimbabweans in South Africa (Chereni, 2014a). Both the researcher and the researched undeniably have multiple positionalities which are relationally based (L. Ryan, 2015).

4.8 Ethical considerations

On ethical issues, I was guided by my institute's requirements. I obtained a research and ethical clearance certificate after attending a course on ethical research conduct and submitting a thorough ethical clearance write-up to the ZEF Ethics committee. It covered such pertinent topics as ensuring voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, and minimizing risks/danger to the research participants.

Informed Consent

As earlier highlighted, consent to speak to participants was sought from the participants themselves, even in the cases where they had been referred to me via snowball sampling or suggested to me by their family members. For the non-migrating family members who participated during the second phase of the research, I sought the consent from them as well as from the migrating family member who had suggested them to me. I always thoroughly explained the nature, objective, and intended use of the research before the interview session before. As the consent form shows (see Appendix 3), I assured them that their identities would be kept confidential and anonymized. The right to withdraw their consent at any given time was also highlighted. I sought consent from the participants before audio recording the interview sessions.

Anonymity/Confidentiality

Throughout the research no real names were documented. All the notes and metadata files created during field work made use of research participant codes (see Appendix 6). After collecting data, I personally transcribed all the migrants' narratives from the first research phase because of the sensitivity of the information and for confidentiality reasons. In the few cases that I engaged the services of research assistants to transcribe some in-depth interviews from the second phase of the research, I made sure these contained general or expert information. I must also state that the research assistants that I engaged are experienced in doing sensitive research as they work with confidential material in their professional careers.

During the transcription stage I created pseudonyms which I then used throughout the presentation and discussion of the research data in this thesis.

4.8.1 What's in a name: the formulation of themed pseudonyms

In order to protect the identities of the research participants in line with research ethics, I assigned them pseudonyms. The pseudonyms were created to somehow reflect the main theme associated with each participant's experiences. These names thus highlight experiences that each narrative emphasizes - for some it was their family experiences whilst for others emphasis was on issues related to policy. I also wanted to bring out some aspects around names and naming in Zimbabwe. To clarify on this point and on why I chose to generate the pseudonyms in this way, I must state that some Zimbabwean names are viewed as weird by people from other countries (Brown, 2015). This is because some of them are English words that are not usually used as names, but reflect significant family experiences, for example, Freedom, Happymore, Hardlife, Jealousy, Moreblessing, and Brilliant, among many others. Zimbabwean names are also often derived from important events, political circumstances, influential people, or biblical names. They symbolize individual or family social experiences, encode a message, express a wish, feelings, hope or prayer, and record something about the past or simply the parent's desires for the future (Makoni, *et al*, 2007)[31]. I therefore decided to use pseudonyms that are relevant to migration issues, family life, and the themes that emerged from the research.

I also wanted some of the pseudonyms to reflect how people are addressed at the various stages of their lifecycles. To this end, I used prefixes that depict such characteristics as totems, parental/marital/grandparent status, social status, and streetwise behaviour. Just to give a few illustrations of some of the prefixes used for my pseudonyms, the *Ma* prefix in MaSibanda shows that the person being referred to is a female of the lion totem[32], the *mbuya* prefix before MaSibanda shows that the woman being referred to is a grandmother and an elderly woman, *'mudhara'* in the name Mudhara Randani[33] in modern lingo is a Shona word used to refer to financially successful men, but the original meaning of *mudhara* is an old man. Indigenous Zimbabweans use the system of teknonymy which is a custom where a person is addressed to as the father or mother of his first-born child. In line with this custom, *Mai* used in this context- Mai Taruza, is a Shona word that refers to a mother whose first-born child is called Taruza, the

[31] https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249025163_Naming_Practices_and_Language_Planning_in_Zimbabwe
[32] The Shona word for a lion is *shumba*, a male person of the lion totem is therefore referred to as Shumba
[33] Rhandani here is the corrupted version of the name London. Migrants are sometimes nicknamed after the cities they migrate to. There are others who migrated to South Africa who are nicknamed Mujubheki, which is a corrupted version of Johannesburg

prefix *baba* is the Shona word for a child's father[34].

In order to give an insight into the research participants, I tabulated their relevant characteristics, taking care to protect their actual identities. For purposes of my analytical chapters, it is important to highlight gender, age, family status, migration year, migration route, as well as participants' pre and post-migration occupation sectors. Whilst this information is crucial for the discussion of my findings, it requires careful ethically guided handling to ensure that whilst the participants remain anonymous, vital contextual information is not lost. An idealized view of anonymity is that a person will never be traceable from the data presented about them (Saunders, Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2015). With this in mind, some of the biographical attributes have been put in generalised categories, for example occupation sector instead of the actual job title (see Appendix 6). Given that this research collected intimate family experiences, some of the characteristics of the family members interviewed during the second phase of the research were deliberately left out of their tabulated biographical details. The only characteristics that are alluded to in the empirical chapters are the age of the *staying behind* children when their parent(s) first migrated, and the number of years they have lived as transnational family members (see Appendix 6). These are essential to advancing the analysis of 'doing family' in a transnational setting.

Exiting the research field

I officially completed field research at the end of April 2017. I however feel I remained in the field throughout the data analysis and writing stages of my work. This is because I maintained contact with most of the research participants not as sources of data (S. J. Taylor et al., 2015), but as people who had become members of my extended social network. I got constant family and individual updates from some of them. Two of my research participants visited me in Germany as part of their family vacation trips, way after both phases of the field research exercise. With the other participants, although no close regular contact was kept we occasionally communicated. Although the relations were maintained on a more or less social basis, it meant that in the cases where I needed certain clarifications during data analysis and writing I was able to get these.

4.9 Data Analysis Overview

Analysis is the process that reduces research data to a story that researchers can tell and give meaning to through interpretation (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013). In line with the qualitative

[34] Mai and baba can also refer to Mr. and Mrs.in contexts where they are followed by the surname, for example, Baba naMai Mashingaidze refers to Mr. and Mrs. Mashingaidze.

nature of my research, I adopted a qualitative data analysis approach. Qualitative data analysis is the range of processes and procedures whereby researchers move from the qualitative data that has been collected, into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations investigated (Skinner et al., 2014). Qualitative data acquires different meanings, depending on the theoretical or explanatory lenses used (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013) . I employed content analysis, which is an empirically grounded method that involves systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material and making valid inferences from it within the given context (Krippendorff, 2018; Schreier, 2012).

The aim of content analysis is to attain a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon being researched, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). In the case of my research, the aim was to describe and analyse how the research participants perceived the impact of migration on their family life. The data analysis process followed a series of interconnected steps which included data cleaning, transcribing, coding, categorization, and identifying main themes for structuring the empirical chapters. As far as the analysis of personal biographies were concerned, I was not only informed by the narratives at hand, but I also relied on the general cultural norms (folkways, laws, mores, and taboos) of Zimbabwean society[35]. The unit of analysis is the individual, that is, individual migrants, individual family members and the various roles they play in their interactions as transnational family members.

Understanding that each family member has multiple socially-scripted roles to play, for example, an individual can be a daughter, sister, wife, and an aunt (Ciabattari, 2016), the thesis emphasized one main role per individual narrative. It is thus what each individual does (family practices) rather than who they are that guided the analysis of their role in the transnational family. This should however not be taken to imply that their translocational positionalities were overlooked. Their positionalities as migrants or stayers, accepted refugees or refused asylum seekers, breadwinners or dependants, parents or children, husbands or wives, females or males, first born children, aunts, or uncles, were inherently considered in the analysis of their pre and post-migration experiences.

Data management and cleaning

The first stage was the cleaning of data which entailed going through my field notes, excel metadata sheets of all interviews which I was using to enter participants' information during

[35] See (Kendall, 2008; Perry & Perry, 2016, p. 50)

fieldwork, my research/reflection log document, as well as listening to the interviews, and preparing them for transcription.

Throughout both research phases, I kept a research log and a reflection chart where I entered summaries of each interview as well as my personal reflections and feelings. These became useful during data analysis as they somehow recreated the research moments and the emotions involved. I entered my field notes on my cellphone using the Android Memo App. I usually did this soon after each interview in order to capture my impressions of the interview whilst they were still fresh. I then used some of these thoughts for my research and reflection log which I updated at the end of each interview day. The research log was created as a MS Word document and comprised the following sections: introduction, summary of activities, personal thoughts and reflections, concerns, and next steps (see Appendix 7). I also created an Excel metadata sheet which captured the following information: research participant code, gender, age, number of children, marital status, whether the spouse was in Zimbabwe or in the UK, consent to interview family members in Zimbabwe, main themes (before data analysis), and general comments (see Appendix 6). This Excel sheet was updated after each block of interviews, for example, the interview data for Manchester interviews or Southampton interviews was entered after all the interviews for that city were completed.

4.9.1 Transcribing

Transcribing is the process of transforming spoken words into a written form (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). Hammersley suggested that using actual transcriptions is a more rigorous type of evidence than field notes because it offers a more accurate representation of what happened (Hammersley, 2010). I transcribed all the narratives and interviews, leaving the very sensitive parts of the interviews out of the transcripts. I also left out names of people that were mentioned during the course of the interview sessions. The transcription documents were saved under interview code names that had been assigned during the research. To make the data manageable I made use of the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. I uploaded the transcripts as primary documents (right side) in preparation for coding (left side) as shown in Figure 5.

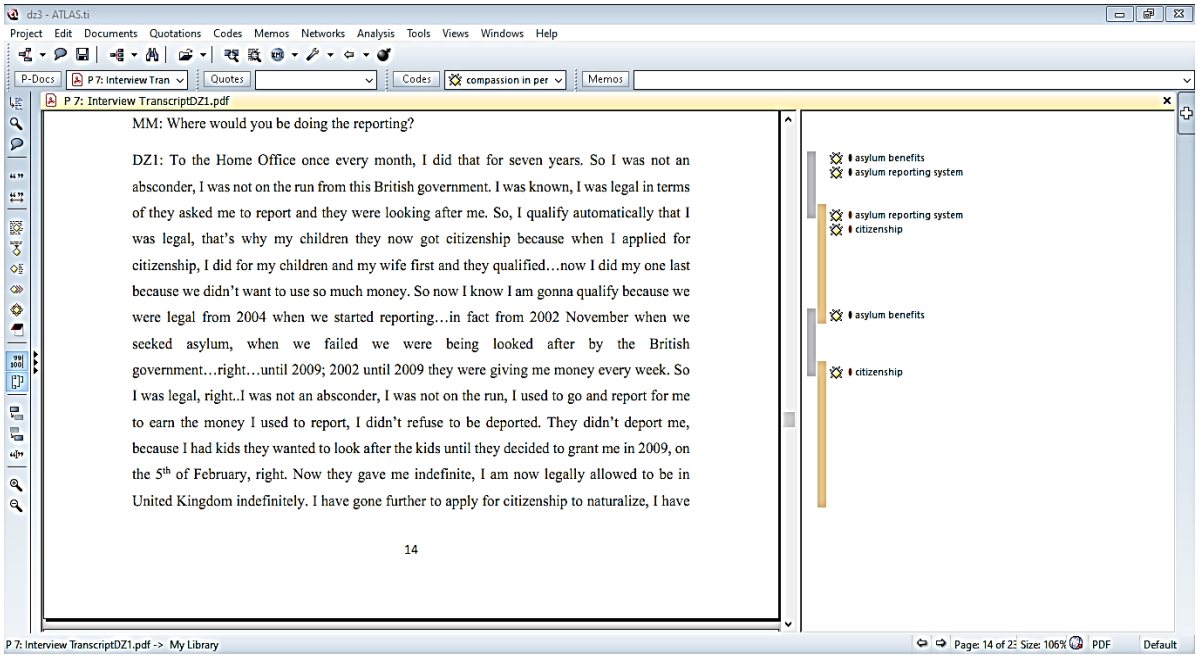


Figure 5 Transcript in Atlas ti screenshot

4.9.2 Coding and categorization

Coding is an integral part of data analysis and considered by some to be the first step towards interpretation (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018). It entails organizing data into categories that are related to the conceptual framework or questions guiding the research in order to provide evidence supporting analysis and interpretation (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013). Codes are labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study (Miles et al., 2014). They assign a summative, salient, essence-capturing attributes to a portion of text-based or visual data (Saldana, 2015). Codes therefore reflect a group of similar ideas or phenomena identified in the data. They may be in the form of words, numbers or symbols that are assigned to particular points in the interview transcripts (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018).

I conducted two cycles of coding, of which the first cycle involved the use of in vivo coding, which emphasizes the actual words used by the research participants. During the second cycle of coding I assigned codes that relate to the themes that this study addresses. Once the codes were in place, I then grouped them into fewer manageable categories of related codes by assigning the codes into what are called families in ATLAS.ti language. The families were assigned based on the patterns that were emerging and were guided by the research objectives (see screenshots of part of my Atlas it code manager in Fig. 6 and 7). Patterns are said to demonstrate habits, salience, and importance in people's daily lives. They help confirm descriptions of people's "five Rs": routines, rituals, rules, roles, and relationships (Saldana, 2015). Since this research was interested in the maintenance of 'familyhood', it was possible

to identify these “Rs” and the patterns related to their everyday family life, at each of their multiple locations. From these patterns, I then defined the themes that emerged.

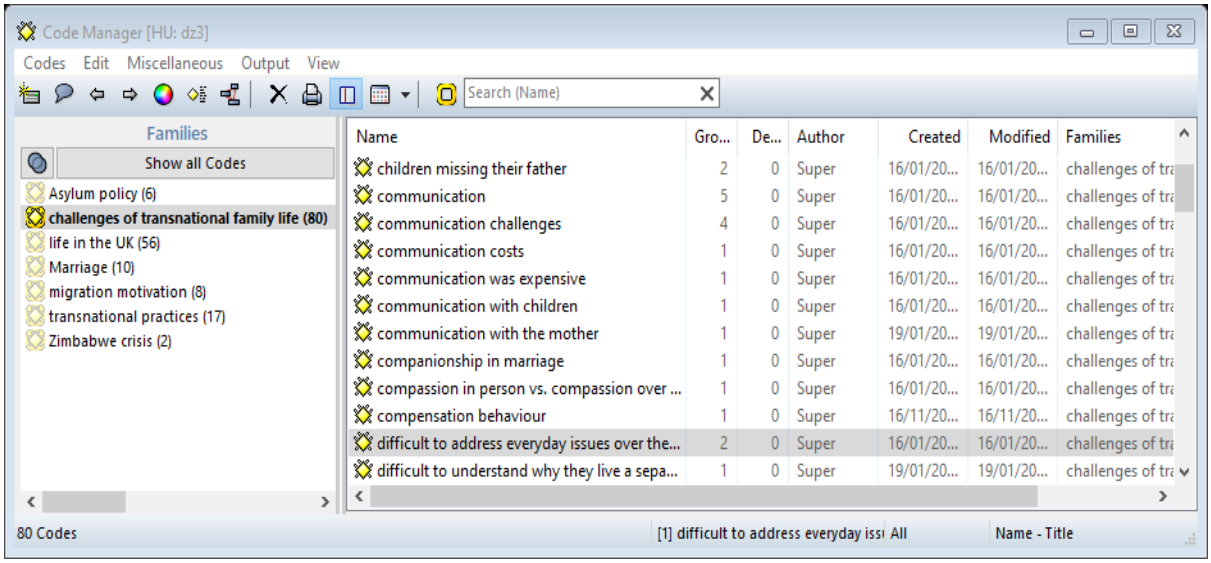


Figure 6 Atlas ti code manager screenshot

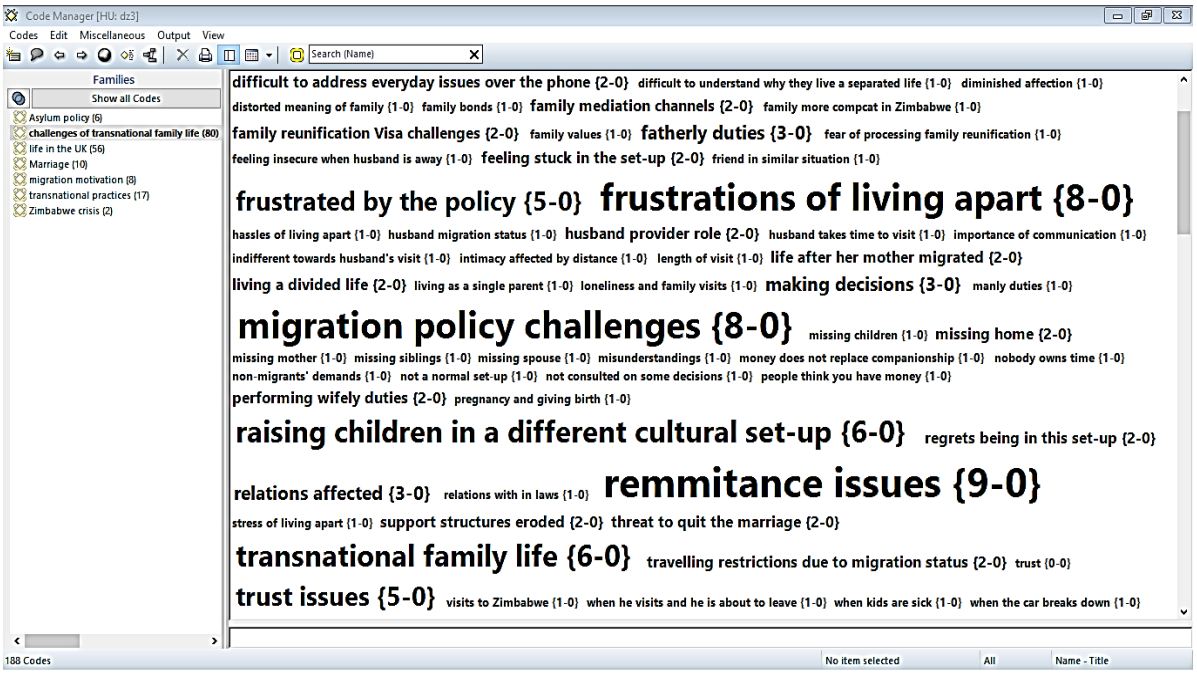


Figure 7 Atlas ti code manager cloud view screenshot

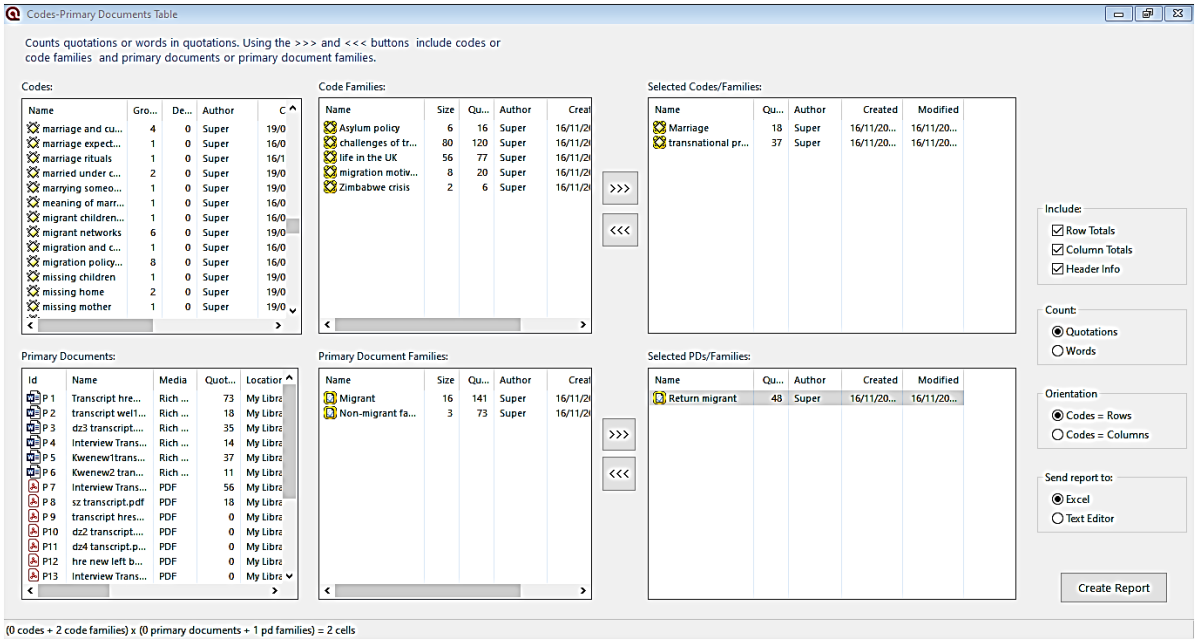


Figure 8 Atlas ti Primary documents codes table screenshot

From the codes and identified patterns, I then defined the themes that emerged from the empirical data and began the process of deciding how the chapters were to be presented.

4.9.3 Themes and subsequent empirical chapters

According to Adrian Holliday the development of themes and the organization of data are interconnected with the development of an argument (Holliday, 2007, 2016). The process represents what he calls the necessary dialogue between data and the researcher. It is therefore an end in itself, but rather a means to an end, which in this case is to provide a structure for writing or presenting the research findings. Holliday emphasizes the need for researchers "to be aware and honest about the influence they bring to their thematic analysis from their original preoccupations, where the themes themselves, although emergent, are also influenced by questions or issues that the researcher brought to the research" (Holliday, 2007, p. 97). I settled for an approach that enabled me to develop each chapter in such a way that it corresponded to the four main questions of the research. The first question was centred on my participants' understanding of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' and the reasons they migrated. The main themes associated with their reasons for migration were categorized into crisis situation, opportunities, migrant social networks, and actual migration. I therefore decided to organize the findings in a chapter called *'When crisis hits and opportunity knocks: survival or autonomy of migration?*

The second and third questions addressed how migration reshaped family life for both the migrants and their close family members who *stayed behind* in Zimbabwe. The themes that emerged from the data related to these revealed the strong influence that migration status has

in shaping how the participants 'do' transnational family life. I therefore decided to discuss these in two chapters namely; '*Moving in the dark: when policy breeds asylum tenebrosity'* (Chapter 6) which exclusively focuses on narratives of migration experiences, and *'Doing family in a transnational social space: family practices and values'* (Chapter 7) which draws from both migrants and non-migrants. "*In touch, but not on the ground*": *doing family in a transnational social space*. The chapter addresses two transnational family practices namely, parenting across distance, and marriage across distance. It is followed by Chapter 8, *Performing family life cycle ceremonies and obligations in transnational social spaces,* which analyses life cycle events/rituals, and elderly parental caregiving.

CHAPTER 5: WHEN CRISIS HITS AND OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS: SURVIVAL OR AUTONOMY OF MIGRATION

It wasn't as bad for me, it was actually very good because I was one of the lucky people who were enterprising. […] *I came here in March 2008, that was the time when the economy had started to go bad, but I can say I still wasn't feeling any pinch.* (Moreblessing, Interview, 27.11.2016)

Building upon the already painted backdrop of crisis and increased migration in Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter addresses the individual motivations for migration as provided by my study participants. It is important to address these because even though an unprecedented increase in the migration of Zimbabweans has been noted, millions more have stayed put. Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera have argued that "given the ruinous state of the country's economy, it remains a puzzle as to who, why, and indeed how, anyone could stay" (Crush & Tevera, 2010, p. 2). Highlighting individual migration motivations thus contributes to explaining this 'puzzle', and to showing that migration has the capacity to develop its own motivations outside of structural factors. It is not always a mere response to economic and social malaise (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2017) as can be seen in the excerpt from Moreblessing (cited citation at the beginning of this chapter). Without denying the existence of the 'Zimbabwe crisis', I challenge the generalisation of post-2000 migration movements as having been about crisis and survival. Arguing from an AoM standpoint, I contend that the crisis should not overshadow individual reasons why people left Zimbabwe for the UK.

The chapter argues that individuals migrated to fulfil various subjective objectives, and obligations. Focusing on subjective reasons also contributes to understanding the UK's policy responses to increased migration from Zimbabwe. Needless to say, in as much as the origin country conditions are considered when migrants apply for a visa or for asylum, their cases are largely determined on the basis of their individual circumstances (policy issues are discussed at length in chapter 6). The migration drivers presented in this chapter are analysed through the concepts of the AoM and the migrant network theory (see chapter 3 for conceptual discussions). The analysis still considers and acknowledges the 'Zimbabwe crisis' environment. It therefore reflects the influence of both structure and agency in individual migration decisions. For ease of discussion I will now introduce four vignettes from my research data which become the primary informers of my argument in this chapter, and of my conceptualization of protracted asylum limbo situations in Chapter 6. These vignettes will be complemented by accounts from other research participants which will be gradually introduced as the analysis unfolds.

5.1 Same 'crisis' environment, different motivations for migration - vignettes

5.1.1 Long route to settlement: Mudhara Randani

> *To be honest with you when I came to UK, I had no plans of staying here. I came to lie low hoping things would in no time settle down and the country would get back to normal, the normality that we had from 1980 for 20 years till about 2000*
>
> (Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016)

Mudhara Randani[36] is a 56-year old man who prior to migrating to the UK worked in the agricultural sector and also ran a small scale business in Zimbabwe. He officially has two wives under Zimbabwe's registered Customary Marriages Act. He has eight children and more than five grandchildren. Mudhara Randani and his first wife initially travelled to the UK in the year 2000 to visit his wife's relatives. At the end of their six-month approved stay he returned to Zimbabwe. His first wife remained in the UK and became an *overstayer*. Following the 2002 election violence in Zimbabwe, Mudhara Randani decided to return to the UK in March 2002 "*to lie low hoping things* [in Zimbabwe] *would in no time settle down and the country would get back to normal* […]." By November 2002 when Zimbabwe became a visa country, Mudhara Randani and his first wife had both become *overstayers*. Six of his eight children had by that time also arrived in the UK as visitors. His second wife and their two children remained in Zimbabwe. He regularly communicates with them and sends them remittances. After lodging an unsuccessful asylum claim in December 2002 Mudhara Randani was instructed to regularly report to the Home Office as per immigration legal requirements (explained in Chapter 6). He complied with his reporting obligations until 2008 when he lodged a fresh asylum claim and was finally granted refuge in 2009. After living through his five-year refugee period, Mudhara Randani was then granted indefinite leave to remain in 2015. At the time of my research interview with him in August 2016, he had just applied for British citizenship. He was looking forward to his naturalisation and to visiting Zimbabwe in early 2017, which would be his first visit since seeking asylum in 2002. He could not wait to reunite with his second wife, his two (now adult) children, some of his grandchildren, his mother, and siblings after fifteen years. Mudhara Randani was also looking forward to visiting his late father's grave. Although his father died in 2007, he narrated that he still needed closure to comprehend the death. He was convinced that visiting his grave would provide him with that closure. He feels his father is there waiting for his visit in the same way that the rest of his family has been patiently waiting for him since 2002.

[36] His pseudonym "Mudhara Randani" has been explained in the methodology chapter

5.1.2 Refused asylum seeker: Mai Tongogara

> *My brother who was already here arranged for me to come and work to raise money for my children's upkeep* (Mai Tongogara, Interview, 09.10.2016)

Mai Tongogara[37] is a 58 year old mother of six. She is married under Zimbabwe's civil Marriage Act and has more than ten grandchildren. Prior to travelling to the UK as a visitor in 2002 she had practised cross-border trade for ten years. Her husband had been retrenched during Zimbabwe's ESAP era in the 1990s, following which she became the primary breadwinner for her family. Her visit was facilitated by one of her two siblings who had migrated to the UK in the year 2000. The arrangement was that she would work for six months and save money for the upkeep of her family in Zimbabwe. The reasoning behind was that she would be able to make much more money in that six month visiting period than she could make in the same period through cross-border trade. Mai Tongogara however became 'trapped' in the UK as the visa regime was introduced during her approved visiting period. Her siblings advised her to *overstay* her visa and work a bit more since there was no guarantee that she would get the opportunity to return to the UK in future, given the new visa requirements. Mai Tongogara therefore deliberately *overstayed* her visa and continued working as a support worker in the care industry. Over time, she managed to improve her family's standard of living in Zimbabwe. She bought two houses and started a public transport business in Zimbabwe which was jointly managed by her husband and their eldest son. The transport business regrettably collapsed during the 2008 runaway inflation period. She kept postponing her return to Zimbabwe, and with each passing year the UK immigration policy increasingly became restrictive. Mai Tongogara applied for asylum in 2007, but her application was unsuccessful. She never appealed against the asylum refusal decision. By the time I interviewed her in October 2016, Mai Tongogara had lived in the UK for fourteen years; five as a *chinyau*[38]and nine as a refused asylum seeker. She had not seen her husband or any of her children in those fourteen years. She had no idea when she would physically meet her daughters in law, sons in law, and her grandchildren. Mai Tongogara had plans to return to Zimbabwe, but these were dependent on the outcome of Zimbabwe's 2018 general elections.

[37] Her pseudonym "Tongogara" reflects someone who has resigned themselves to their fate, in this case giving up from appealing her asylum rejection and just 'staying' (*kungogara* in Shona). It also has connotations of defying the asylum system which I will discuss in Chapter 6.

[38] See chapter 2 for a brief first mention of *chinyau*. I will return to why Mai Tongogara called herself a *chinyau* in Chapter 6.

5.1.3 Long-term asylum seeker: Regret

> *In 2005 my brother told me about the possibility of migrating as a student. My mother offered to pay my University fees for the first semester, and so I applied for the student Visa. It's not that I really wanted to study. I just wanted to get out of Zimbabwe, I wanted to see this London that everyone was talking about where jobs were said to be easy to find. So, the route I took was to find a post-graduate programme relevant to my line of work.*
> (Regret, Interview, 09.10.2016)

Regret is a 39 year old mother of two[39]. Her mother and one of her siblings migrated to the UK in the early 2000s. Regret's father opted to *stay behind* as he was unwilling to quit his job. After graduating from University, Regret worked for slightly over a year before migrating to the UK as a post-graduate student in 2005. Her eldest child Tichirivamwe, who at that time was aged eight, remained in Zimbabwe. He was left under the guardianship of Regret's father, and one of her siblings, Chengetai, who still lived at their family home. During her post-graduate studies in the UK, Regret worked part-time as a support worker in the caregiving sector. She used to send money to Zimbabwe for her son's education and upkeep. After completing her postgraduate studies in 2006, Regret was reluctant to immediately return to Zimbabwe. She subsequently *overstayed* her study visa and continued working clandestinely at different care homes. With time it increasingly became difficult to continue working without papers, forcing Regret to apply for political asylum in 2009. Her application was rejected on the grounds of being unfounded. She then started living under the terms of a refused asylum seeker, regularly reporting to the Home Office authorities until 2015. In 2015 she made fresh submissions citing changed family circumstances. This was after she customarily married a fellow Zimbabwean (whose story is shared in the next vignette) and had a baby. At the time of my interview with her in October 2016 her appeal case was still pending. Regret had by then lived in the UK for eleven years and had not visited Zimbabwe since 2005. Her parents had since reunited and her son had since moved to Europe as a university student. She had high hopes of spending the 2016 Christmas holidays with her son. By the time I finished the field research for this study in April 2017, Regret's desire to reunite with her son had however still not been fulfilled because his UK visitor visa application had been refused.

[39] I gave her the pseudonym 'Regret' because this was one of the main themes that dominated her narrative. She regrets her decision to leave her son, her decision to live undocumented after her studies and the decision to apply for asylum. She regrets the years that have gone by without any progress in her professional career.

5.1.4 False identity and refused asylum: Kamuzu

> *I wanted to come and try my luck like others were doing, but it was very tricky to come straight straight. I applied for a visitor visa but was denied, they said that I was unlikely to return to Zimbabwe. A friend of mine told me about the Malawi route – so I went to Malawi, bought an ID and passport using a false name. I entered England in 2007 and enrolled at a college, but I barely attended classes. I went underground, working here and there until 2012 when I claimed for asylum using my real Zimbabwean identity, but was denied.* (Kamuzu, Interview, 09.10.2016)

Kamuzu is a 50 year old man who migrated to the UK in 2007 using a false Malawian identity and passport[40]. Prior to his migration, Kamuzu was married and had five children who all remained in Zimbabwe. He used to work in the agrochemical industry before quitting his job to start his own small business in 1998. His business collapsed in 2004 due to inflation and fuel shortages. Kamuzu unsuccessfully applied for a UK visitor visa in 2006. He then heard of the Malawi route[41], which he successfully used and entered the UK under a false name and nationality. Kamuzu entered as a visitor and then enrolled as a student in order to obtain a study stay. He explained that his study stay was renewable after every one and half years. In his third year, his college was shut down after failing to comply with some revised higher education institutional registration regulations. This was around the time that UK universities and colleges were required by law to start regularly checking the immigration status of international students. Kamuzu then went underground working in the care sector as a support worker and occasionally as a driver. He then decided to revert to his real identity and applied for asylum in 2012. The process was stressful for him as he was asked to provide comprehensive documentary evidence of his nationality, after which he was denied asylum. His wife, who had remained in Zimbabwe had since died. He regularly communicates with his children and his mother who still live in Zimbabwe. At the time of my research in October 2016 Kamuzu was a refused asylum seeker and he was married to the earlier introduced research participant, Regret.

[40] I gave him the name Kamuzu because it is one of the common names that I grew up hearing among the Malawian migrants in my community – here it serves to reflect his false Malawian identity.

[41] I highlighted how this worked in Chapter 2 when I explained how Malawian immigrants in Zimbabwe could reclaim their Malawian citizenship and obtain Malawian passports. I also hinted at how this was abused by some indigenous Zimbabweans (like Kamuzu) who travelled to Malawi and corruptly obtained Malawian identity cards and passports, which they then used to travel to the UK. Prior to March 2006 Malawians had no pre-travel visa requirements to the UK (Home Office, 2007) hence the abuse of this route by some Zimbabweans.

5.2 Crisis, survival, or opportunity: Making sense of the narratives

Although Mudhara Randani, Mai Tongogara, Regret, and Kamuzu all eventually became asylum seekers in the UK, a close look at their narratives shows that this was not their primary motivation for entering the UK. This speaks to the point I am making that not everyone who migrated was escaping the 'Zimbabwe crisis'. It also explains why some asylum seekers like Regret and Mai Tongogara were denied political refuge (I will return to this point in Chapter 6). It is vital to bear in mind that the crisis created new opportunities for some individuals who were already doing well in Zimbabwe to migrate, not out of desperation (in the sense of diminished livelihoods or being victims of political violence), but rather to fulfil individual objectives. These objectives included, for example, Mudhara Randani's desire to remove himself from a brewing 'abnormality' in Zimbabwe; Mai Tongogara's plan to boost her family income in the shortest possible time; Regret's curiosity to see the London that she had heard so much about; and Kamuzu's desire to try out his luck like others were doing. To then generalize and boldly place the post-2000 migration movements in the domain of crisis migration becomes problematic. Similarly, associating post-2000 migration with survival (Betts, 2013a; Crush & Tevera, 2010; JoAnn McGregor & Primorac, 2010) should not be universalized.

The word survival in its everyday use is defined as "the state or fact of continuing to live or exist, typically in spite of an accident, ordeal, or difficult circumstances" ('Lexico Dictionaries', n.d.). Taking the 'Zimbabwe crisis' to be the difficult circumstances under which Zimbabweans had to continue existing and branding the consequent increased migration a survival one connotes a 'migrate or suffer' scenario. Betts claimed that Zimbabweans "were fleeing a desperate situation of economic and political collapse, in which almost no viable livelihood opportunities existed to sustain even the most basic conditions of life" (Betts, 2013a, p. 4). Although the crisis situation had by 2008 indeed become dire, I find Betts's assertion that "almost no viable options to sustain basic conditions of life existed" problematic. In as much as living conditions deteriorated and evidence of crisis cannot be demurred (see Chapter 2.4), people found alternative means to diversify their livelihood opportunities, of which migration happened to be just one of them. I thus analyse the post-2000 migration movements through the prism of 'autonomy of migration' which argues that focusing on the objective or structural factors, risks neglecting the subjective reasons why people move (Nyers, 2015). AoM sees migration as having the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, and its own trajectories (Papadopoulos, 2018), as has been reflected in the four vignettes introduced in the

previous section.

It has been argued that combinations of "predisposing, proximate, precipitating and mediating 'drivers' shape the conditions, circumstances or environment within which people make choices whether to move or stay put, or have such decisions thrust upon them" (Van Hear et al., 2012, p. 5). Turning back to the earlier introduced vignettes from my study, the narrative with reasons for migration that are closely aligned to the 'Zimbabwe crisis' environment is that of Mudhara Randani. Although he was generally doing well with his family, he was bothered by what he describes as the abnormal political situation obtaining in Zimbabwe at that time, hence his decision to temporarily "*lie low*" in the UK. For individuals like Regret, it was just the curiosity to "*see the London that everyone was talking about, where jobs were said to be easy to find*", that led them to emigrate. Her interest and aspiration to migrate were stirred by the stories that her mother and brother constantly shared about the UK. Her narrative addresses a wide range of issues which include the role of migrant networks in influencing aspirations and facilitating actual migration. Others like Mai Tongogara found an opportunity to supplement their livelihood strategies. She migrated to the UK because her brother advised her that she could make much more money working in the caregiving industry than she was making from her cross-border trading activities.

Although these are not the only reasons why people left Zimbabwe, these pretty much give an indication of the diversity of motivations that individual migrants had, as well as the forces behind them. This multiplicity of motivations, which can be categorised into individual life choices, familial obligations, and desires, should be underscored as it reflects the heterogeneity of the group that is often loosely referred to as Zimbabwe's (refused) asylum seekers in the UK. The common thread bringing the facilitation of their migration trajectories together is the role played by migrant networks.

The role of migrant networks

In Regret's case, there was an aspiration to migrate (driven by her curiosity "*to see London*"), as well as the ability to do so which was facilitated by her strong social capital base. By providing information on post-graduate study opportunities Regret's brother formed part of her migration network. Her mother also constituted part of her network base since she offered to take care of her study fees and accommodation in the UK. Although she lived in a 'crisis' environment at that time characterized by political tensions, deteriorating public service delivery, and was still in Zimbabwe when operation *Murambatsvina*/Restore Order was carried out in 2005, Regret stated that she was working and "*doing very well*". This speaks to the

argument that I am making that those who migrated during the period 2000 to 2010 were not necessarily victims of the crisis situation, but rather those who had the will, opportunity, and ability to do so.

In the four cases under discussion here, the migrants' move to migrate was influenced by their relatives (migrant networks), whilst the ability to migrate was realized through pre and post-migration support from these networks. For Mudhara Randani, it was his first wife's relatives who provided information and initial accommodation, for Regret it was her mother, and brother who facilitated everything, whilst for Mai Tongogara it was her brother who facilitated everything. Other examples of the role of migrant networks and migration opportunities will be given in the following sections as other research participants' cases are introduced to buttress points that arise during the course of the discussion.

5.2.1 Crisis, basic survival, or autonomy of migration?

Mudhara Randani stated that his intention was to "*lie low*" until the situation in Zimbabwe returned back to what he called "*the normality*" that he had experienced from independence in 1980 to the year 2000. He explained his decision to leave Zimbabwe within the context of the 'Zimbabwe crisis', which according to his understanding started after the 1997 war veterans' compensation, the land invasions, and the subsequent fast track land reform exercise (see Chapter 2). According to his narrative however, his case was not a matter of migrating to ensure basic survival as has been posited in previous studies (Betts, 2013a; Crush & Tevera, 2010). It was rather his way of registering disapproval over what he considered an 'abnormal' situation prevailing in Zimbabwe at that time. He basically did what Gaidzanwa called 'voting with his feet' (Gaidzanwa, 1999). He explained it as follows:

> *I was seeing problems arising after Mugabe lost the referendum in 2000 and started acquiring land by force using the war veterans. I was not sure if my observation was right that's why I actually went back to Zimbabwe after my first visit here. I was hoping things would change after 2002 elections, but things got worse and I started comparing which would be a better place for me to be-United Kingdom or Zimbabwe? And I thought I am better off here while this mess is being sorted out and that is why I came back to United Kingdom in 2002.*
>
> **Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016**

Mudhara Randani emphasized that he initially had no intentions of settling in the UK because he thought the 'abnormal' situation associated with the land reform in Zimbabwe was temporary. For him it was not a crisis, but a 'mess' which he believed could be sorted out soon enough. He compared the general situation prevailing in the UK and Zimbabwe at that time

and decided that he was better off being in the UK until the situation in Zimbabwe 'normalized.' This speaks to the idea of what have labelled predisposing factors driving migration (Van Hear et al., 2012). These include such factors as economic, political, and environmental disparities between regions or countries, which contribute to the creation of a context in which migration is more likely to occur.

The fact that migrants like Mudhara Randani initially perceived their migration to the UK as transient, corresponds with what McGregor found in her study on Zimbabwean nurses and teachers in Britain who also regarded Britain as a temporary home (JoAnn McGregor, 2006). Scenarios such as that of Mudhara Randani, challenge the placing of post-2000 migration movements into rigid categories like 'crisis migration' (McAdam, 2014) or 'survival migration' (Betts, 2013a). McAdam argues that crisis migration should be understood in terms of tipping points, which are triggered not just by events but also by underlying structural processes. The question to ask in this instance if the concept of crisis migration is to be considered would be related to the point at which the "cumulative impact of stressors – whether socio-economic, environmental, political or psychological – tip someone over the edge?" (McAdam, 2014, p. 10). If this is applied to this study, Mudhara Randani's stressor would perhaps be the land reform-related 'mess'. For Mai Tongogara and Regret however, there are no obvious 'stressors' or 'tipping points' to talk about based on their accounts. This is one of the reasons is why I argue that theirs were opportunity-driven moves which substantiate the claim that migration has its own motives independent of structural factors (autonomy of migration).

Mai Tongogara's account shows that she was not escaping from the crisis but had rather found an opportunity to strengthen her family resource base by working and making more money than she was making prior to migrating. She narrated her motivation to migrate as follows:

> *After my husband lost his job during ESAP, he would spend most of his time at the local beerhall. He wasn't even making any effort to provide food for the children, let alone school fees. I had to hustle to make sure the family was taken care of. I used to knit, sew clothing items, and do cross-border trading to raise school fees for my children. Although my efforts were paying off, I was not happy that I was doing everything for the family alone. My brother and his wife came here and saw that there were plenty opportunities to work. So, since he knew the situation with my husband neglecting the family, he invited me here to work. My plan was to work for six months and then go back home to my children.*
>
> **Mai Tongogara, Interview, 09.10.2016**

While it is evident from the just presented excerpt that Mai Tongogara migrated to boost her family financial base, placing her migration motivation under 'crisis migration' presents a number of challenges. Firstly, although her husband neglected the family, her family was far from being in economic crisis because her cross-border and craftwork projects were still "*paying off*". The only frustration for her was her husband's lack of cooperation in providing for the family. Secondly, she mentioned that the motivation for visiting the UK was that she could make much more money during her six-month stay than she could make from her usual business. This is nowhere near what would be classified as 'survival migration'. It instead speaks to the idea of autonomy of migration as it also challenges the notion of survival migration. The concept of survival migration suggests that migrants have no domestic remedies to the deprivations they face. This was not the case with Mai Tongogara's case because her entrepreneurship efforts were still meeting the family's financial needs. Hers was thus a calculated move aimed at maximizing her family income. Her story also challenges the widely generalised view that Zimbabwean women started earning more than their husbands when they migrated to the UK[42]. The fact that Mai Tongogara's brother encouraged her to migrate also suggests a change in attitude regarding women's mobility, from the negativity exhibited during the colonial and ESAP times (see Chapter 2).

