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Making Britain 'Home': Zimbabwean Social Workers' Experiences of Migrating To and Working in a British City

by

Moreblessing Tandeka Tinarwo

A thesis submitted as a requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Applied Social Sciences
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ABSTRACT

Recruitment of overseas social workers is increasingly becoming popular with social workers migrating from developing countries to developed countries like the UK which suffer from chronic social worker shortages. Following the heavy recruitment of Zimbabwean social workers by UK local authorities in the early twenty first century, this study focuses on the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers recruited from Zimbabwe to come and work for a particular local authority in the UK. The general objective is to examine the forms of support utilised by the Zimbabwean social workers from arriving in the UK, integrating into the workplace and wider society and establishing a 'home' away from home. Considering how social capital has been said to bring about positive effects for individuals and society in previous research, social capital is assumed a key concept in this research.

Semi-structured interviews were used as the primary data collection method to allow for deep exploration of the Zimbabwean social workers' experiences together with questionnaires for triangulation. Findings from the study show that the Zimbabwean social workers were able to draw upon different forms of social capital to access as many resources as they could in an effort to develop themselves personally and professionally and eventually establishing themselves as UK citizens. The Zimbabwean social workers' migration trajectories are far from being linear as most of them live dual lives participating socially, economically and politically back in Zimbabwe while living in the UK with plans to re-migrate for some, and to eventually return to Zimbabwe for others. Research findings may help to improve policy and practice for the recruitment and handling of overseas social workers in the UK and also help to raise awareness of the different types of networks that can be relied upon by these workers within and across borders.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFFORD	African Foundation for Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BWSG	Black Waters Support Group
CWDC	Children's Workforce Development Unit
DFID	Department for International Development
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
ESRC	Economic Social Research Council
GP	General Practitioner
GSCC	General Social Care Council
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASSW	International Association of Schools of Social Work
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
ILR	Indefinite Leave to Remain
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation
LCC	Large City Council
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy (*philosophiae doctor*)
PQ	Post Qualification
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UK	United Kingdom
UKCOSA	United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs
USA	United States of America
WORD	Widows and Orphans Relief Development
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIMSEC	Zimbabwe School Examinations Council

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DECLARATION

I confirm that no part of the material presented in this thesis has previously been submitted by me or any other person for a degree in this or any other institution. In all cases material from the work of others, where relevant, has been acknowledged.

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my grandparents Monase Rose Sithole (15 June 1929 - 27 December 2003) and Alfred Mtola Sithole (1900 circa - 18 August 2004) who instilled in me the importance of education from a tender age.

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the rationale for the research and offers an overview of the thesis. It describes the focus of the research, which is the migratory experience of Zimbabwean social workers employed by a particular UK local authority. In the present study, an attempt is made to place the research in the context of current migration studies. It is within this context that, we have witnessed a growing trend of skilled workers migrating from developing to developed countries, to search for employment. These migrants are usually prepared to work in sectors like healthcare and social care where local people may not be willing to work (McGregor, 2007; Mbiba, 2005). While push factors like unemployment, low wages and political instability lead to migration (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002), pull factors like the need for workers in developed countries also play a role (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). The number of immigrants who came into the UK in 2008 was an estimated 590 000 which was the second highest on record, while at the same time more people are emigrating from the UK with a record high of an estimated 427 000 having left the country in 2008 (Office for National Statistics, 2009). For countries like the UK that have experienced chronic labour shortages in certain sectors, migration has helped them to address these staff shortages (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). As a result labour mobility has become a major theme in migration studies (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming).

While in the past the UK health sector has been noted for recruiting internationally (Buchanan, 2007; Hardill and MacDonald, 2000), in recent years the challenge has been to recruit as many social workers as possible to try and alleviate shortages in the social care sector (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming; Moriarty *et al*., 2008; Batty, 2003). According to the General Social Care Council (2004), around 10 000 overseas social workers have been verified as eligible to practise

in the UK since 1990 (Welbourne *et al*., 2007) and, between 2001 and 2002, overseas social workers have accounted for approximately one-quarter of all new recruits (Batty, 2003). According to Eborall and Griffiths (2008), 85 per cent of the overseas qualified social workers registered by the GSCC by end of 2007 came from Australia, Canada, Germany, India, New Zealand, the Philippines, Romania, South Africa, USA and Zimbabwe. With Zimbabwe having been one of the major suppliers of social workers to the UK as stated above, this thesis focuses on the migratory experiences of Zimbabwean social workers practising in the UK. Labour mobility has increased in the social work field (White, 2006). This topic is particularly timely and relevant considering how social work is becoming more international, with more social workers choosing to work in countries other than their own (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming). Recruitment of overseas trained social workers in the UK is likely to continue as social workers remain on the shortage occupation lists of the Home Office (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009). A few studies have highlighted problems that overseas qualified social workers may experience when they migrate to other countries (Brown *et al*., 2007; Devo, 2006; White, 2006; Lyons and Littlechild, 2006). As organisations recruit from other countries and become more global, 'their ability to integrate and leverage the international expertise, language knowledge, and networks that immigrant professionals bring with them is paramount' (Fang *et al*., 2009: 473). This study aims to address the transition needs of Zimbabwean social workers so as to enable them to settle and adapt to life in the UK and progress with their careers as valued workers. It is important to bear in mind that the kind of support made available to overseas-trained social workers does not only help these workers but also affects service quality to service users, skills mix and stability of the workforce (Welbourne *et al.*, 2007: 32).

This research looks at the migratory experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by a particular city council in the UK, from 2000 when recruitment campaigns by employment agencies started in Zimbabwe, until 2008 when data for this research was collected. The local authority under study has been given a fictitious name, Large City Council (LCC), to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of research participants and the organization. LCC was selected as the site for the study since the local authority was one of the major employers of Zimbabwean social workers, having more than sixty Zimbabwean social workers at one point (references withheld to preserve anonymity of the local authority). Due to limited time and resources, one local authority was used in this study. Although the qualitative approach used in this study offers important insights into the recruitment of overseas social workers, the extent to which the findings can be generalised is limited, since it is based on the participation of a specific group of Zimbabwean social workers employed by one local authority. However triangulation through the use of interviews and questionnaires is used to enhance credibility and validity of research results. Findings from the study are also reported in a way that allows the 'voices of participants to be heard' (Rowley, 2002), including lots of quotations from the Zimbabwean social workers for authenticity.

The main research question of the thesis is:

- To what extent can the different forms of social capital help us to understand and theorise the settlement, adaptation and progression of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK?

The specific research questions are:

1. What factors influenced the Zimbabwean social workers to migrate?

2. In trying to meet their professional needs, did they generate, destroy, maintain or reconstitute social capital upon arrival in the UK?

3. Did they generate, destroy, maintain or re-constitute social capital in trying to adapt to and progress with life in the UK? If yes, how?

4. How did structural factors like gender, ethnicity, class and race impact upon the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers?

5. To what extent have the Zimbabwean social workers utilised social capital to maintain links with their country of origin?

6. How has migration shaped and influenced identity and belonging for the Zimbabwean social workers in the study?

In the following section I provide a research background within which this study is situated. This, together with the literature review, helped to identify the research gap and it also influenced how the above research questions were formulated.

FOCUS OF RESEARCH

Previous research that has focused on migration by Zimbabweans has mostly looked at its impact on Zimbabwe (Chikanda, 2006; Chimanikire, 2003; Tevera and Crush, 2003; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Those studies that have focused on Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK have looked at Zimbabweans in general without focusing on a specific group (McGregor, 2009; Mupedziswa; 2009b; Bloch, 2008; McGregor, 2008; Pasura, 2008a; McGregor, 2007; Bloch, 2005). Most research on labour market experiences of non-white ethnic minorities has focused on groups originally from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean, with Africans just being mentioned in passing (Pasura, 2008a). There are a few studies that have included Zimbabwean nurses amongst their respondents but these studies have focused more on overseas

nurses in the UK (Batata, 2005; Larsen *et al.*, 2005; Allan, 2003a). Immigrant professionals from Zimbabwe have been included in some of these studies as a barely-visible category, without much attention given to their labour market experiences as skilled professionals. The present study attempts to address this gap by focusing specifically on how Zimbabwean social workers relate to the labour market in the UK.

Also, there is limited research on issues surrounding international recruitment in the social work sector (Welbourne *et al*., 2007). An initial literature search in this field yielded little evidence of previous research that had dwelt on the recruitment of overseas social workers. However, over the past few years there has been a growing interest brought about by the continuous recruitment of social workers across nations (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming; Brown *et al.*, 2007; Devo, 2006; Lyons and Littlechild, 2006; Tobaiwa *et al*., 2006; White, 2006). Some of the researchers talk about overseas social workers in general without focusing on any particular nationality. White (2006) discusses social workers who migrate to work in foreign countries but concentrates on examples from Europe and North America. Researchers who have focused on Zimbabwean social workers in the UK (Tobaiwa *et al*., 2006; Devo, 2006) have highlighted serious challenges mainly to do with having to practise in a country with a completely different culture and socio-economic conditions. Considering that Devo (2006) and Tobaiwa *et al.* (2006) based their research on only a few participants, the current study targeted more participants to get more information on more varied issues with a particular focus on the migration process.

A number of researchers have acknowledged that social work practice varies from one country to another (Welbourne *et al*., 2007; Norman and Hintze, 2005; Firth, 2004). Preference for social workers from Australia and New Zealand has been shown in a research carried out by Waldinger and Lichter (2003) since their social work practice is said to be more similar to the UK system,

especially when it comes to child protection work (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Since the UK is recruiting social workers from various countries like India, the Philippines, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Eborall and Griffiths, 2008), there is a need to devote considerable time and other resources to training overseas social workers in order to equip them to be able to practise in a foreign country. However, most of them undergo a period of induction which is meant to prepare them for their new job. This period will differ with employers and from time to time (Brown *et al*., 2007). While induction and training by employers is important and helpful in familiarising international social workers with many aspects of the work they will encounter, there is also a need to explore other forms of support that migrant workers can draw upon. Reynolds (2004) argues that policy efforts to address minority ethnic groups in the UK tend to ignore how these communities utilise their connections for personal and collective benefit. After a thorough literature review, the researcher could not find any study that has explicitly addressed social capital utilisation by overseas social workers in the UK. In an effort to address this gap social capital is identified as a central concept in this study.

Social capital is a broad concept that describes the connections between individuals in a society. These connections can bring about positive aspects like improved well-being and even increased productivity, just like physical and human capital (Hemenway *et al*., 2001). Bourdieu (1986:248) defined social capital as 'the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition'. Following the above definition, social capital is said to consist of two components, of which the first is the networks created through social relations and the other is the resources obtained through these relations that can be used like capital. On the other hand, Putnam (1993:167) refers to social capital as 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and

networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions'. Although there have been a variety of definitions, most of them centre around the idea that being a member of a social network allows one access to more resources (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986). While social capital benefits individuals, it can also be mobilized to benefit communities and nations (Putnam and Goss, 2002; Portes and Landolt, 2000).

Some researchers have emphasized the use of social capital in the form of social networks in migrant communities (Kubursi, 2006; Portes, 1997; Massey, 1990). Curran (2002), however, argues that the migration literature has not systematically or completely embraced the concept of social capital. By drawing upon social ties, social capital has influenced immigrants' lives in a number of ways in the past to include the following:

- Access to information (Bauer, 2009; Massey and Aysa, 2005)
- Moral support (Abye, 2007; Mand, 2006)
- Reducing migration costs (Hagan, 1998)
- Financial assistance (Kubursi, 2006)
- Securing jobs (Balderrama and Molina, 2009; Bagchi, 2001)
- Engaging in entrepreneurial activities (Leung, 2004; Kyle, 1999; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993)
- Ethnic solidarity (Favell, 2003; Portes, 1998)
- Negotiating through 'irregular' status (Hagan, 1998; Massey *et al*.,1994)

Through the use of social capital, costs and risks associated with international migration are reduced substantially (Massey and Aysa, 2005). A major advantage of using social capital has been that it can provide less costly, non-financial solutions to social problems (Portes, 1998).

Considering how immigrants are likely to be socially excluded in destination countries (Andreotti, 2006), social capital brought about by social ties promotes social cohesion. This can have an important bearing on policies that support social institution building. Above all, the more you use social capital, the more it becomes available (Bohra and Massey, 2009).

Much of the research relating to the utilisation of social networks by migrant workers has focused on low-skilled workers (Bagchi, 2001). The social capital concept has rarely been applied in relation to how professional migrants could use various resources locked up in social networks to improve their integration into the workplace and society. By focusing on Zimbabwean social workers who are a particular group of skilled migrants, this study extends the applicability of social capital to new settings.

Putnam (2000:22-24) classifies social capital into 'bonding social capital' and 'bridging social capital' while Woolcock (2001:13) further refines the classification to talk about another form called 'linking social capital'. Bonding social capital characterises the strong ties that are built between people of similar background and interests, usually including family and friends. Bridging social capital refers to horizontal ties that transcend heterogeneous differences like ethnicity and socio-economic status to bring together people across communities (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, linking social capital refers to vertical relations between different social strata that enable individuals to access resources from established institutions. This form of social capital involves the negotiation of power usually between members of a community and agencies that influence their lives (Talbot and Walker, 2007). The fact that social capital comes in different forms might mean that a specific form is likely to be more useful under certain circumstances but not others. As opposed to treating social capital in general terms, this study

tries to find out which of the three types of social capital can help us to understand the migration process as experienced by the Zimbabwean social workers in this study.

Past migration studies have mostly emphasized the importance of bonding social capital (Abye, 2007; Mand, 2006; Reynolds, 2006; Zontini, 2006; Massey and Aysa, 2005), with a few having focused on the role of bridging social capital in the migration process (Aguilera, 2005; Bagchi, 2001; Hagan, 1998). Hagan (1998) demonstrated that bridging social ties were crucial for providing the Maya community in the US with opportunities to legalise their stay while Bagchi (2001) found them helpful for skilled migrants in getting jobs. Considering that most of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study were recruited through employment agencies, this research is likely to echo Bagchi (2001). Although Bagchi (2001) acknowledges the importance of bridging social capital to immigrant professionals in the United States, she focuses only on admittance to the receiving country and not the whole migration process. The author does not find out if the bridging social capital utilised by these immigrants is sustained over time, or whether it later changes to bonding social capital or linking social capital. Within this study, the social workers' whole migration experience from leaving Zimbabwe to arriving, adapting and progressing with life in the UK is looked into. This allows the researcher to examine variations in the use of social capital by the Zimbabwean social workers. There have been suggestions that bridging social capital is more valuable than bonding social capital (Aguilera, 2005; Putnam and Goss, 2002; Putnam, 2000), since it allows users to access resources outside their close networks. Putnam (1998) argues that unlike bonding social capital, bridging social capital leads to the formation of rich social capital which benefits the wider community and nations. Putnam and Goss (2002) go on to say that they are tempted to judge the outward-looking bridging social capital as 'socially or morally superior' as it provides clear public and personal benefits. If the

Zimbabwean social workers in this study had access to bridging social capital, in the form of weak ties to recruitment agencies and their employer, prior to migrating to the UK, could it be that it put them in a better position to address their needs upon arrival in the UK, since they had access to more resources through a superior form of social capital (Putnam and Goss, 2002). How issues of trust and norms of reciprocity, as essential components of social capital, are affected within such weak ties (Putnam, 1993) will also be explored in this study.

There have been concerns that researchers tend to concentrate on positive aspects of social capital while ignoring the negatives (Zontini, 2004). For example, social capital excludes those who do not belong to a particular network (Putnam and Goss, 2002; Portes, 1998). This study looks into both the opportunities and the barriers experienced in trying to access resources held within social networks. Migrant communities have been known to reproduce divisions like class, language, ethnicity and religion that are found in their home countries (Newland and Patrick, 2004). Mainstream social capital theory and research has given little attention to aspects of diversity relating to gender, ethnicity and race, among other factors (Holland *et al*, 2007). The impact of gender (Holland *et al*., 2007; Aguilera, 2005; Edwards *et al*., 2003; Bagchi, 2001, Hagan, 1998), ethnicity (Mand, 2006; Goulbourne and Solomos, 2004; Reynolds, 2004; Zontini, 2004) and race (Reynolds, 2008; Cheong *et al*., 2007) will be assessed in this study.

Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1997) associate migration with a decline in social capital as migrants leave their friends, families and communities behind. The present study investigates the extent to which social capital is built, destroyed or transformed by the Zimbabwean social workers under study. If social capital proves to have played an important role in the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC, then it would be important that policy makers become more interested in factors that influence social connectedness. A more

detailed discussion of social capital and migration is presented in Chapter Three. As for now, I turn to the structure of the thesis.

THESIS OUTLINE

This study is made up of eight chapters. This chapter gives the background to the recruitment of overseas social workers. It has generally argued that there is a lack of research relating to the recruitment of overseas social workers in the UK and that social capital as a concept can help us to understand the processes surrounding the migration of overseas social workers.

Chapter Two: Contextualising the Migration of Zimbabwean Social Workers

Zimbabwe is a former British colony which gained its independence in 1980. Recently, the country has become well known for its economic, political and humanitarian crises resulting in major suffering for its nationals. Chapter Two gives an overview of the socio-economic and political environment in Zimbabwe and how this might have led to the migration of Zimbabweans in general and Zimbabwean social workers in particular.

The context of social work practice in the UK, as a country of destination for the social workers in question is also presented, especially what might have led to staff shortages and how the social care sector is trying to address these shortages. The implications of migration for Zimbabwe as a sending country, and the UK as a receiving country are addressed, including an overview of the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment as the most recent effort by the UK government to respond to challenges brought about by the heavy recruitment of overseas social workers and the moral and ethical concerns raised.

Chapter Three: Conceptualising Social Capital and Migration

Chapter Three explores the concept of social capital with its bonding, bridging and linking capacity, to see how it can be used as a framework upon which to base this study. It examines how migrants make use of social capital in its different elements from making the decision to migrate onwards, arguing that mainstream migration theories should incorporate social capital as a central concept. Opportunities brought about by developing social capital as immigrants, together with the constraints, are explored. The transition cycle found in Williams (1999) is also used to inform this study, by adapting it to the migration context and viewing the migration process as a never-ending cycle (Small, 2007), with highs and lows. Maybe, social capital can be used by migrants to minimise 'culture shock' and the stress that is brought about by migrating to a foreign country (Pasura, 2008a; Brown *et al*., 2007; Tobaiwa *et al*., 2006). This chapter also discusses how some immigrants may assimilate into the UK way of life while others may develop transnational social capital and maintain strong ties with their home country with technological advances now making it easier for migrants to lead dual lives, thus enabling them to participate and contribute to the development of communities in their home countries while living abroad. The relationship between transnationalism and the integration of immigrants into their countries of destination is also examined.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

Chapter Four gives a detailed description of the research methods and procedures employed in this study. The research project focuses on Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council between 2000, when recruitment campaigns started in Zimbabwe, and 2008 when data was collected. The present study draws upon the qualitative methodology, allowing for a holistic exploration of the migratory experience of these social workers. Since this study is rather, a

sample set of 'migration stories', the researcher is aware of the limitations regarding generalisation of the research findings.