A good example of how migration develops its own logics, motivation, and trajectory as the AoM concept postulates can be seen in the case of Regret. Regret was merely curious to see and experience life in the UK and used the student visa route to satisfy her curiosity. To use her own words, she said "*it's not that I really wanted to study. I just wanted to get out of Zimbabwe, I wanted to see this London that everyone was talking about where jobs were said to be easy to find"* (Regret, Interview, 09.10.2016). This reflects how information shared through migrant networks can influence people's world horizons and stimulate migration aspirations. In the case of Kamuzu, it becomes clear that migrants always find ways of exercising mobility (Nyers, 2015) and circumventing policy barriers. Kamuzu managed to clandestinely acquire a false identity, which he embodied for five years before reverting back to his genuine identity. Using false identity and going 'underground' after the expiry of his student visa speaks to the idea of imperceptibility (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008). To become 'imperceptible', Kamuzu abandoned his genuine name and nationality (under which he had been denied the UK visa) and became Malawian. 'Becoming' Malawian worked as he obtained

[42] It has been established that some Zimbabwean women migrants in the UK earn more than their husbands (Pasura, 2008b, 2010b) (more details in Chapter 8)

the visa that he had been denied using his real identity. In other cases migrants use the strategy of de-identification which involves the burning of their travel documents upon arrival to the country of migration to avoid being returned to their countries of origin (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008).

Other migration motivations from the research findings

Similar to the earlier discussed case of Mai Tongogara's migration motivation, other research participants like Patsanurai and Mai Taruza also migrated to work and save money for their children's education[43]. There were also others like Mbuya MaSibanda and Respect who themselves had no plans to leave Zimbabwe but were encouraged by family members and friends to "*go where others were going*" and work towards building their own houses in Zimbabwe. Mbuya MaSibanda was encouraged to migrate to the UK in 2001 by her eldest son who had migrated to the USA as a University student in 1999. She is a single parent of five who was self-employed prior to migration. Hers was therefore not a case of escaping from the 'crisis', neither was it motivated by basic survival needs. It was rather one of improving her asset base by building her own house. Explaining how her opportunity to migrate came about, Mbuya MaSibanda said:

> *Never in my life had I dreamt of ever leaving Zimbabwe for good, ah –to go where! It had never crossed my mind. So, when my son first brought up the issue, I said to him ah, me going to Britain to work?! It didn't make sense to me because I had no qualification, I left school after Standard one. At that time when he was telling me about coming to London, I was just a self-employed backyard seamstress, what job could I possibly do in London? I only warmed up to the idea after he explained to me that his mother in law, who is even older than me was already working here, and she would help me with accommodation and finding a job.*
>
> **Mbuya MaSibanda, Interview, 08.10.2016**

In her narrative, Respect, a return migrant whose account is discussed more in Chapter 8, shared how her friends influenced her migration. She said:

> *I had friends who were misleading me about wrong things saying life in the UK is so easy, you can grab free things from the streets. They made me believe that it was possible to work for three months and earn enough to build a house. I would picture the streets full of discarded good quality household goods that I could ship to Zimbabwe. I dropped out of university and convinced myself that I am going for three months and after 3 months I would be a whole lot of rich. Those 3 months became 12 years of hard work.*
>
> **Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017**

[43] Patsanurai means 'separate'–I gave her this pseudonym because she constantly lamented over how the immigration policy has kept her separated from her two children who *stayed behind*. Taruza (in Mai Taruza) means 'we have lost' –she lost time with her family, and lost her father who passed away after her migration and she was unable to attend his burial ceremony

What the motivations discussed so far depict is that some of my research participants migrated because they had the opportunity, ability, support, and resources to do so. After all, migration is neither cheap nor is it something that one can blindly embark on, hence the role of migrant networks in facilitating migration cannot be overemphasized. Commenting on her own understanding of the type of migration that has occurred since the year 2000, Bvunzawabaya (the solicitor introduced in the Methodology chapter) connected it to the vast opportunities that Zimbabweans could tap into. She also alluded it to the colonial history between Zimbabwe and the UK, as well as the similarities in the education system. Bvunzawabaya added that some of her clients had taken advantage of the visa-free travel before November 2002 to extend their regional cross-border trading activities to the UK (Bvunzawabaya, Telephone Interview, 08.03.2017) – a finding also reflected in Mai Tongogara's case.

Other motivations that were shared by the research participants include migrating for love (as was the case for Moreblessing), to assist family with childcare (Perseverance and Mai Taruza), to escape from abusive marriages (Nomatter and Mai Tapona), and to fulfil first-born responsibilities in the family (Batsirai and Perseverance). I will refer to some of their experiences in later chapters. To understand what Moreblessing meant by migrating for love calls for a brief summary of her narrative. Moreblessing used to work as an Investment Manager at a bank in Zimbabwe before migrating to the UK in 2008 on a visitor visa to spend time with her then partner. She had met her partner through work and they had what she referred to as an 'over the phone' relationship for two years because the partner was based in the UK. After a two-year 'over the phone' relationship, her partner then travelled to Zimbabwe and they got married. Moreblessing then tried to visit him in 2007 but was denied a visa twice before being finally granted one in 2008. She explained her story as follows:

> *I was very secure at that time because the country wasn't as bad.* […] *it wasn't as bad for me, it was actually very good because I was one of the lucky people who were enterprising. Plus,* […] *besides doubling in a lot of currency exchanges, I used to go to other countries and buy things and bring them. So, I was very comfortable there, but because I wanted to be with this guy I decided to come here and see him. I wanted to make it a long visit. I came here in March 2008, that was the time when the economy had started to go bad, but I can say I still wasn't feeling any pinch. Even when I left, I didn't close my house, I just made sure everything was all paid-up and I got a friend of mine to live in my house looking after my property. When I came here I was of the belief that I was going to go back.*
>
> **Moreblessing, Interview, 27.11.2016**

Moreblessing's story supports the AoM argument that migration has the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, and its own trajectories (Papadopoulos, 2018). It is

interesting to note that Moreblessing "*wasn't feeling any pinch*" at a time when Zimbabwe was already in a crisis situation. It confirms the point that I am making that not everyone migrated on account of the 'crisis' or in search of basic survival. Moreblessing worked in the banking sector where some employees benefitted from the crisis and were involved in what was called 'burning money' (Moore, 2013)[44]. This is what she referred to as "*doubling in a lot of currency exchanges"*, which also explains why she was able to travel abroad and buy goods for resell. Moreblessing later decided to apply for asylum a week before her visa expired. This followed her dismissal from work after staying in the UK longer than her approved leave of absence. Her decision to seek asylum was also influenced by the news of the deteriorating economic and political situation after the 2008 elections that she constantly heard. Her narrative shows how migration trajectories change and how structure and agency interact, in her case her trajectory changed from being about love (agency) to being about financial and political concerns (structure). This illustrates that "migration is not the evacuation of a place and the occupation of a different one, it is the making and remaking of one's own life on the scenery of the world" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008, p. 225).

In chapter 8 I draw from the story of Batsirai who migrated in the year 2000 at the age of twenty-two. Being the first-born child in her family, Batsirai believes that it is her role to assist her father in taking care of the financial needs of the family. The following is an excerpt from her narrative:

> *My responsibility as a first-born child was just to* […] *help in the house, helping my dad as he was the only person who was the breadwinner in the family. I used to help him with paying some of the bills and some of my younger sisters' school fees if you know what I mean. Sometimes I could buy food in the house being the first-born. When things started changing in Zimbabwe economically, that's when I realized maybe if I leave Zimbabwe for greener pastures, it will make life a little bit better for my family. It was not an easy decision but because we wanted to keep on having the income coming in the house, as a first-born I decided I have to do it, which is why I came to the UK. I came as a visitor, I was visiting my cousins, my aunt's kids. I was thinking I will stay here and maybe enrol for nursing like many others were doing, but I was denied entry on arrival. I then immediately applied for asylum at the airport.*
>
> **Batsirai, Interview, 09.09.2016**

[44] 'Burning money' was a way of making money through a bank transfer system called Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS). Because there were daily cash withdrawal limits people would give bank employees US dollars and in turn have their accounts credited with Zimbabwean dollars calculated at a rate that was way higher than the prevailing exchange rates. The advantage for bank employees was that they could make cash withdrawals which were above the set daily limits. They would then buy foreign currency from the black market and continue the 'burning' cycle, in the process making a lot of profit (Moore, 2013).

Although Batsirai's motivation for migration is linked to the economy, her narrative reveals a cultural aspect associated with the role of the first born and the role of children assisting their elderly parents and their siblings, which are some of the issues that are also addressed in Chapter 8. Throughout her narrative Batsirai emphasized her first-born position and this shows that her migration motivation was influenced by her desire to live up to what she thinks is expected of her as the eldest in her family.

Another case which goes against the generalization of the post-2000 migration movements as a survival migration is that of Divha. He is a third generation descendant of a British immigrant who arrived in colonial Zimbabwe in the early 1900s. Divha ran a personal business in Zimbabwe and used to make business travels to the UK before permanently migrating in 2001. He decided to move to the UK following some fraudulent activities that got him into trouble with the law in Zimbabwe. After solving the legal matters, Divha migrated to the UK on an ancestry visa. His migration was thus linked to his personal business and legal circumstances and he was able to use his ancestry roots to move to the UK. I will return to Divha's experiences in Chapter 7.

What has been discussed in this chapter demonstrates that for some people migration was driven more by opportunity than by the crisis itself. Opportunity presented itself in two main ways namely, the visa free travel up to November 2002, as well as the availability of migrant networks through which information, financial, and other practical assistance was provided to aspiring, and inspired migrants. By inspired migrants I am referring to those who initially had no self-initiated plans to leave Zimbabwe, but were encouraged, or convinced to do so by their families. My findings resonate with what Heaven Crawley found in a study aimed at establishing why asylum seekers from different countries chose to migrate to the UK (Crawley, 2010). That study revealed that respondents from Zimbabwe appeared to have more consciously decided to migrate to the UK compared with other nationalities. Reasons for this ranged from historical links, education and legislative structural similarities and familial ties. It is also interesting to note that migration movements to the UK have continued despite the visa introduction.

Emphasizing that the migration movements under study here had more to do with opportunity taking and autonomy does not however erase the fact that Zimbabwe was in general experiencing a multifaceted 'crisis'. Neither does it shake off the reality that even though they did not initially migrate for basic survival, their continued stay in the UK owes a lot to the protracted 'crisis' situation in Zimbabwe. It instead contributes to understanding why Mudhara

Randani, Mai Tongogara, and Regret's asylum applications were initially rejected. This can be easily missed if one looks at the migration movements as a whole rather than looking at individual reasons for migrating. Their stories provoke a number of questions such as:

i. how they managed to legitimately remain in the UK as refused asylum seekers for many years
ii. why Mudhara Randani had not visited Zimbabwe or reunited with his second wife and children since acquiring refugee status in 2009
iii. how they have over the years continued to do family and maintain familyhood with their spouses, children, and elderly parents who remained in Zimbabwe.

The first two questions are addressed in the next chapter, whilst the third question on maintaining familyhood will be at the centre of chapters 7 and 8. Having laid this background, I now move on to the next chapter which focuses on the UK asylum policy in general, and the policy towards Zimbabwean asylum seekers in particular. The policy towards Zimbabweans analysed through the stories of my research participants, contributes to explaining how policy creates a type of protracted asylum limbo that I am conceptualizing as asylum tenebrosity.

CHAPTER 6: 'MOVING IN THE DARK': WHEN POLICY BREEDS ASYLUM TENEBROSITY

If one seeks asylum and if he is refused asylum his aim is not to be deported, he would have wanted to stay within that particular state. But the people within that country say we can't grant you because we don't believe you, but they don't deport him! They keep him for seven years, and for seven years that man or that family will be moving in the dark. Every morning, every night, every knock on the door is not only knocking on their door, it's actually knocking on their mind and their heart, to say anytime now we have come to take you away to go where you don't want to go. It's so painful! You wait and wait and wait, but nobody comes to take you away where they believe you belong to [….]. (Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016)

With the UK policy on migrants having been put on the spotlight following the 2018 Windrush generation scandal[45], the need to clarify some immigration policy issues affecting Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers cannot be ignored. Although one is a story of invited labour migrants (Windrush generation) and the other a story of migrants arriving from a multifaceted crisis home environment (Zimbabweans), what brings both stories together is their rootedness in colonial symbiotic relations with the UK. Additionally, they both allow for a critical look at the UK immigration policy in general, and its policy towards undocumented migrants in particular. Having said that, I would like to categorically state that by opening this discussion with reference to the Windrush generation case, I am not equating the plight of the Windrush generation to that of Zimbabwe's post-2000 asylum seekers. I am instead riding on the recency of the Windrush scandal as a way of driving attention to how some immigration policy amendments upset migrants' everyday lives. It often takes such scandals as the Windrush generation case for host countries to comprehend this fact. In a statement on the Windrush case in April 2018, the then UK Home Secretary, Amber Rudd, acknowledged that:

> […] recent events have shown that we need to give a human face to how we work and exercise greater discretion where and when it is justified. Every individual case is painful to hear. But so much more painful, often harrowing for the people involved. These are not numbers but people with families, responsibilities, homes and I appreciate that (Rudd, 2018).

It took this case for the Home Office to admit that it had become too concerned with policy and strategy to the extent that in the process it lost sight of the individuals behind the immigration statistics (BBC, 2018a). Preoccupied with the agenda of creating a 'hostile

[45] The Windrush generation is a group of Caribbean Commonwealth citizens who arrived between 1948 and 1971 to help with post-World War 2 rebuilding (BBC, 2018b). The 1971 Immigration Act gave a legal right to remain to Commonwealth citizens who were already living in the UK, but they were not required to get any specific documentation to prove these rights (Rudd, 2018). Following the subsequent changes in immigration law, some individuals struggled to prove their legal right to be in the UK and were threatened with deportation. More information can be found here https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/undocumented-commonwealth-citizens-resident-in-the-uk

environment' for 'illegal' immigrants[46], they indeed sometimes lose sight of the many individuals and families whose basic human rights unfortunately end up being compromised. Many of the measures introduced as part of the 'hostile environment' policy were designed to make life difficult for people without permission to remain in the UK (Yeo, 2017). This should however not be taken to mean that immigration policy amendments always yield the intended hostility, neither should it imply that refused asylum seekers helplessly endure hostility.

There are instances where discretion is used to temporarily protect refused asylum seekers from perceived risks in their home countries, albeit under tough restrictions. Under those conditions some refused asylum seekers manage to ward off the negative intentions behind the restrictions and yield peripheral benefits for themselves. A case in point is that of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers whose policy-related experiences are at the centre of this chapter. A 2009 report suggested that there could have been at that time as many as 70,000 Zimbabweans living in the UK as either refused asylum seekers or without valid leave to remain (UK Parliament, 2009). Having mentioned that, it is crucial to note that by the time this study was conducted, several of the Zimbabwean immigrants who arrived in the UK between 2000 and 2010 had either naturalized or were on the path towards naturalization. According to a 2018 Migration Observatory Briefing, Zimbabweans were among the top ten nationalities receiving UK citizenship in 2017 (Blinder, 2018).

Given this background, it is striking to note that there are still some Zimbabweans living in liminality more than fifteen years after migrating to the UK. Although this is known to the Home Office, it was difficult to find updated official information as there were no readily available statistics to this effect. It is against this background that this chapter focuses on immigration policy experiences of migrants like Mudhara Randani, Mai Tongogara, Regret, and Kamuzu all of whom have been introduced in the previous Chapter. Their stories typify policy experiences of:

a) individuals who follow a long route to acquiring some form of recognised immigration status in the UK, as well as
b) refused asylum seekers who still live in the UK

I use their stories as points of departure to highlight and analyse experiences of living in protracted limbo, conceptualized here as asylum tenebrosity (introduced in Chapter 3), without the rights to work, the right to travel outside of the UK (travelling outside of the UK implies

[46] "The "hostile environment" policy is the wording often used to refer to a range of government measures aimed at identifying and reducing the number of immigrants in the UK with no right to remain" (R. Taylor, 2018, p. 1).

abandoning the asylum claim), and without the right to family reunion. I have singled out these specific rights because they are pertinent to the central objective of this study which is anchored on long-term transnational family life. Although the study focuses on a group of immigrants who arrived in the UK between the years 2000 and 2010, reference is also made to immigration policy amendments that were passed and effected before 2000 and after 2010. This is because the said legislation allows for a full comprehension of their experiences from arrival right up to the time that this study was conducted in 2016. Cognisant of the fact that the UK immigration policy has extensively been discussed elsewhere[47], only quick references to policy amendments and briefs specific to Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers provide sufficient context to what this study seeks to demonstrate.

I also use the research participants' stories to expose the shortcomings of the current international global refugee policy. Additionally, these accounts provide further evidence of why I am challenging the generalization of post-2000 migration movements under the umbrella of 'crisis'. The evidence comes through the UK policy responses to these migration movements discussed in this chapter.

6.1 UK policy towards asylum seekers (1999- 2016)

Asylum seekers arriving in the UK have over the years encountered a battery of policies designed to deter them from entering the country and to ensure that their stay is both unpleasant and short (Hynes & Sales, 2010). The notion of domopolitics, which has been described as the government of the state as a home (Darling, 2011; Walters, 2004, 2009) had become a reality by the time this study commenced as reflected by the immigration policy that this section discusses. Walters introduced this concept through his analysis of the UK government's 2002 white paper entitled '*Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain*' (Home Office, 2002)[48]. This paper was the foundation upon which the UK immigration and asylum policy was modernized to clearly set who would be welcome in the UK and under what conditions. By the time that this study was conducted in 2016 measures to curb the abuse of the asylum system and to combat 'illegal' access to rights that are meant for citizens and 'approved' immigrants were all in place, 'taming' and 'domesticating' unwanted asylum seekers seen as potential threats to the UK 'homely image' (Darling, 2011).

In a nutshell, asylum seekers in the UK at the time of my research:

[47] Literature includes (Campbell, 2016; Hasselberg, 2016; Hynes, 2011; Lewis et al., 2017; Mulvey, 2010; Vecchio & Gerard, 2018; York, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018)

[48] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/250926/cm5387.pdf

- faced strict restrictions on the right to work and the right to undertake vocational training
- were subjected to compulsory dispersal which often isolated them from social capital bases
- were under constant surveillance enforced through such practices as the reporting system, or wearing electronic monitoring tags
- were subjected to the inspection of their immigration documents whenever they tried to access healthcare, open bank accounts, process driving licences, or claim welfare benefits.

These various restrictions were introduced over time through the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004, the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006, the UK Borders Act 2007, the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009, the Immigration Act 2014, and the Immigration Act 2016. These are supplemented by constantly reviewed Immigration Rules[49], which are some of the most important pieces of legislation in the UK policy.

Prior to the 9th of July 2012 fourteen years continuous residence in the UK (regular or irregular) could be used as a ground to apply for long residence. That provision was amended by changes to the Immigration Rules on that date, which increased the long residence route period to twenty years continuous residence. Had this change not been made, refused asylum seekers like Mai Tongogara would have by 2016 qualified to apply for leave to remain using the then fourteen-year long residence route. The Immigration Acts 2014 and 2016 targeted 'spaces of everyday life' (Lewis et al., 2017) and extended 'everyday bordering' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018) beyond state officials, to include private individuals and institutions. The Immigration Act in force at the time of my research was the Immigration Act 2016, which among other things introduced further sanctions on 'illegal' workers and rogue employers, prevented 'illegal' migrants in the UK from accessing housing, driving licences, and bank accounts, and made it easier to enforce immigration laws and remove 'illegal' migrants[50]. It is against this background that I now turn to the specific policy measures that have regulated the situation of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers since the year 2000. Here I focus on the on and off suspension of forced removals to Zimbabwe, and the Zimbabwe Country Guidance cases.

6.2 Episodes of suspension and resumption of deportations to Zimbabwe (2000- 2017)

In order to shed light on the continued residence of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers like

[49] These are constantly updated and can be found here https://www.gov.uk/guidance/immigration-rules
[50] https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/immigration-bill-2015-16

Mai Tongogara in the UK, there is need to explain the on and off suspension and resumption of deportations to Zimbabwe for the greater part of the period 2002-2010. Explaining these, calls for an acknowledgement that the long-term unresolved 'Zimbabwe crisis' was at the centre of determining when to suspend and when to resume forced removals to Zimbabwe. As a measure against breaching the obligation to protect asylum seekers from the dangers that they claim to have fled from (the principle of *non-refoulement*), the UK like many other signatory countries to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention constantly monitors situations in countries of origin. This is done to ensure that the country of origin is safe enough to return refused asylum seekers. Suspending deportations of certain country nationals is therefore not peculiar to the case under discussion here, but it is the source of the protracted transnational family life under study here. EU law defines irregular migrants who are known to the immigration authorities but are not deported as 'non-removed persons' (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2011; Weatherhead, 2016).

Of particular relevance to the case of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers has been the protracted volatile human rights situation and politically motivated systematic targeted violence in Zimbabwe. The political and humanitarian situation under the late Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF government gradually deteriorated over the years, prompting the UK to go through episodes of on and off suspension and resumption of forced removals. In the period 2002 to 2016, the UK government announced blanket suspension of deportations to Zimbabwe at least twice in 2002 (valid until 2004), and in 2005 (valid until 2010). These suspensions were in response to the 2002 election violence, and to the human rights abuses associated with the post-election violence as well as the 2005 Operation *Murambatsvina*.

During the suspension periods Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers were tolerated, pending deportation to Zimbabwe whenever it would become possible. They were required to regularly report to their nearest designated reporting centres[51]. The immigration reporting system in the UK applies to individuals on immigration bail, those awaiting an asylum appeal hearing, those with an onward appeal following a rejection of their initial appeal, as well as individuals who cannot be returned to their home countries (Burridge, 2019). The frequency of reporting is typically weekly, monthly, or biannually and is decided on a case-by case basis by the immigration officials (Burridge, 2019). During this time of suspended deportations, refused asylum seekers who were unable to arrange for their own accommodation could apply for

[51] https://www.gov.uk/immigration-reporting-centres

asylum support in the form of accommodation and a payment card for food, clothing, and toiletries[52].

The Home Office lifted the suspension of enforced returns to Zimbabwe in 2010 citing an improvement in the country situation following the formation of a government of national unity between ZANU-PF and the MDC in 2009[53]. It is however important to note that even after the suspension was lifted, deportations were not fully enforced (House of Commons Join, 2009). There were no enforced returns reported until after the November 2017 Zimbabwe 'coup' which ousted former president Mugabe (see (Raftopoulos, 2019) for information on the military intervention). In spite of the non-enforcement of removals to Zimbabwe, voluntary assisted returns were encouraged throughout the period under study. According to the IOM a total of 628 Zimbabweans returned under its Voluntary Assisted Return and Reintegration programme from 2005 to March 2009 (Humphris, 2010). The non-enforcement of removals therefore remains one of the key reasons why there is still a significant population of Zimbabweans living in the UK many years after being denied asylum (Humphris, 2010).

The UK response suggests a subtle acknowledgement of the inadequacies of the current refugee and immigration policy to deal with the profile of the contemporary asylum seeker. Their willingness to protect (evidenced by suspending deportations), but reluctance to offer access to some fundamental rights however point towards some political concerns at both national and global levels. At national level, the restriction of fundamental rights feeds into their 'hostile environment' agenda and the public opinion on immigration reflected through the Brexit vote campaign to leave the European Union[54] . It also brings to mind the earlier mentioned idea of domopolitics which regards the state as a home, where visitor stays should be properly regulated (Walters, 2004, 2009). 'Uninvited' guests or those who overstay their welcome should according to domopolitics be returned to their homes. The Brexit referendum reportedly gained popular support on the basis of defending British nationalism, which was supposedly under threat from foreigners employed in low waged jobs (Menjívar & Ness, 2019).

On a global scale, on and off deportations depict an inconsistent approach to solving 21st century global refugee challenges and affirms the gap that Betts alluded to when he introduced the concept of survival migration (Betts, 2010, 2013a). Survival migration applies in cases

[52] Please see https://www.gov.uk/asylum-support for more information on asylum support
[53] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/end-of-suspension-of-enforced-returns-of-failed-asylum-seekers-to-zimbabwe
[54] See https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/eu-referendum and https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-exiting-the-european-union (Menjívar & Ness, 2019; B. Ryan, 2018)

where populations migrate because of "the unwillingness of their own government to provide protection, leaving host countries with the principal responsibility to determine "what—if any—form of protection to offer" (Martin et al., 2013, p. 134). Temporarily suspending deportations also highlights the dangers of viewing migration movements as responses to 'crises' because such conceptualizations attract what some scholars have referred to as palliative solutions (Menjívar & Ness, 2019). In the case under discussion here, these on and off deportations are a palliative solution to a situation whose roots run deeper than its current manifestations.

On a bilateral diplomatic level, the UK's policy responses need to be historicized and understood in the full context of Britain's relations with her 'oldest friend' Zimbabwe[55]. Detaching the policy responses from the colonial and post-colonial ties would be tantamount to simplifying the complexity inherent in ties between post-colonial states and their former colonisers. Through colonisation and through the Commonwealth group, Britain and Zimbabwe more or less belonged to the same 'home' that is if one views it from a 'domopolitical' perspective. The common 'home' image was however dismantled by political tensions related to the earlier discussed land reform exercise, which culminated in a diplomatic fallout in the Zimbabwe-UK relations and contributed to Zimbabwe's suspension and subsequent withdrawal from the Commonwealth (discussed in Chapter 2). The UK imposed targeted sanctions and travel bans on the late Mugabe and his close allies to pressurise his government to respect human rights. The Mugabe government responded by running a parallel diplomatic offensive under the mantra "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again", denouncing what it called Britain's attempts at undermine Zimbabwe's sovereignty (M. T. Vambe, 2013; Willems, 2013). The Zimbabwe government also contributed to the non-effecting of forced removals by being uncooperative in confirming the Zimbabwean nationality claims of some refused asylum seekers who had arrived in the UK on false Malawian or South African passports, for example, Kamuzu whose migration motivation is discussed in the previous chapter.

Analysing the discretionary policy responses in light of the just given context, it can be argued that suspending deportations and the non-enforcement of forced removals after lifting the suspension was a political statement. I see it as a political statement communicating the UK's commitment to protecting Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers from the perceived

[55] I am taking the phrase "oldest friend" from the Statement that was made by the then Prime Minister Teresa May following the resignation of Zimbabwe's late former president Robert G. Mugabe (UK Prime Minister's Office, 2017).

malevolence of Mugabe's regime. It was a move meant to show how 'unsafe' a home Zimbabwe had become to its own citizens under the late former president Mugabe. This line of thought is validated by how swift the UK government was to facilitate re-engagement and Commonwealth readmission negotiations with the Emmerson Mnangagwa regime following Mugabe's military-assisted ouster in November 2017 (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2018). With the cooperation of the Mnangagwa administration in issuing travel documents and conducting nationality confirmation interviews with some refused asylum seekers, the UK government even began deporting some refused asylum seekers in 2018, a move that was met with widespread resistance[56]. The reconciliation attempts with the Mnangagwa regime however quickly broke down following the post-election violence in August 2018 and the subsequent deteriorating human rights situation in Zimbabwe (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2019a, 2019b).

By reading beyond the discretionary policy response and suggesting that the UK's policy responses were informed by political constructions I am not attempting to make the case of Zimbabwe more special than other refused asylum seeker cases in the UK. I am rather deliberately highlighting the importance of holistic approaches to understanding the intertwined nature of politics and immigration policies, as these feed into the political construction of public discourses on migration. I am also making this juxtaposition to show the need to look beyond current state of affairs and let history provide a more comprehensive context within which to analyse policy responses to today's asylum issues. This also clarifies why some Zimbabweans feel entitled to be in the UK to utilize the opportunities available there, the same way the British people benefitted from Zimbabwe during the colonial era (Pasura, 2010a). In the next section, I discuss the system of country guidance cases, which is one of the avenues through which some of the initially refused asylum seekers like Mudhara Randani were later able to acquire refugee status after several years in limbo.

6.3 The system of Country Guidance Cases

Apart from the general asylum policy guidelines, asylum cases in the UK are also determined through the help of designated country guidance cases. These are decisions made by the Upper Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum Chamber) on a specific country, with binding effect on other cases (Jeater, 2012; Thomas, 2011). The system of country guidance cases which was

[56] Demonstrations against deportations were organized by lawyers and community leaders who argued that nothing had changed since Mugabe's ouster https://www.zimcitizen.com/single-post/2018/07/18/London-Zim-demo; https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2144874235787775/

reportedly given a statutory basis in 2004, came into being as a response to the concerns of the higher courts as to disparate assessments of the country conditions by different tribunal panels (Thomas, 2011). Country guidance cases are therefore set to promote consistency in the treatment of general country conditions. The determination of these cases is informed by the facts of either one or a combination of appeal cases, general country information, as well as written or oral evidence from country experts usually residing in the UK. Country guidance cases identify generic categories of risk and or categories of people at risk which are likely to recur regularly in the UK asylum process, and it recommends how these should be treated.

Subsequent appeals are obliged to treat the guidance as authoritative thereby making it part and parcel of the law governing eligibility for asylum (Thomas, 2011). The ruling in these cases stands until challenges lead to a new country guidance case. Country guidance cases also contribute to country policy and information notes (previously called country information and guidance reports) which are used by UK Visas and Immigration officials to make decisions in asylum and human rights applications[57]. They do not however result in the automatic granting of asylum since each case is still judged based on its own merits. The country guidance system has also been recently adopted by the EU following the April 2016 Council of the EU agreement to "carry out a joint assessment and interpretation of the situation in main countries of origin" (EASO, n.d.). The aim was "to foster convergence in the application of the criteria for qualification for international protection" (EASO, n.d.). The EU country guidance is however not binding although member states "are invited to take the common analysis and guidance note into account when examining applications for international protection from a particular country of origin" (EASO, n.d.).

6.3.1 Zimbabwe Country Guidance Cases

Between the years 2004 and 2017, there have been a number of Zimbabwe Country Guidance cases, two of which have a significant bearing on the narratives informing this study. These two are RN (Returnees) Zimbabwe CG [2008] UKAIT 00083[58] and CM (EM country guidance; disclosure) Zimbabwe CG [2013] UKUT 00059[59]. RN (Returnees) Zimbabwe CG [2008] led to somewhat straightforward cases and appeals because it deemed all those unable to prove a history of loyalty to the ZANU-PF regime to be at risk, not just those with a history of MDC support or in one of the risk categories (Humphris, 2010). Subsequently, there was unsurprisingly an increase in the number of asylum claims, particularly made by people who

[57] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/zimbabwe-country-policy-and-information-notes
[58] Found here https://tribunalsdecisions.service.gov.uk/utiac/37747
[59] Found here https://tribunalsdecisions.service.gov.uk/utiac/37435

were already in the UK. One of those was Mudhara Randani who made a fresh asylum claim and was finally granted refuge in 2009.

The country guidance case in place at the time of my research was the CM (EM country guidance; disclosure) Zimbabwe CG [2013], which was stricter than the RN Zimbabwe CG [2008]. It made appeals more difficult as it narrowed down categories of risk persons and general categories from the previous 2008 country guidance case. Under the 2013 country guidance case, one qualifies for protection if they can prove that they have high political profiles or originate from geographical areas that were identified as risky. This is the background against which I now return to the earlier introduced narratives to analyse how the research participants described their experiences with the just described UK policy responses to their asylum applications. I argue that how they describe their immigration circumstances and how they situate themselves within the UK society and within the transnational social space is influenced by particular societal expectations of post-migration life, social constructions of the image of *madiaspora* in Zimbabwe, and individual semblances that they themselves wish to portray about their situation. The juxtaposition of policy responses and lived experiences paves way for a holistic exposure of the consequences of such policy responses and the migrants' agency and autonomous actions in responding to policy changes.

6.4 Asylum seekers' experiences and perceptions of the policy

Reflecting back on his situation as a refused asylum seeker, Mudhara Randani said:

> *When we failed, we were being looked after by the British government right until 2009. I was not allowed to work, so from 2002 until 2009 they were giving me money every week. They went as far as giving me a big house with six-bedrooms, massive! I wasn't paying for it. I just used to go to post office, get the money they were giving me, do my shopping, and live like I was working. So, I was legal, right? I was not an absconder. I was not on the run from this British government. I was known, I used to go and report for me to earn the money and I didn't refuse to be deported. They didn't deport me because I had kids. They wanted to look after the kids until they decided to grant me* [refuge] *in* [February] *2009. Now they gave me indefinite* [leave to remain], *I am now legally allowed to be in United Kingdom indefinitely. I have gone further to apply for citizenship to naturalize, I have paid over £1000 and I am just waiting for a reply. My kids and my wife they now hold British citizenship certificates, it's only me who is left now. Once I get that, come December, January, or March harvesting season, I will be in Harare!*
>
> **Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016**

Mudhara Randani's excerpt is consistent with the policy issues alluded to in the previous sections. His narrative highlights aspects related to the right to work, the reporting system, the

right to accommodation, the asylum seekers' support allowances, and the refugee route to naturalization. The fact that Mudhara Randani poses a rhetoric question, *"So I was legal right?"* raises critical points concerning the seemingly paradoxical nature of the system which denies asylum but does not deport. Such paradoxical system responses blur the boundaries of membership and rights, insiders and outsiders, identity and belonging. They expose what Yiftachel called 'gray spaces', which are neither formally integrated nor eliminated spaces of society (Yiftachel, 2009). Mudhara Randani's rhetoric question also leaves one wandering how much of their legal position, rights, and available options failed and long-term asylum seekers actually know. I am bringing this point up because there are some asylum seekers whose accounts suggest ignorance on the procedures to follow once one is refused asylum and the consequences of failing to adhere to these. An example of this can be seen in Mai Tongogara who after initially adhering to her reporting obligations abruptly stopped and resorted to *kungogara*.

Mai Tongogara explained her immigration status as follows:

> *I became a **chinyau** after I overstayed my visitor visa. I left London where I lived with my brother and moved in with some Zimbabweans whom I had met through a care agency that I worked for in 2003. They were at that time also **zvinyau** like me. Back then there were plenty of jobs, you could work as much as your body could sustain. Nowadays it has become difficult because these care homes only want to employ people with papers. That is why I now do live-ins. I applied for asylum in 2007 and was denied because they said my story was unfounded. They instructed me to report to the authorities, initially every two weeks and they later changed it to every six months. I never appealed their decision because I was not willing to spend money seeking legal advice and representation. I have since stopped reporting because I now fear deportation. They sent me a letter over a year ago reminding me of my reporting conditions and asking me to go to their offices. I didn't go because I have heard of a lot of people being sent to detention* [centres] *after going for routine reporting. Some of them are later released, but ah I don't want to go through that, so I just stay here, and Jesus protects me.*
>
> **Mai Tongogara, Interview, 09.10.2016**

Mai Tongogara never appealed the Home Office refusal of her asylum claim, was unwilling to seek legal advice, abruptly defaulted her reporting conditions, ignored the Home Office reminder letter, and decided to just stay (*kungogara*) as a *'chinyau'*. The fact that she describes and herself and others in her immigration situation as '*zvinyau*' speaks to the socially constructed perception of asylum seekers who engage in acts associated with the autonomy of migration by becoming 'imperceptible' through evading the authorities of their host countries. The analogy of her situation to the stealth and masking of the Nyau society (see Chapter 2 of

this thesis) reflects the way that some refused asylum seekers not only hide themselves from the authorities, but also the way they sometimes conceal their real identities from people outside their trusted social networks. Some of them "keep very limited networks of friends out of fear of the Home Office, Zimbabwe politics, informers, or shame" (JoAnn McGregor, 2010a, p. 138). Whilst there is indeed an element of fear in their actions, I contend that *kungogara* speaks to the notion of autonomy of migration as it is also a form of agency depicting calculated defiance against the reporting system.

Mai Tongogara's experiences reflect how some asylum seekers just give up, go underground, and make no effort to find out alternative avenues to regularizing their stays. Her reluctance to seek legal advice has not helped her immigration case in any way. Had she sought legal counsel, she could perhaps have made fresh submissions and benefited from the RN 2008 country guidance case. As it stands, by defaulting her reporting conditions she put herself at risk of a prison sentence or deportation the next time that she comes into contact with the Home Office authorities. She has convinced herself that she will '*just stay*' and continue doing live-in care jobs until either the Home Office decides to track her down and deport her, or until the situation in Zimbabwe improves and she can voluntarily return. Her fear of deportation upon reporting was based on what she had heard about other people's experiences.

The fact that asylum seekers often rely on the experiences of their peers rather than on what policy dictates has also been discussed in other studies. I also came across similar issues in my previous study on lived experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Slovenia. Some of their cases became unnecessarily prolonged as a result of misinformation from their social networks, which contributed to them breaching the Dublin Regulation (Mashingaidze, 2013). Referring to some of the refused asylum seekers' appeal cases that she represented, immigration solicitor Bvunzawabaya also highlighted how some of her clients had adopted a '*kungogara*' attitude out of fear induced by circulating deportation news of their peers. She has handled cases in which undocumented migrants had been made to believe that if they applied for asylum then they would never be allowed to visit Zimbabwe ever again. This partly explains why some overstayers went underground and only resurfaced to apply for asylum when it became difficult to work without papers, a trend that Bvunzawabaya noticed in her line of work from around 2008 onwards. The 2008 surge in Zimbabwean asylum claims is also reflected in that year's statistics which totalled 30,545 (including dependents) with the top countries listed as follows, Afghanistan (14 percent), Zimbabwe (12 percent), Eritrea (9 percent), Iran (9 percent), Iraq, (7 percent), and Sri Lanka (6 percent) (Somerville et al., 2009).

Apart from such cases, there were others like Regret who complied with the reporting system. Unlike Mai Tongogara, Regret understood what was expected of her and was up to the time of my field research still obediently adhering to her reporting conditions since 2009. She exercised her right to make fresh submissions citing her own changed family circumstances after the birth of her second child in 2016. Having established through these illustrations that asylum seekers had different experiences, understandings, and reactions to the system governing their continued stay in the UK, the question to consider now is how they navigate everyday life in protracted precarity. In their different responses to their realities, be it by abiding with the regulations like in Regret's case or resorting to a *kungogara* attitude like Mai Tongogara, it is important to analyse how they have personally described their limbo experiences. The next section thus introduces the earlier mentioned concept of asylum tenebrosity, which I am using to analyse their protracted limbo experiences and to establish how they exercise agency in negotiating around the barriers that they encounter in everyday life.

6.5 Building up to the concept of asylum tenebrosity through migrants' lived experiences

While the topic of asylum seekers' limbo experiences is one of the widely researched areas of migration, the situation under discussion here has a number of peculiarities to it. The most outstanding peculiarity being the extended undefined limbo period itself. Describing their situation as being stuck, which is one typical way asylum seekers' experiences of liminality have often been labelled (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015; Missbach, 2015; Rabben, 2016; Yuval-Davis et al., 2019), would fall short of capturing the complexities of their everyday realities to the extent that they deserve. It would imply that they are on hold and are passively waiting for someone to rescue them out of their situation. To me that is tantamount to disempowering them of the agency and autonomy that they possess and exercise regardless of their immigration status. Although their legal status may in actual fact be 'stuck' in the sense that they may have no pending cases with the Home Office, their everyday lives are far from being stagnant.

They continuously exercise their agency through such ways as finding alternative ways of accessing employment and devising ways of either cooperating with or defying the system - for example - through reporting (as Mudhara Randani and Regret diligently did) or defaulting reporting conditions (as in the case of Mai Tongogara). Their relationships with people and places continuously evolve as they form networks with other people with similar policy experiences as theirs, for instance, Mai Tongogara moving in with fellow *zvinyau* as she called them. They also form networks outside their immigration status and nationality categories. This they do through finding employment using false identities or working as informal live-in carers

in private households (JoAnn McGregor, 2010a). Needless to say, they continue advancing in age and life cycle stages, for instance, Regret migrated at the age of 28 and was aged 39 at the time of the research, she had gotten married and had a child; Mudhara Randani and Mai Tongogara became grandparents. In short, they adapt to their circumstances, socially construct a 'new normal' and constantly find alternative ways of doing everyday life in precarity. This demonstrates that protracted periods of liminality are far from being static, they are fluid, producing new meanings and values to social processes that refused asylum seekers go through.

In a study of asylum seekers in Glasgow, Rebecca Rotter posited that asylum seeker waiting periods are affective, active, and to an extent productive (Rotter, 2016). For Rotter waiting is affective in the sense that it "brings to the fore anticipation and desire (and possibly also dread)" (Rotter, 2016, p. 82). She argues that waiting can be active in the sense that people are involved in such daily routines as socializing, praying, gathering, and sharing information about the asylum process. Rotter goes further to explain waiting as potentially productive in instances "when it is transformed into a form of capital, or retrospectively understood as being 'preparatory' for the future" (Rotter, 2016, p. 82). Although my own findings also confirm that asylum seeker waiting periods may indeed be affective, active, and productive, it is important to assay whether the asylum seekers themselves perceive it as such. To this end I bring in another excerpt from Mudhara Randani's interview in which he described his experiences as follows:

> *If one seeks asylum and if he is refused asylum his aim is not to be deported, he would have wanted to stay within that particular state. But the people within that country say we can't grant you because we don't believe you, but they don't deport him! They keep him for seven years, and for seven years that man or that family will be* ***moving in the dark****. Every morning, every night, every knock on the door is not only knocking on their door, it's actually knocking on their mind and their heart, to say anytime now we have come to take you away to go where you don't want to go. It's so painful! You wait and wait and wait, but nobody comes to take you away where they believe you belong to, but they don't send you there. Then they will come back and say, ok we have given you, after seven years! Prison you know when you are coming out, but this one is a mind game, you don't even know when you are coming out. Every letter that's thrown on your door is attacking your heart, you know that letter box sound that goes pprrr, it hits your heart and your mind, and you think what is it now? If its khaki it's even worse because you think it's a deportation letter, eish!* ***Haa takabva neko kumhunga hakuna ipwa***[60]*, it was bad!*
>
> **Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016**

[60] ***Takabva neko kumhunga hakuna ipwa*** is a Shona proverb usually used when someone is recalling a past experience on a path that they would not advise anyone to follow. It is more like saying "been there, done that".

While the just quoted excerpt from Mudhara Randani highlights what some would call typical asylum seeker blues, what stands out for me is how he likens his seven years of living as a refused asylum seeker to 'moving in the dark'. His analogy of long-term liminality to 'moving in the dark' confirms the point made earlier on, that there is no stagnation in the everyday lives of refused asylum seekers. There is rather confusing obscurity through which they have to navigate their way in an unusual space, aiming towards an unclear destination. Mudhara Randani equates the protracted limbo period to a mind game that drives refused asylum seekers into a relentless state of anxiety. The situation was exacerbated by the insecurity that was generated by the on and off suspension of forced removals to Zimbabwe, alluded to here by the statement "*Prison you know when you are coming out, but this one is a mind game, you don't even know when you are coming out"* (Mudhara Randani, UK, 19.08.2016). The prison analogy also came up in my previous research with unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Slovenia who described the refugee status determination waiting period as prison-like (Mashingaidze, 2013). The case of long-term refused asylum seekers in my opinion goes beyond prison because in prison there are visiting rights. Yet as a refused asylum seeker one cannot receive visitors from their home countries.