Research participants were interviewed using semi-structured interviews and postal questionnaires were also sent out to complement the interviews and allow for triangulation. This chapter also gives an outline of the research ethics and the role of the researcher, especially being a Zimbabwean studying the experiences of other Zimbabweans. Participants were given information on what the study was about and its purpose, and it was made clear to them that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from participation at any time. Information from the study is reported in such a way that anonymity and confidentiality are maintained. Collected data were analysed using a generic qualitative data analysis method drawing upon thematic analysis and the grounded theory approach.

Chapter Five: Leaving Zimbabwe to Establish a Career in the UK

Chapter Five is one of the three chapters where research findings are discussed. While most of the themes came from the data itself, some of them were pre-determined by the theoretical framework in use. As the findings are discussed, I try to indicate to the reader whether a leading question regarding the matter was asked or not. For example, the importance of social capital as a concept was derived from literature but the term itself was not used in the interviews with research participants. This chapter answers research questions 1 and 2. Major themes discussed in the chapter are the reasons given by the Zimbabwean social workers for migrating to the UK, preparation to practise as overseas social workers and career progression. Their reasons for migration are complex, varying from personal and social to economic and political, and the various factors interacting with each other. This chapter also looks at how the Zimbabwean social workers started working for LCC at entry level, having had their work experiences and

qualifications devalued, and their struggle to adjust to practising in the UK with minimum support from their employer. It demonstrates how the overseas social workers fought their way through, with some eventually making it to the top as senior practitioners and managers. While the struggle to climb the professional ladder continues for some, others have chosen to leave the social work profession.

Chapter Six: Forging New Ties

In attempting to address research questions 3 and 4, Chapter Six focuses on the multi-dimensionality of the needs of the Zimbabwean social workers when they arrived in the UK. Having left their families and friends in Zimbabwe, the social workers were keen to be accepted by British people in the UK and to forge new relationships. However, the findings from the participants bring out the challenges they met, including resentment, racism and lack of trust, in trying to meet their social needs among other needs. They had to rely on each other through bonding social capital, and formed the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Through this Network they offered each other social, financial and professional support. As they became settled in the UK, the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers became less useful and they started looking further afield than their close networks as Zimbabwean social workers to create other types of social capital. This chapter provides evidence of the agency of the Zimbabwean social workers in employing strategies which helped them to cope with challenges of living in a foreign country.

Chapter Seven: Transnationalism, Identity and Belonging

This chapter answers research questions 5 and 6 by bringing out the complexity surrounding identity and belonging for the Zimbabwean social workers, who have now become British citizens. Transnationalism is their way of life as they participate in economic, social and political

activities in Zimbabwe, to support communities they left behind. In the process they have had to negotiate their identity which has become fluid. Their notion of 'home' shows how decentred the concept has become, as some of them state that home is both the UK and Zimbabwe, while others insist that Zimbabwe remains their home.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter answers the main research question by theorising the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC. Conclusions are drawn that migration is a complex process, which assumes a non-linear progression. This is based on the finding that different stages of the migration process tend to proceed simultaneously and, in some cases, the Zimbabwean social workers even went back to previous migration stages. The importance of investing in the right form of social capital at the right time, to simplify the migration process, is pointed out. Based on the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers interviewed in this study, it is important that social capital as a concept is incorporated into mainstream migration theories. However, the fact that its use may in some cases further complicate migration processes and outcomes, as experienced by the Zimbabwean social workers, should be acknowledged. Implications of research findings for theory, policy and practice are discussed in this chapter. Suggestions for future research are also made.

In the following chapter, I discuss the context in which the migration of the Zimbabwean social workers from Zimbabwe to the UK took place.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUALISING THE MIGRATION OF ZIMBABWEAN SOCIAL WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

McGregor (2008) divides Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK into two groups: those who have secured professional jobs or refugee status or who have set up businesses and whose lives are 'flourishing' in the UK, and unskilled workers with insecure legal status who are struggling to meet basic needs and support their families. The Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study fall into the former group. They are skilled professionals who are likely to become more welcome immigrants than unskilled workers as the British immigration system has become more restrictive and has introduced a points system for non-EU countries. As this thesis seeks to explore the experiences of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK, this chapter situates the migration of these social workers within a broader social context. The chapter aims to provide a broad understanding of the context, with the hope that findings from this study may influence policy.

The first section gives an outline of Zimbabwe's demographic features, followed by a review of the development of social work practice in Zimbabwe from the colonial period to well after independence. Zimbabwe has been in a socio-economic and political crisis for almost a decade now (Mupedziswa, 2009a). Aspects of the social, economic and political environment that have affected social work practice and people's lives in general are presented, with consideration given to how they may have acted as migration push factors. This is followed by an overview of the UK context into which the Zimbabwean social workers were recruited, highlighting in the process staff shortages experienced by UK local authorities as a migration pull factor. The

general response to migration in the UK is discussed, with a particular focus on the Social Care Code of Practice on International Recruitment as a major response by the UK government to the ethical concerns raised in relation to recruiting from developing countries like Zimbabwe. Migrants' experiences of social exclusion in the UK are also discussed. The last section of this chapter focuses on the idea of return among immigrants in the UK.

ZIMBABWE: COUNTRY PROFILE AND A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In 1980, Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, gained its independence from British colonial rule after an armed struggle, which lasted for almost 15 years (Nsingo, 2005). Robert Gabriel Mugabe became the first Prime Minister, transformed into President in 1987, and has continuously ruled Zimbabwe up to this day. After a string of negotiations over a power-sharing deal, in February 2009 an inclusive government was formed between the then ruling party, the Zimbabwean African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), and the opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), where a post of Prime Minister was recreated for Morgan Tsvangirai while Mugabe remained the President (www.nationsonline.org).

The country, officially called the Republic of Zimbabwe, is a landlocked country situated in the southern part of the African continent sharing borders with South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. It covers a total surface area of approximately 390, 757 square kilometres and the population estimates for 2000 was on average 12 million (Spong *et al*., undated). The country's official language is English, with the two major local languages being Shona and Ndebele. The two main ethnic groups are Shona and Ndebele, who make up 71 per cent and 16 per cent of the whole population respectively. Other, smaller, African groups constitute 11 per cent, while white people, Asians and mixed races constitute the remaining 2 per cent (www.nationsonline.org).

Divisions within the country's indigenous people have shaped its development from the pre-colonial era up until now, three decades after its independence (Kahn, 2009; Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007). In the mid-nineteenth century, the Shona people living in the south of Zimbabwe were attacked by the Ndebele people who were crossing the Limpopo River from South Africa, fleeing from the wrath of Shaka, the Zulu King. They attacked and defeated the Shona people and ended up occupying the west and south-west of Zimbabwe, now called the Matabeleland province. The Shona people occupy the Mashonaland, Manicaland, Midlands and Masvingo provinces (IRIN, 2008). During the colonial era, it has been established that some of the white settlers manipulated the antagonism between the Shona and the Ndebele people, using 'divide and rule' tactics to fuel ethnic divisions in order to sustain white hegemony and superiority in the country (Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007; Barnes, 2004; Burridge, 2004). The Rhodesian colonial government divided the population into racial and ethnic categories. Race and ethnicity were used to determine people's position in society and access to resources (Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007). The impact of race and ethnicity on the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers is examined in the current study.

Resistance movements against the white government of Ian Smith, in the then-called Rhodesia, were even formed along ethnic lines. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was primarily a Ndebele political party while the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) consisted mostly of the Shona people (Kahn, 2009). After independence, the ZANU leader, Robert Mugabe, adopted a policy of reconciliation where a national unity government had to be formed, including members of ZAPU and Smith's Rhodesian Front. But, ZAPU refused to merge with ZANU and the complexity surrounding integrating the two political parties resulted in fighting (IRIN, 2008). This fighting threatened to plunge the country into a civil war as

thousands of people were killed in Matabeleland between 1982 and 1986 (Barnes, 2004; Mlambo, 1995). The armed conflict only ended in 1987, when ZANU and ZAPU finally agreed to unite and form the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). According to Huyse (2003), the Unity Accord signed in 1987 meant a new beginning, of uneasy coexistence, between the Ndebele people and the Shona people. As a result, the government's policy towards people in Matabeleland replaced aggression with neglect and discrimination. While events in Zimbabwe have resulted in resentment and bitterness among the Ndebele people, other minority groups like the Shangaan, Kalanga, Tonga and Venda have felt even more marginalized from the economy and society than the Ndebele people. These minority groups have complained of domination by the Shona people and the Ndebele people, politically and culturally (Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007). While there is ethnic polarisation in Zimbabwe, both the state and society have mostly been silent about it (Muzondidya and Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2007), as ethnic tension continues to be overshadowed by the economic and political crisis in the country (Kahn, 2009). These economic and political problems have destabilised the country resulting in deterioration of services offered to its people, including those provided by previously well-established sectors like the Department of Social Welfare, which was the major employer of the Zimbabwean social workers before they migrated (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006).

SOCIAL WORK DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

In this section, I give an overview of how social work in Zimbabwe has evolved over the years. According to Chogugudza (2009), social work as a profession took some time to be appreciated by the general Zimbabwean population, having been brought to Zimbabwe by the British during the colonial era. The local Zimbabwean people relied on the extended family to provide for the

welfare needs of its members (Moyo, 2007a). The first official move to provide social welfare in Zimbabwe, then called Rhodesia, was in 1936 when the 'Probation and School Attendance Officer Program' was introduced. Due to the absence of trained personnel, the first probation officer was recruited from the United Kingdom. This was followed by the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1948, mainly targeted at addressing the problem of young offenders within the white community (Kaseke, 2002).