Mudhara Randani explains how living on what others have called the margins of state protection, in abject spaces (JoAnn McGregor, 2008a, 2010a) affects the mental state of refused asylum seekers. He narrated how everyday sounds had a haunting effect on his peace of mind. The sound of knocking on his main entrance door, or of letters being delivered through the door letter box[61] would send him into a state of panic and worry as it evoked the fear of deportation. This speaks to the affective characteristic of asylum seeker waiting periods that some scholars have alluded to in different works (O'Reilly, 2019; Rotter, 2016; Yuval-Davis et al., 2019). While there is considerable research on such emotive responses, the analysis of how those caught up in protracted asylum limbo cope and deal with these emotions is sparse. Similarly, the analysis of how their *staying behind* close family members manage with protracted geographical separation also appears to have been neglected. Existing migration concepts also fall short of comprehensively explaining the ebbs and flows of this precarious 'dark' space that Mudhara Randani described.

The concepts that come close to the situation that I wish to illuminate are the concept of

[61] Front doors in UK residential homes normally have a letterbox opening through which letters are delivered by the postal service. Appendix 8 is an example https://www.graceandgloryhome.co.uk/front-door-furniture-gallery

"liminal legality"[62] (Menjivar, 2006), which was introduced through an analysis of the legal limbo situation of Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants with the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in the United States of America (USA), the notion of "permanent temporariness" also formulated to describe transnational geographies of Salvadorans with the TPS in the USA (Bailey et al., 2002), as well as the concept of 'gray space' which was introduced in the context of urban space relations in Israel/Palestine to explain pseudo-permanent spaces of urban regions which are neither integrated nor eliminated, including their inhabitants (Yiftachel, 2009)[63]. I will refer to these concepts in passing as I develop the concept of asylum tenebrosity.

In the USA case it has been argued that "the inherent fragility and the indefinite nature of the period(s) of administrative grace create instability in many aspects of the lives of liminal legal subjects" (Chacón, 2015, p. 716). It therefore follows that "an examination of the lives of individuals who are ambiguously situated legally can lead to fruitful theorizing about incorporation, assimilation, citizenship, belonging, and exclusion" (Menjivar, 2006, p. 1003). With this background in mind, I now build upon Mudhara Randani's statements and try to decipher what 'moving in the dark' entails through what I am conceptualizing as being in a state of asylum tenebrosity (see Chapter 3.2).

6.6 Explaining asylum tenebrosity

As introduced in Chapter 3 the word tenebrosity is derived from the word tenebrous, which is defined as dark, obscure, or murky or simply refers to something that is "shut off from the light" (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.). Inspired by Mudhara Randani's metaphorical explanation of his experience of protracted asylum limbo as 'moving in the dark', I am using the term asylum tenebrosity to refer to the status of being a long-term tolerated refused asylum seeker who has restricted rights. Asylum tenebrosity in this case is that state of uncertainty that is brought about by complex protracted limbo situations created by a combination of discretionary deportation suspensions, the continued crisis situation in Zimbabwe, as well as the choice made by the refused asylum seekers to continue living in the host country (*kungogara*). It is a complicated and contradictory twilight space positioned between the 'dim lighting' of being formally acknowledged and tolerated (through being provided with housing and basic living allowances as was the case with Mudhara Randani), but unwanted; and the dark incertitude of possible deportation at any time (as explained by Mudhara Randani's

[62] "Liminal legality" is characterized by ambiguity, as it is neither an undocumented status nor a documented one, but may have the characteristics of both" (Menjivar, 2006, p. 1008). Also see discussion on legal non-existence (Coutin, 2003)

[63] "The concept of 'gray space' refers to developments, enclaves, populations and transactions positioned between the 'lightness' of legality/approval/safety and the 'darkness' of eviction/destruction/death" (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 243).

feelings towards every knock on his door during his seven years as a refused asylum seeker and his prison analogy).

I perceive asylum tenebrosity to be a period of uncertainty that commences after the initial claim of asylum is made. It excludes periods prior to official asylum claims, regardless of the number of years a person might have lived in the host country as undocumented. To give an example from my research data, when I introduced Mai Tongogara's story in the previous chapter I indicated that she has been in the UK for fourteen years, five as a *chinyau* (living underground after the expiry of her visitor visa) and nine as a refused asylum seeker. Looking at this in light of how I am explaining asylum tenebrosity, it follows that Mai Tongogara has been living in asylum tenebrosity for nine years. Asylum tenebrosity therefore applies to cases of long-term asylum seekers, and of refused asylum seekers who are known to the authorities and await either appeal decisions on individual cases, discretionary blanket decisions, or possible deportation once the essential human rights and political conditions in the country of origin are considered safe. In light of this, I let the experiences of the research participants falling within these parameters lead the analysis of everyday life in a state of asylum tenebrosity. I do so through interrogating how they talk about their status and analyse how the meanings associated with their tenebrous status are socially constructed and discussed within their communities (in this case in the UK, in Zimbabwe, and on online community platforms). However, before delving into this analysis it is important to note that protracted asylum limbo as it were, is not only experienced by the Zimbabweans under study here. It is nevertheless still imperative to explicate the need for a different conceptualization for the case under study here.

6.6.1 How asylum tenebrosity differs from standard limbo

Asylum legal limbo has been reported elsewhere, for example, between 2000 and 2005 about 745 Zimbabweans in Canada had a refused asylum status but were not deported (Chadya, 2013). This followed Canada's suspension of the deportation of Zimbabwean nationals in 2002, which was then lifted in December 2014 (Wrzesnewskyj, 2016). Refused asylum seekers in Canada whose removal is deferred are eligible to apply for renewable temporary work permits (Wrzesnewskyj, 2016). This sets their circumstances apart from those of refused asylum seekers in the UK who are prohibited from working. Cases of tolerated refused asylum seekers as they are known in some countries like Germany where they get a *duldung* stay[64], are

[64]"The Tolerated Stay Permit ("*Duldung*") is issued for individuals who are, in principle, obliged to leave the country, but their departure is temporarily not feasible, due to obstacles to deportation or other reasons which necessitate the continuation of their presence in Germany" https://handbookgermany.de/en/rights-laws/asylum/duldung.html. Also see (Deutsche Welle, 2016)

additional examples of this. What is again different from the refused asylum seekers living in asylum tenebrosity in the UK is that in Germany, similar to Canada, if certain conditions are met, they may be allowed to access the labour market. Another example of tolerated stay is the United States of America's Temporary Protected Status (TPS).

"TPS status is granted to all nationals of a particular country based on the country's conditions, rather than the situation of a particular individual (as with asylum)" (Bergeron, 2014, p. 25). They live in a state of "permanent temporariness" (Bailey et al., 2002) with renewable temporary access to employment and protection from deportation for as long as their TPS permit is valid. Therein lies one of the main differences between the UK, Canada, Germany, and USA policy responses to tolerated refused asylum seekers – the access to the labour market. This is one of the main reasons why I am introducing the concept of asylum tenebrosity, to conceptualize the situation of refused asylum seekers who have no access to employment and are also prohibited from accessing such basic rights services as driving license and bank accounts. Although they may be entitled to receive asylum support in the form of accommodation and £35.39 per person on a payment card for food, clothing, and toiletries, this only applies in cases where individuals take up the accommodation offered by the state[65]. Refused asylum seekers in asylum tenebrosity occupy a 'gray space' (Yiftachel, 2009), given that they are neither integrated nor eliminated from the UK society. They are in a space that can partially be explained within the framework of what some scholars have called 'grey zones'[66](Yuval-Davis et al., 2019).

Asylum tenebrosity creates a 'new normal' which as has already been established in this thesis is fraught with uncertainty, and evokes different reactions (perseverance, hope, despair, anxiety, indignation, defiance, feelings of (un)belonging etc.). It can be disempowering/discouraging for some, a ray of hope for others who hope that they can one day be regularized through such measures as immigration amnesty or the long residence route, and a 'new normal' for others who accept the situation as it is and construct new ways of doing everyday life. Receiving countries sometimes offer voluntary return incentives to refused asylum seekers in the form of funding for development projects for returnees (Humphris, 2010; Youkhana, 2017), but the effectiveness of such programmes remains questionable. In the absence of clear international statutory guidelines to deal with refused asylum seekers who qualify to be what Betts calls 'survival migrants'(Betts, 2010, 2013a), asylum tenebrosity

[65] More information is explained here https://www.gov.uk/asylum-support/what-youll-get
[66] Grey zones are said to be spaces that are outside the protection of contemporary states, see (Yuval-Davis et al., 2019)

challenges the malleability of host countries' immigration policies. It has real consequences on the social constructions and meanings of belonging, identity, and rights of those living in tenebrosity, both in their host and origin societies. To identify these the next section focuses on the nature and implications of the 'moving' that occurs in asylum tenebrosity.

6.7 'Moving' in a state of asylum tenebrosity: the role of virtual and physical networks

As already indicated, one of the immanent features of asylum tenebrosity is restricted rights. Although asylum tenebrosity hinders formal integration, people continue to exercise agency. It is this agency that influences how they move or circumvent the restrictions that come with their status. It demonstrates their autonomy as they escape the created and imposed labels of unwanted 'illegal' immigrants and "reconstitute themselves in the course of participating in, and changing the conditions of their material existence" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008, p. 223). They become 'imperceptible' and engage in 'acts of citizenship' (Isin, 2008; Isin & Nielsen, 2013) as they find clandestine ways of for instance, incorporate themselves into the UK labour system. My research findings show that migrant social networks play an enormous role in both facilitating and obstructing mobility in situations of asylum tenebrosity.

The research revealed that migrants, their families, and public discourses consider migration to the UK as being synonymous with going to work. The phrases *takauya kuno kuzoshanda* (we came here to work) and *kuUK kubasa* (the UK is a place of work) were mentioned several times in my research. They were used to explain the motive to migrate for some and for others these statements explain how their original plans shifted to become financial. Moreblessing is a good example of how migration trajectories ended up becoming about work and the upkeep of family in Zimbabwe. She explained that although she had entered the UK to spend time with her partner (see Chapter 5), she decided to remain in the UK and work because the circumstances in Zimbabwe had drastically changed during her short absence. Treating the UK as a place of work is also used to justify the continued stay of refused asylum seekers in the UK even though they work 'illegally'. Most of them reported that they started working within the first week of arriving in the UK and have never stopped. Experiences of this can be seen in the following account shared by Regret.

Regret explained her experiences of moving in asylum tenebrosity as follows:

> *You know after being denied asylum you can't do much besides working illegally really, you have so many limitations on work and other things. I have many regrets because the expectations that I had and what I saw after arriving here, haa worlds apart. I thought by this time I would have bought a house, my son would be here and all, but look at me, none of that happened! Anyway, I have sort of accepted that the best one can do as long as they are still allowed to be here, is do these care jobs and pray that they don't get caught working. I once worked for a care recruitment agency using someone's papers until the owner of those papers moved to another city. Now there is a man from my church who has a private nursing home, he is the one I work for and he knows that I don't have papers. These days because my baby is still young, I work from home. I am like the one who coordinates and assigns work shifts that's why you see me with these two mobile phones – one is for work. He pays me in cash and I always save as much as I can for the future because you never know, one day you might find yourself deported back to Zimbabwe.*
>
> **Regret, Interview, 09.10.2016**

What Regret shared confirms that role of migrant networks in assisting mobility and 'autonomy' 'in the dark' (in asylum tenebrosity). Through their social networks, asylum seekers find clandestine ways to incorporate themselves into the UK system. This self-incorporation into the labour market is illustrative of how restrictive hostile policies 'entrap' refused asylum seekers and drive them into 'criminogenic' activities (Vecchio & Gerard, 2018). The just quoted excerpt from Regret provides some examples of 'illegal' activities in the form of accessing working and fraudulent use of other people's identities. This confirms that through migration, individual migrants sometimes become people with multiple identities (e.g. Regret working using someone's identity, and her husband Kamuzu migrating as a Malawian). Such 'becomings' create "the indeterminate materiality on which new connections, sociabilities, lines of flight, informal networks, and transit spaces thrive" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008, p. 228).

Apart from the issue of documentation, networks also share information on job openings and how to avoid being caught working by the authorities. The research participants indicated healthcare recruitment agencies and adult nursing homes owned by Zimbabweans, Zimbabwean churches, and virtual communities such as private Facebook group pages, as being at the centre of how they 'move in the dark'[67]. I was also able to observe first-hand how some of these platforms share information as I attended different church services in England, was shown some of the Facebook group platforms, listened to some Facebook public online

[67] For ethical reasons I will not mention the names of the private Facebook groups that my research participants talked about. It suffices to say that these groups have tens of thousands of members and were created to share information and advice on issues to do with migrant life, and to provide a sense of family to the members.

diaspora TV discussions, and I also informally interviewed some influential members of these social and professional groups.

These platforms are also used to alert each other of immigration policy changes and sometimes share information on how to facilitate the migration of *staying behind* family members either to the UK (on visas other than the visitor visa) or to countries in Europe (either as students or au pairs). Experts in various sectors are also occasionally invited to host Facebook live video programmes in the groups to raise awareness on such issues as how to avoid falling on the wrong side of the UK law concerning raising children in the UK, working illegally, responding to immigration policy changes etc. The migrants on these platforms in a way become each other's keepers regardless of their diverse migration trajectories and immigration statuses. This is how asylum seekers move and continuously improve their ways of becoming imperceptible in asylum tenebrosity.

It should however be noted that the issue of trust within the Zimbabwean diaspora networks that I earlier alluded to, was evident on the different online and offline network platforms that I observed. Trust was sometimes an apparent obstruction to the accessing of certain rights and services by refused asylum seekers. As a precautionary measure to minimise the fear of being sold out to the authorities for 'illegal' working, asylum seekers mostly rely on trusted members of their networks to find job opportunities, and generally avoid disclosing their immigration status outside their trusted networks. When seeking advice or sharing information on such platforms as the private Facebook group pages earlier mentioned, they send information through official page administrators. The official page administrators then post the information on their behalf, a practice they generally refer to in the posts as 'posting on behalf of 'Anon' (short for anonymous) or 'Hidey' (derived from the request to hide identity before posting).

Some of the online platforms are created for UK migrants only, whilst others become like the Paraguayan discussion forum Cibervalle which is an online meeting point of Paraguayans in different parts of the world (Greschke, 2012). Such open fora like the online Facebook TV platform known as Zimbo Live TV in the case of Zimbabwe, become platforms where users living abroad get the opportunity to stay connected to their home country, reproach it, discuss, and share ideas on various topics affecting Zimbabweans all over the world. Through such platforms those who stayed behind in Zimbabwe also get a chance to understand how their counterparts live in asylum tenebrosity in the UK. This is because some of the issues discussed relate to immigration policy challenges, working in the UK, and family life issues. From some

of the discussions that I followed on these Facebook platforms it was apparent that while the generality of contributors are familiar with the issue of travel restrictions associated with asylum, they seem to have limited understanding of this status.

This study also revealed that the online interactions on some of the Facebook groups (particularly the women only private groups), are then extended from the virtual space into physical everyday social spaces. This is done through visits in times of sickness, offering commiseration and financial assistance when death strikes one of their members, organising Christmas parties, and sometimes coordinating protests against policies related to immigration policy or political decisions in Zimbabwe. I was able to observe how these issues are coordinated, executed, and reported back to the platform members. Members of the online community therefore learn from each other, celebrate, and commiserate with one another, raise money for each other in times of need, and do transnational activities together, for example raising money and buying items for former schools and hometown hospitals. They become an online transnational family situated away from the restrictive state-monitored world, with no immigration status boundaries. Through these virtual groups fictive kinship is formed as people identify and connect with those from their hometowns, totem clan, area of residence in the UK, with shared birthdays, or identify similar ways of thinking through the Facebook comments section interactions.

Writing on what she called virtual mobilities, Julia Verne also alluded to the potential of virtual communities transcending into physical spaces by providing a space for people to share their thoughts in (physical) absentia (Verne, 2014). She highlighted that virtual communities have proven to be a powerful tool in the fostering of social and political movements. In the context of asylum tenebrosity, virtual communities bridge the gap between the 'dim lighting' and the 'dark space' of refused asylum and allow for the 'new normal' everyday life to continue. They connect people in ways that enhance and reconstruct the sense of belonging and identity, not only among the group members but also in the wider host society. The latter being in the sense that the information shared on these groups becomes the avenue through which they access the restricted rights.

Virtual community platforms enable refused asylum seekers to become visible in their invisibility as they anonymously post their presence and register their fears as well as their frustrations. Virtual communities become the bridge through which refused asylum seekers engage in imperceptible acts associated with the autonomy of migration. The networks forged

on these platforms and how they enable imperceptibility confirm the assertion made by Peter Nyers that, the lives of non-status migrants do not fit neatly into the frameworks of inclusion or exclusion, welcomed or rejected (Nyers, 2011).

What has so far been demonstrated in this chapter is that the UK's policy towards Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers created a tenebrous situation for them. They are tolerated, but not accepted, known but kept 'in the dark', away from the spaces meant for those who are viewed as full members (citizens). This situation is however not entirely of the UK's own making, it points back to the legal and conceptual gap in handling the asylum seekers whose circumstances fall outside the 1951 refugee definition and guidelines (Betts, 2010, 2013a). The failed asylum seekers living in asylum tenebrosity describe themselves as being 'without papers' (*hatina mapepa*), or as '*zvinyau'*. Back in Zimbabwe they are still generally referred to as members of the British Bottom Cleaners, BBC (see Chapter 3 of this thesis). The way their families who stayed behind in Zimbabwe refer to them is different as they are in most cases the primary breadwinners. This will be elaborated upon in the remaining empirical chapters of this thesis. On the online platforms the main phrases or codes that I identified as being linked to those living in asylum tenebrosity include, people without stationery (in this context used as a code name for immigration papers), '*zvipoko*' (ghosts in English), and '*zvidhuura*' which means fake (as in fake identity).

This social construction of terms of othering demonstrates how immigration status becomes a sociological occurrence that influences social relations and contributes to what Pasura referred to as a fractured and fragmented diaspora (Pasura, 2014a). It was however interesting to observe that the refused asylum seekers themselves also tagged themselves with these labels during interviews and in the enquiries that they anonymously sent on Facebook platforms. Another recurring statement in the interviews and on online TV and social media platforms is "UK *ndimaenzanise*". Literally translated it means that the UK is an equalizer. This was being used in the sense of the asylum system procedures, asylum tenebrosity, the nature of jobs that people in asylum tenebrosity can access, gender relations in families, and in terms of migrant rights and entitlements. Kamuzu spoke of it as follows: "*like they say, England* ***ndimaenzanise*** [England is an equalizer], *it doesn't matter what kind of job position one had in Zimbabwe, here papers or no papers, men or woman, we meet in the caregiving sector* (Kamuzu, Interview, 09.10.2016). The idea of accessing the job sector without the right to, illustrated here through Kamuzu's statement "*here papers or no papers, men or woman, we meet in the caregiving sector",* speaks to the notion of migrants' imperceptibility through 'becoming

everybody' (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008).

Having explained asylum tenebrosity, the next chapter explains how those living in tenebrosity 'do' and maintain familyhood with close family members who remained behind in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 7: 'IN TOUCH, BUT NOT ON THE GROUND': DOING FAMILY IN A TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACE

As a family our relations got strained because the UK people were not on the ground. It's difficult to discuss family issues with people who are not on the ground, they don't have a full picture of how things work here (Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017).

This chapter focuses on intimate relational experiences of long-term transnational family life drawn from some of the research participants who either once lived in asylum tenebrosity, still live in asylum tenebrosity, or have just lived in a transnational family setup for more than five years. I examine their everyday transnational practices and the influence that these have on their feeling of familyhood. I emphasize the role of ICTs in creating virtual co-presence in some family members living across distance. I use some here because not all close family members engage in regular transnational practices, as there is a lot of "relativising"[68] reflected in the findings of this study. I analyse issues to do with communication and intimacy using narratives that address the themes of transnational parenting, and transnational marriage practices. The theme of transnational parenting is examined through the experiences of Regret (her narrative summary has been introduced in Chapter 5), her non-migrating son, and her sister (in her capacity as her son's guardian). To address the theme of transnational marriage practices I focus on the narratives of Divha (he has been briefly introduced in Chapter 5) and his *staying behind* wife Vimbiso. I use Vimbiso's narrative as the main experience of reference, but I also refer to other narratives to support points arising during the discussion. My analysis of these narratives is informed by notions of transnational social spaces, ICT-based co-presence, as well as family practices, and family display. The relevance of these concepts has been explained in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

7.1 Transnational parenting and familyhood: an overview of Regret's family experiences

As presented in Chapter 5, Regret migrated on a study visa in 2005. Her son Tichirivamwe[69] remained in Zimbabwe under the guardianship of Regret's sister Chengetai[70]. In discussing their transnational family practices, I also refer to other family members that I did not interview, but were mentioned by Regret, Chengetai, or Tichirivamwe. These include Regret's parents,

[68] Relativising has been used "to refer to the variety of ways individuals establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with specific family members" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002).
[69] Tichirivamwe (Shona) means 'we are still one'. This reflects the feeling I got from the interviews that despite the challenges Regret's transnational family face, they constantly remind one another that they are still family
[70] Chengetai is a Shona word/name which literally means "to keep" or "to look after someone or something", in this context I am using it to mean "guardian".

her other siblings, her brothers in law, as well as Regret's nieces and nephews. Regret's transnational family is spread between Zimbabwe and Europe. Regret, her parents and one of her siblings are based in the UK whilst Regret's son was based in Zimbabwe until he started undergraduate studies in 2015 and moved to another European country. Regret's three other siblings have remained in Zimbabwe. This multi-transnational setting is reflective of the point that has been made elsewhere that functional transnational links tend to have scions and individual members scattered in more than two countries (Bryceson, 2019; Goulbourne et al., 2010). Such a setting ensures that *staying behind* family members also become part of social relationships that are stretched across time and place even though they might never actually move (Baldassar & Merla, 2013).

The aim of this Chapter is not to look at how the whole family has managed to maintain familyhood across distance, but rather to analyse how Regret has over the years maintained the connection and sense of familyhood with her son. To do so I refer to the interviews that I had with Regret, Tichirivamwe, and Chengetai. Although I place the role of ICTs at the centre of my discussion, my aim is not to merely trace the type of technologies they used, neither is it to report on the frequency of their communication. This would be a futile endeavour given the number of years that they have lived transnationally, as well as the level of ICT advancement since the commencement of their transnational family life. Besides, it has already been established that in the current 'polymedia environment', everyday routinized co-presence across distance has ceased to be extraordinary (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016). I therefore delve into how extended technology-based mode of doing family is understood and viewed by migrating parents, their *staying behind* children, and the children's guardians.

Chengetai's experiences of transnational co-parenting and guardianship

Chengetai and I were introduced to each other in January 2017. We communicated via Whatsapp calls and messages three times prior to our face to face interview session in April 2017. Given her own experiences as a *staying behind* child, Chengetai felt compelled to first share her own story before explaining her role as Tichirivamwe's guardian. She explained how life changed for her after her mother migrated to the UK in 2003. Chengetai who at that time was in her last year of high school, was left in the custody of her father. Her sister Regret and her nephew Tichirivamwe also lived with them, while her other older siblings had by that time already moved out of the family home. Chengetai felt neglected and less protected after her mother's migration. She cited the diminishing attention at home as the main reason she got married at what she called a tender age. Chengetai found comfort and security in her then

boyfriend (now husband), whom she felt was giving her the attention that was no longer available at home. After Chengetai's marriage in 2005, Tichirivamwe was moved from his grandparents' home to live with Regret's other sister Gamuchirai. Tichirivamwe lived with Gamuchirai and her family for more than five years before being moved to live with Chengetai in 2012. The relocation was prompted by family disagreements over what was seen as his untoward behaviour both at home and at school. By virtue of her having been once in Tichirivamwe's position of a *staying behind* child, Chengetai somehow understood his behaviour and offered to take him in. At the time of my interview with Chengetai in 2017, Tichirivamwe was in Europe.

Commenting on her overall experience as Tichirivamwe's guardian Chengetai had this to say:

> *It wasn't easy because Tichirivamwe sometimes had that attitude that 'my mother is in the UK', so he wouldn't put much effort on school, he was mischievous, playful, and wasted pocket money. He was even expelled from school in his final year of High school. Whenever we reprimanded him, he felt we didn't love him, you know that kind of a thing. But then looking back, I think sometimes when he was being mischievous, he was just looking for love, and maybe it was just a cry for attention.*
>
> **Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017**

The views of substitute parental caregivers like Chengetai and other adults in positions of authority over children left behind, often shed light on the moral judgments that circulate and which young people left behind have to navigate (Kufakurinani et al., 2014). More often than not, public discourse paints a gloomy picture of left behind children's behaviour (Kufakurinani et al., 2014). Chengetai's narrative adds to this 'gloomy picture' by potraying Tichirivamwe as a mischiveous child. Chengetai however looks beyond Tichirivamwe's 'mischief' and speculates on possible reasons for his behaviour, something that often lacks in existing accounts addressing the subject of *staying behind* children. The quoted excerpt also reflects her unique informed position as both a guardian and a *staying behind* child.

In retrospect Chengetai thinks that Tichirivamwe could have been displaying attention-seeking behaviour, something that she essentially identifies with as evidenced by her own account. A critical look into this insinuates that guardians' perceptions are informed by a whole lot of cultural, family, and personal experiences. The subject of *staying behind* children's behaviour also came up during an interview with Bvunzawabaya who regularly deals with family life matters through her organisation, Migrant Family Support (MFS). MFS offers parenting, marriage, and bereavement support to migrants. Basing her views on the experiences of some of her clients, Bvunzawabaya voiced concern over the negative labelling that *staying behind*

children are subjected to. She highlighted that they are often exposed to verbal abuse which leaves them wounded and unsure of how to manage relationships. In a culture that discourages children from questioning adult behaviour and decisions, the children end up acting out, resulting in them being ultimately viewed as defiant. She added that this has repercussions on their post-reunion relationships (Bvunzawabaya, Telephone Interview, 08.03.2017). This background stimulates the interest to explore how Tichirivamwe described his experiences as a *staying behind* child, which is what the next section focuses on.

Tichirivamwe's experiences as a '*staying behind*' child

Since Tichirivamwe was in Europe at the time of my research stay in Zimbabwe, we conducted the interview via a Whatsapp call coordinated through Regret in March 2017. After exchanging pleasantries, explaining the purpose of my research, and taking him through the informed consent form, I asked Tichirivamwe to narrate his family life experiences from as far back as he was willing to share. He began by enthusiastically narrating his primary school escapades, describing himself as having been an adventurous child. He portrayed his childhood as having been a happy one and full of love from his maternal grandparents, 'mums', and 'siblings'. He referred to his aunts as mums, and to his cousins as siblings. This not only depicts closely knit relations that Tichirivamwe had with his family, but also confirms what has been discussed in the background chapter on the closeness of traditional Shona extended families. Tichirivamwe was aged eight when his mother migrated to the UK. He fondly recalled travelling to Harare to see her off at the airport. They took many photographs which he said he still keeps in the old photo album that his mother left for him when she migrated. Tichirivamwe mentioned that he scanned some of the pictures and posted them on his Facebook page. He also shared his boarding school experiences, and casually explained the incident that got him expelled from school. Tichirivamwe felt lucky that he was still allowed to sit for his final year public examinations despite the expulsion from school. Responding to a question on how life was for him after his mother's migration, Tichirivamwe said the following:

> *Honestly speaking, given that I had three other people that I call mum, there wasn't really that much of a gap after she left. My other mums* [aunts] *always came to visit me at boarding school, they would also bring my siblings* (cousins) *along, not to mention more tuck and pocket money from mama! We were not allowed cell phones at school and so whenever they visited, I would also get to speak to mama. Every holiday I would go either to mama Gamuchirai's or to mama Chengetai's house. Of course, once in a while there would be some incidents that would sort of remind me that they are not my real mums, but honestly it wasn't bad.* ***Gogo*** [grandmother] *also used to visit at least once a year, even here* [in Europe] *where I am currently studying, she visited during my first semester.*
>
> **Tichirivamwe, Telephone Interview 20.03.2017**

It is apparent from Tichirivamwe's excerpt that living in a transnational setting made little difference for him. This is partly because he had grown up knowing and living with his many 'mums'. In his narrative, he differentiated his biological mum from his other 'mums' (aunts) by just saying 'mama' when talking about Regret and adding names when referring to his other 'mums', for example, 'mama' Chengetai or 'mama' Gamuchirai. He could have used the Shona kinship terms *maiguru* for his mother's older sisters and *mainini* for the younger sisters, but from the interviews I observed that this vocabulary was not used in Regret's family suggesting the closeness of their family bonds. Tichirivamwe's account demonstrates that all his 'mums' and their families were actively involved in his life, and so was his mother through the money, gifts, and phone calls, as well as his grandmother through her annual visits. This takes me to the next section which analyses how these everyday transnational interactions have been managed and sustained of over the years.

7.1.1 ICT-based transnational practices between Regret, Chengetai, and Tichirivamwe

Due to the fact that Regret lives in asylum tenebrosity, there have not been any visits between the three family members in their almost twelve years of transnational family life. Regret, Tichirivamwe, and Chengetai therefore exclusively rely on the various ICTs to keep their transnational family life active. From normal phone calls and texts in the early 2000s to the several options which are available in the current polymedia environment (Madianou, 2016; Madianou & Miller, 2013), Regret and Chengetai have managed to transnationally co-parent Tichirivamwe. Since 2014 most of their transnational family communication happens via their family Whatsapp group. For direct communication with Chengetai and Tichirivamwe, Regret also uses the Whatsapp platform for chats, calls, voice messages, and image/video sharing, Viber as well as IMO for video calling. Regret is also friends with Tichirivamwe on the social media platform Facebook, though they hardly interact there. For Regret this is the platform through which she gets some insights into Tichirivamwe's favourite things by observing his posts and activities. There has thus been virtual ambient co-presence throughout the years thanks to the constantly improving mobile technologies, particularly the mobile phone. According to Madianou, smart phones and wireless connections create an 'always on' culture that is fed by the ongoing awareness of distant others through social networking sites (Madianou, 2016). ICT-based co-presence appears to have been sufficient for Tichirivamwe who did not feel that much of a gap after his mother migrated. For Regret and Chengetai, doing family transnationally had some challenges, which I will elaborate on as this discussion unfolds.

Regret was always responsible for her son's financial upkeep, educational, and material needs, whilst Chengetai was his everyday guardian. Regret was over the years sending money and gifts through her sisters, initially through Gamuchirai, and then after 2012 through Chengetai. She used to send such items as apparels and bedding of Tichirivamwe's favourite English football club, video games, electronic gadgets, as well as clothes. She also used to occasionally send gifts for her siblings and their families "*just to make them happy and show appreciation*" to them for taking care of her son. The money and gifts were sent using various formal and informal channels, including through Regret's mother who visited annually. Regret also used to send her photographs to Tichirivamwe via her sisters' email addresses and in turn receive photographs of Tichirivamwe through the same platform. They would also exchange printed copies of photographs and handwritten letters whenever Regret's mother visited Zimbabwe. Regret explained how receiving handwritten letters from her son always made her feel nostalgic as she wished she could be in Zimbabwe to help him with his schoolwork.

Tichirivamwe's other 'mums' and their families used to visit him when he was in boarding school. Chengetai used to attend his school parent-teacher meetings, disciplinary hearings, and other school events. In a nutshell, Chengetai was always physically present for Tichirivamwe as a proxy for Regret. She was at most times supported by her other siblings and their families, thus although she is officially viewed as the guardian, it was a family effort. This also explains why throughout the interview Chengetai referred to 'we' whenever she talked about Tichirivamwe's parenting. By explaining it this way I am not relegating Regret's role to the financial aspects of her son's life as she was an equally active member in Tichirivamwe's everyday life. Through virtual means facilitated by Gamuchirai and Chengetai's fixed house phones and mobile phones, Regret was able to practice and show emotional intimacy from a distance to her son.

Tichirivamwe's relocation to Europe for studies made Regret feel more connected to her son than she previously was when he lived in Zimbabwe. She stated that because of better Wi-Fi connection in Europe their communication improved, and she got to know her son better. She was better able to help him with his assignments, something that she failed to do during his primary and secondary schooling years due to several hindrances. The deterring factors included the fact that boarding schools prohibited pupils from carrying mobile phones to school, and international calls were expensive. Communication with Tichirivamwe during school holidays was constrained by the fact that many households got rid of house landline telephones as the crisis in Zimbabwe persisted. Moreover, Tichirivamwe only got his first

mobile phone after he turned sixteen in 2013. Although Regret alluded the improved communication with her son to advance ICT infrastructure in Europe, a closer look into it suggests that this could also be attributed to the temporal realities of life stages and maturity. Tichirivamwe was aged eight and in primary school when Regret migrated, and when this research was conducted, he was an adult aged almost twenty. He was thus able to carry conversations at a more mature level than he could possibly do in his preteen and teenage years.

At a glance Regret, Chengetai, and Tichirivamwe's transnational practices paint an image of a closely knit family, which was always there for each other prior to migration and still strove to maintain the same closeness across distance. For the avoidance of falling into the trap of 'demonizing' distance by suggesting that the proximate care provided by Tichirivamwe's guardian(s) was more valuable than the distant (virtual) care that Regret provided (Baldassar, 2016b), I reiterate that both types of care complemented each other and contributed to the overall success of doing family transnationally. Acknowledging this does not however mean that the image of the closely knit family is being taken at face value. The ensuing discussion digs deeper into this image and teases out the ups and downs of exclusively doing family in an ICT-based mode for almost twelve years.

7.1.2 Demystifying the experiences of ICT-based transnational families

Although virtual communication has continued more or less unabated (at least in the case currently under discussion here), it does not comprehensively address the everyday realities 'on the ground'. The idea of how experiences are communicated, portrayed, and remembered therefore becomes an empirical question when analysed in a transnational social space. The reason for this being that there are three lived experience perspectives represented in this space as follows; first, the lived experiences of the transnational family members in Zimbabwe, second, the lived experiences of the family members in the UK, and third, the shared experiences which are composed of the transnational practices done and displayed in the transnational social space. This is depicted in my conceptual framework diagram (Figure 2) in Chapter 3.

This section emphasizes the shared experiences in the transnational social space because this is the common space for both migrants and non-migrants. Unlike the physical spaces which are governed by immigration policies, the only passport/visa required to access the common transnational space of co-presence and interaction is ICTs (mostly mobile phones in the context of this study). For this reason, the current discussion not only analyses transnational family

practices, but also highlights the perceptions of this virtual family space as described by the transnational family members that constantly 'meet' and 'do' family within its confines. Regret and Chengetai both insinuated that they face challenges in sustaining genuine communication across distance. Whilst they appreciate ICT-facilitated co-presence they showed concern over the limitations that virtual co-presence has in ensuring a high degree of comprehension of each other's everyday realities. The issues that emerged include: gradual emotional distance as years pass by without physically meeting, the constant gap between the virtual space and the physical 'on the ground' space, challenges of sincerity in communication, the breaching of communication protocols, and difficulties in addressing sensitive issues.

7.1.3 "The UK people were not on the ground": limitations of transnational social spaces

In her explanation of how family relations have changed over the years, Chengetai said:

> *The bond that was there before they left has changed. Look at Regret, she has been there for over ten years now - I don't know maybe if she were to come back and we were to sit down, it will take time. Of course, we still love each other but that strong sisterly bond, I don't think it's there anymore I am sorry to say. It's like there is a gap. My brother comes here and there. Yes, that connection that he is family, he is our brother, is there - but already you find that there is a gap. You find that the way I relate with my siblings who are here* [in Zimbabwe] *is different from the way I relate with the ones in the UK, because I see these people here now and again.*
>
> *As a family our relations got strained because the UK people were not on the ground. It's difficult to discuss family issues with people who are not on the ground, they don't have a full picture of how things work here. We alerted them of Tichirivamwe's behaviour several times, but they thought we were just being too hard on him. They thought we were making a big deal out of normal teenage mischief. They only realised the gravity of the issue after his dismissal from school. A lot has changed since they left and they don't realize that, maybe because they have also picked up certain ways of life in the UK and want to impose them on us.*
>
> **Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017**

The two important issues reflected in the above quoted interview excerpt are: firstly, that prolonged ICT-based co-presence has weakened family bonds, in the process creating a 'them and us' situation within the family, and secondly, that physical co-presence (being 'on the ground') is perceived to be more effective than ICT-based co-presence. The explicit reference to weakening bonds and to the difficulties of discussing family matters with people who are not physically co-present, not only reflects Chengetai's perception of virtual co-presence, but also carries undertones of relational distance that is slowly emerging as the relational dynamics shift. To support the point that relational distance gradually emerges over time, I would like to refer to what Moreblessing shared about her transnational family experiences. She stated that,

"[…] *yes there is still love and respect but the memories keep dimming, you know they dim after some time, things that you used to enjoy as a family become distant memories* (Moreblessing, Interview, 27.11.2016).

What I interpreted from Chengetai's account is that the 'people in Zimbabwe' were convinced that their approach to dealing with Tichirivamwe's behaviour was the best because it responded to the happenings 'on the ground'. Regret on the other hand lives in a country where children's rights are prioritised and thus believes that children should be allowed to express themselves and given a chance to explain their behaviour instead of rushing to reprimand them. Explaining the difficulties that she faced in trying to make the 'people in Zimbabwe' understand her preferred parenting approach for her son, Regret said:

> *They always complain and say you UK people are too controlling and want to give us directives. But we don't give directives as such, just suggestions on how they can better manage certain situations involving my son.*
>
> **Regret, Interview, 09.10.2016**

It is clear that there is a difference in parenting approaches which Chengetai alludes to the UK people's absence from the ground and their failure to comprehend that a lot of things have changed since they migrated. If one solely looks at their transnational everyday practices and interactions without attending to their perceptions of the space in which these practices occur, these dichotomous realities would be missed. Analysing the 'them and us' situation from both Chengetai and Regret's perspectives thus exposes limitations of doing family in a transnational space, as perceived by those who meet and do everyday family life within its confines. In a case like the one under spotlight here, where physical co-presence is hindered by policy restrictions, it becomes crucial to analyse whether, and how family members bridge the gap between the virtual and the physical spaces.

The fact that Chengetai emphasized the absence of 'the UK people' from the ground raises a number of space-related conceptual and practical questions. Chengetai's preoccupation with the physical space (on the ground), shows that there are certain relational aspects that are still perceived to work better when all parties are in the same physical space. After all, "embodied presence matters to people and mediated presence is not identical to embodied presence" (Verne, 2014, p. 828). The same obsession that Chengetai seems to have with physical co-presence was also evident in other research participants' narratives like, for instance, Vimbiso's narrative on her marriage experiences (addressed later on in this Chapter). This corroborates

the argument that "physical co-presence remains the gold standard; actually being bodily present with the longed for person or in the longed for place so as to experience them fully, with all five senses" (Baldassar et al., 2016, p. 138).

This argument can be extended beyond the idea of embodied full experience to the idea of fully comprehending matters when they are physically seen and experienced, as opposed to when they are just heard about or seen in digital form. A case in point here being how 'the UK people' initially responded to reports about Tichirivamwe's behaviour, as explained in the previous interview excerpt. Although I agree with the viewpoint that co-presence can exist without physical proximity (Baldassar, 2016b; Döbler, 2019), I argue that the fact that it is possible should not be taken to imply that it is sufficient or desired by all. The various concerns raised in Chengetai and Regret's accounts therefore deserve further analysis.

7.1.4 Sincerity concerns in everyday transnational communication

The shared practices and experiences in transnational social spaces are shaped by internal and external factors. I am looking at them here from the vantage point of having gathered insights from all three perspectives. What is apparent from these perspectives is that the transnational family members in Regret's family only share and display information that they consider important for the other members to know about their actual circumstances. According to Chengetai such selective sharing of information develops over time. She explained as follows:

> *Communication-wise there is no genuineness. You know what happens is that over time sincerity dies down when it comes to issues that arise in the family. You don't open up that much because you will be considering that they are too far away from home and you don't want them worrying over every problem you encounter. They don't have a full picture of what we are going through, and we also don't have a full picture of what they are going through there.*
>
> **Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017**

The above excerpt from Chengetai's interview shows that although ICTs create a conducive and effective space for transnational family life, exclusively doing family in that space reconstitutes family dynamics. Although the nature of the insincerity that Chengetai alluded to is not ill-intentioned and reflects empathetic considerations, it sometimes upsets relationships. This happens when those who are supposedly meant to be protected from worrying over issues that they cannot solve from a distance, view it as being 'relativised', or feel that their positions in the family are being undermined. What comes to mind here is an incident that Chengetai shared about some work-related problems that she kept away from her mother. Chengetai narrated that she once faced a serious predicament at work and decided against sharing it with

her mother, out of concern that it would negatively affect her health. She shared the issue with her siblings in Zimbabwe and sought counsel from her church elders. One of her siblings then shared the matter with their mother, who was livid that Chengetai had kept her in the dark, yet she had shared the matter with her church 'mothers'.

The issue of transnational family members withholding certain information from each another has also been revealed in other studies. These include a study conducted by Theodora Lam and Brenda Yeoh on how *staying behind* children from Indonesia and the Philippines deal with the changes in their everyday lives in the contexts of the migration and return of their parents (Lam & Yeoh, 2019). That study discusses examples of children who like Chengetai also did not share their problems with their parents to avoid worrying them. Lam and Yeoh interpreted this as being illustrative of the children's agency in managing long-distance communication. They postulated that what is said and what is omitted during transnational communication demonstrates agency in negotiating long-distance intimacy with absent family members and in influencing the degree of involvement in each other's daily lives (Lam & Yeoh, 2019).

Whilst their argument is persuasive, I contend that withholding vital information can also be a sign of waning relationships. Moreover, it can in fact contribute to gradual emotional distance, particularly in cases like that of Regret, where for over a decade family life is exclusively done in transnational spaces. In one of the online TV shows (see Appendix 5) discussing the issue of *staying behind* children, one contributor expressed concern over the fact that Zimbabwean parents hardly explain their real immigration status to their *staying behind* children. Instead they constantly promise to return or reunite with them 'soon'. The contributor blamed such false overpromising for some children's feelings of abandonment.

It has been argued that the pre-existing quality of relationships, cultural and structural models of gendered and age-specific roles influence the impact of ICTs on maintaining a sense of familyhood across distance (Baldassar et al., 2016). Following up on this assertion, I argue that while this holds true, much of what becomes of the sense of familyhood in transnational settings, depends on the practices and efforts made by the family members to keep the connection alive as time passes. In a case like that of Regret's family which is affected by asylum tenebrosity, the quality of pre-existing relations ends up being overshadowed by the complexities brought about by prolonged separation. Although members of transnational families constantly engage in virtual mobility and get glimpses into the everyday lives of each other, that is as far is it goes – just glimpses –. This explains why Chengetai alluded to the

limitations of being absent from 'the ground' which results in transnational family members' inability to get the 'full picture' of each other's experiences. Without the 'full picture', genuine communication is compromised, sometimes resulting in subtle clashes, in this case over transnational co-parenting approaches.