In 1964, the School of Social Work was established in the then Rhodesia (Chogugudza, 2009). However, its social work education and the practice it taught were highly influenced by social welfare developments in Britain since the colonial government was still in place (Mupedziswa, 1992). Up to this day, the School of Social Work, University of Zimbabwe remains the only institution offering social work training in Zimbabwe. It offers a Bachelor of Social Work Honours degree and a Masters programme in Social Work (Chogugudza, 2009).

Pre-independence, the indigenous Zimbabwean population continued to rely on kinship ties for support since social welfare provisions were discriminatory in nature (Moyo, 2007a). When Zimbabwe obtained independence in 1980, according to Sichone (2003), one of the main tasks of the new government was post-war reconstruction. The new government was committed to redressing imbalances of the past and social services were viewed as an effective instrument to redistribute wealth (Kaseke, 2002). As a result, there was considerable investment in the social work profession. Soon after independence the Zimbabwean government embarked upon an economic recovery programme, investing in sectors like health, education and social services with little help from foreign donors (Sichone, 2003). According to Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006), social workers had support staff including social welfare assistants, clerks and office orderlies; they had ample stationery and could afford to make several home visits to clients. 'The

social work profession became more organized, fairly sophisticated and well-resourced' (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006:164).

The Department of Social Welfare subsequently became decentralised, resulting in the opening of social welfare offices in almost every district in Zimbabwe. Areas of responsibility for social workers working within the government now included child welfare, youth offending, welfare assistance and public assistance, family counselling, working with refugees, disabled and elderly people, registration of welfare organisations, working in hospitals and psychiatric institutions, and in development programmes in general (Chogugudza, 2009; Kaseke, 1991). Social workers also started to be employed in industry, where they dealt with issues of recruitment and selection, industrial relations, job evaluation, remuneration, occupational safety, training and welfare, in an effort by employers to promote worker productivity, ensure effective communication between managers and workers and ensure general industrial harmony for sustained productivity (Kaseke, 1991).

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also played an important role in the provision of social services since the colonial era. These voluntary organisations were established within the context of liberal ideology, in the understanding that the government should prioritise the facilitation of economic growth. NGOs then served to fill gaps in state provision of social services (Kaseke, 1991). Social workers employed by NGOs are mostly involved in developmental social work, mainly to do with poverty and in rural areas, some provide services to disabled people, children in need of care and elderly people, among others, while others are involved in the protection of consumers and recreational services like youth clubs and women's groups (Kaseke, 1991).

Despite the gap they had been filling, at some point in the lead-up to the 2008 Presidential election, NGOs were banned from operating in Zimbabwe by the ruling party. They were accused of supporting the opposition, the MDC, and later had to obtain approval to resume activities (Chogugudza, 2009). The economic and political problems in Zimbabwe have also acted as constraints on the operation of these voluntary organisations in their effort to supplement social work. According to Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006), understanding the socio-economic and political environment in Zimbabwe is necessary for one to appreciate social work practice in the country. These social, political and economic problems are cited as the main causes of emigration from Zimbabwe (Chogugudza, 2009; Mupedziswa, 2009b; Bloch, 2006). Having lots of studies blaming problems in Zimbabwe as migration push factors and, some acknowledging how the need for workers in the UK may have acted as pull-factors (Batty, 2003; Tevera and Crush, 2003), this study assesses the extent to which Zimbabwean social workers, as professionals, were pushed out of the country by social, political and economic problems. An overview of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in Zimbabwe and the controversial land reform programme is given below, as they are constantly said to be what triggered economic decline, social unrest and political tension in the country (Bloch, 2006; Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006; Sichone, 2003; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS

Although at first resources were sufficient, over time the Zimbabwean economy became stagnant, there was little investment for the industrial sector, a shortage of foreign exchange and an inability to absorb the growing number of graduates (Glantz *et al*., 2007). By the end of the first decade of independence, the Zimbabwean economy began to struggle due to debts accumulated by both the previous colonial government and the then ruling government

(Bracking and Sachikonye, 2009). Due to the debt crisis in 1990, the Zimbabwean government reluctantly accepted the IMF and World Bank financial package and implemented the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which was initially for five years, in an effort to reform the country's economy (Saunders, 1996).

Kaseke (1998) argues that structural adjustment programmes are often imposed upon desperate African countries by the World Bank and IMF as a condition of receiving financial assistance. According to that author, Zimbabwe was actually one of the countries which was reluctant to implement structural adjustment. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) generally require countries to devalue their currency against the American dollar, lift import and export restrictions, remove price controls and state subsidies, and sell off government-owned enterprises to private owners who are often foreign investors (Saunders, 1996).

The introduction of ESAP in Zimbabwe hit ordinary Zimbabweans very hard and tore into the country's economic and social infrastructure through its policies. Devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, the lifting of price controls and removal of subsidies led to high inflation rates, eroding household incomes in the process (Saunders, 1996). As a result, the standard of living fell to levels that had not been seen in 25 years (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). This led to social problems like increased poverty, a higher crime rate, begging in the streets, prostitution and a worsening of the AIDS epidemic (Chakaodza, 1993). By 1997, the Zimbabwean government was spending more servicing debt servicing than on education and health (Saunders, 1996). Reduced government spending meant that people now had to pay for services like education and medical services which used to be available free of charge. Due to cutbacks in social services, low-income households could no longer afford to meet basic needs like food, health, education and shelter and this resulted in a further reduced quality of life for

poorer people (Kaseke, 1998). The reduction of public transport subsidies also meant that fewer households could afford to pay for transport to work in towns and resulted in soaring bus fares in rural areas (Ranga, 2004). According to Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006), even skilled professionals like social workers were forced to engage in petty trade activities like selling fruits, sweets and clothing during working hours to supplement their low salaries. In 1995, the Zimbabwean government undertook a poverty assessment study which showed that 62 per cent of the population could no longer meet basic needs (Zimbabwe Government, 1995).

ESAP has a negative impact on people's welfare, particularly those already vulnerable like women, children and jobless people (Kaseke, 1998). The Social Development Fund was introduced in Zimbabwe to cushion vulnerable groups against the negative impacts of ESAP (Kaseke, 2002, 1998). However Kaseke (1998) identified four problems associated with social safety nets in Africa like the Social Development Fund in Zimbabwe:

- Poor targeting of the beneficiaries making it difficult to reach the actual poor and vulnerable groups.
- Inaccessibility to intended beneficiaries because of the distance they have to travel to access services.
- Unawareness of the availability of social safety nets by poor people, or if they are aware, not knowing the procedures to follow to access the funds.
- Social safety nets being underfunded.

In Zimbabwe, the social safety net on school fees reached only an estimated 20 per cent of the intended beneficiaries (Kaseke, 1998).

The agricultural sector, which had been the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy, was also affected by ESAP. The removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs resulted in the price of seeds and fertilisers rising dramatically, while agricultural marketing boards previously owned by the government were commercialized, allowing producers to sell to the highest bidder (Glantz *et al*., 2007; Ranga, 2004). The fact that there was drought in 1992-93 also made the situation worse (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006; Ranga, 2004). People began to starve and the country sank into deeper debt as ESAP depended on huge borrowings. By the end of the first phase of the structural adjustment programme in 1995, Kaseke (1998) reports that 20,000 civil servants and 40,000 workers from the private sector had lost their jobs, resulting in more suffering. Mass demonstrations and food riots became the order of the day in Zimbabwe (Ranga, 2004). The opening of domestic markets for cheap imports also resulted in the closing and down-sizing of many labour intensive industries. ESAP policies like privatisation, deregulation and trade liberalisation opened up the country to foreign companies. The Zimbabwean government hoped that this would result in an inflow of foreign investment into the country which would then strengthen the economy and create employment opportunities (Sachikonye, 1993) but, seemingly, it also opened the country to labour outflow.

The workplace labour regime underwent considerable transformation under ESAP, leaving employees feeling vulnerable due to poor working conditions. Social work practice in Zimbabwe changed drastically during the ESAP years as the government emphasized reduction in social expenditure (Kaseke, 2002). This meant that social workers, among other professions, had to face the challenge of operating within an environment of scarce resources leading to, for example, the inability to go and carry out assessments and the postponement of scheduled court sessions due to severe fuel shortages caused by lack of foreign currency and poor communication

resulting from telephones not working. Meanwhile, owing to poverty and related problems, the number of social service clients soared. Adhering to social work ethics, principles and values became ever more challenging against this background of limited resources (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006).

The implementation of ESAP, according to Riphenburg (1996) led not only to social unrest for the working poor but also to political risks. He also criticizes the failure of the IMF and World Bank to take account of the human and social consequences brought about by their 'monetarist economic policies'. Kaseke (1998) associates the removal of food subsidies with social unrest and ultimately with political instability. By the end of the 1990s, the economic crisis in Zimbabwe became worse and the ruling Zanu-PF government became unpopular (Sichone, 2003). This led to the emergence of a new opposition party in 1999 called the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The Zimbabwean government had to find a means to curb political opposition before the 2002 Presidential election and turned to land redistribution.

Land has always been central to Zimbabwean politics and continues to play a pivotal role in Zimbabwe's current political turmoil (Deininger *et al*., 2004). During the colonial period fertile land had been occupied by white people, with black people being placed in 'reserves' that consisted of dry unproductive land. When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the new government was prepared to redistribute land to the black majority and, with the Lancaster House Agreement, land would be sold on a 'willing buyer-willing seller' basis (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). In 1990 the government was no longer bound by the Lancaster Agreement and in 1992 the land Acquisition Act was passed which allowed for compulsory acquisition of farms by the Zimbabwean government (Deininger *et al*., 2004). Despite the British and other governments providing grants for land redistribution and compensation, by the late 1990s fertile

land remained in the hands of white farmers and a few black elites (HRCR, 2002). In July 2000, the ruling government then decided to embark on a 'fast track land resettlement programme' where white farmers were forcibly removed from their farms to benefit the landless black majority (Moyo, 2005; Sichone, 2003). The way the white farmers were evicted from their farms was not constitutional and violated their individual rights to own property and to be protected by the state (Nsingo, 2005). Thereafter, there were reports of starvation and the agriculture-based economy being on the verge of collapse (Dore, 2010; Peta, 2000).

The breakdown of the rule of law in Zimbabwe, as demonstrated by land expropriation, led to the withdrawal of donor support and, as more political violence has been reported, the country has been left isolated from the international community leading to yet more economic crisis (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). The fact that the ruling Zanu-PF government has adopted violent and repressive policies towards its opposition, the MDC, has had not only political but also economic consequences (McGregor, 2007). Some of the Zimbabwean migrants coming to the UK have reported the deterioration of human rights and political violence, resulting in Zimbabweans seeking asylum in the UK reaching 7,554 in 2002 (Heath *et al.*, 2004).

With Zimbabwe shut out by the international community through sanctions, the crisis has continued over the years with natural disasters like floods and severe drought, unemployment levels reaching over 70 per cent (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006), inflation percentage increases in mid-2008 being measured in millions and more political violence having been reported in the lead-up to the 2008 Presidential elections (McGregor, 2009). Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006: 166-167) describe the political and socio-economic environment in Zimbabwe since 2000 as including hyper-inflation, high unemployment levels, supply-side constraints, reduced investor confidence, withdrawal of donor support, chronic foreign currency shortage,

erratic supply of fuel, the HIV and AIDS pandemic, political violence and the launching of a controversial land reform programme and another controversial programme; *Operation Murambatsvina* (Discard the Filth) where the government was destroying informal structures like businesses and homes which left around 700,000 people homeless and thousands more jobless.

The socio-economic and political climate in Zimbabwe has naturally had a negative impact on social work education and practice due to lack of adequate resources (Chogugudza, 2009; Kaseke, 2002). Over the years, many Zimbabweans (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002), including social work professionals (Chogugudza, 2009; Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006), have resorted to migration as a means of survival. It has been difficult to gauge the number of Zimbabweans arriving in the UK, since some of them are 'undocumented migrants', but estimates suggest that they range from approximately 200,000 (Pasura, 2008a) to 1.2 million (Mbiba, 2004.) While many researchers believe that Zimbabwe's economic and political instability has been the major reason that has caused people to migrate from the country, Tevera and Crush (2003) have added that, seen in broader context, migration is due to pull factors like the need for workers in developed countries (see Dual Labour Market Theory p.78). Dual labour market theory and other mainstream migration theories are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. In the particular case of Zimbabwean social workers, the need for social work professionals in the UK has played a major role in causing the mass exodus of social workers from Zimbabwe (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). An outline of the UK context is presented below, looking at how shortages of social workers drove UK local authorities to recruit from Zimbabwe, among other countries.

EMPLOYING OVERSEAS SOCIAL WORKERS IN THE UK

The importance of the social care sector in the UK economy has been overlooked in the past (Batty, 2002), making it difficult to obtain information pertaining to the recruitment and retention of overseas social workers before the twenty-first century. Moriarty *et al.* (2008) acknowledge the shortcomings of available data in indicating trends in the sector, although they state that the quality of information is beginning to improve. Concerns surrounding the recruitment and retention of social workers in the UK have been there since the late 1980s, according to Lyons (2006), but acute labour shortages within UK social services have mainly been reported in the early twenty-first century (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming; Hussein *et al*., 2010; Moriarty *et al*, 2008; Welbourne *et al*., 2007; Batty, 2003).

Social Worker Shortages

There was a decline in the number of social work students in the 1990s and, as a result, those finishing their training were not sufficient to replace those who were retiring or changing from social work to other professions (Moriarty *et al.*, 2008). Reasons for leaving social work may have been related to the low status of the social care sector and low rates of pay (Moriarty *et al*., 2008; Batty, 2002). While being a social worker is a comparatively privileged occupation within the social care sector (Hussein *et al*., 2010), salaries are low comparative to other professions, with Batty (2002) reporting that, in 2000, social workers were earning on average 25 per cent less than other professions. However, social workers are said to earn more than nurses and occupational therapists (Eborall and Griffiths, 2008). A number of studies have also suggested that social workers experience low levels of job satisfaction and high levels of stress, maybe due to the demanding nature of their job which often includes statutory work, unpaid overtime and emergency visits, especially in children's services and mental health (Moriarty *et al*., 2008).

Child protection work, which is seen as a particularly difficult and stressful area, has been reported to be most affected by social worker shortages (Welbourne *et al*., 2007). Tim Loughton, the then Shadow Minister, blamed excessive bureaucracy and red tape, together with low morale, for the recruitment and retention problems in social work (Mulholland, 2009).

Brown *et al*. (2007) quote Evans (2004) as reporting that 83 per cent of councils dealing with social services reported having social worker recruitment and retention problems in 2003. Due to severe shortages of qualified social workers, UK employers have relied on temporary and agency staff or unqualified staff to fill vacancies (Hussein *et al*., 2010, Unison, 2009). This results in discontinuities or disruption of service provision (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming), with judges dealing with child and family cases having noted that social workers who start cases in family courts are usually not the ones who finish them (Stevenson, 2009). The capacity of local authorities to protect vulnerable people has, in some cases, been compromised due to shortages of social workers and the consequent heavy caseloads (Walker, 2003 in Welbourne *et al*., 2007). The deaths of child abuse victims, like Victoria Climbié in 2000 (Laming, 2003) and Baby P in 2007 (Community Care, 2009), both of whom were well known to social services, continue to expose staff shortages, lack of supervision, absence of good social work practice and, according to Batty (2002), lack of assessment skills by social workers. To deal with the national shortage of social workers, local authorities in the UK have increasingly relied on overseas social workers (Moriarty *et al*., 2008; Brown *et al*., 2007; Welbourne *et al*., 2007; Batty, 2003). While this helps to combat shortages in the UK, there are other opportunities and challenges associated with recruiting from overseas as discussed below.

Overseas Recruitment and Registration

Various means are being used to recruit overseas social workers to the UK. White (2006) talks about how the internet has made it easier to find out about job vacancies and to obtain information on the different social work systems and qualifications. Local authorities may recruit cohorts of social workers directly from their countries and support them in groups, while other social workers may migrate to the UK and then look for employment upon arrival (Welbourne *et al*., 2007). Some of the overseas social workers are recruited by private employment agencies which may assist with visa arrangements, subsidise travel costs and provide support upon arrival in the UK (Hussein *et al*., 2010; Community Care, 2004). While support offered to overseas social workers varies, some recruitment agencies will go an extra mile to help new recruits find accommodation and open a bank account, among other things (White, 2006). One recruitment officer comments that recruiting overseas social workers is a complex process. He reports that his recruitment agency made loans available of up to £3,500 so that Zimbabwean social workers they had recruited could pay for accommodation, transport and clothing. While some managed to pay the money on time, others had to pay it in arrears (Community Care, 2004).

The International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) have recently adopted a set of Global Qualifying Standards in Social Work Education and Training (Welbourne *et al*., 2007; White, 2006; Sewpaul and Jones, 2005). However, assessing the equivalency of foreign qualifications remains a duty of national regulatory bodies (White, 2006). Since 2005, all social workers are required to register with the General Social Care Council (GSCC) before they can start practising in the UK (Lawrence and Huegler, undated). For overseas social workers the GSCC has to establish whether the qualifications or training received by the applicants in their home country is at least

equivalent to the UK Social Work degree. If there is a shortfall, applicants will be required to undertake additional training before they can start working as qualified social workers (GSCC, 2004) or they may have to do less skilled jobs (Hussein *et al*., 2010). The GSCC has already developed guidelines for overseas social workers applying to register from South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Philippines, USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, India, Ireland, Hungary, New Zealand and Romania (GSCC, 2008). However it is important to note that equivalency of qualifications is measured based on broad core competencies and not UK-specific content (Welbourne *et al*., 2007). Comparability of qualifications is a key factor in facilitating and blocking international labour mobility (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming) with qualifications from some countries more difficult to evaluate than others due to different social work educational systems (White, 2006). Previous work experience of overseas social workers may be undervalued (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming), or in some cases it may not be recognised by employers (Brown *et al*., 2007).

In 2002, social workers who registered with the GSCC were mostly from the following countries: Australia (20.3%), South Africa (18.8%), the USA (12.1%), the EU (9.6%), Canada (8.8%), India (7.3%), Zimbabwe (5.4%) and New Zealand (4.3%) (Eborall, 2003). In 2003-2004, there was an 82 per cent increase in the number of overseas social workers registering to work in the UK (Community Care, 2005). A social work workforce survey revealed that, 6,400 overseas social workers had registered in the UK by 2007, which is 8 per cent of the overall workforce. Eighty-five per cent of these overseas social workers came from Australia, Canada, Germany, South Africa, USA, Zimbabwe, India, New Zealand, Romania and the Philippines (Eborall and Griffiths, 2008). Motivations behind the migration of social workers to countries like the UK include the desire to experience a different culture, for professional development, in anticipation

of a better life and family or cultural ties (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming; White, 2006; Tobaiwa *et al.,* 2006). Social workers may also migrate in some cases to escape political and social tension (White, 2006). Hussein *et al*. (2010), suggest that there are two different groups of international social workers. One of the groups may be joining the UK in the early stages of their career from developed countries like Australia and New Zealand, while the other group consists of older people with family commitments and years of experience (Hussein *et al*., 2010). Social workers from countries like Australia and New Zealand are likely to come and work in the UK temporarily, while those from India, Zimbabwe and South Africa may intend to stay in the UK on a permanent basis (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). This might have something to do with the economic situation in home countries, with those immigrants from developing countries less willing to go back to poverty and in some cases not able to save enough money to return home due to the burden of supporting the extended family. According to Hussein *et al*. (2010), migration patterns of social workers from the European Economic Area have not yet been fully established.