7.1.5 'My house, my rules': negotiating dynamics in transnational co-parenting

Another illustration of the difficulty of doing family in transnational spaces is reflected through the everyday struggles of balancing life in both the physical and the transnational social space. Chengetai brought to light the often overlooked intricacies related to how the guardian 'on the ground' balances out their guardianship role, their role as a mother to their own children, as well as the expectations of the parent(s) whose child they live with. These multiple roles illuminate the often ignored translocational positionalities of transnational family members. Chengetai is not only a guardian, and mother, but is also a wife who needs to balance the dynamics in her own marital home. As Tichirivamwe's other mum, Chengetai perceived him the same way as she perceived her own children. It was therefore a huge mission for her to ensure that there was equal treatment of all the children in her household, particularly in terms of material provisions. She explained the complications of ensuring this in the following way:

> *We felt Tichirivamwe shouldn't get too many luxuries because he also lived with his other siblings* (cousins). *It was unfair that he would have lots of other extras that his siblings* (cousins) *didn't have because we always treated him the same way we treated our own children. Trying to make the UK people understand that, was quite a challenge. It was most of the times taken as abuse or jealous, yet we were only trying to help and to also balance things in the family. I am not saying he wasn't supposed to get gifts from his mother, no, we just felt that sometimes she was overdoing it in a way. Sometimes you feel that the money or gifts sent are too much. And when you try to withdraw some of the luxuries, they don't look at it from the perspective that you want to balance out things with the rest of the children in the house, or that you don't want the child to lose focus from school. When it gets to them they feel we are abusing him, yet they are not on the ground. Even his teachers felt that the luxuries contributed to the bad behaviour that got him expelled from school.*
>
> **Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017**

The picture painted by Chengetai's explanation would not be obvious to a migrant parent who lives away from her child and uses gifts as a connection and constant reminder of her presence in the child's life. Writing on the experiences of transnational parenting of undocumented Salvadoran mothers residing in the USA, Sarah Horton highlighted how migrating parents use gifts and remittances to assure their children of the continuity of their love. She described the gifts and remittances as the "currency of transnational love" (Horton, 2009, p. 11,17). However, compensating for their absence and assuaging their guilt feelings through gifts and remittances

sometimes creates tension in cases such as the one under discussion here, where it upsets the desire to treat all the children living in the household equally.

Regret explained that although her siblings constantly accused her of spoiling Tichirivamwe, she is convinced that what she was providing for Tichirivamwe was normal. She stated that as a mother she would have been in any case buying her son clothes, and his favourite items had she been privileged enough to live with him. Regret therefore struggles to understand why certain items were being withheld from Tichirivamwe when she as the mother would have provided for them. Regret and Chengetai once sought mediation to help find a balance in their transnational co-parenting of Tichirivamwe. When mediation failed to yield the desired outcome Chengetai adopted what she called a tough stance. She narrated that:

> *Mediation efforts failed and in the end I just told them* ['the UK people'] *'my house, my rules'- of which it shouldn't honestly get to that. Sometimes if you don't take that tough stance it can cause tensions in your own marriage because your husband won't tolerate behaviour that can negatively impact his children. This distance thing causes a lot of unnecessary friction within the family, people are not happy, but what can they do when they still want their children looked after here?*
>
> **Chengetai, Interview, 22.04.2017**

The fact that Chengetai ended up taking a '*my house, my rules*' attitude demonstrates how migrating parents may sometimes end up experiencing a paradox of parenting. I am using the phrase paradox of parenting in the sense that as a mother, Regret has the duty of care to make sure that her child is provided for, and that his best interests are protected. However, in this case where she ceded part of her parental responsibility to her siblings, her duty to provide for Tichirivamwe was subtly being controlled by those living with him who felt that she was sending too many luxuries. 'My house, my rules' thus exposes how decisions made by migrant parents in transnational social spaces may be overruled by guardians 'on the ground'. This can be seen in for example, how Chengetai would sometimes remove certain items from the boarding school tuck list that Tichirivamwe would have drafted in consultation with Regret.

Although it was historically common for some children to be looked after by relatives, relationship dynamics between contemporary migrating parents and guardians of their *staying behind* children are different from the past. Notwithstanding the central role of solidarity, past child fosterage was more often than not modelled along the lines of altruism in the sense that financially privileged family members looked after children of their less privileged relatives. Comparing this to contemporary guardianship that is brought about by migration, the difference

lies in that contemporary migrant parents provide for all their children's needs, sometimes going further to cater for the basic needs of the whole household in which their children are being looked after. They therefore determine where their children go to school, as well as the financial and material items they receive. In such instances, tensions may then arise as has been illustrated by Chengetai's interview excerpts where providing equal treatment for children living in the same house becomes a challenge. This is different in cases where the guardians are less privileged than the migrating parents; in such cases research has shown that tension usually arises when migrating parents think that their children are being used as 'meal tickets' (Madziva, 2015b) or as a means of soliciting for money from them (Poeze et al., 2017).

This culture of child fosterage within extended family networks is also found in other African countries like Ghana. In her study of Ghanaian *staying behind* children under family foster care, Catie Coe found out that in Ghanaian family life, "migrant parents who leave their children behind in Ghana can continue to be good parents by sending remittances" (Coe, 2011, p. 7). While the same can be said for Zimbabwean migrant parents, I would not boldly claim that sending remittances becomes a measure of good parenting as such a claim would require adequate empirical evidence to support. One case that comes close to supporting such a claim is that of Mai Taruza. She travelled to the UK in the year 2000 accompanying her young niece whose parents had migrated there a few months earlier. Mai Taruza overstayed her visitor visa and went underground until 2009 when she applied for asylum. At the time of her migration she had two children Taruza and Reliance then aged ten and two respectively, who remained in Zimbabwe in the custody of her parents.

Mai Taruza narrated that:

> *The kids understood, they would write me touching letters assuring me and saying to me don't worry about us, we are in the safe hands of* ***gogo*** (grandmother) *and* ***sekuru*** (grandfather) - *we know you are working hard for us, carry on doing what you are doing. I even presented some of the letters to Home Office when I was processing family reunion. They appreciate and always tell me that it made them strong young women and they believe they can now cope with anything in life.*
>
> **Mai Taruza, Telephone Interview, 06.02.2017**

Mai Taruza managed to reunite with her second daughter in 2016. After failing to reunite with her eldest daughter because she was over eighteen and had her own child, Mai Taruza organised for her to do postgraduate studies in Germany. So, when I did the telephone interview with her in 2017, she was planning to travel to Germany to meet her daughter after seventeen years of

exclusively doing family in transnational social spaces. The fact that Tichirivamwe and Mai Taruza's children were content with the regular communication and gifts from their mothers should not be taken as being reflective of all *staying behind* children. There are other examples from my data where *staying behind* children had different experiences. Some of the *staying behind* children (now adults) that I interviewed felt that in as much as it was great to receive gifts from their mothers, they would have appreciated having them physically present. These include the case of Patsanurai's two *staying behind* (now adult) children who I interviewed twice in January and April 2017.

Patsanurai and her children had by the time of the interview lived in a transnational family set-up for fifteen years. The eldest of the two, Tasara, was about to turn 27 years of age whilst the youngest Tinevimbo was aged 23[71]. The two siblings lived with their maternal grandmother, aunts, and uncles. Their experiences show an element of 'my house, my rules' which was exercised by their uncle who by virtue of being the eldest brother to their mother, played the cultural role of being the father of the family home. Tasara works and also receives remittances from her mother, which are supposed to contribute towards the upkeep of Tinevimbo, her grandmother and herself. Their uncle however also demands that she pays the water, electricity, and other utility bills arguing that she has two sources of income (work and remittances). Tasara has considered moving out with her sister but she fears that this would be misinterpreted as abandoning their grandmother. I met Tasara's grandmother, Mbuya Mutarisi during the first interview with Tasara but she did not share much about her transnational experiences.

Another case in point is that of Kundai, whose mother migrated in the year 2000 when Kundai was aged ten[72]. Although they regularly spoke on the phone, Kundai and her mother had not physically seen each other in seventeen years. Kundai described her life as having become complicated ever since her mother migrated. She remained behind with her younger sibling, initially in the custody of her grandmother, and was later moved to live with one of her aunts. Kundai often felt vulnerable because she experienced abuse when she was aged thirteen. She struggled to cope with the trauma from the abuse and was at the time of our interview in 2017 aged 27 and still receiving therapy. Kundai's experiences sway the discussion towards the complications arising out of discussing sensitive issues such as abuse via ICTs. This thus becomes the subject of focus in the next section.

[71] Tasara means we have stayed behind; Tinevimbo means we have hope
[72] Kundai means "be victorious". I introduced her in Chapter 4 as the most emotional interview that I did

7.1.6 Managing sensitive issues and communication protocols in transnational spaces

Based on the findings of this study examples of sensitive information include cases of child abuse (as was the case with Kundai), when a child is constantly caught up in trouble (as was the case with Tichirivamwe), when a *staying behind* spouse cheats or threatens divorce (as was highlighted by Mai Tongogara and Mudhara Randani – discussed under the next section on doing marriage across distance), and when a parent has a serious ailment or dies (as was the case in Mai Taruza's family- discussed in Chapter 8). The research data shows that such information is difficult to relay in transnational spaces as it stirs up a myriad of emotions which usually require moral support to deal with. There is also the risk that if sensitive issues are discussed via chat, email, or voice messages, they can be forwarded to unintended recipients and complicate family relations.

Kundai was molested by a relative when she was aged thirteen. She was scared to report the abuse to anyone because she had been threatened by the perpetrator. One of her aunts eventually found out and advised her against sharing the incident with anyone else as she felt that it would ruin relations in the family. Her mother was kept in the dark for almost four years, until Kundai herself decided to send an email to her when she was aged seventeen. Through that email, she informed her about the abuse and asked her to organize for her to move out of her aunt's house. Kundai had asked her mother not to confront anyone, but in outrage her mother forwarded the email to Kundai's aunts and grandparents. She demanded to know why she had not been informed and why her children had not been properly protected. This created tension and blame shifting during which her mother was equally blamed for having left her children. Kundai explained that the email was the best platform for her to freely express herself to her mother because back then she did not own a mobile phone, and applications like Whatsapp were not yet available.

Protracted ICT-based transnational family life also modifies the culturally guided family communication protocols. Regret opined that, with time communication protocols were disregarded as she would sometimes be the last person to know about some of her son's incidents of alleged deviant behaviour.

Regret shared the following:

> *When we started our family Whatsapp group I would get to know some of the issues to do with my son on the group. No one bothered to first discuss with me one on one, and that used to pain me a lot. I used to just succumb and say nothing considering that they were looking after my son, until I came to a point where I voiced my concerns over that. My mother understood my concerns, but my siblings in Zimbabwe were not happy. They always complain and say you UK people are too controlling and want to give us directives. But we don't give directives as such, just suggestions on how they can manage certain situations involving my son. As Tichirivamwe's mother I have to protect him, I didn't like that everyone was always labelling him a mischievous child. Yes, he did some wrong things and was even expelled from school, but they should have communicated with me directly, not ridiculing my son on the group. I don't know how he felt about all these issues because he has never really complained to me, but as a mother it didn't sit well with me.*
>
> **Regret, Interview, 09.10.2016**

The fact that Regret used to "*succumb and say nothing*" indicates the complications that biological parents have to consider before acting on issues affecting their children. Similar concerns were also highlighted in other studies where research showed that migrant parents often avoid speaking their mind when their *staying behind* children are being looked after by anyone who is not the children's grandmother (Madziva, 2015b; Poeze et al., 2017). Traditionally issues like Tichirivamwe's 'misbehaviour' would be discussed in person. In cases where tensions would be running high, a mediator would provide counsel and help bring the affected parties together to find a common solution.

The scenario shared by Regret exposes some of the downsides of cyber family groups. In Regret's Shona culture, family groups or meeting platforms *(dare/matare)* are structured according to such characteristics as age, gender, birth order (for example, first born), and culturally assigned role in the family (for example, *vatete* or *sekuru*). Ideally there would be groups comprising of family elders and other assigned relatives who are culturally assigned to handle mediation issues. Conflicting parties or parties in need of counsel are then referred to such groups for either mediation, or counsel depending on the situation. Whilst it is not completely impossible to mirror these criteria in transnational social spaces, it is sometimes overlooked as is the case in Regret's family where one big Whatsapp family group for both adults and children exists. This inevitably creates challenges with family communication protocols, as seen here where Regret found it inappropriate for her son's issues to be discussed in the Whatsapp group without any prior communication with her.

The issue of communication protocols being broken in transnational social spaces also came other narratives. Narrating on her experiences of transnational communication, Moreblessing

stated that she sometimes feels like there is an element of respect that the mobile phone takes away. She explained it as follows:

> *With my family now I feel like it's more of a business arrangement when I talk to them. I send money every two weeks, it's like clockwork, and it's now so efficient that I don't even feel the need to have proper communication. I just text one of my sisters with instructions on how the money is to be allocated. My mother doesn't like that I don't send the money to her, but ah she struggles with technology so it would be difficult for her to do Ecocash* [mobile phone banking] *transfers to everyone else. So, I just ignore her complaints and now I just feel I can pretty much say whatever I want to say to her because on the phone you get this false sense of confidence.*
>
> **Moreblessing, Interview, 27.11.2016**

The issues discussed in this chapter so far show that although ICTs have become more like an infrastructure of family life that enables co-presence across time and space, this does not necessarily translate to creating 'happy families' (Baldassar et al., 2018; Madianou & Miller, 2013). ICT-based co-presence comes with its own technological, financial, and social limitations which may complicate the maintenance of familyhood. Their efficiency in enhancing familyhood may also be marred by misunderstanding and misinterpretation of innocuous statements or messages, which may cause unintended tensions. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, ICTs, particularly mobile phones, remain one of the most effective pathways to keeping the defining attribute of transnationality -that is, relationality-, alive. Although they are a material object, they embody the status of being an active constituent of social relations (Pfaff, 2010) through their ability to facilitate the interactions and practices of transnational family members. It has been posited that "migration strategies are rooted within a family frame of reference, underlined by the assumption that families, […] are primal and enduring, capable of withstanding the test of physical separation" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 4). But how long a test can families actually endure? This remains one of the unresolved tough questions that also constitutes part of the next section's discussion on doing marriage in prolonged transnational settings.

7.2 Doing marriage across distance: Divha and Vimbiso's experiences and perceptions

I can't call this a marriage whereby I spend most of the time alone with my children. Marriage is a companionship, and a companionship is not telephonic, you have your needs, conjugal rights, and all. There are times you just come back from work, you are so tired, and you just need a hug, or somebody to just tell your story. Over the phone you can't explain everything to him, especially when you have had a bad day. (Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017)

Divha was suggested as a potential research participant by Regret's husband who once worked with him in Zimbabwe[73]. I interviewed Divha in October 2016 and his wife Vimbiso in March 2017. I spent two weekends with Vimbiso and her children at her invitation, before conducting the actual interview. I was therefore able to gain a lot of insights into their transnational marriage and family life set-up, hence the decision to make their experiences the main reference for this section. Divha initially migrated to the UK on an ancestry visa in 2001 together with his ex-wife and their children. Following a series of misunderstandings, some of which attracted police and social services intervention, they divorced in 2008. Divha blames the breakdown of his first marriage on what he calls two external interfering forces. These are: firstly, the UK system which he accuses of affording too many rights to women, and secondly, the pressure from *staying behind* extended family members' financial demands. He temporarily moved back to Zimbabwe after the breakdown of his first marriage and then married Vimbiso in 2010. Divha lived with Vimbiso for about a year before returning to live and work in the UK in 2011. Vimbiso remained behind and continues to live in Zimbabwe. As far as Divha is concerned the UK is only good for making money, not for family life, hence he treats it as a place of work. Vimbiso is a professional working mother with strong family values emanating from her own family life experiences. She struggles to cope with doing marriage across distance as she is a strong advocate for traditional family life standards. She reminisced how sheltered her childhood was, and how much she had wished for her own marriage and parenting to mirror her own experiences of familyhood. Vimbiso narrated:

> *I learnt the values of family from a tender age, we used to get home, kiss each other as greetings. When my dad goes to work, we would run to him, kiss him, look for parcels and everything – that's the environment that I grew up in, whereby your parents are always there.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Vimbiso lives with her two young children and regularly communicates with her husband. She

[73] Divha's name has been explained in the Methodology Chapter. Vimbiso in this context means "the promise"

initially thought their transnational arrangement was going to be temporary, but after almost six years of living apart she feels stuck in that arrangement. She lamented that even though she dislikes the transnational arrangement, changing it is beyond their control. She stated that they can neither change the economic situation in Zimbabwe, nor can they influence the UK family reunification policy. They thus continue to mostly rely on ICT-based co-presence which they create through everyday interactions.

7.2.1 "Nobody owns time": temporal challenges of doing marriage across distance

Given that Divha does not live in asylum tenebrosity, he visits his family at least once a year. They communicate everyday via various ICT platforms. Vimbiso appreciates the continued improvement of ICTs which has vastly reduced international communication call costs. During the period 2011 to 2013 Divha and Vimbiso primarily communicated through direct mobile phone calls. They both found these to be expensive and thus appreciate the improved ICT infrastructure in Zimbabwe which now allows for the availability of cheaper and faster internet connections. Since 2013 Vimbiso and Divha mostly use smartphone applications Whatsapp, Tango, and Viber, as well as Facebook for chats, calls, and sharing audio-visual and text files.

Divha regularly sends money, gifts, and other household items for Vimbiso and the family in Zimbabwe. Some of the items that Divha sends are for his own parents, and Vimbiso is responsible for delivering the items to them. She also represents him at family events that happen during his absence. Divha and Vimbiso jointly make monthly budgets, decisions, and family plans via audio or video calls. They keep each other informed of their weekly plans, and usually have a family video call session which includes their young children on Sundays. Sometimes their weekly family video call sessions fail to happen because Divha occasionally takes up care work to earn extra money. The sessions also sometimes get affected when Vimbiso's phone battery dies in the middle of a call session due to long hours of power cuts which have become a usual occurrence in post-2000 Zimbabwe.

Despite all these various ways of creating and maintaining ICT-based co-presence, Vimbiso is frustrated and finds their transnational arrangement abnormal and unhealthy. She stated that "*if it was that once very month we meet and we see each other, it would be a bit normal, the distance and the time would be quite normal, but a year is too much*!" (Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017). Although she understands that this is good for the financial needs of the family, she is worried that her children are growing up with a "*phone call daddy*". Her concern is that years are going by and her children continue missing out on the experiences of growing up with their father, like she did. Vimbiso believes that "*nobody owns time*" hence she finds it

unfortunate that she is 'doing' marriage and family transnationally, in the hope of reuniting someday. She said:

> *Nobody owns time. We might think it's a matter of time before we live together as family, but we are probably left with a few days or a few years to live. When you are busy planning and thinking things will get in shape and we will be together, that's when your time* [death] *comes. It's frustrating and living like this you don't even know how much time you are all left with on earth. And if the time comes* [death] *and you are in this distance, it's something else.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Vimbiso stated that it is because of such fears of the unknown that she tries to make the best of their transnational arrangement in spite of how frustrating it is for her. As far as she is concerned, spouses, parents and children should spend as much time together as possible. She explained that for her being together is more important than material things. Vimbiso said:

> […] *even if he gives you money, money doesn't cover up for all other things, for company. He can give you money to sustain yourself and all but it doesn't count for company, because for me I value company more than money.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Alluding to the policy related impediments to their reunification, Vimbiso explained that the process is too expensive for them. She was thus contemplating applying for post-graduate studies in any European country close to the UK, but she was worried that it might be impossible to migrate with her children. Vimbiso expressed her concerns as follows:

> […] *even if I wanted to relocate, say I get a scholarship to go and have my education, if I don't get a scholarship that allows me to go with my kids, it will be separation again - from my children! Now I will be pursuing something else economically or maybe closer to the father or what- but when the kids are not there, it's still not family. It's still not family and it's not healthy to leave kids like these and say I am going to school, because I now want my husband closer? They are children, they have the right to stay with their parents like I grew up. I grew up with my parents, I never used to go to any place without them. So that's how much I value them.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

This overview of experiences shows that Divha and Vimbiso are able to maintain their marriage through the use of the various communication applications on their mobile phones, as well as through Divha's annual visits. It also reveals that doing marriage in transnational spaces goes against Vimbiso's values and perceptions of ideal family life. The next sections elaborate on some of her concerns and how she manages the transnational situation. As I analyse the themes that emerged from Divha and Vimbiso's transnational marriage experiences, I will also draw

from other research participants' experiences.

7.2.2 "You have needs, conjugal rights and all": limits of doing marriage across distance

Divha generally seems content with doing marriage transnationally. His priority is to work and pool enough resources to provide for his wife and family in Zimbabwe. On the contrary, Vimbiso struggles to adapt to this way of doing family as it goes against her very understanding of family life and values. Their narratives attest to the fact that ICTs indeed contribute to the maintenance of the sense of being there for each other (familyhood). For Vimbiso however, they fall short of making her feel like they are really together as husband and wife should ideally be. She said:

> *I recently told him* [Divha] *that if our setup is going to be like this for long I think I am going to quit. I can't call this a marriage whereby I spend most of the time alone with my children. Marriage is a companionship, and a companionship is not telephonic, you have your needs, conjugal rights, and all. There are times you just come back from work, you are so tired, and you just need a hug, or somebody to just tell your story. Over the phone you can't explain everything to him, especially when you have had a bad day. You also try by all means to be involved in his life, but there is an element of being human that goes, it's just no longer there. Even affection, you find you are so casual with each other because you are so busy with your lives. You only meet on the phone. Yes, you talk, but when somebody is on the ground the compassion that you feel is different. If you tell somebody you are not feeling well over the phone, it's quite different.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Vimbiso's narrative excerpt aptly shows how although she remained virtually connected, in 'ambient co-presence' with her husband, the prolonged nature of their transnational situation reinforced her desire for physical co-presence. It made her realise that the transnational marriage arrangement was different from her desired marriage setting. Their virtual co-presence was like a 'very deficient copy' of her husband really being there (Verne, 2014). It has been argued that "roles within a family carry the weight of obligation to fulfil certain tasks in relation to specific others within that family" (Wilding, 2018, p. 6). Issues of intimacy are central to any marriage and are therefore one of the biggest challenges for couples living transnationally. This explains why Vimbiso mentioned the issue of conjugal rights, which she cannot fulfil telephonically. Although there supposedly is growing debate on the potential for intimacy across distance through such avenues as cyber-sex and couple Apps, there is need to question the limits of organizing touch by proxy (Baldassar, 2016a).

Divha and Vimbiso both expressed concern over their relationship as trust issues sometimes cause tension between them. Vimbiso also highlighted the issue of how not being 'on the ground' to see the actual picture of things, complicates issues. She stated that they often quarrel

when she sometimes has to modify their agreed budgets without discussing with him because of the price volatility situation in Zimbabwe. Divha often blames her of exaggerating the volatility or of having no sense of urgency in executing their plans, yet according to Vimbiso he fails to comprehend the demanding everyday tasks that she deals with, because he is not 'on the ground'.

Intimacy concerns were also raised by Mai Tongogara and Mudhara Randani who argued that living away from a spouse for lengthy periods is a trust-breaker. They both highlighted that it is difficult to expect someone to live for many years without engaging in sexual relations. Touching on the challenges that she has encountered in her fourteen-year long transnational family life, Mai Tongogara said:

> *I used to work double shifts thinking we were planning together with my husband, but he was not using the money for those plans. I heard that he sometimes used my money on girlfriends. He did not get another wife but he used to have different girlfriends. I never confronted him, I just stopped sending him money and started coordinating my investments in Zimbabwe with my eldest daughter. I didn't stress much about his cheating, I consider all the years that I have lived here away from him. He is a man, he has needs. It's not easy, but it is what it is.*
>
> **Mai Tongogara, Interview, 09.10.2016**

Mai Tongogara mentioned that she once also had thoughts of moving on after five years in the UK. What deterred her is that she reminded herself that she had sacrificed time away from her family in order to work for them. She therefore feared disappointing and embarrassing them, and she also dreaded reproach from her church colleagues. Mudhara Randani who has been living away from his second wife for fourteen years revealed the following:

> *I am still in touch with my second wife as if to say we saw one another yesterday, yet it's been about 13/14 years ago since we met. It has only been through the phone, and we got so used to the phone as if to say it's the right thing - you don't have to see somebody, you just have to phone and all is well, ahh!* […] *that's bad hey. Our marriage was sour at different stages, at one stage she told me 'I am getting married to someone else', but that wasn't true. She was just frustrated. Whenever she told me that she no longer wanted to be my wife, I would just bite the bullet. All I could say is I am far away and there is not anything I can do, I am not seeing you, I can only hear your voice. At some stages I could accept and say to myself yes she is right she has to move on. If she is telling the truth that she is now married, I am not going to blame her, it's not her fault, she has been alone for 14 years. Even if I know there was somebody else, what you don't see does not hurt you, so, I still got some love for her. There is nothing I can do about our situation, I'm cornered. If I go back to Zimbabwe, I now got nothing there to go and look after my family, I will be a destitute. I will be a laughingstock amongst everybody, so I might as well stay here and continue looking after them.*
>
> **Mudhara Randani, Interview, 19.08.2016**

The just quoted narrative excerpt from Mudhara Randani is loaded with evidence of the limitations of extended transnational married life. The need for occasional physical co-presence cannot be overemphasized. Mudhara Randani shares the same sentiments with Mai Tongogara, that their *staying behind* spouses are somehow justified in their threats to move on with other people. Mudhara Randani is willing to remain married to his second wife regardless of her having threatened to marry someone else. His case is complex in the sense that the UK does not recognise polygamous marriages for purposes of family reunification (European Migration Network, 2016). It would have been interesting to get Mai Tongogara and Mudhara Randani's *staying behind* spouses' perceptions of their transnational marriage set-ups. Despite the consent that I had obtained from both parties to interview their spouses, they later informed me that their spouses were unwilling to take part in the research.

When I solicited Vimbiso's opinion on doing transnational marriage in situations of asylum tenebrosity, she likened such situations to being in a waiting period:

> *I have a friend who has such a setup who says to me, your husband actually comes and you are complaining! Some of us, our husbands sought asylum and can't come back, we only get to talk to them over the phone. You know somebody, especially a man, cannot spend five years without sleeping with a woman, obvious he is sleeping with someone. You know, but you don't want to know who the person is, honestly you know, but you don't want to know! -that's what she says. You want to pretend as if he is just waiting for you until eternity, until you say hmmm I think I have found somebody else. It's more like a waiting period whereby when you really get frustrated you just move on and look for somebody else. Somebody can stay with somebody and have family that side and still call you family here, that's life. The idea of family now is mainly because you have kids together, that's the only thing that makes you call each other family.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Another married participant, Lovemore, also shared his experiences of doing marriage across distance for ten years. He migrated in 2006 on a study visa and later applied for political asylum. His wife and children *stayed behind* in Zimbabwe. Lovemore explained that the relationship between him and his wife had changed because of living apart. He said:

> *Of course, things change because tensions are high when you don't see each other for long, one of you is always ready to blow. If your spouse suspects that you are enjoying life without her, because some of us are outgoing, she is always suspicious. Here and there you go clubbing with female friends, and my wife hates that. I have girlfriends here and there, some of them know that the madam* [wife] *is there in Zimbabwe. It's very common, I think even you can understand, how can one cope all these years since 2006? I once had a 'small house' that introduced me to her family here, her mother liked me even though she knew that I have a wife in Zimbabwe. This is UK, these are UK affairs.*
>
> **Lovemore, Interview, 24.10.2016**

When I asked him if he would accept the same from his wife, Lovemore responded with an emphatic no. He said, "*a wife is not allowed to be adulterous, if it happens and she gets caught that will be the end of the marriage*" (Lovemore, Interview, 24.10.2016). He added that it was one of the reasons why he still insists that his wife and children to continue living at his parents' home, with his mother.

It is cases like these that not only expose the intricacies of doing family in transnational spaces, but also disclose the hidden social costs of policy gaps. Couples that are willing to stand the test of time continue holding on despite having no clue as to when they will likely reunite with their spouses. The transnational social space provides them with a platform through which they engage in everyday practices that keep their sense of being together alive. However, as the narrative examples have illustrated, without the possibility of occasional visits to one another, their relationships are complex. While others accept their situations and continue waiting for reunion, others fail to resist temptation and engage in extra-marital affairs.

It has been argued elsewhere that video and voice calling loved ones without fulfilling one's desire to, for example, hug them, only "[…]serves as a constant reminder of the physical distance separating you from them."(Verne, 2014, p. 828). This not only applies to conjugal issues, but also to everyday matters as shown in the following excerpts from Vimbiso's narrative. She mentioned that Divha and herself avoid fighting on the phone because "[…] *after you fight you are all lonely. What can you do? You now need somebody to talk to, then you have to phone each other again and apologise even if there is not even need to apologize"* (Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017). The idea of loneliness after hanging up a phone call was explained in a study by Verne who reiterated that, despite the ability of virtual mobilities to facilitate connections, they sometimes reinforce feelings of separation, loneliness and longing (Verne, 2014).

Following up on a point that she had raised on how frustrated she was about living alone with her kids, I asked Vimbiso to elaborate on the nature of her frustrations. In response she said:

> *There are times when you need somebody to help you around you know. When my kids are sick I make sure that I phone him and wake him up, so that we experience the same pain and stress! I phone him even if its midnight to say the child has a fever or what, yaah I wake him up. For me it's frustrating with the kids especially when they are sick and I need to rush to the emergency rooms. I sometimes have to wait until it's morning because I don't have any male figure in my house, and I don't feel safe driving alone with the kids in the middle of the night. He can be there on the phone with me as I take the children to the doctor, but he can't hold my hand, he can't give me a reassuring hug, only words!*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

The fact that she raises security fears due to the absence of a male figure speaks to the issue of perceived gendered roles in patriarchal societies, and how transnational family members manage when these roles shift.

7.2.3 Gendered roles and emotional security in transnational marriage settings

Reflecting back on other frustrating experiences of doing marriage in transnational social spaces, Vimbiso highlighted the emotional stress that she underwent during pregnancy and childbirth. When Divha returned to the UK in 2011 he left her in her first trimester of pregnancy and returned to visit a year later. By the time he visited, Vimbiso had given birth and their child was three months old. Although they communicated on the phone throughout that period, Vimbiso narrated that she would have preferred Divha's embodied presence and 'on the ground' emotional support. She stated that Divha's continued absence makes her feel like a single parent, and she constantly worries that some people in her social circles doubt the genuineness of her marriage. Vimbiso shared that she usually takes time off work whenever Divha visits. They use the time to bond and visit as many of their friends and relatives as their schedules permit. A close read into this shows that she makes deliberate efforts to display her marriage and be seen to be doing family by her social networks (Finch, 2007). Ever since I started communicating with her on Whatsapp in 2017, I noticed that Vimbiso constantly uses family pictures as profile pictures and temporary status on her Whatsapp account. These are normally in the form of collages of pictures of her, her husband, and their children. Such intense display of her family speaks to what Janet Finch has referred to as the heightened intensity to reconfirm and display family relationships when family circumstances change (Finch, 2007, 2011).

Vimbiso also raised the issue of everyday tasks that she would ideally expect Divha to perform but are impossible to execute in transnational social spaces. These include the following:

> *When my car breaks down I call my father to come and help me fix the car. So, some of the manly duties that my husband is supposed to be doing, my dad is still doing for me. As a married woman I find it so wrong that my father still has to run around on behalf of my husband. When it's family there are issues that you want father to do, father to run around for you and for the kids, like school run or when they are sick. My eldest daughter sometimes says to him, I want you to come and pick me up so that we go to school, and she says I want you tomorrow, tomorrow please come and pick me up at school. At times it actually stresses him because he just feels eish am I failing my kids because I am not around, he gets emotional about it. I am also one person who is so scared of thieves, what if we are robbed, what if something happens and you know your husband -the security figure- is not around to make you feel protected.*
>
> **Vimbiso, Interview, 31.03.2017**

Vimbiso's interview excerpts point to a number of societally prescribed patriarchal stereotyped duties and perceptions. I explained in Chapter 2 how the colonial state contributed to the further domestication of women through the home craft clubs and controlled mobility.

Although post-colonial Zimbabwe improved the status of women by affording them the same rights as men, the cultural transfer of custody from their fathers to their husbands still persists. As evidenced by Vimbiso's narrative, duties like fixing the car are still thought of as being for men, and man are still perceived as security figures in their families. Vimbiso thus feels insecure in the absence of her husband. Divha in his narrative also alluded to how migration changes gender roles. He has no issues performing household chores when he is in the UK, but never does any when he visits Vimbiso in Zimbabwe, for fear of being perceived as a weak man. As he explained why he thinks the UK is bad for family life, Divha asked me a rhetoric question:

> *How many men have you seen cooking or doing their own laundry back home? Society judges you if that happens, they will say your wife fed you with a love potion to weaken your masculine authority. But here you get used to it, that is the life we live, we don't know until when*
>
> **Divha, Interview, 13.11.2016**

Another respondent Mukoma Godknows, who is a *staying behind* husband and return migrant shared that when he lived in the UK with his wife he used to help out with household chores, something that he also never does in Zimbabwe because that is perceived as women's work. The UK is sometimes seen as "a site of cultural conflict because of the changing gender relations and gender roles" (Pasura & Christou, 2017, p. 534). Some men withdraw from their traditional marriages or simply return to their homelands to regain their privileged masculine position (Pasura & Christou, 2017). In the examples given here however, Divha and Mukoma Godknows had no problems assisting with household chores in the UK, but categorically stated that they never do so when they are in Zimbabwe.

7.3 The overall impact of long-term transnational family life on the sense of familyhood

The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that ICTs have kept transnational family members virtually connected and in constant ICT-based co-presence. From the early 2000s when families relied on standard direct calls on fixed landlines and mobile phones, to the more recent years where families have upgraded to rely more on smart phone applications such as Whatsapp, Viber, and IMO. This has increased the frequency of their virtual co-presence as they can engage in virtual mobility as many times as their schedules, mobile internet data

bundles, network infrastructure, and phone batteries permit. The improved communication technology has also reduced communication costs as Vimbiso stated. Notwithstanding these positive contributions of ICTs in enabling everyday co-presence, the research findings discussed in this chapter have also shown that protracted exclusive ICT-based co-presence complicates family communication.

Family dynamics shift as parents and guardians of *staying behind* children clash over everyday decisions on parenting and material provisions. Cultural values of solidarity become threatened as emotional rifts occur and create what has been explained in this chapter as a 'them and us' situation. From Chengetai's narrative, it appears migrating mothers have a narrow perspective of life 'on the ground'. They lose sight of the fact that there are other children to be considered by guardians, other than their own in the area of material provisions. The adoption of the discussed 'my house, my rules' attitude and the insinuation that 'the UK people' are controlling, both show emerging fissures and negotiation challenges in family relationships.

On the theme of transnational marriage, the findings have shown that embodied presence is preferred as spouses have conjugal needs. There are also challenges of a temporal nature. As Vimbiso put it, "*nobody owns time*" and she warns that death may strike while couples are preoccupied with using migration as a way to pool resources for a future which is not even guaranteed. By raising issues related to conjugal rights, gender roles and sense of security, Vimbiso raises points related to the cultural roles of men as husbands and fathers, and that of women as wives and mothers who are expected to do what these roles socially entail. The migration movements under study have also shifted traditional marriage dynamics. Unlike during colonial migration when migration mostly involved men, post-2000 migration movements are more feminized. Women like Mai Tongogara migrated on their own, leaving behind their husbands and children for more than a decade. As examples from Mudhara Randani, Mai Tongogara, and Lovemore have shown in this Chapter, trust issues remain of concern regardless of whether it is the wife or the husband who migrated.

From a different angle, Moreblessing stated that the memories that the family members shared prior to migration fade as time passes by. Chengetai also narrated how bonds and sincerity in communication diminish in cases of prolonged separation. While the designations of the family members remain the same, their culturally assigned or expected roles change in transnational setups. Moreblessing's interview excerpt is illustrative of how roles change and how the changes are also reflected in the manner, content, and purpose of communication. In tenebrous

situations, relationships often become what Moreblessing has called business arrangements. Instead of prioritizing checking on each other's health or emotional well-being it becomes more about financial/material needs and provision. Family members on both sides of the spectrum may face serious personal challenges and not know how best to communicate them to the rest of the family.

The situations discussed in this Chapter are neither new nor are they peculiar to Zimbabwe. Bearing in mind that not all couples lived together prior to migration and that not all couples aspire to reunify as Kim Caarls and Valentina Mazzucato discussed in their article on transnational Ghanaian couples, I argue that this should not be used as an excuse to ignore the limitations that reunification laws inherently contain (Caarls & Mazzucato, 2016). The fact that families were multilocal in colonial Zimbabwe should not be taken as a justification for transnational family life, especially if it is forced by policy circumstances. Having explored the topic of doing family across distance in intimate relationships, the following chapter focuses on how family life cycle ceremonies are conducted in transnational settings. It also looks at the transnational circulation of care, particularly paying attention to the care of aging parents.

CHAPTER 8: PERFORMING FAMILY LIFE CYCLE CEREMONIES AND OBLIGATIONS IN TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACES

My child missed her grandma's first love, and I missed my mother's first support to my first child. I wasn't happy at all knowing that in our culture that is what has to be done, maybe if I didn't know I would have accepted to say okay that is the situation. (Batsirai, UK, 09.09.2016)

This Chapter focuses on the performative terrain of transnational family life. It looks at the traditional aspects of family life, that is, the culturally defined rituals that kin are expected to do for, and with each other. Leeder refers to kinship as "a term used to explain the role relationships used by people who consider themselves related" (Leeder, 2004, p. 28). Rights and responsibilities among family members are determined by such factors as cultural norms, age, gender, and position within the system, and patterns are established based on the social context within which the family operates (Leeder, 2004). As Bryceson posited,

> A panoply of family life cycle issues arise related to how transnational families overcome the barriers of physical separation in their management of birth, death and illness and how new attitudes to family size and family members' roles impact on family welfare within and between sending and receiving countries (Bryceson, 2019, p. 9).

This is the position from which I interrogate how transnational families living in asylum tenebrosity manage the performance of cultural rituals associated with the following lifecycle events:

- marriage (*roora* ceremony, and *kuperekwa*)
- birth of a first child (*kusungirwa*)
- death, burial, and bereavement

To do so, I use narratives from the research data to analyse the role of ICT-based co-presence and the use of proxies in enabling the performance of family life cycle rituals transnationally.

The first narrative in this chapter accentuates the performative terrain of transnational family life through the experiences of a woman who migrated in her early twenties and got married, had her first child, divorced, and remarried in the UK. Through this narrative I interrogate how the cultural rituals associated with her marriage, the birth of her first child, as well as her divorce were performed in her transnational family setting. The second narrative in this chapter addresses the theme of transnational parental caregiving. It focuses on how caregiving arrangements are managed in a situation where all adult children migrated. That narrative also touches on death and bereavement in transnational families living in asylum tenebrosity. I also bring in other examples from my other research participants to substantiate points that arise

during the course of the analysis. What is important in these discussions is to understand, the individual and collective roles that transnational family members played prior to migration, the roles that they are culturally expected to play, the roles that they actually play given the transnational family context, as well as the implications of discontinuing or failing to perform culturally assigned roles.

8.1 Family life cycle rituals in Shona families

I adopt the definition of family life cycle from Bryceson who defined it as "stages of the physical and social reproduction of a conjugal couple beginning with marriage or cohabitation, followed by the birth of children, childrearing, generational fission and death" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 5). It is essential to provide a brief overview of the family rituals that this chapter addresses before bringing in the experiences of some of the research participants. This chapter singles out Shona rituals because the narratives that I refer to are from people that identify themselves as being Shona. By singling out these rituals I am not suggesting that these are the only existing ones, neither am I giving them primacy over other cultural rituals. I am simply acknowledging that these reflect the standard, documented, and to an extent legally recognised rituals referred to in Zimbabwe's family law (for example, the customary marriages law).

The traditional marriage ceremony (*roora*)

I will not give full explanations on how issues of marriage are handled as this has been done elsewhere (Chitakure, 2016, 2017; Holleman & Research, 1952; Maguraushe & Mukuhlani, 2014; Mawere & Mawere, 2010; Mwandayi, 2017). As earlier hinted in the background Chapter of this thesis, marriage for indigenous Zimbabweans is a union of two families (*mhuri)* which is sealed by the payment of *roora/lobola* (bride wealth). Traditionally, during the *roora* ceremony the fathers[74] of the bride decide on what they require the son-in law's family (*vakuwasha*) to pay. *Roora* typically consists of cattle, money (*rusambo*), grocery items, and clothing items for the bride's parents. The cattle meant for the father of the bride (*danga*) may be substituted by money, but the mother of the bride's cow (*mombe yeumai*) is believed to carry mystical sanctions hence its payment is non-negotiable (Chitakure, 2017)[75]. The exact quantities of what is finally paid are an outcome of the negotiations done on the *roora* day through a go-between (*munyai/dombo*). This traditional way of doing marriage was codified by the colonial government in 1901 as a way of regulating marriage and easing the implementation of their colonial labour policy as explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis. That

[74] I am using fathers here because the decision is made by the father of the bride in consultation with his brothers and his elderly paternal relatives

[75] See (Chitakure, 2017); (Holleman & Research, 1952) for detailed discussions on *roora*

marked the beginning of Zimbabwe's dual marriage system under which customary law operates alongside general law as previously explained.

Apart from the lineage function of building new kinship ties between two families, marriage among the Shona also has social control and cultural identity functions (Ansell, 2001). It confers new identities and roles for both the older generation and the younger ones. Marriage also enables the older generation to exercise considerable social control (power) over the younger ones as the former become mothers in law and fathers in law to the latter. Through the marriage of their nieces and nephews, paternal aunts and maternal uncles get to fully practice their culturally prescribed amitate and avunculate roles as *vatete* or *sekuru* respectively, as explained in the next section (Ansell, 2001). Marriage thus reinforces ideal masculinity and femininity, as well as gender roles within Zimbabwean families. It also symbolises success on the part of the groom and integrity on the part of the bride and her family. This is so because following the cultural procedure of marriage is perceived as evidence that her family instilled good values and raised her well enough to be what society and the church consider a 'respectable woman' (Hungwe, 2006; C. M. Shaw, 2015).

The role of *vatete* (paternal aunt)

Traditionally paternal aunts, specifically father's sisters (*vatete*) are responsible for instructing their nieces on marriage-related issues and general ethics of 'good' womanhood, while maternal uncles (*sekuru*) are tasked with advising their nephews. Since I will use a woman's narrative as the main reference for my analysis, I emphasize the traditional amitate role of *vatete*. The *vatete* traditionally wielded power over her brothers and their wives, hence her approval, and assistance was required for marriages to take place (Shire, 2016). She was also involved in mediation of family issues and in managing divorce cases within the family (Shire, 2016). The *vatete* acquired this influential position from the fact that in the olden days the cattle from her *roora* ceremony were used to pay the bride wealth for her brothers' wives (Holleman & Research, 1952; Shire, 2016). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the geographical scattering of family members since the creation of compounds and townships resulted in significant changes to family life.

Urbanisation created new mentoring structures for parents and their *mabhonirokisheni* (born in locations) children (Shire, 2016). It tampered with the *vatete*'s culturally bestowed responsibility to mentor her nieces in preparation for marriage. It did not however stop her from playing her prescribed responsibility in the build-up to the marriage and on the day of the

marriage. She is the one to whom the niece is culturally expected to introduce her fiancé, after which the *vatete* conveys her niece's intentions to marry to her parents. She also offers pre-marital counselling to her niece and her fiancé and guides them through the expected procedure of the *roora* ceremony. The *vatete* is also the point of contact for the son-in-law in case of marital problems. She is the channel through which a daughter can be returned to her natal family for further moral advising (*kurairwa)* if her in laws find her moral conduct as a *muroora* questionable.

The dwindling role of *vatete* in colonial and present-day Zimbabwe has gradually become entrusted to other extended family members often in consultation with her. It is traditionally considered taboo for mothers to discuss issues of intimacy in marriage with their daughters hence the need to assign someone to play the role of *vatete*. Outside of the extended family, the church through women's weekly meetings (*ruwadzano* explained in Chapter 2), and close family friends known in Shona as *sahwira* also play a part in advising women. *Sahwira* is a special family friend for life (Trent, 2017) who wears many hats ranging from advising, mediating, and rebuking, to lightening the sombre mood at funerals[76]. Although the *sahwira* performs multiple roles, marriage issues within the family still largely remain the preserve of the *vatete.*

To avoid romanticizing the role of *vatete* it is essential to state that due to such things as high HIV/AIDS-related mortality, the 'Zimbabwe crisis', and lately international migration, there have been significant changes to the role. Women now also get pre-marital advice from other sources other than family. These alternative sources include the previously mentioned church women's weekly meetings (*ruwadzano*), bridal shower platforms, electronic media talk shows, and others seek advice from agony aunt columns in print media. However, despite the availability of these alternative platforms, the cultural role of the *vatete* remains revered. For a traditional marriage ceremony to be affirmed by the extended family, *vatete* or someone assigned that role in her place has to be involved. It is one of those cultural roles which families seem reluctant to fully extend to fictive kin, regardless of the constant transformation of family life. With this background in mind, I now move on to discuss how some of the research participants performed the *roora* ceremony in a transnational setting.

[76] Trent calls sahwira a "friend for life" because even though the friendship is established by two people it may be continued by their children into the third or fourth generation (Gelfand, 1981). Also see (Kyker, 2016) for a brief *sahwira* discussion

8.1.1 Performing the *roora* ceremony across distance: Batsirai's experiences

I was first introduced and connected to Batsirai via Facebook during my pre-research preparations in February 2016. We communicated online since that time until we met in person in August 2016. During my UK research stay, Batsirai invited me to her home three times and on each of those visits I lived with her and her family for at least a week. The first thing that caught my eye when I entered Batsirai's house for the first time were the many family portraits and wall decals with family-related messages throughout her house. One of the wall decals had the message *"Home: where you treat your friends like family and your family like friends".* The displayed portraits not only give an insight into her life, but also show a number of family ceremonies that she wants her UK-born children to know and value. The pictures included those of her traditional marriage ceremony in Zimbabwe, even though she was absent from the ceremony. There was also a portrait of her sister's white wedding ceremony, and a couple more pictures of her Zimbabwe-based family gatherings at their rural village home. The photographs depicted a family life story with an unmissable timeline and rich memories.

Batsirai is the first-born child in a family of three. Her father worked in the retail industry and her mother was a housewife. She travelled to the UK for the first time in the year 2000 at the invitation of her cousin, who had earlier that year been recruited from Zimbabwe to work as a nurse. Upon arrival at the airport, Batsirai who at that time was aged 23 and single was denied entry and she immediately claimed for asylum. She was granted a refugee status in 2001 after three appeals. Throughout her narrative, Batsirai emphasized her role as a first-born child who is culturally expected to be responsible and to set a good example for her younger siblings. Having started working at the age of seventeen, Batsirai explained how she used to financially assist her father and contribute towards paying her siblings' boarding school fees. This she said was not because her father asked her to, but a result of what she knew was culturally expected of her as the eldest child. She had grown up seeing her father doing the same for his younger siblings and cousins. I found her emphasis on her role as a first-born child quite interesting and reflective of the shift in the perception and treatment of women from the colonial era into post-independence Zimbabwe. Her narrative also reflected her ardent commitment to Shona culture and traditions, which she unfortunately could not fully experience to due to her immigration status restrictions.

Batsirai got married to a fellow Zimbabwean in 2004. Her husband was at that time a refused asylum seeker in the UK. She had a refugee status which as per regulation prohibited her from travelling to Zimbabwe until she attained indefinite leave to remain. She invited her parents

and siblings to visit in the hope of having her traditional marriage ceremony conducted in the UK, but they were denied visas. Batsirai could have easily settled for a *mapoto* type of marriage (the informal marriage explained in Chapter 2), but she was unwilling to compromise on her traditional values. Her traditional marriage rites were thus performed in an unconventional way. Unconventional in the sense that although all the procedures were followed, she was absent from the proceedings. Although anecdotal evidence suggests that this has over the years become common, particularly for couples living 'in the Diaspora', it is not yet clear how families perceive this due to sparse research on the subject. This study therefore contributes to narrowing this evidence gap through highlighting research participants' experiences and perceptions of doing traditional marriage rites across distance.

Batsirai had an aunt, an uncle, and cousins who also lived in the UK. Although she introduced her then fiancé to them, none of them played an active role during her traditional marriage ceremony. She explained that her aunt's non-involvement had been sanctioned by her parents:

> *I have an aunt here but, well she is not my father's real sister if you know what I mean. So, my parents were not comfortable enough to let her take on the full role of* ***vatete****.*
>
> **Batsirai, Interview, 09.09.2016**

Batsirai thus personally introduced her then fiancé to her parents over the phone. Likewise, she was also introduced to her in-laws over the phone. They both sent their pictures to their respective families via email, and some printed copies of the pictures through an informal courier service that was run by some employees of Air Zimbabwe. Back then in 2004 the use of the internet was in its infancy in Zimbabwe, it was slow, expensive, and there was limited technological infrastructure to support its use in private households. Her husband sent money for the bride wealth (*roora*) to his family members in Zimbabwe and the traditional *roora* ceremony between their two families was then coordinated and conducted. All the expected *roora* procedures were followed, with the only major deviation being Batsirai's absence from both the *roora* ceremony and the traditional bride welcoming ceremony (*kuperekwa*) where she was represented by her sisters.

8.1.2 The bride welcoming ceremony (*kuperekwa)*

The *kuperekwa* ceremony encompasses the formal introduction and welcoming of the new bride into both the husband's home and into his community (Maguraushe & Mukuhlani, 2014). The bride is usually accompanied by her sisters and aunts who help her with the cultural chores, collectively referred to in Shona as *kutamba chiroora,* which she must perform as part of the welcoming ceremony. The ceremony also "comprises singing, dancing and ululating as the

groom's family and village community welcome their new bride" (Maguraushe & Mukuhlani, 2014, p. 54). This ceremony is culturally significant as it marks the official recognition of the bride as a new member of her husband's family. The cultural significance bestowed upon this ceremony can be explained through both Morgan's concept of family practices as well as Finch's concept of displaying families (see Chapter 3 for explanations of these concepts). These two concepts are applicable given that the daughter in law has to 'be seen' (displaying families) to 'be doing' (family practices) the required cultural duties for her incorporation into her husband's family to be formally acknowledged. The presence of an audience from the community means that the whole family is on this occasion also on 'display' and being seen to be 'doing family' in their new positions as in-laws.

With Batsirai's summary of experiences in mind I argue that ticking every box of what the *roora* ceremony entails without exploring how the marrying parties or their families perceive the transnational version of doing it, would be tantamount to taking the modification of the ceremony for granted. What matters in my opinion is not the organization and performance of the ceremony across distance, but rather what these modifications really mean in terms of family roles and responsibilities, both in the short-term and in the long-run. To provide a reference for discussion I use excerpts from Batsirai's traditional marriage experiences:

> *My family appreciated it, it went on well, but I was emotional. I had mixed feelings about the whole thing. I was happy but at the same time I was not happy, I really wanted to be there if you know what I mean. I really wanted to see things being done, it's always nice, you feel proud when you are there, you see yourself, people are gathering for you, and stuff like that. It's like you are doing a wedding and you are not there, do you know what I mean? Imagine* ***kuperekwa*** *in absentia and hearing how your own ceremony went from other people. It sounds like it's just a traditional marriage, but it is important, you really have to be there, it's nice, but I couldn't be there because of my circumstances. I was happy to say as a first-born I did represent my family well, I did the right thing, but at the same time like I said, I wasn't happy. It would have been nice if I was present you know - to pick my own money because I had to buy my own plates - those things you buy for preparing for your home when you are starting your own home. But I didn't get to do all these things. It was just phone communication throughout the whole process. I was actually at work that day as well, because I was frustrated. I didn't want to get stressed thinking I am not there and this is what is happening and I am not there, so I just said let me go to work.*
>
> **Batsirai, Interview, 09.09.2016**

Whilst the immediate focus of the above excerpt is on how Batsirai felt about her absence from her own traditional marriage ceremony, the fundamental point to note is how telling her excerpt is on the concealed drawbacks of doing *roora* and *kuperekwa* rituals across distance. The value placed on marriage and doing it right not only for herself, but for her family and society is

apparent from Batsirai's articulation of her experience. She was proud of herself for doing 'the right thing', for 'representing' her family well, and for setting 'a good example' for her siblings. That she felt this way about her marriage is unsurprising given the already discussed societal values, expectations, and moral judgements on women's marital status that emerged during the colonial era and have persisted into present-day Zimbabwe (see Chapter 2). Her marriage was thus 'the right thing' as it fulfilled society's life cycle expectation of marriage.

What Batsirai referred to as 'to pick my own money', and to 'buy my own plates' speaks to the symbolic role and value of the money that the bride literally picks up (*kunhonga*) from the *roora* bowl during the *roora* ceremony[77]. The bride is entitled to a small share of money from the bride wealth, which she is expected to share with her *vatete* and her sisters. The new wife is expected to use her share of the *roora* money to buy kitchen utensils and other household items for her new home. The items can be likened to what was in ancient British customs known as the bottom drawer or a trousseau[78]. This custom reflects the culturally assigned spaces for women as homemakers in patriarchal societies. Batsirai's sadness over the fact that she was unable to 'pick' her own money, to see the whole 'thing' being done, and to experience the proud feeling that she associates the *roora* ceremony with, can be used to explain the insufficiency of ICTs in satisfying human beings' multisensory nature. Humans are multisensory beings with senses of sight, hearing, touch, taste, and feeling. Through the use of ICTs in transnational families the senses of touch and taste are impossible to experience. The most active sense is the sense of hearing, sight becomes activated if video and photographic material is shared.

Although all the basics of the *roora* ceremony were fulfilled and both her family and her husband's family appreciated and acknowledged the marriage, Batsirai had mixed emotions because she was unable to personally perform her *chiroora* role. She likened her absence to being absent from one's own wedding, which would in civil procedures mean the cancellation or postponement of the ceremony. The feeling of inadequacy was prompted by her failure to execute the performative aspects that give cultural meaning to the role of being a *muroora*. Although family members from her side and from her fiancé's family gathered for the ceremony, she still mourns over the fact that she was not personally seen performing the expected cultural acts that are ideally validated by relevant audiences as being familial (Finch,

[77] All the money that is paid on the *roora* day is placed directly into a bowl/plate (*ndiro*) from which those accepting it on behalf of the bride's family have to pick it up

[78] See (Monger, 2004, pp. 33–34) for a discussion on the bottom drawer

2007; Wilding, 2018). She wanted to witness her family's joy as they gathered for her and experience the pride of having represented them well. This again speaks to the notion of 'displaying families'.

More experiences of traditional marriage ceremonies done in transnational spaces can be seen form the narratives of Regret and Mai Taruza, who also got married after migration. The difference between Batsirai and Regret's experiences is that Regret's parents were both in the UK when she got married in 2015. The *roora* ceremony was thus done in the UK with some of their UK-based relatives in attendance. The only thing that was done on her behalf was the *kuperekwa* ceremony which was done in Zimbabwe because her husband has no close family in the UK. She was represented at the *kuperekwa* ceremony by her *vatete* and her sisters. In the case of Mai Taruza, her experience deviates from the standard *roora* procedure that has so far been presented. She got married to a native British in 2012 and there was no formal traditional ceremony done.

Mai Taruza explained how her marriage happened:

> *The traditional part was done informally. My husband just presented a cheque to my brother who is here. The money was then sent to my mother. My father had died by then, so there was no traditional gathering done, we just did the white wedding. I look back at all those things and I don't feel happy about it, but it was what it was. My family was not happy but there was no option, they accepted. I had invited my mum and my brother who lives in Latin America to come for the wedding, my daughters were also supposed to come as bridesmaids, but all those people were denied visas. I was very gutted because I wanted them to be there for the wedding.*
>
> **Mai Taruza, Telephone Interview, 06.02.2017**

The failure to physically perform or to be seen performing one's culturally-designed role as a daughter in law (*muroora*), son in law (*mukuwasha*), mother in law (*vamwene*), father in law (*tezvara*) or grandparent (*mbuya/sekuru*) has also been researched elsewhere. In her article on Bangladeshi migrants in the UK, Katy Gardner discussed how elderly Bengalis in the UK may not fully enjoy the roles of grandparent and *murrubi* (elder). Gardner also explained how young Sylheti men married to British brides may find the role of husband or father different from what is expected in Sylhet (Gardner, 2009). Returning to the current study, Mai Tongogara's children got married and had children after she had migrated. She was at the time of the research a grandmother to eleven grandchildren, all of whom she had never physically seen. Although she is constantly in touch with them via mobile phone communication, her immigration status has denied her the chance to physically practise her role as a mother-in- law (*ambuya* to her

sons-in-law and *vamwene* to her daughter-in-law) as well as her role as a grandmother (*gogo*/*mbuya*). It is the comprehension of this reality that differs from individual to individual and from cultural context to cultural context.

It is thus of academic interest to keep highlighting these issues so as to provide empirical evidence of how international migration contributes to the modification of cultural rituals. It is important to reiterate that although ICTs transcend physical borders and immigration policy restrictions, there are certain roles that require the embodied presence for certain rituals to be deemed complete. The takeaway message here is that traditional marriage rituals are constantly being modified and ICTs are playing a big role in ensuring that the families coordinate everything and keep each other informed and involved. Although fictive kin and the church are involved and, in a way, playing the role of the extended family 'in the Diaspora' (Pasura, 2012), their role in marriage ceremonies is limited and moderated by 'actual' families. This is perhaps due to the family power dynamics that marriage culturally reflects, confers, and produces.

8.1.3 Ceremony associated with the first pregnancy (*masungiro*)

In line with the family life cycle concept, what ideally follows after marriage is parenthood. In this study specific focus is placed on motherhood as it carries special cultural significance among the Shona. Like in many other societies, motherhood bestows a new role and status to women hence the transition to motherhood is culturally respected. Shona customs require that the new bride return to her parents' home in the last trimester of her first pregnancy, where she is expected to remain until at least six weeks post-delivery. The expectant mother's temporary return to her natal home is done through a ceremony called *masungiro.* The *masungiro* ceremony is supposedly meant to solicit the protection of the expectant mother's maternal ancestors (Chitakure, 2017). The son in law (*mukuwasha*) provides two goats, a male and a female. The male goat, which is dedicated to the expectant mother's paternal side of the family is slaughtered and the meat is consumed during the ceremony. The female goat, which is to honour the maternal side of the bride's family, is kept until it produces off-spring which will be kept for the grandchild for whom the ceremony is conducted (see Chitakure, 2017). It has been noted that in contemporary times some families in urban areas are content with the payment of money as *masungiro* instead of goats (Chitakure, 2017). Over the years it has also become common that some women return to their marital homes after the *masungiro* ceremony. Although the *masungiro* custom is still being practised, the findings of the current study show that the value and meaning placed on it depends on individual families' beliefs.

Given her strong Shona cultural beliefs, Batsirai considers *masungiro* to be very crucial and therefore mourns over the fact that she was unable to experience this cultural ceremony. Batsirai gave birth to her first child in 2005 and the *masungiro* rituals could not be performed due to her inability to travel to Zimbabwe. Unlike the marriage ceremony where proxies can be used, *masungiro* requires the embodied presence of the new mother so that she can receive practical assistance and advice on antenatal and postnatal care from her mother.

Batsirai shared the following:

> *I gave birth here in UK, that is another sad part for me because* […]*, in our culture when you give birth to your first child you have to go back home to be guided on how to look after your child. It's completely different when you are here because I did not have anybody to help me with my child, it was just me and my husband. It's different from when you have your own mother, do you know what I mean? -to give you that support and that love that you need. There is that motherly love that one needs, I didn't get that. My child missed her grandma's first love, and I missed my mother's first support to my first child. I wasn't happy at all knowing that in our culture that is what has to be done, maybe if I didn't know I would have accepted to say okay that is the situation.*
>
> *Yes, there is a state support system here, but it's different from your own mother who you can be with you 24 hours for two or three weeks. The community health worker will come for 30 minutes, so there is a difference.*
>
> **Batsirai, Interview, 09.09.2016**

Another research participant, Mai Makanaka who also delivered her first child in the UK, took formal prenatal classes. She received postnatal advice from the community health workers who occasionally visited her after the birth of her child. Reflecting back on the experience of being a new mother living away from her close family members, Mai Makanaka shared that being in the UK with her husband strengthened their bond and helped her husband to be involved with caring for the new baby. She said:

> *Being on our own helped us to bond. At times I get confused with some families that say when you give birth you should go to your parents' home for a while. When is the husband going to learn how to handle babies, when is he going to learn how to love the baby, how to hold new-born babies? Because that's when couples learn how to help each other, to understand each other.*
>
> **Mai Makanaka, Interview, 22.04.2017**

While Batsirai strongly values *masungiro* and the culture of receiving guidance and support from one's own mother, Mai Makanaka fails to understand the logic behind returning to one's natal home after giving birth. Looking at these two experiences and perceptions of *masungiro,* it is apparent that the value placed on this custom is subject to an individual's worldview.

The research revealed that the support and guidance gap is being filled by community health workers, church colleagues, and such ceremonies as baby showers. During field research I attended two baby shower events in Bedford and Leicester in October and November 2016, respectively. I observed that expectant mothers received postnatal and childrearing advice from such groups as elderly women, nurses, social workers, and other peers with motherhood experience. The issue of raising children in the diaspora also constantly featured in other research interviews and in the online TV programme discussions that I followed (see Appendix 5). Although there is no cultural ceremony associated with parenting young children, I am including a brief discussion of it here as it is one of the reasons central to the decision made by some to return to Zimbabwe.

Raising children in the UK

From the interviews, I gathered that one of the main concerns is the limited family and community networks to assist in childrearing. One of the returnees interviewed, Respect, explained that according to the Zimbabwean culture, "*your child is everyone's child, your neighbours can reprimand your child if they see them misbehaving in the streets*" (Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017). She noted that this is different in the UK, where "*my child is my child, there is no one to help me, just the Social Services standing by to intervene if they feel you are infringing on the child's rights"* (Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017). In a separate interview, her husband Muchengeti lamented that in the UK "*the father would not live like the father, the mother would not live like the mother, and the child would live like an isolated person*" (Muchengeti, Interview, 06.04.2017). Muchengeti also explained that he would constantly worry about the cultural differences between Zimbabwe and the UK. He narrated that his son was being taught certain values at nursery school that go against his cultural and religious beliefs. As an example, Muchengeti referred to homosexuality which he felt was being introduced to children too early in their lives.

Narrating on her parenting experiences in the UK, Batsirai revealed that she has created some private enclaves for her children. She socialised them to know that as long as they are inside the house they are 'in Zimbabwe' and that they only enter into 'the UK' territory the moment exit the main entrance door. Batsirai created 'a Zimbabwe' inside the house through such things as teaching her children the Shona language, and through the bi-weekly preparation of traditional Zimbabwean food. She also constantly teaches her children Shona customs and traditions, and as I stated when I first introduced her narrative, she displays pictures of different

family events and artefacts from Zimbabwe. Batsirai also takes her children to a Zimbabwean church where they get to interact with other Zimbabwean children.

The idea of Zimbabwe/UK enclaves in households was also mentioned by undergraduate student Takura who is a 1.5 generation immigrant child[79]. Takura migrated to the UK with his asylum seeking mother when he was aged five and so he has very blurry memories of his time in Zimbabwe, mostly related to kindergarten. Explaining how everyday life is in their household, Takura said "*in the house is Zimbabwe, when we leave the house then it is back to England"* (Takura, Interview, 08.09.2016). He understands Shona because his mother always uses Shona in the house. The use of the Shona language was also mentioned by Mai Makanaka who stated that her daughter knew that Shona was their secret language. She would use the 'secret language' to reprimand her without attracting too much attention when they were in public spaces.

Mai Makanaka felt the pressure trying to balance work and raising her child, hence her decision to return to Zimbabwe. She explained the pressure as follows:

> *We needed the money because one salary was not enough to sustain us in the UK and have enough to send here to my parents and to my husband's parents. So, we planned it in such a way that he worked his 9-5 job and I picked night shifts. We would swap the baby at the bus stop, the bus he came home with, is the one that I would take to work. I would give him the push chair, kiss goodbye and off to work until morning. I would arrive as he was preparing to leave. There was not enough time to give details concerning the baby so we would leave notes in the house for each other, and also texts via mobile phones. This was so stressful, and we realised that was not what we wanted for our family and for our daughter. How could we let her grow up without proper care and socialisation when we knew we would have so many options here in Zimbabwe? It felt unfair that the child would be secured to her highchair with her bottle of milk, glued on cartoons whilst I slept after the night shift, occasionally getting up to change her pampers (*diapers*) and refilling the milk bottle. Ah! What kind of child rearing is that? So, we returned as soon as I knew that I was pregnant with my second child.*
>
> **Mai Makanaka, Interview, 22.04.2017**

Some migrants like Mbuya MaSibanda have taken up self-ascribed roles as mothers and grandmothers to those in their social circles. Mbuya MaSibanda is Regret's neighbour, church mate, and fictive mother in law who is actively involved in providing everyday marriage and child rearing advice. As the family practices concept stipulates family is about doing, there is

[79] The term 1.5 generation refers to children who migrated to the host country before their teenage years, see (Rumbaut, 2004, 2012).

thus no better way to illustrate this point than by referring to Mbuya MaSibanda experiences. She consciously practices motherhood to her fictive children in a manner that explains family as it is understood in Morgan's conceptualization. In spite of the limitations that fictive motherhood has, particularly in the area of family ritual ceremonies like *roora* and *masungiro*, it is a role that is valued in managing everyday life issues requiring a mother's physical presence, cultural perspectives, or voice of reason. To explain her motivation to 'mother' the young couples in her social network, Mbuya MaSibanda shared the following:

> *Since all of my children are scattered all over the world in South Africa, in Canada, in America and I haven't seen them for years, I treat these ones here as my children. I always think of my children and the people that have mothered them and continue to mother them in my absence. That alone motivates me to be a mother and a grandmother to people like Regret, her husband, and their baby. I do whatever I can for them without considering that they are not my biological children.*
>
> **Mbuya MaSibanda, Interview, 08.10.2016**

Having touched on marriage, childbirth ceremonies, and raising children, the next section explores practices that are related to divorce. The decision to include divorce rites here is influenced by the fact that eight of my research participants experienced divorce at some point in their migration trajectories.

8.1.4 Marriage counselling, mediation, and the divorce token (*gupuro)*

As earlier explained, marital problems and mediation typically falls under the domain of the *vatete*. The standard procedure as per Shona customs is that when a couple faces marital problems they seek counselling or mediation from the *vatete*. In cases where their differences are irreconcilable to the extent that their customary marriage fails, the husband has to give the wife a divorce token (called *gupuro* in Shona)[80]. The *gupuro* is the traditional symbolic evidence of divorce that she has to show to her family. It is normally given in the form of money (a coin) and its payment can be at the initiation of the husband or at the demand of the wife if she wants out of the marriage (Chitakure, 2017).

[80] For a brief discussion on gupuro see (Chirawu, 2017; Chitakure, 2017, pp. 58–59)

Batsirai's first marriage broke down after three years and she blames the breakdown on lack of guidance and lack of mediation. She explained it in this manner:

> […] *you have to have guidance with this marriage thing. It was my first time living with a man, I was only 24 years old. I didn't get a chance to get proper marital guidance. Back home my father's sisters could have guided me, with these people at least you are free to express yourself. You can easily tell them even the intimate things and stuff like that.* […] *you can't discuss such kind of things with your own mother or any other person, there are people designated for that area. I have an aunt here but well she is not my father's real sister if you know what I mean, so my parents were not comfortable enough to let her take on the full role of* ***vatete****.*
>
> *When I had serious problems with my husband, we had nobody here to consult and inform that this is what is happening in our marriage. So, we just talked to each other and agreed to go our separate ways. To be honest, it took us I think almost two years before letting the relatives know. We kept it secret because we thought maybe things would work out between the two of us. If probably I had gotten guidance properly from the right people, maybe, just maybe, I would still have been with my husband, my first husband.*
>
> **Batsirai, Interview, 09.09.2016**

Although Batsirai followed the traditional marriage rituals and generally holds strong cultural values, it was interesting to learn that she did not follow the traditional divorce procedure. She deviated from standard customary procedure in the sense that there was no divorce token given to her, and she did not seek marriage counselling or mediation from the family. Batsirai's case shows how some customs are overlooked in transnational families. Batsirai and her husband just agreed to split and later shared the news with their families. The fact that Batsirai concealed the news of her divorce for almost two years confirms the argument advanced in the previous chapter, that certain issues remain hidden from the transnational social space as family members only share selective information.

The absence of the *vatete* and other 'real' family members to counsel and mediate over marital issues has also been cited as being contributory to the fatal domestic violence cases that have rocked the Zimbabwean community in the UK in recent years. From 2015 to the time I finished writing this research project in 2019 there were at least five cases of fatal domestic violence cases involving Zimbabwean couples living in the UK that I came across (BBC, 2015, 2016; Gray, 2016; Muchirahondo, 2018; Probert, 2017; Zimbo Live TV, 2017, 2019; ZimEye, 2019). These cases which were legally proven to be murder cases, involved knife stabbing, strangling, and an axe attack. Responding to a question on her thoughts on these unfortunate fatal domestic violence cases, Bvunzawabaya blamed it on a number of socio-cultural issues. Included among the factors that she highlighted are the weak social support and traditional mediation structures,

as well as men's struggle to adapt to the reversal of gender roles.

Similar sentiments on weak family support networks were also echoed by return migrants Respect, Mai Makanaka, Muchengeti, and Mukoma Godknows, who are convinced that the UK is only good as a place for work but detrimental to family life. Mai Makanaka posited that:

> *In the UK life revolves around work, there you are just work oriented, you are no longer family oriented and unknowingly you are neglecting your other partner* […]. *Family is not the centre, work is the centre. People rotate over their work hours, not their family hours, that's what I have observed. It's not about my family, it's about my job. When does my work rota say I am free?*
>
> **Mai Makanaka, Interview, 22.04.2017**

Given the abundance of professional counselling services in the UK, it might appear as though the migrants under study here are caught up in cultural rigidity. A quick reminder of their immigration status (asylum tenebrosity) however explains why they fail to reach out for professional assistance.

Respect summed up the situation as follows:

> […] *in my case I was lucky because I had a supportive husband and I guess what also helped is that I knew my position as a wife. We learnt to solve our marital problems on our own. But making compromises was not enough to keep us there, it wasn't what we wanted our marriage to be like. We wanted a normal family life as husband and wife and as parents raising our kids according to our ways, so we came back home.*
>
> **Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017**

According to Sekuru Mazano, a traditional leader that I interviewed in Zimbabwe, women were traditionally encouraged to persevere in their marriages (*kushinga*) for the sake of their children (*kugarira vana*). He observed that contemporary women no longer subscribe to these ideologies as many have become independent and breadwinners in their own right. Sekuru Mazano also explained how in his view modernity, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and increased migration have weakened family structures. He holds the view that with weakened family structures and the scattering of family members, the value placed on marriage, the respect for family patriarchs, and the importance of following traditional procedures of conducting life cycle rituals have all been compromised (Sekuru Mazano, Interview, 16.02.2017).

I observed similar sentiments from members of the public who contributed to online platform discussions on everyday life issues affecting the Zimbabwean diaspora that I followed (see Appendix 5). A number of contributors agreed that the nature of life in the UK is such that people are preoccupied with 'shifts' (as in finding as many work 'shifts' as possible). This

leaves them alienated from the traditional setup they had in Zimbabwe where there was always time for social gatherings. With physical contact eroded by the primacy placed on working, the Zimbabwean communities are said to have become more virtual than physical. Even though they touch base online, one contributor argued that they will never know the realities of the people they interact with online unless they occasionally meet physically. Other contributors mentioned the church as an available space for mediation. This was however generally deemed inefficient as some people argued that the church is overwhelmed.

Also, some people in need of mediation are non-Christian, whilst others have limited trust in the church leaders' ability to keep their issues in confidence. Related to the issue of trust, some couples also shy away from mediation because of their immigration status. On one of the private Facebook groups there were a number of such cases anonymously posted to seek advice. In another discussion, the general consensus was that there is need to strengthen solidarity among Zimbabweans in the UK and encourage openness to seeking professional counselling and mediation services. The latter point was however challenged by others who thought that this would worsen misunderstandings due to cultural differences and approaches to marital mediation. The general consensus appears to have been that the lack of elderly couples to act as role models to younger couples also contributes to marriage breakdowns.

This section has explained how migrants continue to participate in family lifecycle ceremonies. These ceremonies are being modified and the perceptions of this vary according to personal beliefs and values. While the modification of how the ceremonies are conducted appears to be generally accepted, the case of Batsirai has demonstrated that embodied presence is still preferred by some individuals. The absence of family members with ascribed traditional counselling, mediation, and mentoring roles, such as *vatete,* has also been linked to the disruption of marriages. This shows that even though *vatete* can be reached via ICTs her role is perhaps more effective in the physical space. The discussion has also highlighted that certain family roles are not easily replaceable. The fact that migrants like Batsirai feel 'sad' that they were unable to perform practical symbolic things like 'picking' *roora* money or performing daughter in law duties (*kutamba chiroora*) even though these were done on her behalf, highlight the cultural value that some individuals place on embodied experiences and on doing things in the expected manner. I will now move on to examine how caregiving of aging parents is experienced across distance.

8.2 *Chirere chigokurerawo*: filial obligation and intergenerational contract

We told each other that our parents are our priority because they brought us up to this level. Siblings are young they should learn to work for themselves, when they need help if we have it we assist, but parents it's a no-brainer. They are our responsibility, they are gold. If they need something I have to provide whether or not I like it. (Respect, Zimbabwe, 06.04.2017*)*

There is a Shona adage that says: c*hirere chigokurerawo,* whose central ethos is that parents (or elders in general) should take good care of their children (or those younger than them), and the latter will return the favour in future. This custom is referred to in family and gerontology studies as the generational contract (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). Considerable research shows that it is common in many parts of the world (Baldassar et al., 2006). The inherent expectation in the exchange of care within transnational kinship networks is generalised asymmetrical reciprocity (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). It is what typically defines how caregiving circulates in Zimbabwean families. It is generally based on implicit norms of intergenerational reciprocity (Mazzucato, 2008). Transnational caregiving binds members together in intergenerational networks of reciprocity and obligation, love and trust (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). Boundaries and coherence of a transnational family rest primarily on emotional sentiment and mutual material exchange (Bryceson, 2019, p. 5). As has been argued elsewhere care symbolises societal moral ideas and is an idealised form of people's relationships (Weicht, 2015).

According to the principle of *chirere chigokurerawo* children are a form of insurance for the future. They are culturally and morally expected to look after their parents (*kuchengeta vabereki*) as soon as they start working and earning money. Married female children traditionally provide care for their parents through their husbands (*mukuwasha*). This explains the adage '*mukuwasha muonde hauperi kudyiwa',* which basically likens the son in law to a fig tree that continuously bears edible fruits (Chimininge, 2019). The son in law is expected to continually provide for his wife's family. As earlier indicated, caring for one's parents commences as soon as an adult child becomes financially independent. This explains why Batsirai strongly felt that it was her duty as the first-born child to assist her father and set a good example for her siblings (see Batsirai's summary under section 8.1). The following section discusses how some of the transnational families in my study "contend with a greater logistical challenge of physical separation" (Bryceson, 2019, p. 10). This being considered in light of the fact that the capacity and obligation to give care transnationally is subject to such things as immigration status constraints and cultural expectations (Baldassar et al., 2006).

8.2.1 Managing elderly parental care in families affected by asylum tenebrosity

Care is seen as dominant tool for analysing transnational families and caregiving is seen as a key practice of doing family (Walsh, 2018). Majella Kilkey and Laura Merla presented a typology that demonstrates that transnational families are characterised by both proximate and transnational caregiving, that caregiving is multidirectional, relational, and multi-generational (Kilkey & Merla, 2014). Transnational family members are said to participate in caregiving through direct provision via physical presence or at a distance, coordination, and delegation of support (Kilkey & Merla, 2014). Kilkey and Merla identified communication, time allocation, finance, education and knowledge, social relations, and appropriate housing as being essential resources for the coordination of caregiving across distance. An important aspect of their discussion is the role of various institutions, such as migration regimes in influencing caregiving arrangements in transnational families. Transnational family care flows in the form of emotional, practical, financial support and accommodation are directly provisioned through face-to-face assistance or indirect communication technology-mediated flows supplied over long distances (Bryceson, 2019).

Given that the participants in this research have lived in transnational family settings for periods ranging between seven and seventeen years, it goes without saying that their parental caregiving activities have largely been ICT-mediated. It has also been coordinated through family and non-family actors in Zimbabwe. The research findings show that parental caregiving included frequent phone communication, buying/building better accommodation, setting up income generating projects, buying cars, bicycles, and other assets to improve parents' standards of living. It also entailed taking care of their everyday financial needs. These family practices are connected to the migrants' cultural values and the extent to which they are done is rooted in individuals' life history and experiences (McCarthy & Edwards, 2010). To provide evidence of this from my research participants I will now turn to the experiences of a married couple Muchengeti and Respect who returned to Zimbabwe in 2012 after living in the UK for twelve years, four as students, and eight in asylum tenebrosity. Their main reasons for returning to Zimbabwe were related to their concerns over raising children in the UK and over providing care for their aging parents from a distance.

In his narrative, Muchengeti explained that he used to provide for his parents through sending remittances in cash and kind. His late older brother who had *stayed behind* in Zimbabwe was 'on the ground' to constantly check on them and help them manage their everyday lives. When Muchengeti's brother died, he felt obliged to return to Zimbabwe so that he could be physically

available to care and support his parents. He was worried that his parents no longer had a son 'on the ground' to for example, drive them to hospital, regularly visit and check on them, and to help them to manage their farm. The fact that Muchengeti used to coordinate the caregiving of his parents with his late brother speaks to the ideas of the concept of transnational caregiving, which requires the cooperation of migrants and non-migrants for it to be effective. The decision to return to Zimbabwe speaks to the value that Muchengeti and Respect place on their parents, as well as on the ethos of *chirere chigokurerawo.* These points are illustrated in the following excerpt from Respect's narrative:

> *It's my responsibility to know that my mother needs medication, needs this and that. What we said to each other is our parents have their own faults, but we can't buy other parents. We told each other that our parents are our priority because they brought us up to this level. Siblings are young they should learn to work for themselves, when they need help if we have it we assist, but parents it's a no-brainer. They are our responsibility, they are gold, if they need something I have to provide whether or not I like it. We had to buy houses for our parents. It was difficult, we now have back pains, and sore feet* [from overworking in the UK]*, but we didn't have any option we couldn't ignore our parents without good accommodation. This life we live is such that our parents are a part of our monthly budget* […]. **(Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017)**

The statement, "*we told each other that our parents are our priority because they brought us up to this level*", supports the ethos of *chirere chigokurerawo.* Having their parents as part of their monthly budget speaks to the notion of what is also colloquially known in some circles in Africa as being 'black tax' (Magubane, 2016; Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019; Ndinga-Kanga, 2019).

Another return migrant, Mukoma Godknows, reiterated the importance of caring for elderly parents. He shared that prior to his migration, he used to visit his parents and parents in law at least once every month. They would also visit him and his wife whenever they required medical attention. Responding to a question on how he sustained this caregiving across distance before his return to Zimbabwe, Mukoma Godknows stated that:

> […] *you just have to compensate by doing nice things for them. Yes, they missed us, but we tried to make them as comfortable as possible, from clothes to food, to medical care - you try to make them comfortable. So, the only thing they miss is you, but they have everything they need, as long as their needs are catered for, they are happy. Sometimes they behave like little children, by just wearing the clothes that you buy for them they feel proud and happy.*
>
> **Mukoma Godknows, Interview, 29.03.2017**

The idea of parents deriving happiness from material things like clothes, relates to the idea of creating co-presence by proxy (Baldassar, 2008). It, however, does not satisfy their care needs in situations of ill health. To analyse how caregiving is administered when a parent in Zimbabwe falls sick I will now turn to Mai Taruza's experiences.

8.2.2 Transnational caregiving when parents fall sick and coping with death

As briefly introduced in Chapter 7, Mai Taruza has not been to Zimbabwe since her migration in the year 2000. She has since remarried, given birth to her third child, and been granted discretionary leave to remain. Although she could travel to other countries with that immigration status, she was still restricted from travelling to Zimbabwe until 2019 when she would become eligible to apply for citizenship. She had managed to reunite with her second-born child in 2015 was planning to visit her child in Germany and looking forward to seeing her again after seventeen years. All her siblings also live outside Zimbabwe and her parents *stayed behind* in Zimbabwe.

Her father was diagnosed with a chronic disease in 2003, which saw him frequenting hospitals for a period of five years. In those five years he was being looked after by her mother. Back then Mai Taruza used to make direct calls to her parents' landline at least three times a week because it was expensive to make international calls. Mai Taruza and her siblings all contributed towards their father's medical expenses. They contributed an agreed amount of money every two weeks and since Mai Taruza was a *chinyau* at that time, her brother who had attained refugee status was responsible for sending the pooled money to their mother. This money was in addition to the usual remittances they used to send for their parents' upkeep. Mai Taruza and her siblings also used to send money to their eldest paternal aunt every month so that she could visit their father and keep the extended family updated on his condition. She also used to send some supplies needed to ensure that the home-based caregiving was done in a sanitised way. She sent such items as disposable gloves, incontinence supplies, and liquid sanitisers in bulk from the UK through informal courier services. She often requested for these to be delivered to her parents and that the informal courier service people provide her with a short impression of how her father was doing. Mai Taruza explained that she had to work extra shifts in order to make enough money to contribute towards the medical expenses, pay the maid looking after her children, and to buy phone cards to call her parents and children at least three times a week.

Her father unfortunately passed away in 2008, and her immigration status deterred her from attending the funeral. Mai Taruza's father had a funeral insurance cover but it offered a basic

coffin, and a standard hearse. Mai Taruza and her siblings wanted to ensure that their father got the 'best send-off' so they topped up money to upgrade his benefits from the local funeral insurance provider. The upgraded package provided a bus to ferry mourners to the burial site in the rural home, an expensive casket, and a tent for use throughout the funeral days. Mai Taruza organised for the funeral proceedings to be recorded for her and her UK-based siblings who had travel restrictions. Mai Taruza and her siblings in the UK organised their own small memorial service for their father, which was attended by members of their church. This was done in line with how such services are conducted in Zimbabwe (see (Chadya, 2013) for a discussion on diaspora funeral wakes).

Writing in the context of the Zimbabwean diaspora in Canada, Joyce Chadya noted changes on what she termed the Zimbabwe deathscape since the advent of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' (Chadya, 2013). She discussed how remittances have transformed funeral wakes from sorrowful events to an event where families with children in 'the Diaspora' exhibit their 'prosperity' through buying expensive caskets and engaging the services of highly rated funeral parlours. Whilst the absence of close family members at funeral wakes and ceremonies in the context of Zimbabwe's increased migration seems to be generally understood, the story was different in Mai Taruza's family. Although their (Mai Taruza and her siblings) failure to visit their father during his five-year illness period, their absence at their father's funeral and the money they contributed towards affording their late father a decent burial were all explained to the extended family, some of their paternal uncles felt that money is not everything. These family patriarchs accused them of having abandoned their father. Upon asking her how she felt about her failure to travel for her father's burial, Mai Taruza responded as follows:

> *I coped with his death before it happened. I knew that my father was not well and I knew that the next thing to expect was to hear that he had passed on. So, when he died I didn't cry to be honest. I was relieved, I felt like he had rested because he had suffered for five years. I couldn't go but it was kind of normal for me because I had coped with it over the years. I knew that day would come and when it came I was just like ah, he is now resting.*
>
> **Mai Taruza, Telephone Interview, 06.02.2017**

Mai Taruza has over the years accepted and normalized her transnational family life setting because she feels that it is beyond her control. At the time of the research her mother was receiving home-based care after having suffered a stroke in 2012. The following section explains how her care is managed given that she is a widow and the grandchildren that she used to live with (Mai Taruza's children) migrated to the UK and to Germany in 2015 and 2017, respectively.

Organising everyday care for a lone parent

Mai Taruza's mother has hemiparesis on the left side of her body. Mai Taruza and her siblings organise themselves the same way they used to do during their father's illness and send money fortnightly. Her children Taruza and Reliance were aged 22 and 14 when their grandmother fell sick and were therefore in a position to assist in providing care for her. Mai Taruza had bought a car for her eldest daughter Taruza when she turned 21. She was therefore sending money to Taruza who was responsible for driving her grandmother for doctor and physiotherapy appointments. Mai Taruza had also engaged the services of a live-in carer. When Taruza migrated to Germany for post-graduate studies, Mai Taruza's mother was left in the care of a paid carer. She also lived with a domestic helper, and her two year old great grandchild (Taruza's daughter). Mai Taruza communicates with her mother via Whatsapp voice and video calls facilitated through the carer at least once every day. The transnational family has a Whatsapp group for daily updates on their mother's health and needs. Ever since Taruza migrated, Mai Taruza sends money to the carer with strict instructions on how it should be used, and the carer sends pictures of the receipts to her at the end of each week.

Commenting on her just shared experiences, Mai Taruza explained that she has gone through at least three phases of coping with her transnational family situation since her migration. The first stage for her was short-lived hope as she thought that she was going to facilitate the migration of her children and that her parents would be constantly visiting the UK. This soon turned into frustration – characterised by confusion, despair, helplessness, desperation, constant crying, and thoughts of giving up on everything after the visa introduction in 2002. The situation worsened for her when her asylum application was turned down and her father was also diagnosed with a terminal illness in 2003. The second stage according to Mai Taruza was unconditionally accepting the 'new normal' situation. This stage was characterised by finding ways of making the situation work by for example, making sure she intensified communication with her family members in Zimbabwe. In addition, she collectively pooled money together with her siblings for the medical and everyday upkeep of their parents. Mai Taruza worked hard to send enough remittances to make the time away from her children worthwhile. She also established stronger social networks for moral support in the form of the church and social media diaspora groups.

The third stage, which she was when I interviewed her, is planning the future – characterised by making long term plans for herself as she felt that she had successfully done her part in contributing to her children's future. Mai Taruza highlighted a number of challenges of

caregiving across distance. The main challenge for her was how to continuously reassure her mother who often felt abandoned as all her children and grandchildren live outside Zimbabwe. Her mother also complains of sometimes being abused or having her money and assets abused by the carer and the domestic helper. Mai Taruza was planning to process for the relocation of her mother to the UK as soon as her citizenship application is processed. Under similar circumstances, some migrants opt to return to Zimbabwe. A good example can be seen in the earlier discussed case of Muchengeti and Respect whose decision to return was centred on parental caregiving. Returning to be 'on the ground' does not however eliminate the tensions related to caregiving that sometimes develop among family members, as power dynamics, decision-making, and gender dynamics shift.