Besides the obvious benefit of filling in where there are shortages, having overseas social workers as part of the workforce brings diverse skills to the UK and enhances cultural diversity (Lyons and Littlechild, 2006). Overseas social workers working in ethnically diverse areas may be more knowledgeable about religious and cultural practices of service users with a more or less similar background (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Lyons and Littlechild (2006) give an example of Asian social workers who were recruited from their countries specifically to meet the needs of Asian service users in particular local authorities in the UK. This brings challenges to employers, however, in terms of providing support and training to the culturally diverse employees (Welbourne *et al*., 2007).

There are also other challenges associated with the recruitment of overseas social workers. They may face difficulties in adapting to a new culture of social work practice (Welbourne *et al*., 2007, Devo, 2006). Those recruited in the UK tend to struggle with cultural differences, language and legislation in the context in which they have to practise (Brown *et al*., 2007). Lyons and Huegler (forthcoming) expand on the use of language to specify that there is the dominant language, the professional language and the colloquial language and, in some cases, overseas social workers may struggle to communicate with service users who may have a certain accent. At present, social workers who come to practise in the UK do not have their linguistic skills tested (Welbourne *et al*., 2007). Although in some cases language barriers have frustrated these social workers, this has not necessarily deterred them from social work practice (Brown *et al*., 2007).

The process of recruiting from overseas is cumbersome, involving visa and work permit applications, Criminal Record Bureau and police checks, retrieving references from abroad and qualification recognition (Hussein *et al*., 2010). Labour mobility is relatively easier within European countries because recruiting from within the EU does not present visa challenges that are usually experienced by workers from developing countries (White, 2006). Employers may also prefer social workers from countries whose social work training and practice resembles that of the UK, like Australia. When social work systems are different, transferability of skills may be difficult (Hussein *et al*., 2010). The former shadow Health Minister, Tim Loughton, had reservations about overseas social workers and their level of expertise in dealing with challenging and complex cases like the much-publicised Baby P case (Stevenson, 2009). However, reports have been made that overseas social workers are hardworking, accommodating and 'willing to do anything' (Hussein *et al*., 2010), which may be an advantage to employers.

Social workers from other countries may work in the UK for a few years and then return home (Stevenson, 2009). Some may even return earlier than planned when faced with the challenges of practising social work in the UK as happened, for example, in the 1990s when some Canadian social workers quit and went back to their home country (Dominelli, 2009: personal communication). While relying on overseas social workers has worked for some local authorities, this cannot be assumed to be a long-term solution to the recruitment and retention problems facing Social Services in the UK. The government is under pressure to come up with domestic solutions to this problem. Some of the attempts by the UK government to address the shortage of social workers are discussed below.

Reforms in Social Work Education

Levels of training in the British social care sector have previously been the lowest in Europe (Batty, 2002) but a range of government reforms has been introduced to try and improve social work education and training and to raise the status of the profession (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Instead of social workers undertaking a two-year diploma, the government has invested in a three-year social work degree which was launched in 2003 (Orme *et al*., 2009). There has been an increase in funds to social work training and education, with bursaries being provided to students, as an incentive to encourage more people to train as social workers (Orme *et al.*, 2009; Welbourne *et al*., 2007). These reforms have successfully increased the number of students applying to and enrolling on social work programmes in England (Eborall and Griffiths, 2008). Five thousand, four hundred and seventy students enrolled for a social work degree in 2006-2007 in England (GSCC, 2007b), which is an increase of about 20 percent compared to earlier years (The Evaluation of the Social Work Degree Qualification in England Team, 2007). This shows that it is possible to increase the supply of social workers in the UK through measures designed

to make the social work profession more popular among applicants to higher education and also to improve its professional status. It will take time, however, before there is sufficient evidence to show whether this will result in long-term improvements to the future supply of social workers (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Considering how long it takes to train social workers and the rate at which they are leaving the profession (Mulholland, 2009), it will take many years for UK training programmes to solve the social worker crisis in this country (Welbourne *et al*., 2007).

Other initiatives have involved encouraging professionals to change their career and become social workers (Scottish Institute for Excellence in Social Work Education, 2006), and 'Grow Your Own' schemes aimed at helping unqualified staff to acquire a professional qualification in social work (Noble *et al.*, 2009). Through the 'Step Up to Social Work' programme, funds are to be made available for graduates to retrain as social workers. The Children's Workforce Development Council (CWDC) will provide around £15,000 for each candidate in a bid to attract high-flyers to join the social work profession (CWDC, 2010). In 2008, the UK government set up the Social Work Task Force to undertake a comprehensive review of social work practice in the UK (Lombard, 2009). After the review, the Social Work Task Force made recommendations to reform the system that supports social workers in England so as to raise the quality and status of the profession (Social Work Task Force, 2009b). Recommendations made cover the following 15 areas:

- Calibre of entrants
- Curriculum and delivery
- Practice placements
- Assessed year in employment
- Regulation of social work education
- Standard of employers (to support social workers)

- Supervision
- Front line management
- Continuing professional development
- National career structure
- National College of Social Work
- Public understanding
- License to practise
- Social worker supply
- National reform programme

More than £200 million will be invested in social work education, recruitment and workforce development in 2010/11 in order to establish a firm foundation for the reform programme which will take five to ten years to be completed (Social Work Task Force, 2009b). Efforts are also being made to improve the retention of qualified social workers. Pilot schemes are being run by the CWDC to try and improve the induction and general support offered to newly qualified social workers during their first year of practice (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). A new range of post-qualifying awards has also been developed for practising social workers (GSCC, undated). For now, the problem of social worker shortages in the UK remains (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009; Moriarty *et al*., 2008).

More Social Workers Still Required

A survey carried out by the Local Government Workforce in 2008 showed that the number of local authorities having social worker recruitment problems in children's and family services had fallen from 78 per cent to 60 per cent between 2006 and 2008 (IDeA, undated). However, there remains a shortage of social workers in the UK, with recruitment problems most common in London and the South East (Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Social workers working in children's and

family services remain on the recommended skilled shortage occupation list (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009). Findings from a survey carried out for Unison in 2008 revealed that 67 per cent of social workers believed they had an excessive workload; 50 per cent experienced staff shortages during most days, while 68 per cent reported that they were actively seeking employment elsewhere. A survey of 369 children and families social workers also revealed that nearly six out of ten social workers were working in teams where over 20 per cent of posts were vacant. Almost three-quarters of the social workers reported that average caseloads for social workers doing child protection work had increased since 2003 (Unison, 2009).

Reports have recently emerged that local authorities have re-launched recruitment campaigns outside the UK, with Essex County Council, for example, having recently hired 52 overseas social workers from Australia, Ireland, the US and New Zealand (Stevenson, 2009). Coventry City Council has also embarked on a major recruitment campaign in the US and has already recruited six social workers with the hope that they will get at least 10 more to start by April 2010 (Blundell, 2010). Some of the recruitment campaigns have been reported also to be targeting African countries, as was the case around 2000, with advertising having started in search of social workers from countries like Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Mupedziswa, 2009: personal communication).

One of the greatest challenges associated with recruiting from overseas is, according to Lyons and Huegler (forthcoming), the ethical dimension. The migration of social work professionals is usually from developing countries to developed countries and this raises moral and ethical issues considering the resources the poor countries will have used to train their personnel (Dominelli, 2005a). This recruitment of social workers from African countries to industrialised countries has helped to render social welfare systems in developing countries vulnerable and in some cases

completely dysfunctional (Mupedziswa, 2005). In response to these ethical concerns, the UK government has established a Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment in an effort to regulate the recruitment of overseas social care professionals to this country. This Code of Practice is discussed in the following sub-section.

Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment

The heavy recruitment of health care and social care professionals from developing countries has been detrimental to these poor nations' systems. The fact that developed countries like the UK are relying on international recruitment to solve their staff shortages has raised ethical concerns. Following complaints about aggressive recruitment from developing countries by the UK, the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment was launched in 2006 to try and address ethical and practical issues that result from recruiting overseas social workers. This Code, like similar ones that have been developed for the Department of Health and the former Department for Education and Skills, helps to guide employers when it comes to the recruitment, induction and training of overseas workers. The Code also aims to provide guidance to those joining the UK social care workforce from overseas. It was developed with the help of social care employers and endorsed by the Department of Health, General Social Care Council (GSCC), Department for Education and Skills and other stakeholders across the social care sector (SCCIR, 2008).

The Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment can be found on the website www.sccir.org and is made up of 12 principles of good practice (see Appendix B). These principles cover issues like the recruitment of overseas social care staff, compliance with GSCC standards, induction and access to continuing professional development, the individual and legal rights of international social care staff and proficiency in the English language. The Code is

meant to help ensure that the international recruitment of social workers falls within a clear ethical framework and appropriate standards. It allows recruitment only in countries that are not in short supply of social workers. This automatically means that Zimbabwe, among other countries, is now protected after having lost many of its social workers to the UK. While this is good in principle, the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment is voluntary and some private agencies continue to recruit from countries protected by it. Connell *et al*. (2007) argue that the development of such Codes of practice has actually enhanced the role of private agencies since they are not legally binding and so, even though UK local authorities have stopped conducting recruitment campaigns in developing countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa, there are still a number of social workers from these countries looking to gain employment in the UK and turning to the private sector. It would be helpful if the UK government could develop ways of monitoring the practices of recruitment agencies and provide incentives to those that comply with the Code.

One principle in the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment talks about assisting international social care staff to acquire after their induction period, a level of knowledge and proficiency equivalent to that of a UK-trained individual. A closely related principle says that appropriate information, support and induction should be given to international social care staff to enable them to settle well. These principles do not provide clear or standardised requirements as to what sort of training, information or support should be provided to overseas social workers. This study seeks to examine the support that overseas social workers require, so as to make their settling as comfortable as possible. There might be a need for the individual assessment of skills for different social workers, rather than employers having one general induction programme for overseas social workers. Employers are also encouraged to

provide cultural orientation, to train through scenarios that international social workers may face in the workplace and to make sure that workers know where to get help to meet any needs they may have. According to Welbourne *et al*. (2007), appropriate support and training for overseas social workers helps to ensure their own sense of efficacy and job satisfaction and enables them to manage their work and deliver a quality service to service users. This, may, however be challenging for employers in terms of the time and resources that will have to be channelled to the training of overseas social workers. In Devo's (2006) research, overseas social workers in the UK reported how they did not have a proper induction but had to work straight away, due to a shortage of social workers. Although scenarios may be provided in interviews, it is impossible to predict what individual social workers may face in the workplace and the list can never be exhaustive. The GSCC (2007a), citing the Quality Assurance Agency (2000), makes it clear that social workers need to have a contextual understanding of their work, in addition to an analytical, explanatory and practical understanding. Even though social work values may be the same throughout the world, social work practice may vary from one country to another.

The Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment suggests that international social care professionals should have access to the same education and training for continuing professional development as all other social workers. This benefits social workers as individuals and the organisations they work for. For Zimbabwean social workers recruited in the UK, this will in the long term also benefit Zimbabwe if some of these social workers eventually return to their home country because they will have more skills, experience and international exposure. Overseas social workers are likely to receive more training and to attend more courses here in the UK compared to back in Africa where resources are scarcer. Besides protecting developing countries, the Code also serves to protect overseas workers from being exploited by their

employers. According to the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment, these workers should have the same legal protection as UK trained workers. Following this Code of Practice, social care professionals are required to have their work permit ready before entry to the UK. Previously, overseas workers could enter the UK without work permits and then search for work while already in the UK. One Zimbabwean social worker mentioned in Devo (2006), for example, that he came to the UK to visit and later changed his mind and looked for a job.

Research carried out by Martineau and Willets (2006) has shown that these Codes of Practice for International Recruitment may not be effective in achieving ethical international recruitment. Despite the first ethical guidelines for the Department of Health in the UK being introduced in 1999 and the Code in 2001, recruitment from countries that were supposed to be protected continued to increase (Bach, 2007; Buchanan, 2007). This increase in international recruitment may be due to a combination of recruitment by private agencies and individual applications. Bach (2007) supports the notion that the scope of the Department of Health Code of Practice for International Recruitment is too narrow. Weaknesses that have been reported for the Healthcare Code of Practice are likely also to apply in the social care sector since the two Codes are based on the same principles. According to Welbourne *et al.* (2007), the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment is only likely to be effective if sanctions are imposed on those who continue to recruit from countries where active recruitment should not be taking place. While many organisations and bodies in the UK were involved in developing this code, people from sending countries should also get involved somehow. Sending and receiving countries could come together and agree on conditions for international recruitment.

The Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment does not have guidelines on how to compensate developing countries that lost most of their social workers to developed countries,

as has been suggested by Dominelli (2005a). Countries that provided professionals to developed countries should at least receive some kind of compensation considering the resources that they have used to train these professionals and the tax revenue they are losing from not having them work in their home country. In Zimbabwe, the government had to introduce a national certificate for nurse graduates that is not recognised outside the country as a strategy to prevent healthcare professionals from migrating. In some countries, graduates are expected to go through compulsory service for their country before they can migrate. It is also important to note, however, that individuals have the right to seek a better life for themselves and their families through employment in their chosen country (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming). Echoing this, Dwyer (2007) and Machiridza (2006) argue that individuals have the right to migrate and that these rights should be respected. As a result, social workers from developing countries who wish to come to the UK to find employment on their own initiative from poor countries should not be disadvantaged by the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment (Welbourne *et al*., 2007).

Sending and receiving countries need to work together to protect developing countries from losing their workforce. Lyons and Huegler (forthcoming) quote SCCIR (2008) as saying that only a limited number of voluntary, statutory and private agencies have signed up to the Code. More needs to be done to ensure that organisations comply with the Code's requirements. Martineau and Willets (2006) argue that while the ideas of the Code of Practice have been effectively disseminated, support systems, incentives, sanctions and monitoring systems required for effective implementation and sustainability are currently weak. Although the effectiveness of these Codes of Practice has generally been questioned, it would help if figures were released by the government to show how much international recruitment from protected countries has

reduced, if at all, since the different Codes came into use. As many critiques have suggested, maybe such Codes would be more effective if they had a legal basis. Nevertheless, the fact that the Social Care Code of Practice on International recruitment, and other similar codes, have been developed in the UK shows how the UK government has at least done something to try and be socially responsible towards developing countries. The migration of skilled professionals has had implications for both the home and host countries. An overview of how migration has affected Zimbabwe as a sending country, and the UK as a receiving country is given below.

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

While in the past Zimbabwe's international migration involved white people entering or leaving the country and importing labour from neighbouring countries like Zambia and Malawi, this has since changed, with the country having become a major personnel exporter (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Educated and skilled people are being lost at a faster rate than they can be replaced. This has increased the workload of the remaining employees, leading to poorer services. Increased migration from Zimbabwe has also resulted in loss of tax revenue from potential earners (Bloch, 2005). The migration of skilled workers from African countries to developed countries has left a serious shortage back in Africa. In Zimbabwe, certain duties that used to be carried out by professionals have ended up being done by less qualified assistants, like nurse aides in healthcare, potentially leading to misdiagnosis or other costly mistakes (Chikanda, 2006).

The recruitment of overseas social workers from developing countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe has been detrimental to their social welfare services. Due to the migration of social workers from Zimbabwe, non-social workers have been recruited to fill their places despite their lack of knowledge of basic social work principles and methods of service delivery (Mupedziswa,

and Ushamba, 2006). In southern Africa, doctors and nurses are in short supply in hospitals and clinics, yet large numbers of them keep migrating to the Gulf, Europe and elsewhere. It has also been reported that small countries like Trinidad, Jamaica and Senegal have had about 75 per cent of all their graduates migrating and that there are more Malawian nurses in Manchester than back in Malawi (Roberts, 2008). Governments of sending countries should look into the reasons why so many people are migrating. Efforts could also be made to attract emigrants back home. Ghana, for example, has increased the wages for its medical staff and now encourages them to work abroad for a certain period to gain overseas experience and then to return (Roberts, 2008).

The migration of unskilled workers, even in large numbers, has not been known to have any major negative effects on sending countries. In fact, Katseli *et al.* (2006) argue that poverty is reduced both for those unskilled workers who stay behind and those who migrate. The remaining low skilled workers are said to become better off due to higher wages, a diminished pool of unemployment or underemployment and shorter waiting times for job vacancies.

In most cases, the public focuses more on the negative side ignoring the good things that the migration process brings with it. On a positive note, migrant workers sent remittances back home to support their families, so that they can buy daily commodities like food, fuel and medication (Pasura, 2008a). Non-monetary gifts like clothes and food are also sent to countries of origin. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), in 2006 Zimbabwe received about US$361m in cash transfers (Roberts, 2008). Since money is sent to Zimbabwe using either formal channels like banks and money transfer companies or informal channels, the amount reported by IFAD does not take into account money sent through family, friends or personal visits. Remittances are an important source of foreign exchange and an effective mechanism of transferring resources from developed to developing countries. While remittances

may help to reduce poverty in sending countries, they can also increase income inequality if migrants are not fairly distributed across all income levels (Russell, 1995). However, various researchers have argued that remittances can also benefit non-migrant households through the multiplier effects of spending (Reynolds, 2008; Small, 2007; Katseli *et al*., 2006; Newland and Patrick, 2004) resulting in, for example, increased employment opportunities and improved social relationships, among other benefits (Small, 2007).

There can also be social and familial implications of migration, for example, the migration of men from the Democratic Republic of Congo, has generally empowered women to take on leadership roles. When their husbands are away, women have to make major family decisions and manage household finances, though it may be challenging to adjust to the new role (Ngondo and Djamba, 2004). It may also result in conflict when they are finally re-united with their husbands since these women will have been used to having power and may then be required to shift the power back to the men or to share it, which may be a problem to the men. Migrants also maintain multiple relations across borders at the familial, social, economic, political, organisational and cultural levels, which help to link countries of origin and host countries. Links that are formed between the sending and receiving countries improve communication, thereby enhancing market activities between the two countries (Katseli *et al*., 2006). According to Lant Pritchett of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, faster global migration is better for poor countries than the combined benefits offered by the foreign aid, debt relief and trade reforms proposed under the Doha development round (Roberts, 2008: 16).