Shifting family dynamics associated with the exchange and circulation of care

While decision making among the Shona has traditionally been a prerogative of men (in limited consultation with women), international migration is gradually extending this role to migrants regardless of their age, gender, and culturally scripted role. This section thus discusses how this affects gender and decision making dynamics in the area of transnational care circulation.

8.2.3 *Ndini baba* and *musha mukadzi*: Gender and marriage relationship dynamics

Mukoma Godknows hinted at some of the caregiving issues that lead to relationship tensions and complications that he experienced and witnessed:

> *You see, there in the UK women earn more money. When it comes to sending money to parents, we have to play equal, but that one is difficult. I've seen people who say okay, there has been an emergency on your side of the family, and you sent them US$2000, we should also send the same amount to my family. They are there, this is not a joke, it happened to somebody I know. In other cases, the wife says send your family money from your salary and I send mine from my own. That kind of independence for you to agree now becomes a problem, especially for us Zimbabwean men because we are coming from a chauvinist trend I must confess!*
>
> **Mukoma Godknows, Interview, 29.03.2017**

In some instances, transnational caregiving somehow creates unnecessary competition between spouses as depicted in the examples given by Mukoma Godknows in the above interview excerpt. Given that Zimbabwean women migrants who joined the UK health care sector are generally said to be earning more than their male counterparts who are reluctant to join this sector, statements like "[…] *send your family money from your salary and I send mine from my own"* become problematic. As Mukoma Godknows hinted with the statement "*we are coming from a chauvinist trend I must confess!*", their hegemonic masculinity is challenged in such situations (Pasura & Christou, 2017).

Similar sentiments of male chauvinism were echoed by Respect who stated the following:

> *You know those hard MaShona type like from my rural village in Chivi there…who believe that once they pay* ***roora*** *for you, they own you and you have to do what they want for their whole clan because* ***ndini baba****. They get a rude awakening in England when they are suddenly faced by an empowered woman, earning way more than them. They get frustrated because in England they can't get away with abuse, the women can report them and they get into trouble with the law. Yes, some men adjust and say ok when in Rome we do as the Romans do.*
>
> **Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017**

It is this *ndini baba* mentality that creates tensions over decisions related to transnational caregiving. As explained in Chapter 2, Zimbabweans generally subscribe to the patriarchal notion of male dominance in the family. In this study this is reflected in a common Shona phrase '*ndini baba*' which featured in some of the narratives. *Ndini baba* literally means 'I am the father'. In this context it refers to the notion that men, in their capacity as husbands and fathers, are the head of the family. As per Shona tradition and unwritten rules, the man as the head of the family commands respect from his wife, children, and whoever else visits his household. He traditionally has decision making powers and although his wife can subtly influence his decisions, he ideally has the final say on issues concerning his family. Challenging his decisions is perceived as being disrespectful. 'Disrespecting' one's husband potentially attracts backlash from family elders. It can also be a reason for a wife to be temporarily returned to her family so that *vatete* can re-educate her on 'good' wifely behaviour (*kunorairwa*).

It has been argued that the way African migrant men in the UK respond to the loss of their hegemonic masculinity can be categorised into the following strategies: withdrawal (in the form of divorce or return migration), accommodation (men consciously negotiate and embrace transformative masculine identities), resistance (men resist the changed gender relations and roles and can resort to domestic violence), and endorsement and subversion (men consciously embrace the changes and adapt to sharing household duties) (Pasura & Christou, 2017). These responses are also reflected in my studies.

Another example of marital tensions related to caregiving decisions can be seen through Divha's experiences shown below:

> *Money issues, money has contributed to intense disagreements between husbands and wives, I am talking from experience. Relatives in Zimbabwe caused rifts in marriages here because of making too many demands. They think we grow and harvest money here. My marriage broke down, it was because of money. We were saving for a business project, but my ex-wife was taking money from the savings and sending to Zimbabwe. Now in cases like that if you confront them they accuse you of not wanting to look after their relatives in Zimbabwe. Everyone wants to please their family, my ex-wife would say - my mother is requesting for a bicycle, after that she wants a bus, I must make sure I get that bus. Forgetting that when we were in Zimbabwe we were not giving her such things. Truth be told, hands up I was a very strict guy. I was too controlling, but the controlling had everything to do with the future of my loved ones. I dreaded the collapse of my business ventures so I always planned ahead. But looking back I can see that I was overdoing it, not knowing that it would cost me familywise.*
>
> **Divha, Interview, 13.11.2016**

Divha blamed the issue of transnational caregiving for the breakdown of marriages (including his first marriage) as spouses strive to please their parents and relatives at the expense of their own financial plans. His admission of having been 'too controlling' and 'strict' also reflects the position of a family head. The narrative shows that providing care for *staying behind* parents in Zimbabwe in some instances goes beyond the general ethos of *chirere chigokurerawo.* It ceases to be about providing the basic needs of parents, to being about demands of other assets, like in this case Divha used the example of a bicycle and a bus. It is during negotiations on whether or not to provide for such items, that misunderstandings and feelings of being challenged as the family head arise. This coupled with the fact that men like Divha (as previously highlighted in Chapter 7) perceive the UK system as a disempowering force to their *'ndini baba'* values, leaves them frustrated.

Yet if one looks at these experiences through the lens of *musha mukadzi,* one can argue that rather than seeing women's financial independence as a challenge to male hegemony, it ought to be seen as a complementary role. As explained in Chapter 2, *musha mukadzi* argues that the image, prosperity, and happiness of a family depend on the presence of the wife (Nhongo, 2005). Focusing on the image and prosperity aspects of this notion, the research findings illustrate that women have since precolonial times contributed to how families are perceived by society. When asked about her perceptions of the *musha mukadzi* notion, Mai Tongogara responded as follows:

Every wife wishes that her husband or children maintain moral values. The wife always protects her family's image, speaking only positive things and concealing embarrassing behaviour. I told you my husband cheated on me, but as a proper wife who knows that her role is to build and protect, I avoid revealing that to my friends here otherwise they will lose respect for him. Whenever a wife gets money she makes sacrifices and saves money, sometimes skipping meals. That shows you that the woman is the builder, women are blessed with endurance and that is what makes marriages work. So, it is true that ***musha mukadzi****.*

Mai Tongogara, Interview, 09.10.2016

Another research participant, Sibonginkosi, sees *musha mukadzi* as a notion similar to the English saying, 'behind every successful man there is a woman'. She opined that "*a woman is kind of the engine to the car because a woman does all the other things in the house, the welfare of the children and everything, she makes sure all the things are in place, everyone is fed or not so she tries to put things in order"* (Sibonginkosi, Interview, 25.10.2016). These two perceptions are brought together by the common understanding of the caring and organizational nature of women. What men perceive to be a challenge to their headship is perhaps women's way of trying to make sure that all family members are equally cared for. I will elaborate on this discussion as I reflect on the implications of shifting gender dynamics in the concluding chapter. Apart from tensions between spouses, the issue of providing transnational care is also contributing to the shifting of relationship dynamics between siblings.

8.2.4 *Ane mari ndiye mukuru*: family decision making dynamics

Shifting decision making dynamics are best illustrated through the case of Moreblessing. She is the second-born daughter but she shared that of late she makes or influences most of the decisions ahead of the first-born sibling. Moreblessing explained that this emanates from the fact that she literally provides for her whole family. Making decisions or being consulted by her parents who sometimes bypass the eldest sibling is a challenge to the Shona cultural role of the first-born child. The first-born child is culturally respected and generally commands respect from the rest of their siblings. They are often involved in decision making issues concerning the family. The fact that Moreblessing was being given the decision making powers in her family ahead of the first-born, confirms a Shona adage that says '*ane mari ndiye mukuru*' which means that the person with a good financial standing (circumstantially) becomes the decision maker regardless of their age, birth position in family, and gender. I earlier on referred to an excerpt from Moreblessing's narrative in which she likened her relations to her *staying behind* family members to a business arrangement (see Chapter 7).

Moreblessing explained the family dynamics in the following manner:

> *I look after my whole extended family, no one else from our family is abroad, and no one else has a job. The most gainfully employed person is a teacher, but even that teacher I still need to make sure their bills are paid. I look after that household, I buy the food, I make sure they have got enough electricity, water and all that. If there is a very major decision to be done like maybe the house needs an extension, it's me who decides when that's done, by who.* […] *I worked to extend my parents' house, I got them a bigger house now. It was me who was agreeing on the plans, it was me who chose the plan. Of which culturally my sister, the first-born or my father should be the ones to say okay we are going to build a house like this. I think because I provide for all those people* […] *it has changed the relationship dynamics in such a way that I am now the provider. And you know with being the provider comes a certain sense of authority and* […] *it's not arrogance, but the fact that you know you can provide financially, it makes people to step back and allow you to make a lot of decisions which affect the family.*
>
> **Moreblessing, Interview, 27.11.2016**

The interview excerpt is clear on the link between being the primary care provider and decision making. Although Moreblessing boldly claims to be the sole provider, it is important to note that those who *stayed behind* as their family members migrated were not always passive recipients of remittances. There was a growing informal sector which created the *kukiya kiya* economy. The Shona phrase *kukiya kiya* "suggests cleverness, dodging, and the exploitation of whatever resources are at hand, all with an eye to self-sustenance" (Jones, 2010, p. 286). Interviews with *staying behind* family members revealed that although their everyday livelihoods are significantly financed by remittances, they also engage in their own income generating endeavours. To give a few examples, Batsirai's sister, Gamuchirai, is a cross-border trader and Mbuya Mutarisi (Moreblessing's mother) runs a fresh vegetable market. Although the money they make from this is insignificant compared to the money they receive from the UK, ignoring these initiatives would be denying their agency and independence.

It would also be in a way downplaying the fact that *staying behind* are not only receivers of care, but also provide their fair share of care through various emotional and material contributions. Transnational caregiving is after all said to be characterized by asymmetrical reciprocity (Baldassar & Merla, 2013). Most of the migrants that I interviewed, including Moreblessing herself, informed me that they constantly receive Zimbabwean foodstuffs, artefacts, and other material items that they miss from their staying behind family members. These items which are usually sent through personal networks travelling from Zimbabwe, are indeed part of the transnational circulation of care.

8.3 Overall remarks on family life cycle ceremonies and transnational caregiving

The stories discussed in this Chapter demonstrate that life cycle ceremonies are continuing across distance. They are however, being modified and some compromises are being done. The inability to physically perform symbolic acts associated with various life cycle ceremonies leaves some transnational family members feeling culturally incomplete. The narratives referred to here have also exposed some of the challenges that come with the absence of 'on the ground' family support and mentoring structures, and weak substituting structures. The area that appears to be struggling the most is that of marriage, as evidenced by reported cases of divorce and fatal domestic violence.

In the area of transnational caregiving, the chapter highlighted the complex nature of reciprocities, and the shifting family dynamics associated with the circulation of care. There are different perceptions to reciprocities of care. The research findings also confirmed that both routine care (for example, that in Muchengeti and Respect's family) and crisis care (for example, the one required in Mai Taruza's family given the parents' chronic illness) require cooperation and collaboration between migrants and non-migrating family members[81]. What has been suggested by the evidence discussed in this chapter is that although transnational family members cooperate and coordinate by 'pooling' their resources together (finances, material items, and time) in caring for their aging parents, this is sometimes challenging. It is also sometimes misunderstood by extended family members, especially in cases where migrants fail to attend funerals.

This chapter also highlighted shifting gender and hierarchical relationship dynamics that transnational families grapple with. I would like to end this section with the following perceptions shared by Respect on the intergenerational contract:

> *Some of the mistakes they* [their parents] *made, we don't want our children to experience. We had to buy houses for our parents and we have vowed that our children should not have to go through that. We walked in those shoes and so we know how hard it is. It was difficult. We want our children to be proud of us, they can visit during Christmas with just a few groceries, not to worry about buying me a house. They should just know it's Mother's Day, it's mum's birthday and just do whatever they feel like, when they want. Not that they have to buy me a house, no!* […]. *It's unfair to give children that burden* […]. *I wish the best for my children, they should achieve more than us without being burdened by us. Like the European people, they plan everything for their children from day one…I copied that, I am saving for my children. I don't want to burden anyone with funeral costs or worry about my children's fees when I am gone.*
>
> **Respect, Interview, 06.04.2017**

[81] See (Baldassar & Merla, 2013) for a discussion on routine, crisis, and other forms of care

Although Muchengeti and Respect took their intergenerational obligation towards their parents seriously, to the extent of returning to Zimbabwe, Respect feels that the *chirere chigokurerawo* notion should not bind their own children. Respect's thoughts suggest a shifting attitude towards the notion of reciprocities of care. Although her sentiments may not be shared by many, her way of thinking shows how migration can influence gradual transformation of value systems. In the quoted example, Respect stated that she copied how the European people plan for their welfare and that of their children.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This chapter recaps the main findings of the study and reflects on the main arguments advanced in this thesis. Furthermore, it highlights the contributions and the limitations of the study. It then proceeds to point out potential ideas for future research.

The main objective of this study was to examine how the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK has (re)shaped their family life in terms of structure, functioning, maintenance, and cultural values. It sought to address the following specific questions:

1. What are Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements?
2. How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family unit (re)shaped everyday family life?
3. How is indefinite transnational family life perceived by transnational family members, migration and family life experts, and sections of the public?
4. What implications does the prolonged migration-induced physical separation of families have on the future of Zimbabwean family values?

Particular focus was on the lived experiences of refused asylum seekers and refugees who entered the UK during the period 2000 to 2010 and have continued to live there. The motivation to focus on this was driven by personal concern over the negligible attention that research has paid to the protracted transnational family life circumstances of non-removed refused asylum seekers. The research took a multi-sited approach that transcended physical research sites (Zimbabwe and the UK) to include virtual sites (through the analysis of everyday transnational family practices and online ethnography). The use of the narrative interview approach enabled access to subtle complexities of extended transnational family life, which could have easily been overlooked had a different approach had been used. I will reflect on the main findings and arguments after the thesis sequential overview below.

Thesis sequential overview

Given the traceability of the migration movements under study to the colonial history of Zimbabwe, Chapter 2 adopted a socio-historical approach to carve out a comprehensive background from which the rest of the thesis developed. Building upon what is known about Zimbabwe's past migration movements and pre-colonial family life, I used the chapter to highlight how family life evolved with each episode of migration. In addition, the chapter exposed the role of the UK colonial labour migration policy in transforming indigenous family life and in influencing how contemporary Zimbabweans perceive and enact migration. In the process, it explained how post-2000 migration movements developed, and clarified why the

UK has been the main European destination country for Zimbabwean migrants. This chapter thus directed attention to some previously overlooked socio-cultural costs of colonial migration policies that have had enduring consequences on family life and values.

Chapter 3 explored existing conceptual and empirical discussions on the broader topic of international migration and transnational family life and highlighted where this study niches itself. Confining the present discussion to major highlights, the chapter explained and justified the choice of the concept of autonomy of migration (AoM) over the often used concepts of crisis and survival migration to analyse individual reasons for migration. It also introduced the concept of asylum tenebrosity to highlight the shortcomings of the existing refugee regime and to provide a framework within which the everyday realities of non-removed refused asylum seekers can be analysed. The second part of the chapter identified empirical gaps to which the data gathered through this study contributes towards filling. The gaps include the holistic analysis of how migration affects family life, the conceptualization of the non-removed refused asylum seeker status and its implications on family life, and the experiences of non-migrants, especially spouses and guardians.

The fourth chapter on methodology detailed the design, execution, analysis, and presentation of the study's findings. Given that my positionality is that of someone who in essence is 'as old as Zimbabwe' (see Chapter 4), the adoption of the narrative interviewing approach helped to curtail a clouded analysis of the 'Zimbabwe crisis' and post-2000 migration drivers. Although my bias towards history remains evident in some chapters of the thesis, it is the subjective experiences of the research participants that directed the analysis and informed the arguments advanced in this thesis. To emphasize the subjective experiences, this chapter explained how I deliberately crafted relevant pseudonyms that reflect the key themes that emerged from each narrative. Apart from reflecting emerging themes, the pseudonyms also carry meanings that mostly speak to migration, family life, and cultural values.

Chapter 5 continued the discussions that began in Chapter 2 and 3. Built around four main narratives brought together by the common experience of protracted asylum limbo, the chapter challenged the idea of generalizing Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements under survival migration. The challenge was premised on the grounds that migration was not a last resort for the individuals involved, as the concept of survival migration suggests. Notwithstanding the evidence of a crisis-ridden environment in Zimbabwe, this chapter poked holes into the somewhat lopsided generalization of increased migration movements as having

been about crisis and survival, - a standpoint that connotes a 'migrate or suffer' scenario. Arguing that the crisis environment should not overshadow the individual reasons why people left Zimbabwe, the research findings revealed that not everyone migrated because their means of survival had been eroded, or because they feared political persecution. The research participants migrated because they had the opportunity, support, ability, and aspiration to do so. Their subjective reasons for migrating provided empirical evidence to conclude that the post-2000 migration movements reflect the 'autonomy of migration' (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2008). The concept of AoM emphasizes the ability of migration to have its own motivations outside of macro level factors.

Building upon the subjective reasons for migration discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 6 analyzed the UK's immigration policy responses to Zimbabwe's post-2000 asylum seekers. As reflected in Chapter 5, seeking asylum was a secondary decision made at different stages after arriving in the UK. The research participants' subjective experiences of asylum seeking exposed the shortcomings of the current global asylum regime, and the short-sightedness of 'domopolitical' approaches (Walters, 2004, 2009) to managing migration movements. The chapter argued that asylum tenebrosity is responsible for the long-term transnational life at the centre of this thesis. Inspired by one research participant's analogy of his experiences to 'moving in the dark', I introduced the concept of asylum tenebrosity to explain the attributes of protracted limbo in situations where immediate deportation is hindered.

I explained asylum tenebrosity as a complicated and contradictory twilight space positioned between the 'dim lighting' of being acknowledged and tolerated, but unwanted, and the 'dark incertitude' of possible deportation at any time (see Mudhara Randani's narrative excerpts in Chapter 6). I contended that it is inadequate and counterproductive to offer refused asylum seekers temporary discretionary stays, but deny them basic rights such as the right to work. The chapter also highlighted policies towards non-removed refused asylum seekers in countries like Canada, Germany (the *duldung* status), and the USA (temporary protected status, TPS) in a bid to point out how asylum tenebrosity deviates from standard protracted limbo. Through various migrant narratives, the chapter illustrated how refused asylum seekers become imperceptible through clandestine ways of 'moving in the dark' to access restricted rights. Their virtual and physical social networks become channels through which they continuously learn of strategies that help in enhancing their everyday experiences. They also learn of potential migration/ reunification routes for their *staying behind* family members, for example, through such countries as Cyprus and Germany.

With the full knowledge that "social life is no longer conducted wholly in place, within neat physical and territorial boundaries, but rather must now be conceived of as incorporating distant ties and connections" (Baldassar et al., 2016, p. 134), Chapter 7 analysed the maintenance and functioning of transnational family life. I did this through the analysis of narratives addressing intimate relationships of individuals who have experienced prolonged transnational family life. The chapter was divided into two main sections, with the first section focusing on transnational parenting experiences (from the perspectives of a migrant parent, a *staying behind* child, and the guardian of the *staying behind* child). The second section focused on transnational married life experiences. The main focus was on a couple that occasionally sees each other, and this was complemented by experiences of migrants who at the time of the research had not reunited with their spouses in almost fifteen years. The latter category of migrants therefore exclusively do their marriage in a transnational social space. It is against this background that the chapter then delved into how extended ICT-based mode of doing family is experienced and perceived by individuals entangled in it. The analysis looked beyond the availability and use of ICTs and teased out the ups and downs of exclusively doing family in a transnational social space for more than a decade.

The chapter discussion confirmed what has been argued elsewhere, that greater ICT use does not necessarily translate to a greater sense of connection (Cuban, 2017). In both types of intimate relationships explored in this chapter, what became clear is that, much of what becomes of the sense of familyhood in transnational settings, depends on the everyday practices and efforts made by individual family members to keep the connection alive. Although members of transnational families constantly engage in virtual mobility and get glimpses into each other's everyday lives, that is as far as the latter goes– just glimpses –. Transnational family members cannot experience each other fully, with all five senses (Baldassar et al., 2016). This was clearly illustrated in the case of marriage where the challenge of fulfilling conjugal rights in a transnational setting came out strongly. The research findings also highlighted that the full impressions of actual lived realities 'on the ground' remain obscured from the transnational space.

Overall, the chapter demonstrated that although transnational family members constantly 'meet' and interact via mobile phones, the interactions are fraught with relational, practical, and temporal challenges. These challenges are characterized by selective information sharing (labelled as insincerity by some of the research participants), communication protocol breaches in Whatsapp family groups, gradual emotional distance, marital insecurity, and difficulties in

addressing sensitive issues such as child abuse, all of which threaten familyhood. It also became apparent that transnational family members grow accustomed to the reality of 'meeting' on the phone, leading to what some research participants referred to as being casual with each other. The danger with this is that relationships and cultural values of oneness (*humwe*), reciprocity (*kubatsirana semhuri*), respect (*kuremekedza*), and solidarity (*kubatana semhuri*), end up being compromised as intergenerational boundaries, communication protocols, and respect gradually become blurred.

Chapter 8 was also divided into two main sections addressing cultural aspects and expectations of family life. It analysed the doing of cultural family life ceremonies associated with marriage, first pregnancy/birth of a first child, and divorce in transnational families (first section, Chapter 8.1). The second section (Chapter 8.2) examined how transnational caregiving of aging parents and how parents' funeral wakes are managed in transnational families affected by asylum tenebrosity. The chapter explored how the cultural life cycle ceremonies are being modified and how individuals who have had to modify/miss such ceremonies describe and feel towards this. The analysis went further to probe the modifications and implications of compromising the culturally assigned practical and symbolic roles such as that of paternal aunts (*vatete*).

The inability to physically perform or to be seen performing one's culturally-designed role as for example, a daughter in law (*muroora*), turned out to be one of the main issues that migrants living in asylum tenebrosity grapple with. Mixed opinions were expressed on consummating traditional marriage without conducting a 'proper' *roora* ceremony and on using family proxies during the bride welcoming ceremony (*kuperekwa*). The divergent views led to the argument that certain ceremonies still require embodied presence for them to be deemed complete, especially by individuals acquiring new social statuses and assuming culturally ascribed roles. The perceived connection between the absence of trusted substitute structures to stand in the gap for culturally influential positions like *vatete*, and high rates of divorce and fatal cases of domestic violence among Zimbabwean couples in the UK was also explored.

The second part of the chapter explored the subject of managing the care of aging parents in long-term transnational family settings. It touched on the everyday circulation of care through communication and remittances. Additionally, the chapter discussed experiences of dealing with chronic illness, death, and bereavement. These issues were examined through narratives of individual migrants who were unable to visit their ailing parents or attend a parent's funeral. Experiences of return migrants whose decisions to return to Zimbabwe were informed by the

desire to be physically ‘on the ground’ to fulfil their filial tacit intergenerational contract duty were also discussed in this chapter. The shifting values associated with marriage, intergenerational relations, family roles and responsibilities were also analysed. They were explored through the patriarchy informed notions of *ndini baba* and *musha mukadzi*, as well as the notion of *ane mari ndiye mukuru* – all of which speak to the shifting family dynamics that are associated with respect, influence, and decision making.

9.1 Discussion and implications of the research findings

The interlocking thread throughout the thesis has been the analysis of the migration-family life nexus. The research findings have shown that international migration (re)shapes family life by geographically scattering family members and shifting the primary site of doing family from the physical to the virtual space. The research also established that transnational family members continue to ensure each other’s material survival, welfare, and development (Bryceson, 2019) by ‘pooling’ and sharing resources across borders. The sharing of resources (transnational circulation of care) is achieved through the use of ICTs, which facilitate the perpetuation of transnational family life. I contend that ICTs, however, fall short of providing adequate feelings of familyhood. I further argue that, without occasional physical co-presence in the form of visits or reunification (as is the case in the lives of non-removed refused asylum seekers), family dynamics gradually become complicated. This happens because, as demonstrated throughout the empirical chapters: relationship boundaries, communication protocols, roles, and cultural norms are gradually disregarded when family is exclusively done in a transnational social space for years on end.

On the implications of shifting family life from the physical to the virtual space, this thesis has confirmed what previous studies argued, that, physical co-presence (mostly referred to in this thesis as being ‘on the ground’) is still the preferred way of doing family life (Baldassar et al., 2016). Embodied presence still matters to people and to the fulfillment of some of their socially ascribed roles, thus, it cannot be treated as being identical to mediated presence (Verne, 2014). ‘On the ground’ is after all, where families are said to be materially and culturally situated (Kilkey & Merla, 2014). Even though digital lives are a working reality of the 21st century, the fact that life still primarily happens in the physical space cannot be ignored. It should also be borne in mind that although technology has made it possible for migrants to oscillate between physical and virtual spaces, the physical space remains vital. Ultimately, the physical space is where that technology is invented, adopted, used, and given a social meaning, - a social meaning that is informed by pre-existing values.

In as much as technology has the capacity to transform social ways of being, the determination of 'acceptable' social transformation is still subject to cultural norms. Thus, as this study has established, there is need for occasional physical co-presence if a meaningful sense of (transnational) familyhood is to be established, nurtured, and sustained. The research data has shown that the feeling of familyhood is not fixed, it requires constant relational effort to keep it stimulated. As old (physical) and new (virtual) ways of doing family interact to create new transnational realities, new relationship dynamics also emerge. It thus becomes imperative to carefully consider transnational family members' perceptions of these realities. As this study has established, these realities are usually characterized by apparent gaps between virtual and embodied relational experiences. This experience-based evidence has been the basis upon which the shortcomings of immigration policies related to family life and family reunification have been considered in this thesis.

Without prescribing what should be considered an ideal time of doing family across distance, the argument being made here is that it should not be normalized on the basis of the availability of space-time compressing technologies -ICTs. This is not to romanticize or privilege proximate care over distant care as Baldassar warns against (Baldassar, 2016b). Rather, it is to point towards the importance of critically looking at the complicated realities and consequences that emerge in extended transnational family life. This is particularly so, in cases where visits or reunification are legally impossible. Such cases include those of asylum tenebrosity as was explained in this thesis. This thesis therefore adds a new perspective to transnational family life research by challenging the existing implicit assumption that visits and eventual reunification is guaranteed. Whilst acknowledging that transnational family life may be a family strategy for social mobility (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011), care should be taken not to assume that continued transnational family life implies deliberate strategy on the part of migrants.

There is need for more empirical research that transcends commending the availability and ability of ICTs to facilitate the maintenance of transnational family life and, strives to establish whether extended transnational family life is indeed a strategically calculated 'new normal' or just an undesired situation forced by circumstances. This empirical evidence is vital to the determination of what then happens in terms of policy considerations if the right to family life of refused asylum seekers living in asylum tenebrosity is to be reasonably respected. In as much as the right to family reunification is by and large reserved for accepted refugees, it is worth debating the extension of this right to those refused asylum seekers who live in asylum

tenebrosity because of unresolved policy circumstances. This point leads me to reflect on what I have introduced in this thesis as the notion of asylum tenebrosity. After that, I will then reflect on the implications of extended transnational family life on Zimbabwean cultural family values.

9.2 Asylum tenebrosity and policy implications

It has been argued that if migratory movements are conceptualized as crises, they attract palliative policy solutions that do not address the root causes (Menjívar & Ness, 2019). I explained how by suspending deportations without addressing the historical root causes of the migration movements (some of which are detailed in Chapter 2), the system created asylum tenebrosity. As long as there are no concrete solutions to the subtle political standoff between Zimbabwe and the UK (discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6), as well as to the situation of non-removed Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers, the 'domopolitical' image that Brexit supporters voted to protect (as discussed in Chapter 6) may still be 'threatened' by the continued presence of 'unwanted' guests. The risk of receiving more 'unwanted' guests increases as migrants entangled in asylum tenebrosity attempt to find 'backdoor' routes[82] into the UK. This confirms that protracted periods of limbo are far from being, they are fluid static (Brun, 2015; Brun & Fábos, 2015), full of new 'becomings' that produce new meanings and values.

Given that family reunification is impossible in asylum tenebrosity, my research findings hinted at emerging alternative or 'backdoor' reunification routes. Some of the refused asylum seekers in my study worked towards eventual reunification by facilitating the migration of their children or spouses to some European countries. Their assumption was that it would then be relatively 'easy' for the family members to apply for visitor visas to the UK once they hold a temporary residence permit from another European country. While this may give potential hope for reunification, it comes with no guarantees of success as it still depends on immigration policy. As my research findings have shown, this 'backdoor' strategy yields different outcomes. In some cases, it works (see Chapter 7.1 for the example of Mai Taruza's experience), while in other cases it becomes a matter of the migrants' family members being 'so near, yet so far' (see Chapter 7.1 for the example of Regret's son).

What the just discussed examples point to, is the need for comprehensive clear policy solutions

[82] I am referring here to examples of migrants who facilitate the migration of their *staying behind* children as students or au pairs to such countries as Cyprus and Germany and situations where *staying behind* spouses consider travelling to the Schengen area as visitors and then apply for asylum on arrival (Vimbiso seriously considered doing this – see Chapter 7)

to protracted limbo. In my analysis of asylum tenebrosity I used examples from such countries as Germany, to show the differences in how tolerated refused asylum seekers are treated. Given that Germany's *duldung* status is to an extent informed by EU guidelines on non-removed persons (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2011; Weatherhead, 2016), it is rather concerning to note that although the UK was a member of the EU until 31 January 2020, it had not transposed the EU Return Directive 2008/115/EC guidelines to its national policy[83]. This, coupled with the 'domopolitical' attitude reflected in the UK immigration policy and in the Brexit vote, shows the urgent need for global refugee policy reforms to avoid situations where asylum seekers are left at the mercy of individual countries.

As argued in Chapter 6, Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements should be properly historicized and policy responses to them ought to acknowledge some unresolved colonial legacies. Seeing that the UK attempted to enforce removals of Zimbabwe's refused asylum seekers after the late President Mugabe's ouster in November 2017, it will be interesting to observe what transpires post-Brexit. This is particularly so, in light of the diminishing chances of Zimbabwe's re-admission into the Commonwealth following continuing political and human rights concerns since the 2018 general elections. The future of Zimbabwean refused asylum seekers (living in asylum tenebrosity) remains interesting to closely follow given that the UK post-Brexit plan to maintain its existing sanctions on Zimbabwe (The Zimbabwe (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations 2019, 2019)[84]. As long as the UK continues to view the political and human rights conditions in Zimbabwe as warranting sanctions, the plight of the refused asylum seekers discussed in this thesis will probably remain unchanged. An immigration policy solution that is independent of the situation in Zimbabwe could thus be the only realistic way to end this almost twenty year immigration status impasse which has inevitably affected family life.

9.3 Extended transnational family life and implications on cultural values

To reflect on how international migration has re(shaped) family life in terms of 'functioning' and 'maintenance', I considered the use of ICTs as a medium through which transnational family life is done, managed, and sustained. I presented the pros and cons of ICT-based co-presence and family practices. Based on these, I concluded that some relationships require embodied co-presence to fulfil the multisensory nature of human beings and to keep family dynamics in check. While the availability and efficiency of ICTs is appreciated, it cannot be an

[83]See https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/irregular-migration-return-policy/return-readmission_en (Article 9 on postponement of removal and Article 14 on safeguards pending return)
[84] See https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/uk-sanctions-on-zimbabwe

exclusive medium through which transnational family members indefinitely 'do' family. Exclusive ICT-based family life threatens relationship bonds as was demonstrated in Chapter 7- from communication challenges in cases of transnational parenting to marriage frustrations seen through the accounts of those doing marriage across distance.

Apart from the earlier discussed relational complications, the use of ICTs comes with a number of cultural implications (see Chapter 8). The research findings have shown how life cycle ceremonies are being modified and notions of oneness (*humwe*), reciprocity (*kubatsirana semhuri*), respect (*kuremekedza*), and solidarity (*kubatana semhuri*) are constantly being challenged. As explained in the thesis, the online discussions that I followed exposed general perceptions of diminishing values as elderly role models are said to be missing among the Zimbabwean community in the UK. The family values that were problematized in this thesis include gender and decision making dynamics in marriage (*ndini baba*, and *musha mukadzi*), family relationship hierarchies (role of the first-born, respect and *ane mari ndiye mukuru*), reciprocities of care and solidarity (*chirere chigokurerawo* and child fosterage), respect in communication and, cultural communication protocols. The most concerning issues seem to be around marriage values and family communication dynamics.

Men appear to be struggling to deal with the threat to their culturally-bestowed family headship that is reflected through the *ndini baba* attitude. On communication dynamics, the narratives shared in the different empirical chapters identified areas that if left unresolved would over time weaken familyhood. The signs of emotional distance and mediation challenges that are reflected in, for example, the case of Regret's transnational family (see Chapter 7) require urgent attention. If it is left to transnational family members alone, there would likely be many cases where they end up adopting a 'my house, my rules' attitude when traditional mediation fails to work across distance (see Chapter 7). This attitude can be avoided if alternative mediation channels that cater for transnational family settings are found. This should be a collective duty which in my opinion already has a starting point in the form of the existing online group platforms that I have referred to in this thesis. Organizations such as the already mentioned Migrant Family Support, as well as existing empirical evidence (including from this study), also provide readily available information on the nature of mediation issues that ought to be addressed.

This thesis has highlighted how migrants currently use organizations like the Migrant Family Support, the church, online TV platforms, and Facebook private groups to share their concerns

and seek counsel on different issues, including those related to family life. Important to bear in mind is that, although virtual communities exist as information hubs and advice centres, their effectiveness is a far cry from that of physical communities that exist in Zimbabwe. The research findings have suggested that the church is overwhelmed, while the online platforms have so far only gone as far as unravelling the cultural values that are thought to be under attack. What ought to be urgently considered is how to effectively respond to the concerns on shifting family cultural values. Without regurgitating the whole discussion on values done in the thesis, it suffices to say that there is need to increase efforts to adapt and strengthen alternative support systems in the UK.

The shifting family dynamics discussed in this thesis have generally been portrayed as being threatening to the ethos of Zimbabwean familyhood. Yet if one reflects on them from the perspective that cultural values are fluid, it becomes apparent that migration potentially brings positive changes to existing values. The latter holds true in cases of marriage and gender dynamics where migration is indeed challenging the perceived rigidity of certain culturally ascribed aspects of Zimbabwean family life, particularly in the area of gender and decision making. What is perhaps clear from the research is that international migration is shifting family dynamics at a rate that is faster than the Zimbabwean society had anticipated, hence some families are struggling to cope. This should however not lead to a generalization that migration damages cultural values.

While some research participants have concluded that UK *ndimaenzanise,* as it places gender relationships on an equal footing before the law (see Chapter 6.7), I argue that it is perhaps safer to conclude that migration modifies cultural values and leave the direction of the modification (that is, whether its enhancing, equalizing, or damaging) to empirically informed determinations. I base my argument on my insider knowledge of Zimbabwean cultural norms and the complex dynamics involved in dealing with perceived deviations from them. What seems to be frustrating some men and conservative family elders is that their culturally assigned roles are being undermined and weakened. My research findings demonstrated that UK system (represented by the Police and the Social services) is often blamed for giving women and children 'too many' rights.

It can be argued that they see the strict protection of women and children's rights as a direct attack on the patriarchal and hierarchical intergenerational privileges that some of them enjoy. This should in a way explain the significant reports of domestic violence and divorce among

Zimbabweans living in the UK that were alluded to in this thesis. The future of Zimbabwean cultural family values thus depends on coordinated efforts that not only highlight the challenges that migration is bringing to family life, but also make deliberate efforts to have honest solution-oriented discussions. These discussions should also consider possible ways of working towards bringing existing norms and Zimbabwean family values closer to internationally accepted standards that reflect respect for gender and human rights. The fact that the conversation is already happening on different online platforms, gives a good starting ground from which the conversation on values can grow.

Final Remarks

As the 'Zimbabwe crisis' situation is on the verge of completing its second decade in 2020, transnational family life has become an ingrained new reality which, although not yet fully accepted as a new normal, requires new strategies. Alternative forms of family are emerging in the form of virtual communities, online fictive kinship, but their influence on family cultural matters remains limited. Absent migrating family members are increasingly being represented by material presence during family gatherings. Although history shows that Zimbabwean families have since colonization been multilocal, extended (exclusive) transnational family life cannot be accepted as normal on the basis of this history. Besides, a lot has changed since the colonial era, where it was previously men migrating, the migration studied here cut across the gender, age, and professional boundaries. The post-2000 migration movements have seen wives, mothers, and grandmothers staying away from their families for over a decade, yet they were the ones who previously remained at home.

Researching on transnational families that have predominantly done family life in virtual spaces for up to fifteen years, exposed the need for migration research to always dig beyond the surface picture showing the undeniable ability of ICTs to sustain family life across borders. Beneath this picture lies a number of status, and relational paradoxes. The status paradox of migration (Nieswand, 2012) and the irony of post-2000 migrants' contradictory translocational positionality is that they 'move in the dark' in the UK (no papers, no bank account, no formal insurance), but they are highly regarded in transnational spaces and in Zimbabwe where they provide material and financial resources, raising standards of living for their families.

During the course of this thesis production, I often got the question, *what is unique about Zimbabwean post-2000 transnational families*? I have brought this question here to make a point that the goal of research on extended transnational family life in asylum limbo situations

is not only on understanding how they 'do' and maintain family life. Interpreting the lived experiences shared in this thesis as mere stories would be missing the fundamental point that, these lived experiences constitute the often overlooked empirical realities that asylum policies ought to address. They should be considered as a challenge to the indirect normalization of unusual situations that are generated by inadequately defined 'temporary' policy decisions. Unusual is used here to depict the extended unfairness emanating from asylum tenebrosity, which indeterminately inhibits non-removed refused asylum seekers from accessing the right to family life as enshrined in international migration policy.

With this is mind I would like to put forward a few points for consideration, informed by my analysis of the research findings. These may be useful in managing asylum tenebrosity, prolonged transnational family life, and in adapting to shifting family norms.

For transnational families

Sincerity in communication – it is important for migrants to explain why they are migrating to the close family members that they constantly relate with, especially their children, regardless of their age. Communicating genuine reunification or visiting plans would also protect children's feelings which are constantly hurt by the sometimes false promises of return or reunification that some parents make when they live in asylum tenebrosity. This thesis revealed that children remember how they felt when their parents leave, way into their adult lives. Although they grow and mature in age, a part of them remains 'stuck' in their childhood where the memories of having been 'left behind' continuously linger (see Tasara's example in Chapter 7 and the excerpt from Kundai's interview discussed under Chapter 4.6). The same applies to marriage relationships. While acknowledging that individuals enter marriage unions for different reasons, it is important for couples to have honest discussions, plans, and malleable but clear future outlooks to avoid frustrations such as those revealed in Chapter 7.

For policy regulation

If the empirical data analyzed in this thesis is anything to go by, there is an urgent need to find effective solutions to cases of protracted asylum limbo. This is not only in the case of the Zimbabwe migrants at the centre of this study, but on a global scale. As demonstrated in this thesis, protracted limbo cases occur in many countries, but there are no clear measures on how to put an end to the limbo. In the case of the EU, for example, although it provides guidelines on how to deal with refused asylum seekers who cannot immediately be deported, it "does not provide for any mechanism that could put an end to situations of legal limbo deriving from

protracted non-removability" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2011, p. 7). In as much as some refused asylum seekers attempt to find 'backdoor' family reunification routes, only comprehensive immigration policy solutions can be a realistic starting point towards facilitating family reunification.

Contributions of the study

The contributions of this thesis speak to academics, policy makers, and society in general. The thesis offers a different perspective to the conceptualization of Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration movements. It has highlighted the problem of generalizing them under crisis migrations and looked at the migration movements from the lens of AoM. In addition, the study introduced the concept of asylum tenebrosity, which contributes to explaining how situations of protracted asylum limbo arise and perpetuate. The notion of asylum tenebrosity can be applied to the comprehensive analysis of situations of non-removed refused asylum seekers in other countries. It should therefore be considered in studies addressing asylum policy challenges and possible solutions to ending acknowledged protracted limbo. The concept of asylum tenebrosity can be further developed through more empirical and policy evidence from other migration contexts.

The thesis provided empirical evidence to show the consequences of palliative policy responses to migration movements. It thus adds to the literature on refugee policy and to debates on the need to modernize current refugee frameworks. In addition, through the analysis of transnational life that is exclusively done via ICTs for more than a decade, the study adds to the literature in the area of transnational families and on ICT-based co-presence. Existing research on transnational families has often focused on migrants that are able to visit or facilitate visits from their *staying behind* family members or even process reunification. This study has provided a new perspective that adds experiences of those whose immigration status impedes visits and reunification. Additionally, by examining the lived experiences of both migrants and non-migrants, the study has also added the often overlooked experiences of non-migrating members of transnational families.

Methodologically, the thesis used a hybrid of physical and virtual multi-sited ethnography which may be interesting for other migration researchers. It has highlighted the urgent need to address ethical issues in online ethnography so that this method can be used more for migration issues. This is important to do because migrants' online communities share abundant information that may be difficult to elicit through conventional research methods. Considering the fast pace at which everyday life matters (including official government issues) are

increasingly being discussed on online social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, online ethnography may be the future of academic research.

This study also contributes to the area of protecting research participants' anonymity through pseudonyms. Instead of using random number codes which may depersonalize individual experiences, pseudonyms that reflect the key themes that emerged from each lived experience were assigned. Crafting pseudonyms that are relatable to the thesis itself may be a strategy to consider for those researchers who prefer to use names rather than impersonal identifiers such as numbers.

Limitations of study and pointers for potential future research

The research could have benefitted from more matched samples, particularly of married couples who have lived apart since one of them migrated. As explained in the methodology chapter, it was challenging to reach most of the staying behind couples as they were reluctant to take part in the research. Their reluctance was understandable given the complex nature of the extended transnational relationship experiences which I discussed in this thesis. While it would be interesting to gather experiences from connected individuals, future research on such couples could focus more on the experiences of staying behind spouses. Although my research has shared some of these experiences (see chapter 7), there is need to gather more perspectives. It would be particularly interesting to have perceptions from those who have no specific reunification plan, yet they plan to remain married.

It would also be interesting to study the facilitation and outcomes of what I have called the 'backdoor' reunification attempts through the migration of *staying behind* children as students or au pairs in such countries as Germany and Cyprus. Another possible research area could be on what happens if this 'backdoor' reunification attempt fails – what other 'regular' or 'irregular' strategies are attempted? This can perhaps be done in the context of examining the UK's post-Brexit immigration policy changes.

Future research could also focus on the experiences of 1.5 and second generation immigrants growing up in the UK and their transnational interactions with their close relatives in Zimbabwe. Focus could also include how immigrant parents deal with the role of the UK Social Services in influencing how they should perform their parenting roles. Given that the 'Zimbabwe crisis' has continued and created new migration movements to more destinations, research can also look into migrant family life in new destinations, particularly those with completely different cultures, languages, and religion, such as Dubai.

References

Adepoju, A. (1998). Linkages between internal and international migration: The African situation. *International Social Science Journal*, *50*(157), 387–395. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00151

Amelina, A. (2008). *Searching for an appropriate research strategy on transnational migration. The logic of multi-sited research and the capacity of the cultural interferences approach* [Working Paper]. https://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/publication/2318269

Andersen, M. L., Taylor, H. F., & Logio, K. A. (2014). *Sociology: The Essentials*. Cengage Learning.

Ansell, N. (2001). 'Because It's Our Culture!' (Re)Negotiating the Meaning of 'Lobola' in Southern African Secondary Schools. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *27*(4), 697–716. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/823409

Anthias, F. (2008). Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: An intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging. *Translocations: Migration and Social Change*, *4*, 5–20. http://www.dcu.ie/imrstr/volume_4_issue_1/Vol_4_Issue_1_Floya_Anthias.pdf

Arango, J. (2000). Explaining Migration: A Critical View. *International Social Science Journal*, *52*(165), 283–296. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00259

Babbie, E. (2007). *The Basics of Social Research*. Cengage Learning.

Bailey, A. J., Wright, R. A., Mountz, A., & Miyares, I. M. (2002). (Re)producing Salvadoran Transnational Geographies. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *92*(1), 125–144. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.00283

Baldassar, L. (2008). Missing Kin and Longing to be Together: Emotions and the Construction of Co-presence in Transnational Relationships. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *29*(3), 247–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802169196

Baldassar, L. (2016a). Mobilities and Communication Technologies: Transforming Care in Family Life. In *Family Life in an Age of Migration and Mobility: Global Perspectives through the Life Course*. Springer.

Baldassar, L. (2016b). De-demonizing distance in mobile family lives: Co-presence, care circulation and polymedia as vibrant matter. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 145–163. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12109

Baldassar, L., Baldock, C. V., & Wilding, R. (2006). *Families Caring Across Borders: Migration, Ageing and Transnational Caregiving*. Springer.

Baldassar, L., Kilkey, M., Merla, L., & Wilding, R. (2018). Transnational families in the era of global mobility. In A. Triandafyllidou (Ed.), *Handbook of Migration and Globalisation*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2013). *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. Routledge.

Baldassar, L., Nedelcu, M., Merla, L., & Wilding, R. (2016). ICT-based co-presence in transnational families and communities: Challenging the premise of face-to-face proximity in sustaining relationships. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 133–144. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12108

Banda, H. C. (2017). *Migration from Malawi to South Africa: A Historical and Cultural Novel*. Langaa RPCIG.

Barglowski, K. (2018). Where, What and Whom to Study? Principles, Guidelines and Empirical Examples of Case Selection and Sampling in Migration Research. In R. Zapata-Barrero & E. Yalaz (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in European Migration*

Studies (pp. 151–168). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_9
Barnes, T. (1992). The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939. *Signs, 17*(3), 586–608. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174624
Barnes, T. (1995). 'So that a labourer could live with his family': Overlooked factors in social and economic strife in urban colonial Zimbabwe, 1945–1952. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 21*(1), 95–113. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079508708435
Barnes, T. (1997). 'Am I a Man?': Gender and the Pass Laws in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe, 1930-80. *African Studies Review, 40*(1), 59–81. https://doi.org/10.2307/525033
Barnes, T. (2002). Virgin Territory?: Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa. In *Women in African Colonial Histories* (pp. 164–190). Indiana University Press. https://experts.illinois.edu/en/publications/virgin-territory-travel-and-migration-by-african-women-in-twentie
Barry, D. (2010). *Impact of Sociological Theories on the Institution of Family*. http://www.academia.edu/7788001/Impact_of_Sociological_Theories_on_the_Institution_of_Family
Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, C. S. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Routledge.
Bauböck, R., & Faist, T. (Eds.). (2010). *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*. Amsterdam University Press.
BBC. (2015, August 20). Man jailed for life for wife's murder. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-34009925
BBC. (2016, December 19). 'Frenzied' killer caged for murdering ex. *BBC News*. http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-38370093
BBC. (2018a, April 16). Windrush generation treatment 'appalling'. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-43780621
BBC. (2018b, April 18). *Who are the Windrush generation?* https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-43782241
Bentzon, A. W., Hellum, A., & Stewart, J. E. (1998). *Pursuing grounded theory in law: South-North experiences in developing women's law*. Mond Books.
Bergeron, C. (2014). Temporary Protected Status after 25 Years: Addressing the Challenge of Long-Term "Temporary" Residents and Strengthening a Centerpiece of US Humanitarian Protection. *Journal on Migration and Human Security, 2*(1), 22–43.
Betts, A. (2010). Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework. *Global Governance 16 (2010), 361–382*. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244329-1255462486411/Betts_Survival_Migration.pdf
Betts, A. (2013a). *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement*. Cornell University Press.
Betts, A. (2013b). *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement*. Cornell University Press.
Betts, A., & Jones, W. (2016). *Mobilising the Diaspora*. Cambridge University Press.
Blinder, S. (2018, August 3). *Naturalisation as a British Citizen: Concepts and Trends*. Migration Observatory. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/naturalisation-as-a-british-citizen-concepts-and-trends/
Bloch, A. (2008). Zimbabweans in Britain: Transnational Activities and Capabilities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 34*(2), 287–305. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701823822

Bloch, A. (2010). Transnational Lives: The Experience of Zimbabweans in Britain. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*. SAMP.

Boccagni, P., & Schrooten, M. (2018). Participant Observation in Migration Studies: An Overview and Some Emerging Issues. In *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* (pp. 209–225). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_12

Bond, P. (2001). *Radical Rhetoric and the Working Class During Zimbabwean Nationalism's Dying Days*. http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/Bond%20JWSR%20Zimbabwe.pdf

Bonnevie, H. (1987). *Migration and malformation: Case studies from Zimbabwe*. Centre for Development Research.

Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process. *The Qualitative Report*, *19*(33), 1–9. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol19/iss33/3

Bowskill, C. (2016, March 21). Time to Bring Tenebrae Out of the Shadows. *Regina Magazine*. https://reginamag.com/time-bring-tenebrae-shadows/

Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. H., & Robinson, V. (2014). *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. Routledge.

Bracking, S., & Sachikonye, L. (2006). *Remittances, poverty reduction and the informalisation of household wellbeing in Zimbabwe. GPRG-WPS-045*. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:d51e6826-8ad2-44a4-a008-70d9494ae1df

Bracking, S., & Sachikonye, L. (2008). *Remittances, Poverty Reduction and Informalisation in Zimbabwe 2005-6: A Political Economy of Dispossession?* (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 1265516). Social Science Research Network. http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1265516

Brekke, J.-P., & Brochmann, G. (2015). Stuck in Transit: Secondary Migration of Asylum Seekers in Europe, National Differences, and the Dublin Regulation. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *28*(2), 145–162. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feu028

Brickell, K., & Datta, A. (2011). *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Brown. (2015, May 12). What's in a name? For Zimbabweans, it's 'Obvious'. *Christian Science Monitor*. https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0512/What-s-in-a-name-For-Zimbabweans-it-s-Obvious

Brun, C. (2015). Active Waiting and Changing Hopes: Toward a Time Perspective on Protracted Displacement. *Social Analysis*, *59*(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2015.590102

Brun, C., & Fábos, A. (2015). Making Homes in Limbo? A Conceptual Framework. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *31*(1), 5–17. https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/40138

Bryceson, D. F. (2019). Transnational families negotiating migration and care life cycles across nation-state borders. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1547017

Bryceson, D. F., & Vuorela, U. (2002). *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Berg Press. http://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/the-transnational-family-9781845205843/

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. OUP Oxford.

Burridge, A. (2019). Asylum Reporting as a Site of Anxiety, Detention, and Solidarity. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Open Borders: In Defense of Free Movement*. University of Georgia Press.

Bvunzawabaya, R. (2016, July 13). *Migrant Family Support (Uhuru)*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NmTZWCme_GY

Caarls, K., & Mazzucato, V. (2016). Transnational relationships and reunification: Ghanaian couples between Ghana and Europe. *Demographic Research, 34*, 587–614. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2016.34.21
Campbell, J. R. (2016). *Bureaucracy, Law and Dystopia in the United Kingdom's Asylum System*. Routledge.
Carbone, G. (Ed.). (2017). *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Ledizioni.
Carling, J., Erdal, M. B., & Ezzati, R. (2014). Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies, 2*(1), 36–54. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt022
Carling, J., & Schewel, K. (2018). Revisiting aspiration and ability in international migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(6), 945–963. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384146
Castles, S. (2012). Understanding the relationship between methodology and methods. In *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
Castles, S. (2017). *Migration, Citizenship and Identity: Selected Essays*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
Castles, S., Haas, H. de, & Miller, M. J. (2013). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Fourth). Palgrave Macmillan.
Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe. (1997). *Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace: A report on the disturbances in Matebeleland and the Midlands 1980 to 1988*. http://davidcoltart.com/wp-content/uploads/2006/10/breakingthesilence.pdf
Chacón, J. M. (2015). *Producing Liminal Legality* (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 2697275). Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2697275
Chadya, J. M. (2013). Home Away From Home? The Diaspora in Canada and the Zimbabwe Funeral. In *Place and Replace: Essays on Western Canada*. Univ. of Manitoba Press.
Cheal, D. (2008). *Families in Today's World: A Comparative Approach*. Routledge.
Cheater, A. P. (1985, November). *The role and position of women in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe*. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/9977
Chereni, A. (2014a). Positionality and Collaboration During Fieldwork: Insights From Research With Co-Nationals Living Abroad. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 15*(3). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-15.3.2058
Chereni, A. (2014b). "The more things change the more they stay the same": Decision-making in Zimbabwean transnational families. *Migration Letters, 11*(3), 341–352. https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v11i3.228
Chief Native Commissioner. (1920). *Chief Native Commissioner Annual Reports 1920: Report of the Native Commissioner for Gwanda for 1920* (S 2076). National Archives of Zimbabwe.
Chikanda, A. (2005a). *Medical Leave: The Exodus Of Health Professionals From Zimbabwe*. Idasa and Queen's University. http://ir.uz.ac.zw/handle/10646/43
Chikanda, A. (2005b). Nurse migration from Zimbabwe: Analysis of recent trends and impacts. *Nursing Inquiry, 12*(3), 162–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-1800.2005.00273.x
Chikanda, A. (2010). Nursing the Health System: The Migration of Health Professionals from Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*. SAMP.
Chimininge, V. (2019). *Myths and Rituals: The Adaptation and Adoption of Karanga Religiosity in the Zion Christian Church of Samuel Mutendi in Zimbabwe*. AuthorHouse.

Chinembiri, T. (2016). The impact of human capital losses in Zimbabwe: A focus on the public sector for the crisis period 2000-08. In *Economic Management in a Hyperinflationary Environment: The Political Economy of Zimbabwe, 1980-2008*. Oxford University Press.
Chirawu, D. (2017, March 1). Law must formalise customary marriage divorce token. *The Herald*. https://www.herald.co.zw/law-must-formalise-customary-marriage-divorce-token/
Chitakure, J. (2016). *Shona Women in Zimbabwe—A Purchased People?: Marriage, Bridewealth, Domestic Violence, and the Christian Traditions on Women*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.
Chitakure, J. (2017). *African Traditional Religion Encounters Christianity: The Resilience of a Demonized Religion*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.
Chiumbu, S., & Musemwa, M. (2012). *Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. HSRC Press.
Chung, F. (2006). *Re-living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe*. African Books Collective.
Ciabattari, T. (2016). *Sociology of Families: Change, Continuity, and Diversity*. SAGE Publications.
Coe, C. (2011). What is Love? The Materiality of Care in Ghanaian Transnational Families. *International Migration, 49*(6), 7–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00704.x
Commonwealth Secretariat. (2003). *Zimbabwe Presidential Election: 9-11 March 2002*. Commonwealth Secretariat.
Copson, R. W. (2006). *Zimbabwe: Background and Issues*. Nova Publishers.
Coutin, S. B. (2003). *Legalizing Moves: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency*. University of Michigan Press.
Cox, F. D. (2008). *Human Intimacy: Marriage, the Family, and Its Meaning, Research Update*. Cengage Learning.
Crawley, H. (2010). *Refugee Council Chance or choice? Understanding why asylum seekers come to the UK*. Swansea University. https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/sites/default/files/HE%20web.pdf
Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications.
Crush, J., & Tevera, D. (2010). *Zimbabwe's exodus: Crisis, migration, survival*. IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA. https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/handle/10625/44852
Cuban, S. (2017). *Transnational Family Communication: Immigrants and ICTs*. Springer.
Cuffe, J. (2017). *The impact of Zimbabwe's 'crisis' on three transnational families situated in Zimbabwe, South Africa and the United Kingdom.* [Doctoral thesis, University of Southampton]. https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/414969/1/LIBRARY_COPY_Cuffe_thesis2.pdf
Darling, J. (2011). Domopolitics, governmentality and the regulation of asylum accommodation. *Political Geography, 30*(5), 263–271. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.04.011
Datta, A. (2016). *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*. Routledge.
de Haas, H. (2014a). *Migration Theory Quo Vadis?* International Migration Institute. https://heindehaas.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/de-haas-2014-imi-wp100-migration-theory-quo-vadis.pdf
de Haas, H. (2014b). What Drives Human Migration? In *Migration: A COMPAS Anthology*. COMPAS.

Deutsche Welle. (2016, July 25). *What happens with rejected asylum applicants who are not deported? | DW |*. DW.COM. https://www.dw.com/en/what-happens-with-rejected-asylum-applicants-who-are-not-deported/a-19426155
DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Rowman Altamira.
Döbler, M.-K. (2019). *Co-presence and family: A discussion of a sociological category and conceptual considerations*. Routledge.
EASO. (n.d.). *Country Guidance | EUROPEAN ASYLUM SUPPORT OFFICE*. Retrieved 10 March 2019, from https://www.easo.europa.eu/country-guidance
Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107–115. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x
European Migration Network. (2016). *EMN Ad-Hoc Query on Polygamous marriage*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/ad-hoc-queries/ad-hoc-queries-1032_es_polygamous_marriage_wider_diss_protection.pdf
European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2011). *Fundamental rights of migrants in an irregular situation in the European Union* [Data set]. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975_HRD-9992-0015
Fage, J. D., Oliver, R., & Sanderson, G. N. (Eds.). (1985). *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
Faist, T. (1998). Transnational social spaces out of international migration: Evolution, significance and future prospects. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie*, *39*(2), 213–247. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23997745
Faist, T. (2000a). Transnationalization in international migration: Implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *23*(2), 189–222. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198700329024
Faist, T. (2000b). *The Bridging Function of Social Capital: Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198293910.001.0001/acprof-9780198293910-chapter-7
Faist, T. (2010). Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners? In *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam University Press.
Faist, T. (2013). Transnationalism. In *International Handbook of Migration Studies*. Routledge.
Faist, T. (2017). The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics. In *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions*. Routledge.
Faist, T. (2019). *The Transnationalized Social Question: Migration and the Politics of Social Inequalities in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford University Press.
Faist, T., & Bilecen, B. (2017). *Transnationalism—Updated* (Vol. 158). COMCAD.
Faist, T., Fauser, M., & Reisenauer, E. (2013). *Transnational Migration*. John Wiley & Sons.
Faist, T., & Özveren, E. (Eds.). (2017). *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions*. Routledge.
Falzon, M.-A. (Ed.). (2016). *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research*. Routledge.
Fedyuk, O., & Zentai, V. (2018). The Interview in Migration Studies: A Step towards a Dialogue and Knowledge Co-production? In R. Zapata-Barrero & E. Yalaz (Eds.),

Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies (pp. 171–188). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_10
Ferraro, G., & Andreatta, S. (2014). *Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective*. Cengage Learning.
Filippa, O. M., Cronjé, E. M., & Ferns, I. (2013). Left behind: A qualitative study of Zimbabwean adolescents affected by parental migration. *Psychology in Society*, *45*, 36–52. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S1015-60462013000200004&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=en
Finch, J. (2007). Displaying Families. *Sociology*, *41*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038507072284
Finch, J. (2011). Exploring the Concept of Display in Family Relationships. In *Displaying Families* (pp. 197–205). Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230314306_13
Flick, U. (2014). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. SAGE.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (2018, April 20). *Boris Johnson hosts Foreign Minister Moyo for roundtable talks*. GOV.UK. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/boris-johnson-hosts-foreign-minister-moyo-for-roundtable-talks
Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (2019a, January 17). *Minister for Africa's statement on the situation in Zimbabwe, January 2019*. GOV.UK. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/ministerial-statement-on-zimbabwe
The Zimbabwe (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations 2019, 604 (2019). http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2019/604/introduction/made
Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (2019b). *Human rights priority countries: Ministerial statement, January to June 2019*. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/human-rights-priority-countries-autumn-2019-ministerial-statement/human-rights-priority-countries-ministerial-statement-january-to-june-2019
Freitag, U., & von Oppen, A. (2010). *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*. Brill. https://brill.com/view/title/15489
Gaidzanwa, R. B. (1999). *Voting with Their Feet: Migrant Zimbabwean Nurses and Doctors in the Era of Structural Adjustment*. Nordic Africa Institute.
Gardner, K. (2009). Lives in motion: The life-course, movement and migration in Bangladesh. *Journal of South Asian Development*, *4*(2), 229–251. https://doi.org/10.1177/097317410900400204
Gebrewold, B., & Bloom, T. (2016). *Understanding Migrant Decisions: From Sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean Region*. Routledge.
Gelfand, M. (1981). *Ukama: Reflections on Shona and Western Cultures in Zimbabwe*. Mambo Press.
Gonzales, R. G. (2016). *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*. Univ of California Press.
Goulbourne, H., Reynolds, T., Solomos, J., & Zontini, E. (2010). *Transnational Families: Ethnicities, Identities and Social Capital*. Routledge.
Gray, L. (2016, May 17). Jealous ex-lover stabbed nurse to death after she met new boyfriend, court hears. *Manchester Evening News*. http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/jealous-ex-lover-stabbed-nurse-11343289
Greiner, C., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives. *Geography Compass*, *7*(5), 373–384. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12048

Greschke, H. M. (2012). *Is There a Home in Cyberspace?: The Internet in Migrants' Everyday Life and the Emergence of Global Communities*. Routledge.
Hammar, A., McGregor, J., & Landau, L. (2010). Introduction. Displacing Zimbabwe: Crisis and Construction in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *36*(2), 263–283. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.485779
Hammar, A., Raftopoulos, B., & Jensen, S. (2003). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Weaver Press.
Hammersley, M. (2010). Reproducing or constructing? Some questions about transcription in social research. *Qualitative Research*, *10*(5), 553–569. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794110375230
Hanlon, B., & Vicino, T. J. (2014). *Global Migration: The Basics*. Routledge.
Hasselberg, I. (2016). *Enduring Uncertainty: Deportation, Punishment and Everyday Life*. Berghahn Books.
Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2017). *Transcribing for Social Research*. SAGE.
Holleman, J. F., & Research, U. of Z. I. for S. (1952). *Shona Customary Law: With Reference to Kinship, Marriage, the Family and the Estate*. Manchester University Press.
Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and writing qualitative research* (2nd ed). SAGE.
Holliday, A. (2016). *Doing & Writing Qualitative Research*. SAGE.
Home Office. (2002). *Secure Borders, Safe Haven—Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain*. Stationery Office. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/secure-borders-safe-haven-integration-with-diversity-in-modern-britain
Home Office. (2007). *Control of immigration: Statistics United Kingdom 2006*. The Stationery Office.
Horton, S. (2009). A Mother's Heart is Weighed Down with Stones: A Phenomenological Approach to the Experience of Transnational Motherhood. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, *33*(1), 21–40. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-008-9117-z
House of Commons Join. (2009). *Legislative Scrutiny: Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Bill Ninth Report of Session 2008-09 Report, Together with Formal Minutes and Written Evide*. The Stationery Office.
Huffman, T. N. (2007). *Handbook to the Iron Age: The Archaeology of Pre-colonial Farming Societies in Southern Africa*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
Huffman, T. N. (2014). FIFTY YEARS OF IRON AGE RESEARCH: A PERSONAL ODYSSEY. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, *69*(200), 213–218. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43868717
Huffman, T. N., & Vogel, J. C. (1991). The Chronology of Great Zimbabwe. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, *46*(154), 61–70. https://doi.org/10.2307/3889086
Humphris, R. (2010). *ICAR Population Guide Zimbabweans in the UK*. ICAR. UK.http://www.icar.org.uk/download.php?id=634
Hungwe, C. (2006). Putting Them in Their Place: 'Respectable' and 'Unrespectable' Women in Zimbabwean Gender Struggles. *Feminist Africa*, *6*, 33–47. https://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=W00078130
Hungwe, C. (2011). 'Small Houses': Disruptions or Re-Ordering Sexuality in Zimbabwe? *JENdA: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*, *0*(19). https://www.africaknowledgeproject.org/index.php/jenda/article/view/636
Hynes, P. (2011). *The Dispersal and Social Exclusion of Asylum Seekers: Between Liminality and Belonging*. Policy Press.
Hynes, P., & Sales, R. (2010). New communities: Asylum seekers and dispersal. In A. Bloch & J. Solomos (Eds.), *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st century*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Iosifides, T. (2013). *Qualitative Methods in Migration Studies: A Critical Realist Perspective*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Iosifides, T. (2018). Epistemological Issues in Qualitative Migration Research: Self-Reflexivity, Objectivity and Subjectivity. In R. Zapata-Barrero & E. Yalaz (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* (pp. 93–109). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_6

Isin, E. F. (2008). Theorizing acts of citizenship. *Acts of Citizenship*.

Isin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (2013). *Acts of Citizenship*. Zed Books Ltd.

Jackson, L. A. (2002). "When in the White Man's Town": Zimbabwean Women Remember Chibeura. In *Women in African Colonial Histories* (pp. 191–215). Indiana University Press.

Jeater, D. (2000). No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *26*(1), 29–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/030570700108360

Jeater, D. (2012). Shifting the expert goalposts: The influence of Country Guidance cases in the development and use of expert evidence in Zimbabwe asylum cases in the UK. *Journal of Immigration Asylum & Nationality Law (Official Journal of the Immigration Law Practitioners' Association)*. https://www.academia.edu/7004225/Shifting_the_expert_goalposts_the_influence_of_Country_Guidance_cases_in_the_development_and_use_of_expert_evidence_in_Zimbabwe_asylum_cases_in_the_UK

Jesuit Institute. (n.d.). *The Liturgy of Tenebrae*. Retrieved 29 June 2019, from http://jesuitinstitute.org/Pages/Liturgy/Tenebrae.htm

Jinnah, Z. (2017). Silence and Invisibility: Exploring Labour Strategies of Zimbabwean Farmworkers in Musina, South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, *48*(3), 46–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2017.1327822

Jones, J. L. (2010). 'Nothing is Straight in Zimbabwe': The Rise of the Kukiya-kiya Economy 2000–2008. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *36*(2), 285–299. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.485784

Kaler, A. (1999). Visions of Domesticity in the African Women's Homecraft Movement in Rhodesia. *Social Science History*, *23*(3), 269–309. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1171601

Kararach, G., & Otieno, R. O. (Eds.). (2016). *Economic Management in a Hyperinflationary Environment: The Political Economy of Zimbabwe, 1980-2008*. Oxford University Press.

Kendall, D. (2008). *Sociology in Our Times: The Essentials*. Cengage Learning.

Keppel-Jones, A. (1983). *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.

Kilkey, M., & Merla, L. (2014). Situating transnational families' care-giving arrangements: The role of institutional contexts. *Global Networks*, *14*(2), 210–229. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12034

King, R. (2012). Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and A Primer. *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, *12*, 1–43.

Kramarae, C., & Spender, D. (2004). *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*. Routledge.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. SAGE Publications.

Kufakurinani, U., Pasura, D., & McGregor, J. (2014). Transnational parenting and the emergence of 'diaspora orphans' in Zimbabwe. *African Diaspora*, *7*(1), 114–138. https://doi.org/Kufakurinani, U., Pasura, D. <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/author/34316.html> and McGregor, J. (2014)

Transnational parenting and the emergence of 'diaspora orphans' in Zimbabwe. African Diaspora <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/journal_volume/African_Diaspora.html>, 7(1), pp. 114-138. (doi:10.1163/18725465-00701006 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/18725465-00701006>)

Kyker, J. W. (2016). *Oliver Mtukudzi: Living Tuku Music in Zimbabwe*. Indiana University Press.

Lam, T., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2019). Under one roof? Left-behind children's perspectives in negotiating relationships with absent and return-migrant parents. *Population, Space and Place*, *25*(3), e2151. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2151

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (2013). *Analysis and Interpretation of Ethnographic Data: A Mixed Methods Approach*. Rowman Altamira.

Leeder, E. J. (2004). *The Family in Global Perspective: A Gendered Journey*. SAGE.

Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society1. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1002–1039. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x

Lewis, H., Waite, L., & Hodkinson, S. (2017). 'Hostile' UK Immigration Policy and Asylum Seekers' Susceptibility to Forced Labour. In F. Vecchio & A. Gerard (Eds.), *Entrapping Asylum Seekers: Social, Legal and Economic Precariousness* (pp. 187–215). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58739-8_8

Lexico Dictionaries. (n.d.). In *Lexico Dictionaries | English*. Retrieved 23 June 2019, from https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/survival

Lindley, A. (2014). *Crisis and Migration: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge.

Luedke, T. (2004). Gendered states: Gender and agency in economic models of Great Zimbabwe. In K. A. Pyburn (Ed.), *Ungendering Civilization*. Psychology Press.

Madebwe, C. (2014). *Husband immobility and the international migration of married women from Zimbabwe* [Thesis]. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/18571

Madhuku, L. (2010). *An Introduction to Zimbabwean Law*. African Books Collective.

Madhuku, L. (2015). *Labour Law in Zimbabwe*. Weaver Press.

Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: Transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 183–201. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12105

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2013). *Migration and New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*. Routledge.

Madziva, R. (2011). *A living death: Zimbabwean migrants in the UK who are forced apart from their children.* [University of Nottingham]. http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/12893/1/555694.pdf

Madziva, R. (2015a). A gift exchange relationship? Reflections on doing qualitative research with vulnerable migrants. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, *4*(3), 465–480. https://doi.org/10.1332/204674313X13872827681557

Madziva, R. (2015b). Transnational parenthood and forced migration: The case of asylum-seeking parents who are forcibly separated from their families by immigration laws. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, *doi:10.1332/204674315X14479281723965*. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/tpp/frs/pre-prints/content-PP_FRS-D-15-00008R3

Madziva, R., & Zontini, E. (2012). Transnational mothering and forced migration: Understanding the experiences of Zimbabwean mothers in the UK. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *19*(4), 428–443. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506812466609

Magubane, N. N. (2016). *Black tax: The emerging middle class reality*. University of Pretoria.

Maguraushe, W., & Mukuhlani, T. (2014). Kupururudzira muroora songs in Muzvezve. *IAS Nokoko*, *4*, 25. https://carleton.ca/africanstudies/wp-content/uploads/Nokoko-4-Maguraushe-and-Mukuhlani.pdf

Manase, I. (2009). Zimbabwean urban grooves and their subversive performance practices. *Social Dynamics*, *35*, 56–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/02533950802666923

Manase, I. (2019). *White Narratives: The depiction of post-2000 land invasions in Zimbabwe*. NISC (Pty) Ltd.

Mangoma, A., & Wilson-Prangley, A. (2019). Black Tax: Understanding the financial transfers of the emerging black middle class. *Development Southern Africa*, *36*(4), 443–460. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2018.1516545

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *24*(1), 95–117. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523

Martin, S. F., Weerasinghe, S., & Taylor, A. (2013). Crisis Migration. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *20*(1), 123–137. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590889

Martin, S. F., Weerasinghe, S., & Taylor, A. (2014). *Humanitarian Crises and Migration: Causes, Consequences and Responses*. Routledge.

Mashingaidze, M. (2013). *Unaccompanied minors seeking asylum in Slovenia: Enhancing resilience through psychosocial support and social capital* [MA Thesis]. Oldenburg.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, *19*(3), 431–466. https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462

Mawere, M., & Mawere, A. M. (2010). The changing philosophy of African marriage: The relevance of the Shona customary marriage practice of Kukumbira. *Journal of African Studies and Development*, *2*(9), 224–233. http://www.academicjournals.org/article/article1380012233_Mawere%20and%20Mawere.pdf

Mazarire, G. C. (2008). Reflections on Pre-colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s. In B. Raftopoulos & A. Mlambo (Eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. African Books Collective.

Mazzucato, V. (2008). Transnational reciprocity: Ghanaian migrants and the care of their parents back home. In *Generations in Africa: Connections and Conflicts*. LIT Verlag Münster.

Mazzucato, V., & Schans, D. (2011). Transnational Families and the Well-Being of Children: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *73*(4), 704–712. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00840.x

Mbiba, B. (2005). *Zimbabwe's Global Citizens in 'Harare North': Overview and Implications for Development*. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/21543/1/Zimbabwes_global_citizens_in_Harare_North.pdf

Mbiba, B. (2012). Zimbabwe's global citizens in 'Harare North': Livelihood strategies of Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom . In S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa (Eds.), *Crisis! What Crisis? The multiple dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis.* Human Sciences Research Council Press. http://www.academia.edu/9505924/Zimbabwes_global_citizens_in_Harare_North_Livelihoods_strategies_of_Zimbabweans_in_the_United_Kingdom._Chapter_4_in_Chiumbu_S._and_Musemwa_M._eds._2012_Crisis_What_Crisis_The_multiple_dimensions_of_the_Zimbabwean_crisis._Cape_Town_Human_Sciences_Research_Council_Press

McAdam, J. (2014, February). The concept of crisis migration. *Forced Migration Review*, *45*. http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/crisis/mcadam.pdf

McCarthy, J. R., & Edwards, R. (2010). *Key Concepts in Family Studies*. SAGE.
McGregor, JoAnn. (2006). Professionals Relocating: Zimbabwean Nurses and Teachers Negotiating Work and Family in Britain. *University of Reading Geographical Paper No. 178*.
McGregor, JoAnn. (2008a). Abject Spaces, Transnational Calculations: Zimbabweans in Britain Navigating Work, Class and the Law. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *33*(4), 466–482. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30135328
McGregor, JoAnn. (2008b). Children and 'African Values': Zimbabwean Professionals in Britain Reconfiguring Family Life. *Environment and Planning A*, *40*(3), 596–614. https://doi.org/10.1068/a38334
McGregor, JoAnn. (2010a). Diaspora and Dignity: Navigating and Contesting Civic Exclusion in Britain. In JoAnn McGregor & R. Primorac (Eds.), *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival* (p. 302). Berghahn Books.
McGregor, JoAnn. (2010b). Introduction: The Making of Zimbabwe's New Diaspora. In *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival* (p. 302). Berghahn Books.
McGregor, Joann. (2010). Between obligation, profit and shame: Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. In J. Crush & D. Tevera (Eds.), *Zimbabwes Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival* (pp. 179–206). Southern African Migration Programme. http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/52783/
McGregor, JoAnn. (2014). Sentimentality or speculation? Diaspora investment, crisis economies and urban transformation. *Geoforum*, *56*, 172–181. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.07.008
McGregor, JoAnn, & Pasura, D. (2014). Frameworks for analyzing conflict diasporas and the case of Zimbabwe. *African Diaspora*, *7*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/McGregor, J. and Pasura, D. <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/author/34316.html> (2014) Frameworks for analyzing conflict diasporas and the case of Zimbabwe. African Diaspora <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/journal_volume/African_Diaspora.html>, 7(1), pp. 1-13. (doi:10.1163/18725465-00701001 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/18725465-00701001>)
McGregor, JoAnn, & Primorac, R. (2010). *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*. Berghahn Books.
Menjivar, C. (2006). Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States on JSTOR. *American Journal of Sociology*, *111*(4), 999–1037. https://doi.org/10.1086/499509
Menjívar, C., & Ness, I. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*. Oxford University Press.
Merla, L., Kilkey, M., & Baldassar, L. (2020). Examining transnational care circulation trajectories within immobilizing regimes of migration: Implications for proximate care. *JFR - Journal of Family Research*. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-351
Merriam Webster Dictionary. (n.d.). *Definition of TENEBROSITY*. Retrieved 29 June 2019, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tenebrosity
Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. SAGE.
Missbach, A. (2015). *Troubled Transit: Asylum Seekers Stuck in Indonesia*. Iseas - Yusof Ishak Institute.
Mlambo, A. (2010). A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*. International Development Research Centre.

Mlambo, A. (2013). Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, Nationalism and State-building. *Africa Spectrum*, *48*(1), 49–70. https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/view/599
Mlambo, A. (2014). *A History of Zimbabwe*. Cambridge University Press.
Mlambo, A. (2017). From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors: Over Two Decades of Economic Decline and Deindustrialization in Zimbabwe 1990–2015 ,From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors: Over Two Decades of Economic Decline and Deindustrialization in Zimbabwe 1990–2015. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *33*(1), 99–125. https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X17694518
Monette, D. R., Sullivan, T. J., & DeJong, C. R. (2010). *Applied Social Research: A Tool for the Human Services*. Cengage Learning.
Monger, G. (2004). *Marriage Customs of the World: From Henna to Honeymoons*. ABC-CLIO.
Moore, D. (2013). Progress, power, and violent accumulation in Zimbabwe. In *'Progress' in Zimbabwe?: The Past and Present of a Concept and a Country*. Routledge.
Morawska, E. (2018). Qualitative Migration Research: Viable Goals, Open-Ended Questions, and Multidimensional Answers. In *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* (pp. 113–131). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_7
Moreblessing. (2016, November 27). *Transnational Family life experiences—Moreblessing* [Audio].
Morgan, D. (2011a). *Rethinking Family Practices*. Springer. https://books.google.de/books?id=57SADAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
Morgan, D., H. G. (2011b). Locating 'Family Practices'. *Sociological Research Online*, *16*(4), 9. http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/14.html
Morris, A. (2015). *A Practical Introduction to In-depth Interviewing*. SAGE.
Moyo, S., & Yeros, P. (Eds.). (2013). *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgence of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Zed Books Ltd.
Muchirahondo, S. (2018, December 11). UK: Zimbabwean woman(27) was murdered in her Leicester home..Latest Report. *ZIM NEWS | Latest Zim News | Breaking Zimbabwe Update News Today*. https://zwnews.com/zim-lady-lorraine-gugu-mbulawa-matos-sanchez-jesus-leicester-cause-of-report-wife-hubby/
Muižnieks, N. (2016, November 15). *Migrants in limbo in Europe have the right to live in dignity*. Commissioner for Human Rights. https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/blog/-/asset_publisher/xZ32OPEoxOkq/content/migrants-in-limbo-in-europe-have-the-right-to-live-in-dignity
Mulvey, G. (2010). When Policy Creates Politics: The Problematizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *23*(4), 437–462. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq045
Munochiveyi, M. (2014). *Prisoners of Rhodesia: Inmates and Detainees in the Struggle for Zimbabwean Liberation, 1960-1980*. Springer.
Mupedziswa, R., & Gumbo, P. (1998). *Structural adjustment and women informal sector traders in Harare, Zimbabwe ; [a report from the research programme The Political and Social Context of Structural Adjustment in Africa]*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
Muylaert, C. J., Sarubbi, V., Gallo, P. R., & Neto, M. L. R. (2014). Narrative interviews: An important resource in qualitative research. *Revista Da Escola De Enfermagem Da U S P*, *48 Spec No. 2*, 184–189. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0080-623420140000800027

Muzondidya, J. (2011). Zimbabwe's failed transition? An analysis of the challenges and complexities in Zimbabwe's transition to democracy in the post-2000 period. In *Zimbabwe in transition: A view from within*. Jacana Media.

Muzvidziwa, V. (2001). Zimbabwe's Cross-Border Women Traders: Multiple Identities and Responses to New Challenges. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 19*(1), 67–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000124044

Mwandayi, C. (2017). Towards a reform of the Christian understanding of Shona traditional marriages in light of ancient Israelite marriages. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 43*(3), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.17159/2412-4265/2717

Nadai, E., & Maeder, C. (2005). Fuzzy Fields. Multi-Sited Ethnography in Sociological Research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 6*(3). http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/22

Ncube, B. J. (2017). Diasporic Online Radio and the Mediation of Zimbabwean Conflic/Crisis. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, Diaspora and Conflict* (p. 252). Springer.

Ncube, G. T. (2012). The early history of wage labour and worker consciousness in North-Western Zimbabwe, 1898—1940. *The Dyke, 6*(3), 155–177. http://ir.msu.ac.zw:8080/xmlui/handle/11408/750

Ndinga-Kanga, M. (2019, May 7). *ANALYSIS: Towards an understanding of 'black tax' and the black missing middle*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-05-07-towards-an-understanding-of-black-tax-and-the-black-missing-middle/

Ndlovu, L. (2013). 'Small house' practice and its impact on the traditional family unit in Zimbabwe. In P. N. Claster & S. L. Blair (Eds.), *Visions of the 21st Century Family: Transforming Structures and Identities*. Emerald Group Publishing.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2003). Dynamics of the Zimbabwe Crisis in the 21 st Century. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 3*(1), 99-134–134. https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajcr/article/view/136419

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2006). The Nativist Revolution and Development Conundrums in Zimbabwe. *Occassional Paper Series*, 40.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2008a). 'For the nation to live, the tribe must die': The politics of Ndebele identity and belonging in Zimbabwe. In *Society, State and Identity in African History*.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2008b). Mapping cultural and colonial encounters, 1880s—1930s. In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. African Books Collective.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2008c). Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenges of Ndebele Particularism. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 8*(3), 27-56–56. https://doi.org/10.4314/ajcr.v8i3.39430

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2009a). *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist?: Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*. Peter Lang.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2009b). *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*. Rozenberg Publishers.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2009c). Rethinking religious encounters in Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe, 1860-1893. *African Journal of History and Culture, 1*(2), 016–027. http://academicjournals.org/journal/AJHC/article-abstract/CC0F1EB40910

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012). BEYOND MUGABE-CENTRIC NARRATIVES OF THE ZIMBABWE CRISIS. *African Affairs, 111*(443), 315–323. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41494491

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2016). Nguni empires. In *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (pp. 1–8). American Cancer Society. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe161
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2017). *Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo of Zimbabwe: Politics, Power, and Memory*. Springer.
Nedelcu, M. (2017). Transnational grandparenting in the digital age: Mediated co-presence and childcare in the case of Romanian migrants in Switzerland and Canada. *European Journal of Ageing*, *14*(4), 375–383. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-017-0436-1
Nedelcu, M., & Wyss, M. (2016). 'Doing family' through ICT-mediated ordinary co-presence: Transnational communication practices of Romanian migrants in Switzerland. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 202–218. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12110
Newland, K. (2013). *What we know about migration and development*. https://www.google.de/search?tbm=bks&hl=en&q=newland+2013+migration#hl=en&tbm=bks&q=newland+2013+migration+perilous+to+generalize+
Nhongo, T. M. (2005). Preface. In *Women Ageing. Literature and Experience*. Universitat de Lleida.
Nieswand, B. (2012). *Theorising Transnational Migration: The Status Paradox of Migration*. Routledge.
Nyers, P. (2011). No One is Illegal Between City and Nation. *Studies in Social Justice*, *4*(2), 127–143. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v4i2.998
Nyers, P. (2015). *" Migrant Citizenships and Autonomous Mobilities . " Migration , Mobility , & Displacement . 1 (1): 2339*.
Oakes, T., & Schein, L. (2006). *Translocal China: Linkages, Identities and the Reimagining of Space*. Routledge.
O'Reilly, Z. (2019). *The In-Between Spaces of Asylum and Migration: A Participatory Visual Approach*. Springer Nature.
Pajnik, M. (2019). Autonomy of Migration and the Governmentality of Plastic Borders. *Two Homelands*, *0*(49). https://doi.org/10.3986/dd.v0i49.7257
Palmer, R. (1990). Land Reform in Zimbabwe, 1980-1990. *African Affairs*, *89*(355), 163–181. https://www.jstor.org/stable/722240
Papadopoulos, D. (2018). *Experimental Practice: Technoscience, Alterontologies, and More-Than-Social Movements*. Duke University Press.
Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. (2008). The Autonomy of Migration: The Animals of Undocumented Mobility. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues*. Palgrave-Macmillan.
Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. (2017). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. In *Protesting Citizenship: Migrant Activisms*. Routledge.
Pasura, D. (2006, December). *Zimbabwe: Mapping Exercise* [Research Reports or Papers]. http://unitedkingdom.iom.int/sites/default/files/doc/mapping/IOM_ZIMBABWE_MR.pdf
Pasura, D. (2008a). Gendering the diaspora: Zimbabwean migrants in Britain. *African Diaspora*, *1*(1), 86–109. https://doi.org/Pasura, D. <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/author/34316.html> (2008) Gendering the diaspora: Zimbabwean migrants in Britain. African Diaspora <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/journal_volume/African_Diaspora.html>, 1(1), pp. 86-109. (doi:10.1163/187254608X346060 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/187254608X346060>)
Pasura, D. (2008b). Gendering the Diaspora: Zimbabwean Migrants in Britain. *African Diaspora*, *1*(1–2), 86–109. https://doi.org/10.1163/187254608X346060

Pasura, D. (2009). *Zimbabwean Migrants in Britain: An Overview* [Research Reports or Papers]. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/139144/
Pasura, D. (2010a). Competing meanings of the diaspora: The case of Zimbabweans in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(9), 1445–1461. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109221/
Pasura, D. (2010b). Regendering the Zimbabwean diaspora in Britain. In J. Crush & D. Tevera (Eds.), *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival* (pp. 208–222). International Development Research Centre. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109236/
Pasura, D. (2010c). Zimbabwean transnational diaspora politics in Britain. In R. Primorac & J. McGregor (Eds.), *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival* (pp. 103–121). Berghahn Books. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109235/
Pasura, D. (2011). Toward a multisited ethnography of the Zimbabwean diaspora in Britain. *Identities*, *18*(3), 250–272. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109220/
Pasura, D. (2012). Religious Transnationalism: The case of Zimbabwean Catholics in Britain. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, *42*(1), 26–53. https://doi.org/10.1163/157006612X629069
Pasura, D. (2013). Modes of incorporation and transnational Zimbabwean migration to Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *36*(1), 199–218. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109216/
Pasura, D. (2014a). *African Transnational Diasporas: Fractured Communities and Plural Identities of Zimbabweans in Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109230/
Pasura, D. (2014b). 'Do You Have a Visa?' Negotiating Respectable Masculinity in the Diaspora. In *African Transnational Diasporas* (pp. 69–85). Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137326577_5
Pasura, D., & Christou, A. (2017). Theorizing black (African) transnational masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*, *10.1177/1097184X17694992*. https://doi.org/Pasura, D. <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/author/34316.html> and Christou, A. (2017) Theorizing black (African) transnational masculinities. Men and Masculinities <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/view/journal_volume/Men_and_Masculinities.html>, (doi:10.1177/1097184X17694992 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17694992>) (Early Online Publication)
Perry, J. A., & Perry, E. K. (2016). *Contemporary Society: An Introduction to Social Science*. Routledge.
Pfaff, J. (2010). Mobile Phone Geographies. *Geography Compass*, *4*(10), 1433–1447. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00388.x
Phoenix, A., & Brannen, J. (2014). Researching family practices in everyday life: Methodological reflections from two studies. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *17*(1), 11–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2014.854001
Pikirayi, I. (2002). *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezian States*. Rowman Altamira.
Pikirayi, I., & Vogel, J. O. (2001). *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezian States*. Rowman Altamira.
Poeze, M., Dankyi, E. K., & Mazzucato, V. (2017). Navigating transnational childcare relationships: Migrant parents and their children's caregivers in the origin country. *Global Networks*, *17*(1), 111–129. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12135
Potts, D. (2006). 'Restoring Order'? Operation Murambatsvina and the Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *32*(2), 273–291. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25065092
Potts, D. (2010a). *Circular Migration in Zimbabwe & Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa*. Boydell & Brewer.

Potts, D. (2010b). Internal Migration in Zimbabwe: The Impact of Livelihood Destruction in Rural and Urban Areas. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*. IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA.

Probert, S. (2017, November 22). Husband jailed for life after beating wife to death. *BirmingLive*. http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/husband-jailed-life-bludgeoning-wife-13938794

Pwiti, G. (1996). *Continuity and change: An archaeological study of farming communities in northern Zimbabwe, AD 500-1700*. Dept. of Archaeology, Uppsala University,.

Rabben, L. (2016). *Sanctuary and Asylum: A Social and Political History*. University of Washington Press.

Raftopoulos, B. (2002). Briefing: Zimbabwe's 2002 Presidential Election. *African Affairs*, *101*(404), 413–426.

Raftopoulos, B. (2009). The Crisis in Zimbabwe, 1998-2008. In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. Weaver Press.

Raftopoulos, B. (2019). Zimbabwe: Regional Politics and Dynamics. In B. Raftopoulos, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.873

Raftopoulos, B., & Mlambo, A. (2008). *Becoming Zimbabwe. A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. African Books Collective.

Rotter, R. (2016). Waiting in the asylum determination process: Just an empty interlude? *Time & Society*, *25*(1), 80–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X15613654

Rubert, S. C. (1998). *A most promising weed*. Ohio University Center for International Studies. http://archive.org/details/mostpromisingwee00rube

Rudd, A. (2018, April 23). *Home Secretary statement on the Windrush generation* [Oral Statement to Parliament]. House of Commons session, UK Parliament. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/home-secretary-statement-on-the-windrush-generation

Rukuni, M., & Jensen, S. (2003). Land, Growth and Governance: Tenure Reform and Visions of Progress in Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Weaver Press.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2004). Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3,), 1160–1205. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27645429

Rumbaut, R. G. (2012). Generation 1.5, Educational Experiences of. In *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education* (Vol. 1–4, pp. 983–983). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452218533

Ryan, B. (2018). *Fortress Britain?: Ethical approaches to immigration policy for a post-Brexit Britain*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Ryan, L. (2015). 'Inside' and 'Outside' of What or Where? Researching Migration Through Multi-Positionalities. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *16*(2). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-16.2.2333

Sachikonye, L. (1995). Industrial Restructuring and Labour Relations under ESAP in Zimbabwe. In *Structural Adjustment and the Working Poor in Zimbabwe: Studies on Labour, Women Informal Sector Workers and Health*. Nordic Africa Institute.

Sachikonye, L. (2004). *Inheriting the Earth: Land Reform in Southern Africa*. CIIR.

Sachikonye, L. (2011). *When a State Turns on its Citizens: 60 Years of Institutionalised Violence in Zimbabwe*. African Books Collective.

Saldana, J. (2015). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. SAGE.

Schatzki, T. R. (2005). Practice mind-ed orders. In *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory* (pp. 50–63). Routledge.
Schiff, M., Morrison, A. R., & blom, M. S. (Eds.). (2007). *The International Migration of Women*. World Bank Publications.
Schmidt, E. (1991). Patriarchy, Capitalism, and the Colonial State in Zimbabwe. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *16*(4), 732–756. https://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=087434849
Schreier, M. (2012). *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. SAGE.
Schunck, R. (2014). *Transnational Activities and Immigrant Integration in Germany: Concurrent or Competitive Processes?* Springer Science & Business Media.
Shaw, C. M. (2015). *Women and Power in Zimbabwe: Promises of Feminism*. University of Illinois Press.
Shaw, S. M., Barbour, N. S., Duncan, P., Freehling-Burton, K., & Nichols, J. (2018). *Women's Lives around the World: A Global Encyclopedia [4 volumes]*. ABC-CLIO.
Shehan, C. L. (2016). *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies, 4 Volume Set*. John Wiley & Sons.
Shillington, K. (2013). *Encyclopedia of African History 3-Volume Set*. Routledge.
Shire, C. (2016). Men Don't Go to the Moon: Language, Space and Masculinities in Zimbabwe. In A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating masculinity: Comparative ethnographies: Vol. Male orders*. Routledge.
Sibanda, M. (2004, September 20). Zimbabwe: Complete control – Music and propaganda in Zimbabwe. *Freemuse*. https://freemuse.org/news/zimbabwe-complete-control-music-and-propaganda-in-zimbabwe/
Silva, E. A., Healey, P., Harris, N., & Broeck, P. V. den. (2014). *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Research Methods*. Routledge.
Skinner, J., Edwards, A., & Corbett, B. (2014). *Research Methods for Sport Management*. Routledge.
Sloan, L., & Quan-Haase, A. (2017). *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*. SAGE.
Smith, I. (2008). *Bitter Harvest: Zimbabwe and the Aftermath of its Independence*. John Blake Publishing.
Solidarity Peace Trust. (2004). *No War in Zimbabwe: An account of the exodus of a nation's people | Solidarity Peace Trust*. http://solidaritypeacetrust.org/198/no-war-in-zimbabwe/
Somerville, W., Sriskandarajah, D., & Latorre, M. (2009, July 21). *United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration*. Migrationpolicy.Org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/united-kingdom-reluctant-country-immigration
Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The New Economics of Labor Migration. *The American Economic Review*, *75*(2), 173–178. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1805591
Sztompka, P. (2008). The Focus on Everyday Life: A New Turn in Sociology. *European Review*, *16*(1), 23–37. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798708000045
Tarusarira, J. (2016). *Reconciliation and Religio-political Non-conformism in Zimbabwe*. Routledge.
Taylor, I., & Williams, P. (2002). The Limits of Engagement: British Foreign Policy and the Crisis in Zimbabwe. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, *78*(3), 547–565. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3095890
Taylor, R. (2018). *Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy*. https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/LLN-2018-0064

Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*. John Wiley & Sons.
Taylor, T. (2008). *Denial: History Betrayed*. Melbourne Univ. Publishing.
Tevera, D. S., & Chikanda, A. (2009). *Migrant Remittances and Household Survival in Zimbabwe*. http://www.queensu.ca/samp/sampresources/samppublications/policyseries/Acrobat51.pdf
Tevera, D. S., & Crush, J. (2003). *The New Brain Drain From Zimbabwe (PDF Download Available)*. ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/43090787_The_New_Brain_Drain_From_Zimbabwe
Thomas, R. (2011). *Administrative Justice and Asylum Appeals: A Study of Tribunal Adjudication*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
Thram, D. (2016). ZVAKWANA! - ENOUGH! Media Control and Unofficial Censorship of Music in Zimbabwe. In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa*. Routledge.
Tinarwo, M. T., & Pasura, D. (2014). Negotiating and contesting gendered and sexual identities in the Zimbabwean diaspora. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *40*(3), 521–538. http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/109215/
Torill, M. (2006). *REFLECTIONS ON THE NARRATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH*. https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_4/HTML/moen.htm
Trent, T. (2017). *The Awakened Woman: Remembering & Reigniting Our Sacred Dreams*. Simon and Schuster.
UK Home Office. (2002). Zimbabwe Country Assessment. *Country Information and Policy Unit Immigration and Nationality Directorate*, 84.
UK Parliament. (2009). *Lords Hansard text for 4 Nov 200904 Nov 2009 (pt 0011)*. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200809/ldhansrd/text/91104-0011.htm
UK Prime Minister's Office. (2017, November 21). *PM statement on resignation of Robert Mugabe: 21 November 2017*. GOV.UK. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-statement-on-resignation-of-robert-mugabe-21-november-2017
Vambe, L. (1976). *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press. http://archive.org/details/fromrhodesiatozi00vamb
Vambe, M. T. (2013). *The Struggle fo Land in the Shona Novel: Allegory, Seizure, and Betrayal*. Routledge.
Van Hear, N., Bakewell, O., & Long, K. (2012). *Drivers of Migration*. Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium Working Paper 1. http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp1-drivers-of-migration.pdf&site=354
Van Hear, N., & Nyberg Sørensen, N. (Eds.). (2003). *THE MIGRATIONDEVELOPMENT NEXUS*. United Nations and the International Organization for Migration. http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migration_dev_nexus.pdf
Vecchio, F., & Gerard, A. (2018). *Entrapping Asylum Seekers: Social, Legal and Economic Precariousness*. Springer.
Verne, J. (2012). "Le terrain, c'est moi ?" Reflections on the emergence of the field in translocal research. *Annales de geographie*, *n° 687-688*(5), 561–582. https://www.cairn.info/revue-annales-de-geographie-2012-5-page-561.htm
Verne, J. (2014). Virtual Mobilities. In *Introducing Human Geographies* (pp. 821–833). Routledge.
Vickery, K. P. (1999). The Rhodesia Railways African Strike of 1945, Part II: Cause, Consequence, Significance. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *25*(1), 49–71. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2637586

Walsh, K. (2018). *Transnational Geographies of The Heart: Intimate Subjectivities in a Globalising City*. John Wiley & Sons.
Walters, W. (2004). Secure borders, safe haven, domopolitics. *Citizenship Studies*, *8*(3), 237–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102042000256989
Walters, W. (2009). Secure borders, safe haven, domopolitics. In *Securitizations of Citizenship*. Routledge.
Weatherhead, K. T. (2016). Removing 'non-removables'. *Forced Migration Review*, 2.
Weicht, B. (2015). *The Meaning of Care: The Social Construction of Care for Elderly People*. Springer.
Weinrich, A. K. H. (1979). *Women and racial discrimination in Rhodesia*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0003/000357/035798eo.pdf
West, M. O. (2002). *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965*. Indiana University Press.
Wilding, R. (2018). *Families, Intimacy and Globalization*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
Willems, W. (2013). 'Zimbabwe will never be a colony again': Changing celebratory styles and meanings of independence. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, *36*(1–2), 22–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/02580144.2013.10887021
Wimmer, A., & Schiller, N. G. (2002). *Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation-state building, migration and the social sciences*. http://www.sociologyofeurope.unifi.it/upload/sub/documenti/Wimmer-Glick-Schiller-methodological-nationalism.pdf
Wrzesnewskyj, B. (2016). *Apply Without Fear: Special Imigration Measures for Nationals of Haiti and Zimbabwe: Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration* (Parliamentary Report No. 4; p. 39). House of Commons Canada.
Yeo, C. (2017, May 29). *Everything you need to know about the 'hostile environment' for immigrants*. Free Movement. https://www.freemovement.org.uk/hostile-environment-affect/
Yiftachel, O. (2009). Critical theory and 'gray space': Mobilization of the colonized. *City*, *13*(2–3), 240–256. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810902982227
Yin, R. K. (2015). *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish, Second Edition*. Guilford Publications.
York, S. (2018). The 'hostile environment': How Home Office immigration policies and practices create and perpetuate illegality. *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Law, 32*. https://kar.kent.ac.uk/69444/
Yoshikuni, T. (2007). *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare Before 1925*. African Books Collective.
Youkhana, E. (2015). A Conceptual Shift in Studies of Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(4), 10. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i4.150
Youkhana, E. (2017). *Border Transgression: Mobility and Mobilization in Crisis*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). *Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging*. https://doi.org/10.5278/freia.58024502
Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G., & Cassidy, K. (2018). Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation. *Sociology*, *52*(2), 228–244. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038517702599
Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G., & Cassidy, K. (2019). *Bordering*. John Wiley & Sons.
Zanamwe, L., & Devillard, A. (2009). *Migration in Zimbabwe A COUNTRY PROFILE 2009*. http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mp_zimbabwe.pdf

Zembe, C. R. (2016). Migrating with Colonial and Post-Colonial Memories: Dynamics of Racial Interactions within Zimbabwe's Minority Communities in Britain. *Journal of Migration History*, *2*(1), 32–56. https://doi.org/10.1163/23519924-00201002

Zimbo Live TV. (2017, January 30). *Zimbabwean Woman Murdered in Birmingham: What is going on?* https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/zimbabwean-woman-murdered-in-birmingham-uk-what-is-going-on-real-talk-show-with-/1834434670165068/

Zimbo Live TV. (2019, January 6). *What is causing high rates of deaths and suicide in the diaspora? Are our men suffering in silence*. https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/735511893484380/

ZimEye. (2019, January 30). *Zim Woman Murdered In UK*. https://www.facebook.com/ZimEye/videos/watch-live-zim-woman-murdered-in-uk/1338485749545953/

ZIMSTAT. (2013). *Zimbabwe Population Census 2012*. http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/National_Report.pdf

Zvobgo, C. J. M. (2009). *A History of Zimbabwe, 1890-2000 and Postscript, Zimbabwe, 2001-2008*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Narrative Interview Guide

Research Interview Guide (to keep my research on track, remind me of all the themes that I am interested in, questions indicate areas to probe if not addressed by the narrator)

Type of interview: Biographical Narrative (unstructured)

Date _____ Time _____

Location _____ Interviewee code_____

Gender _____ Age _____

Marital Status _____ Current Res: _____

Introduction

1. My name is Mercy Mashingaidze and I am a doctoral student at the Centre for Development Research (ZEF), University of Bonn in Germany. I am conducting research aimed at establishing how Zimbabwean post-2000 migrants in the UK and their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe manage long-term transnational family life
2. This interview will take approximately an hour and half, but you are free to call for a break whenever you feel tired. I may call on you again for a follow-up interview at a later stage
3. If you don´t mind I would like to record our session, this will ensure that I capture your responses as they are. I will also be taking notes as we go, if you don´t mind
4. Before we start, I would like to let you know that what we discuss here is confidential and will only be used for the purposes of academic research. I will not use your real name in my write-up. I have with me here a Consent form that explains this and I would like to take you through the form and kindly request for your signature. The signature is to show that I have explained this to you and that you agree to it.

Migration History Chart *(this will also serve as an exercise to build rapport)*

Just to get us started, I have this short chart that we can fill in together. It will take about ten minutes. Now that we have gone through your migration history chart together, let us now move to how you lived in Zimbabwe and how you eventually came to the UK.

The Biographical Narrative Interview

This method is used for Research Question 2: How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family unit reshaped family life? *(I will not ask this question, this is for my reference)*

Free Narration (*This is uninterrupted but encouraged through non-verbal expressions of interest and attention*.)

Specific Questions *(These are the follow-up questions that I will ask to help me answer the above stated research question. These are not rigid; I may reformulate them depending on the info obtained through the narration)*

a. What is the position of the migrant in their family?

b. How their family was structured pre- migration and how it is structured post-migration?

c. What role did the migrant play pre-migration and what role do they play in the transnational family setting?

d. Why and how did they migrate to the UK?

e. Who do they consider as part of their transnational family?

f. What everyday practices constitute their transnational family life?

g. What is the role of ICTs in their everyday transnational family life?

h. How do they perform/participate in lifecycle rituals in transnational settings?

STAGE 1: PRE-MIGRATION EXPERIENCES IN ZIMBABWE

- Family configuration
- Family relationships
- Roles and responsibilities
- Decision making

a) Pre -migration family configuration

May you please take me through how you lived your adult life before you left Zimbabwe?

i. Where did you live in Zimbabwe?
ii. When did you get married?
iii. Which family members did you live in the same house with after your marriage? Please explain how you are related to these people
iv. How long did you live with these family members before moving to the UK?

b) Pre-migration family relationships

i. How would you describe your time together (as a family) during that time in Zimbabwe?
ii. Could you possibly share with me how you used to spend your time as a family?
iii. Are there any activities or events that you did as a family? Please elaborate
iv. Which members of your extended family did you relate with the most (including in-laws)?

c) Pre-migration roles, responsibilities and decision making

i. How was your usual day like when you lived in Zimbabwe?
ii. Were you employed/self-employed?

iii. What were your responsibilities towards your nuclear family? (financial, towards the children, household chores)
iv. What were your responsibilities towards your extended family?
v. Please explain what the other family members were usually responsible for in the household
vi. How were decisions that affected members of your family made? (assets, children, extended family functions)
vii. How was your move to the UK decided?

STAGE 2: THE MIGRATION TRAJECTORY

a) Would you please take me through your move from Zimbabwe as much as you can recall and are willing to share?
   i. When did you move to the UK?
   ii. How did you plan for it, did anyone assist you and how? (info, finance, accommodation)
   iii. Visa issue? (what type of visa or purpose of migration)
   iv. Which city did you arrive to and where did you stay?

STAGE 3: POST-MIGRATION EXPERIENCES

Employment (financial resources)

a) Have you done any paid jobs since arriving in the UK?
b) Where have you worked and where do you work now?
c) How do you manage your earnings? (UK only or do you also send some money to Zimbabwe) If yes how often, to whom and do you specify the use?

Family life

a) Defining and maintaining family hood
   i. Who do you live with now?
   ii. What are your responsibilities towards your family? Has there been any changes in the responsibilities that you had whilst you were living in Zimbabwe and the ones you have now?
   iii. How has it been for you to live here without the family members that you lived in the same household with, in Zimbabwe?
   iv. How has it been for them to live without you?
   v. How do you communicate with your family members in Zimbabwe?
   vi. How often do you communicate and with whom do you communicate the most?
   vii. Who decides what happens within your family now that you live apart?
   viii. Have you been able to meet with your family since you migrated to the UK? Where, for how long and how many times?

ix. Has your migration changed anything among you as family members? Please explain what has changed and how it has changed

Closing the interview

With your consent, I would like to kindly ask if it would be okay for me to also interview your spouse, or children, or any family members that you regularly communicate with in Zimbabwe. This would help me understand their experiences of life after your migration. If this is okay, may you please kindly facilitate this for me and also check with them if they would be willing to be interviewed. I will be in Zimbabwe between Jan and April 2017.

I appreciate the time you took to share your experiences with me. Is there anything you would perhaps like to add?

Notes (General observations)

_____

_____

_____

NB Take notes on body language, tone of voice, or any other things that you observe and think may help give important insights into the analysis of what the interviewee meant.

*Remember to enter personal reflections in the research log sheet today!

Appendix 2: In-depth Interview Guide

Research Interview Guide (to keep my research on track, remind me of all the themes that I am interested in, questions to ask and areas to probe.)

Date _____ Time _____

Location _____ Interviewee _____

Gender _____ Age _____

Marital Status _____ Current Res: _____

Type of interview: In-depth

Introduction

1. My name is Mercy Mashingaidze and I am a doctoral student at the Center for Development Research (ZEF), University of Bonn in Germany. I am conducting research aimed at establishing how Zimbabwean post-2000 migrants in the UK and their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe manage long-term transnational family life
2. This interview will take approximately an hour, but you are free to call for a break whenever you feel tired. I may also request a follow-up interview at some later stage
3. If you don´t mind I would like to record our session, this will ensure that I capture your responses correctly. I will also be taking notes as we go, if you don´t mind
4. Before we start, I would like to let you know that what we discuss here is confidential and will only be used for the purposes of academic research. I will not use your real name. I have with me here a Consent form that explains this and I would like to take you through the form and kindly request for your signature. The signature is to show that I have explained this to you and that you agree to it.

Migration History Chart *(this will also serve as an exercise to build rapport)*

Just to get us started, I have this short chart that we can fill in together. I just want to get an insight into your experiences with migration. It will take about ten minutes.

The Interview

Now that we have gone through your migration experiences history chart together, let us now move on and discuss how your life as a family was before X moved to the UK and how it has been since X moved to the UK.

Research question: How do the transnational family members who remained behind in Zimbabwe perceive transnational family life?

Specific Questions

d) Transnationalization of family

v. May you please explain your relationship to X and going as far back as you are willing to share, may you please take me through how you lived as a family before X left Zimbabwe?

vi. What were X's responsibilities within the family whilst they were still living in Zimbabwe?

vii. How was their decision to migrate to the UK communicated to you?

viii. Could you please describe what you remember about that time and how you felt when X moved to the UK?

ix. Please describe how family life has been for you since X left Zimbabwe

x. Has anyone else in your family migrated to another country before? If yes, when, and how did you feel about their migration?

e) Perception of prolonged separation of family

v. How do you keep in touch (decisions, plans, responsibilities etc.)

vi. Have you been able to see, meet or visit each other since X migrated? If yes, when, or how often?

vii. How do you feel about the transnational arrangement (that X lives in the UK whilst X´s family lives here)?

Closing the interview

I appreciate the time you took to share your experiences with me. Is there anything you would perhaps like to add or any questions that you expected me to ask?

Notes (General observations)

_____

_____

NB Take notes on body language, tone of voice, or any other things that you observe and think may help give important insights into the analysis of what the interviewee meant.

Remember to enter personal reflections in the research log sheet today!

Appendix 3: Participation Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form

Working title of the research project:

Pooling resources, scattering the family: Zimbabwean family life after the post-2000 ´crisis-driven´ migration to the UK

1. Introduction

My name is Mercy Mashingaidze and I am carrying out research looking at how the post-2000 migration of Zimbabweans to the UK affected family life. I am a doctoral student at the Center for Development Research (ZEF), University of Bonn, Germany.

This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take the time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask me.

2. Aim of the study

The study examines how the post-2000 international migration of Zimbabweans to the UK has reshaped their family life. It aims to better understand how the structure, roles, responsibilities, relationships and family decision making have been reshaped following the transnationalization of families.

3. Type of Research Intervention

I would like to ask you a set of questions for this study. The type of information I am interested in includes personal experiences of your family life, marriage, and migration to the UK.

I value your experiences and there are no wrong answers to the questions that I will be asking. I request about an hour and half of your time to complete the interview.

4. Benefits of Participation

There will be no direct benefit to you but sharing your experiences may help bring to light some of the consequences that international migration has on everyday life that are often overlooked by migration policy makers. There will be no cost to you.

5. Appreciation

Your participation will be highly appreciated. The information you will share may be useful for migration policy makers in both Zimbabwe and the UK as it will point out issues that affect migrants' family life.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue answering these questions at any time. I will give you an opportunity at the end of the interview/discussion to review your remarks, and you can ask to modify or remove portions of those, if you do not agree with my notes or if I did not understand you correctly.

6. Confidentiality

This study is conducted anonymously. That means that any information which may lead to you will be anonymized. Thus, a researcher who uses the data will never be able to identify you, except with your explicit permission (see below). This is strictly demanded by national and international law, and ZEF / Uni Bonn will never infringe that law!

7. Use of the data gained from your answers

☐ Your anonymized answers will only be used for the purpose of academic research. In any scientific publication emerging out of this research, the data will be anonymized.

☐ You allow ZEF to potentially make a second survey round in order to generate panel data. Should ZEF seek to do this, the new interviewer would get only your name from me. The new interviewer would have to prove his identity to you, using an authorization signed by me.

CONTACT PERSON:

If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you feel you have been treated unfairly, or you have questions or concerns you may contact:

Name and address of the researcher / doctoral student

Mercy Mashingaidze

Walter-Flex-Straße 3

53113 Bonn

Germany

Tel:

Email: mmashingaidze@uni-bonn.de

INFORMED CONSENT:

The above statement has been read to me (or I have read it myself) and its meaning has been explained by the research staff. I agree to take part in this research. I understand that I am free to discontinue participation at any time if I so choose and that the research staff/contact person will answer any questions that arise during the course of the interview.

____Yes, I agree to participate. THEN BEGIN THE INTERVIEW.

____ No, I do not wish to participate. DISCUSS THIS RESULT WITH YOUR SUPERVISOR

Print name of the participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature by the researcher

PREPARE 2 COPIES, AND ONE COPY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PARTICIPANT!

Appendix 4: Research Operationalization Overview

Central Research Question: **How do Zimbabwean post-2000 migrants in the UK and their non-migrating family members in Zimbabwe manage long-term transnational family life?**			
Research Question	**Sub question**	**Research Method**	**Sources**
1. What is Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration, and how has it been conceptualized?	a. What factors led to increased international migration after the year 2000?	• Desk research	• Secondary sources –books, journal articles
	b. How does post-2000 migration differ from the previous migration movements?	• Archival Research	• Archival documents
	c. How many people migrated to the UK since the year 2000 and what were their reasons?	• Expert interviews & desk research	• Immigration experts & academic researchers • Statistical documents (ZIMSTAT & UK Home Office documents)
	d. How has the UK responded to the post-2000 immigration of Zimbabweans?		• UK immigration policy briefs
	e. How has this migration movement been conceptualized in academic literature?	• Desk research	• Secondary sources –books, journal articles
2. What reasons motivated individuals to migrate to the UK?	a. Why did they migrate to the UK?	• Narrative interviews	• Individual migrants
	b. How did they plan for their migration?	• Narrative Interviews	
	c. Who assisted them from the planning stage to their arrival in the UK?	• Narrative interviews	
	d. What kind of assistance was offered at the different stages of the journey?		
	e. How can the post-2000 migration be conceptualized based on individual migrants' reasons for migration?	• Content Analysis	• Empirical data from the narratives
3. How has the transnationalization of the nuclear family	a. What is the position of the migrant in their family?	• Narrative interviews	• Individual migrants

unit reshaped their family life in terms of; structure, functioning, maintenance, and cultural values?	b. How was their family structured pre-migration and how is it structured post-migration? c. What role did the migrant play pre-migration and what role do they play in the transnational family setting? d. Who do they consider as part of their transnational family? e. What everyday practices constitute their transnational family life? f. What is the role of ICTs in their everyday transnational family life? g. How do they perform/participate in lifecycle rituals in transnational settings?	• Narrative interviews • Narrative interviews	• Individual migrants • Individual migrants
4. How is protracted transnational family life perceived?	a. How do the transnational family members based in Zimbabwe perceive transnational family life? b. How do migration and family life experts in both Zimbabwe & the UK perceive long-term transnational family life? c. What is the general public opinion on Zimbabwe's post-2000 migration and its impact on family life?	• In-depth interviews • Expert interviews • Online ethnography	• Selected *staying behind* family members • Migration scholars • Immigration practitioners • Family law experts • Traditional/ religious leaders • Facebook platforms
5. What implications does the prolonged migration-induced separation of families have on the future of Zimbabwean family values?	a. How does protracted transnational family life affect the way family life cycle ceremonies are conducted?	• Content Data Analysis	• Empirical Data • Empirical Data

Appendix 5: Online Social Media Shows watched between 2016- 2018

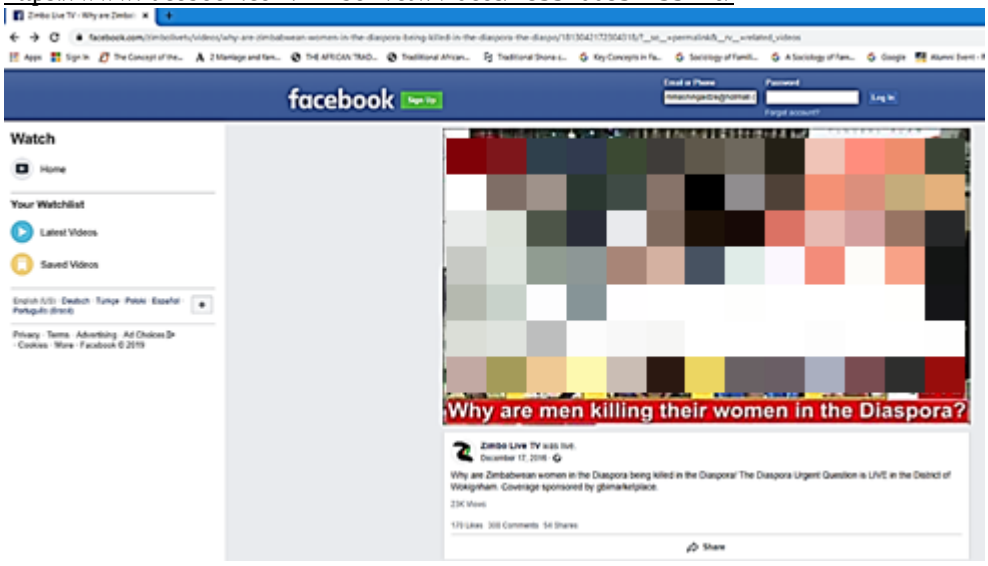
1. Are Zimbabwean men living in the UK basically LAZY? Zimbabwean women living in the UK Speak Out
   https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1637455796529624
   Aired on 18.09.2015 at 17:43hrs
2. Breaking News: Josephat Mutekedza has been found guilty of the murder of Miriam Nyazema on the 28th of July 2015
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1721159048159298/
   Aired on 26.05.2016 at 20:17hrs
3. Diaspora: All Shifts, All Work, No Sex. What to do about it.
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1832378337037368/
   Aired on 26.01.2017 at 20:15hrs
4. Diaspora: Cheating, Divorces and Murders: Why are women being killed in the Diaspora? Have your say.
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1837301719878363/
   Aired on 04.02.2017 at 18:36hrs
5. Diaspora Children who can't Speak a Word of Shona or Ndebele. Is this a disaster or a blessing? Are Zim parents losing connection with their children?
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1876867029255165/
   Aired on 20.04.2017 at 20:37hrs
6. Diaspora: Have you treated your In-Laws Equally this Christmas?
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1814980338777168/
   Aired on 21.12.2016 at 20:32hrs
7. Diaspora: Shifts, Sex and Lies. How marriages are being wrecked left, right and center
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1830686683873200/
   Aired on 23.01.2017 at 20:13hrs
8. Frightening statistics: Two UK Zim women already killed by their partners in 2015 Alone. Why, Why, Why?
   https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1636651526610051
   Posted on 16.09.2015 at 08:29hrs
9. High Diaspora Divorce Rates: What is the root cause?
   https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1846678572274011/
   Aired on 21.02.2017 at 20:42hrs
10. Immigration crisis call to action
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2133742193567646/
    Aired on 08.07.2018 at 20:26hrs
11. Is our love for money in the diaspora making us bad parents?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2053279864947213/
    Aired on 19.03.2018 at 21:34hrs
12. Looks like Zimbabwean Refugees who had settled in the UK could be in trouble. How do the new laws affect you?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1855200854755116/
    Aired on 10.03.2017 at 19:32hrs
13. Married in the Diaspora: When we go to Zimbabwe why does my husband force me to stay at their place? Am l not allowed to go to my family's compound?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1880054972269704/

Aired on 27.04.2017 at 20:59hrs

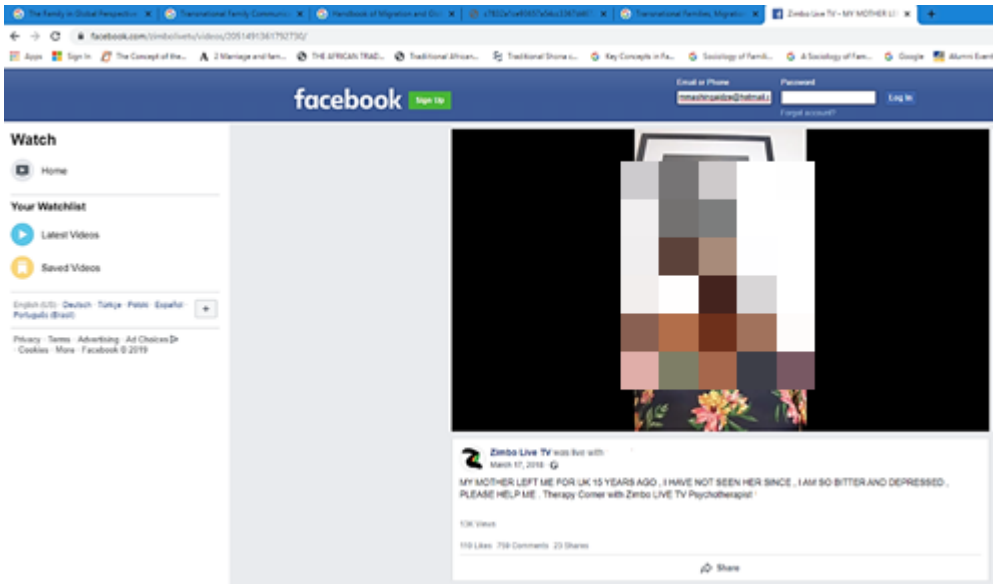
14. My mother left me for UK 15 years ago, I have not seen her since, I am so bitter and depressed, Please help me. Therapy Corner with Zimbo LIVE TV
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2051491361792730/
    Aired on 17.03.2018 at 20:23hrs
15. Part 1: United Kingdom: I brought my wife from Zimbabwe. Now she calls the police on me anytime. She is just abusing the law.
    Part 2: Diaspora Wife: When l go to Zimbabwe why do l have to spend 90% of my time at my in-laws. I also need to go to my parent's place.
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1879666472308554/
    Aired on 26.04.2017 at 21:37hrs
16. Small house epidemic. Is it considered normal to have a small house? Is it in fashion? What is behind the rise of this immorality?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1864516153823586/
    Aired on 29.03.2017 at 20:30hrs
17. Stunner has been ejected from the house by Olinda. Full Discussion Now
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1822874967987705/
    Aired on 07.01.2017 at 17:48hrs
18. The Diaspora death crisis: People living abroad facing a dilemma about where to be buried after death.
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1831787740429761/
    Aired on 25.01.2017 at 20:26hrs
19. The Ladies of UK (LUK) Interview
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1902629280012273/
    Aired on 11.06.2017 at 18:10hrs
20. The Small House Epidemic: Why are women fighting each other instead of facing up to their man? Is the lack of Zimbabwean Women in the Diaspora creating small houses?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1831196893822179/
    Aired on 24.01.2017 at 21:37hrs
21. UK: Three Zimbabwean women murdered in sixteen months
    https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1706830826258787
    Aired on 18.04.2016 at 14:21hrs
22. Vakaroorana endai kumusha nemhuri dzenyu otherwise munoparikwa
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2019848231623710/
    Aired on 29.01.2018 at 21:38hrs
23. Why are Zimbabwean women in the Diaspora being killed in the Diaspora/ The Diaspora Urgent Question
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1813042172304318/
    Aired on 17.12.2016 at 18:14hrs
24. Zimbabwean Woman Murdered in Birmingham UK. What is going on?
    https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1834434670165068/
    Aired on 30.01.2017 at 22:47hrs
25. Zim Woman Murdered in UK – Latest update
    https://www.facebook.com/ZimEye/videos/watch-live-zim-woman-murdered-in-uk/1338485749545953/
    Aired on 30.01.2017 at 19:48hrs

Screenshot examples of the online TV interactive shows livestreamed via Facebook

https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1855200854755116/



https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/1813042172304318/



https://www.facebook.com/zimbolivetv/videos/2051491361792730/

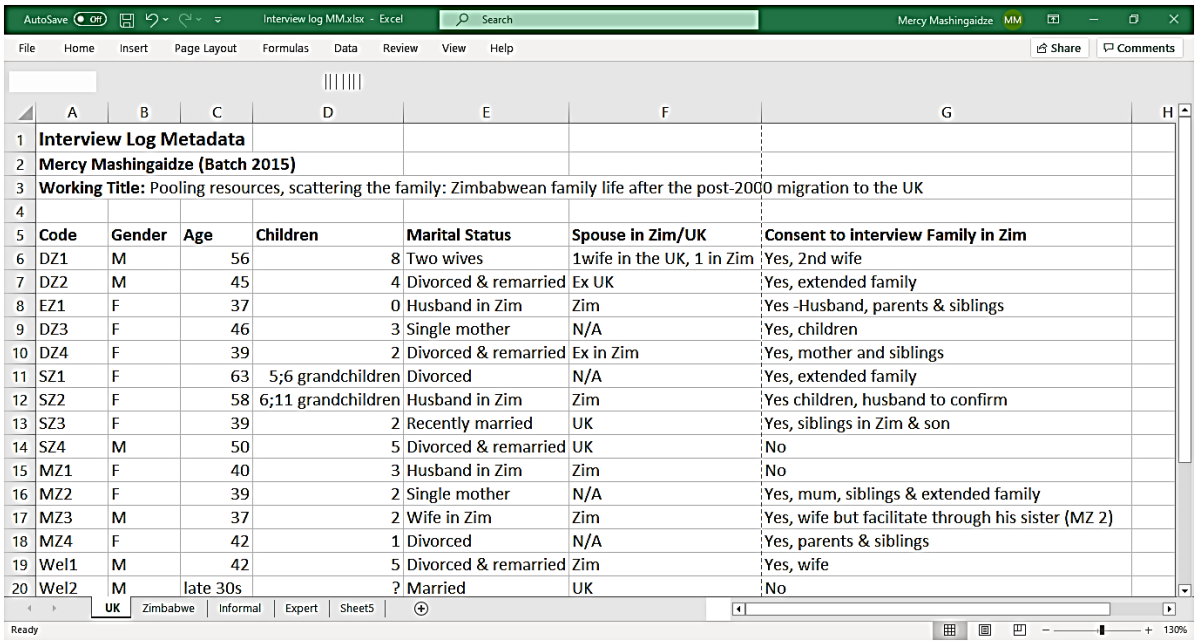
(I edited out the names of the show participants and pixelated presenters' faces from the above screenshots)

Appendix 6: Research participants' metadata

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Family status	Migration year	Migration route	Occupation sector-Zim	Occupation sector - UK
Mudhara Rhandani	M	56	Married; 8 children, 6 grandchildren	2000	Visitor/Asylum	Agriculture	Security
Wezhira	M	45	Divorced; 4 children	2000	Visitor/Asylum	Marketing	Transport & Logistics
Perseverance	F	37	3 children, Husband in Zim	2003	Domestic worker visa	Unemployed	Retail
Patsanurai	F	46	Single mother; 3 children	2001	Visitor/Asylum	Hospitality	Healthcare
Batsirai	F	39	Divorced& remarried, 2 children	2000	Visitor/Asylum	Retail	Retail
Mbuya MaSibanda	F	63	Divorced, 5 children, 6 grandchildren	2001	Visitor/Asylum	Textile & designing	Healthcare
Mai Tongogara	F	58	Husband, children & grandchildren in Zim	2002	Visitor/Asylum	Cross border trade	Healthcare
Regret	F	39	Married, 2 children	2005	Study/Asylum	Journalism	Healthcare
Kamuzu	M	50	Divorced& remarried,5 children	2007	Study/Asylum	Agriculture	Transport/ Healthcare
Nomatter	F	40	Husband in Zim;3 children	2010	Visitor/Asylum	Banking & Finance	Healthcare
Ropafadzo	F	39	Single parent,2 children	2002	Visitor/Asylum	Retail	Healthcare
Lovemore	M	37	Wife & 2 children in Zimbabwe	2006	Study/Asylum	University student	Healthcare
Sibonginkosi	F	42	Divorced, 1 child	2001	Work permit	Healthcare	Healthcare
Divha	M	42	Divorced & remarried, wife in Zim,5 children	2001	Ancestry visa	Transport	Transport/ Healthcare
Honest	M	30s	Married	2001	Visitor/Asylum	Agriculture	Healthcare
Moreblessing	F	39	Divorced, 2 children	2008	Visitor/Asylum	Banking & Finance	Healthcare
Mai Taruza	F	53	Divorced& remarried, 2children – reunited with 1	2000	Visitor/Asylum	Housewife	Hospitality/ Healthcare
Mai Tapona	F	30s	Divorced & remarried, 3 children	2009	Study/Asylum	Catering	Healthcare
Takura	M	21	Single	2001	Visitor/Asylum	Pre-school	University student
Mai Tavaka	F	50s	Married, 3 children	2001	Visitor/Asylum	Retail	Healthcare

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Duration of transnational family life	Comments
Tasara	F	26	15 years	Related to Patsanurai
Tinevimbo	F	23	15 years	Related to Patsanurai
Gamuchirai	F	36	16 years	Related to Batsirai
Chengetai	F	33	12 years	Related to Regret
Tichirivamwe	M	20	12 years	Related to Regret
Vimbiso	F	35	6 years	Related to Divha
Mbuya Mutarisi	F	66	15 years	Related to Patsanurai
Mai Tino	F	40s	8 years	Related to Moreblessing
Mbuya Nyikadzino	F	70s	8 years	Related to Moreblessing
Mukoma Godknows	M	55	15 years	Return migrant
Muchengeti	M	40	12 years	Return migrant
Respect	F	40	12 years	Return migrant
Mai Makanaka	F	36	6 years	Return migrant
Kundai	F	27	17 years	Mother migrated to the UK before she turned 10

Screenshot showing part of the Excel metadata file that I used during field research



AutoSave Off | Interview log MM.xlsx - Excel | Search | Mercy Mashingaidze MM

File Home Insert Page Layout Formulas Data Review View Help | Share | Comments

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**Interview Log Metadata**							
2	**Mercy Mashingaidze (Batch 2015)**							
3	**Working Title:** Pooling resources, scattering the family: Zimbabwean family life after the post-2000 migration to the UK							
4								
5	**Code**	**Gender**	**Age**	**Children**	**Marital Status**	**Spouse in Zim/UK**	**Consent to interview Family in Zim**	
6	DZ1	M	56	8	Two wives	1wife in the UK, 1 in Zim	Yes, 2nd wife	
7	DZ2	M	45	4	Divorced & remarried	Ex UK	Yes, extended family	
8	EZ1	F	37	0	Husband in Zim	Zim	Yes -Husband, parents & siblings	
9	DZ3	F	46	3	Single mother	N/A	Yes, children	
10	DZ4	F	39	2	Divorced & remarried	Ex in Zim	Yes, mother and siblings	
11	SZ1	F	63	5;6 grandchildren	Divorced	N/A	Yes, extended family	
12	SZ2	F	58	6;11 grandchildren	Husband in Zim	Zim	Yes children, husband to confirm	
13	SZ3	F	39	2	Recently married	UK	Yes, siblings in Zim & son	
14	SZ4	M	50	5	Divorced & remarried	UK	No	
15	MZ1	F	40	3	Husband in Zim	Zim	No	
16	MZ2	F	39	2	Single mother	N/A	Yes, mum, siblings & extended family	
17	MZ3	M	37	2	Wife in Zim	Zim	Yes, wife but facilitate through his sister (MZ 2)	
18	MZ4	F	42	1	Divorced	N/A	Yes, parents & siblings	
19	Wel1	M	42	5	Divorced & remarried	Zim	Yes, wife	
20	Wel2	M	late 30s	?	Married	UK	No	

UK | Zimbabwe | Informal | Expert | Sheet5

Ready 130%

Appendix 7: Research & Reflection Log

Interview Code **Date** **Location**

Introduction Write a few remarks about how I got to know the research participant, how the interview was planned. Also indicate a few biodata details about the participant A few notes on the interview atmosphere etc.
Summary of activities How the interview was conducted from the time I arrived/ research participant arrived right up to the end
Personal thoughts and reflections Thoughts that occurred to me during the course of the interview and immediately after
Concerns Concerns about any aspect of the interview session or issues that arose during the interview
What is to be done next? Note down next steps – need to follow up, remind participant of anything, verify something etc.?

Appendix 8: Example of a front door letter box

Picture source https://www.graceandgloryhome.co.uk/front-door-furniture-gallery
(see Chapter 6.5 for the related discussion)