Generally, immigrants have been an important source of labour for developed countries, leading to an increase in economic activity. For countries like the UK that have experienced chronic shortages of workers in certain sectors, immigration has helped them to fill vacancies. The

largest UK employers of overseas workers have been in health and social work and, as a result, the quality of care in nursing and social work has improved to some extent (Bloch, 2005). These immigrants are also prepared to work in agriculture, healthcare and social care which are sectors that most local people look down upon. Lately, research has been directed towards migrants to the UK. Recruitment officers have testified employees from overseas being hardworking, loyal and high quality people (Hussein *et al*., 2010; Community Care, 2004). Unlike most British-born workers, they are also willing to do low status jobs, work in poor conditions and accept low pay (Martell, 2010). A government report also suggested that in 2006, immigration boosted economic output by up to £6 billion a year (Home Office, 2007a). It has also been reported that OECD countries with high rates of immigration have had prolonged economic growth for the past two decades (Roberts, 2008). Liam Byrne, when he was the Immigration Minister, said that, in addition to the contribution made by immigrants to the economy, they also enrich British culture (Byrne, 2007). This contribution by immigrants is difficult to measure but cannot be ignored. Through migration, culture in the UK has become diverse and more exciting (Martell, 2010). You can now find restaurants serving food from all over the world and there has been success in football and other sports with the help of immigrants.

According to Roberts (2008), foreigners also create jobs and wealth as entrepreneurs. Despite immigrants having been reported to bring overall economic benefits, they are still said to put pressure on education, housing and health. Considering that they pay tax contributions, this may however be debatable. In an effort to help migrants settle in the UK, the government is introducing short courses where those weak in English language will be taught basic communication skills for practices such as reporting a fire, seeking First Aid and consumer banking. These new courses are work-focused and will help migrant workers to integrate more

rapidly both at work and in society in general. The government subsidises such courses and is encouraging employers to contribute towards the costs of developing their employees (Frean, 2007). This shows that migration leads to governments of receiving countries incurring more costs.

Community tensions are also known to result in areas that are not used to receiving migrants. A government report highlighting the negative effects of immigration from Eastern European countries found that, from eight regions that were involved in the survey, five mentioned problems of crime, education and disorder, six complained over health, while seven complained over housing (Home Office, 2007b). Chief Constable Mike Fuller, the head of Kent Police has also complained that an increase in migrants has cost his region about £34 million since 2003 due to a rise in violent crime. In recent years, about 80 per cent of all new residents in Kent have been reported to be immigrants (Wright, 2008). Diversity through immigration increases social problems and pressure on public services. In 2007, the then British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, called for 'British jobs for British workers' while David Cameron, the Conservative leader, said that he wanted to see a reduction in immigration (Roberts, 2008: 7). This has been in response to the high immigration rates which have resulted in migrant workers accounting for 12.5 per cent of the UK working age population (Home Office, 2007b). These experiences of being treated like the 'other' is perceived as racial discrimination, especially by African immigrants, with the media and policymakers alleged to be shaping much of the racism in the UK (Pasura, 2010b; Raghuram, 2007). I, therefore, move on to discuss racism as a major consequence that arises in situations of migration in the UK.

Racism

In the past, much research has been devoted to racism in the UK. However, the conceptualisation of racism developed in the twentieth century needs to be reconsidered in terms of contemporary migration (Herbert *et al*., 2008). Emphasis should be placed on the context in which 'new migration' is taking place, taking into account variables like migrants' countries of origin, immigration status and transnational connections, among other factors, that distinguish them from migration in the postwar era (Vertovec, 2006). In order to understand the process of racialisation, it is important to explore everyday experiences of racism, perceptions of what constitutes racism and responses to it, so as to identify the covert and subtle nature of contemporary racism (Essed, 2002 in Herbert *et al*., 2008). Raghuram (2007) talks of the multiple dimensions racism can take, with the most overt forms targeting Muslims and asylum seekers (Pasura, 2010a, 2010 b; Sales, 2005; Silverstein, 2005).

Racism in the workplace has been a key theme among migrants in the UK (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010; Allan *et al*., 2009; Herbert *et al*., 2008; Pasura, 2008a; McGregor, 2007). They report that they are given the less desirable tasks at work, they have their professional qualifications questioned, experience differential treatment (including being victimised), and they have to work extra hard to have their performance recognised. Racial discrimination in the UK has mostly been researched in the healthcare sector, which has in recent years heavily recruited overseas nurses to fill vacancies (Allan *et al.*, 2009; Larsen, 2007, Raghuram, 2007). While claims of racism by social workers in the UK are limited, this might be related to the fact that research in the social care field is only slowly developing. The present study will try to uncover if there has been any experiences of discrimination perceived as racism by the Zimbabwean social workers at work and in the community. Lyons and Huegler (forthcoming) suggest that, with overseas social workers as part of the team, there is a possibility that social service clients may hold

prejudices against an overseas worker's race or ethnicity, making provision of services contentious. Local employees may also not be happy being in a team full of overseas social workers, as indicated by a British Association of Social Workers correspondent (Stevenson, 2009).

A study of Zimbabweans in the UK, by Pasura (2010b), found that all felt that they were being racially discriminated in one way or another. Experiences of racism were blatant for asylum seekers occupying the northern region of the country, who reported that overtly racist remarks were directed at them everyday - including name-calling and racial violence on the streets. Pasura (2010b) suggests that racial abuse is more common in the north of Britain where the Zimbabweans stand out markedly, compared to multicultural cities in the southern part of the country. Racial discrimination in the UK has been reported even by those who have become British citizens, such as the African-Caribbeans (Layton-Henry, 2002). However, contemporary racism has become subtle, with some of it being disguised and institutionalised as standard procedure (Herbert *et al*., 2008; Layton-Henry, 2002).

Racial discrimination goes further than the interpersonal level to include the institutional level (Pasura, 2008a; Larsen, 2007). According to Pasura (2008a), racism in everyday life reinforces institutional discrimination. Institutional racism occurs when an organisation fails to appropriately cater for the professional needs of people because of their colour, ethnic origin or culture (The Macpherson Report, 1999). African and African-Caribbean immigrants have reported experiencing institutional discrimination in trying to gain suitable employment that matches their professional qualifications, or, if they do gain employment, in trying to have their relevant experience acknowledged (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010; Herbert *et al*., 2008; Pasura, 2008a; Brown *et al*., 2007; Layton-Henry, 2002). It has been more than a decade since the Sir

William Macpherson inquiry on the murder of Stephen Lawrence exposed institutionalised racist practices in Britain (The Macpherson Report, 1999). The Labour government in power in the UK until 2010, was taking steps to move away from discriminatory practices towards community cohesion and respect for difference. The Equality Act 2010 that is based on notions of equality, inclusion and participation is an example of UK legislation that is trying to combat racism among other forms of discrimination. While such policies serve to remind people that racism is undesirable in society, Jones (1997 cited in Herbert *et al*., 2008) argues that white people may endorse notions of equality while, at the same time, they continue to retain prejudices and stereotypes of the ethnic minorities.

Although much of the racism that has been reported has been said to involve white people and black people, racism also exists between different groups of immigrants, with white people from the EU, together with other 'white' hidden minorities, being targets of racism (Nagel, 2001). Vasta and Kandilige (2010) talk about 'black on black' racism. African immigrants in their study reported having experienced racist remarks from other black and minority ethnic groups. It is easy to assume that when, for example, Africans and Afro-Caribbean people meet, especially where they are both in a foreign land, they would get along. An account by Sivanandan (1982) shows that in the 1970s and early 1980s, black communities in the UK would come together as one to fight the discrimination and oppression they experienced in the country. Sivanandan (1990) talks about how Africans, African-Caribbeans and Asians had a common cause against racism and imperialism and linked their struggles in Britain to the struggles against colonialism in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. However, tensions have been reported between Africans and African-Caribbeans in recent years (McGregor, 2008; Mwakikagile, 2007). While some immigrants from these communities get along, according to Mwakikagile (2007), there are many

who clash despite having a common African heritage. Sivanandan (1990) blames the notion of ethnicity for creating divisions between black communities. According to this author, the notion of ethnicity reduces them to their constituent parts of being African-Caribbean, Asian and African and, as a result, weakens the struggle against racism. As Pasura (2010b) notes, experiences of racial discrimination greatly influence immigrants' attitude towards returning to their home countries, which leads to the discussion of return migration in the next section.

RETURN MIGRATION

As Vasta and Kandilige (2010) and other scholars argue, racism is a major barrier to migrants feeling a sense of belonging. Due to experiences of social exclusion or being treated as the other, the 'myth of return' is central to immigrants' narratives in the UK (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010; Pasura, 2010b, 2008a; Reynolds, 2008; Small, 2007). However, Dustmann and Weiss (2007) suggest that migrants usually return to their home countries because the return on human capital acquired in a foreign country is usually higher at home, the purchasing power of the host country currency is higher at home and preferences for consumption at home are strong. Also, as people get older, they prefer the way of life in their home countries. Jamaican return migrants as classified by Small (2007) are said to fall into a number of distinct groups. Some migrants will return to their original country after retirement, others will have been made redundant due to restructuring, re-engineering or downsizing by companies they would have worked for. There are also those migrants who will make decisions to go back home and look for employment or to establish their own businesses and enjoy the benefits of having worked overseas. This shows that return migration is one potential way that sending countries can benefit from migration. Successful African-Caribbean people studied by Small (2007) mostly maintained links that allowed them to accumulate capital and assets in their home countries. According to Bloch

(2005), when migrants return to their home countries they will in most cases transfer skills and the experience that they will have gained while working overseas. This should be a real benefit to those who return to Africa from developed countries, like the social workers in this study.

Dustmann and Weiss (2007) argue that most migrations are temporary rather than permanent. In support of this, they say that taking the population of immigrants who are still in the UK one year later as the base, about 40 per cent of all male migrants and 55 per cent of all female migrants have left Britain five years later. This percentage should get even higher if migrants who return much later than after five years are to be considered. The propensity to return, however, differs with communities. Even though return migration has been said to be common in Europe, there has been little evidence of return migration to Africa (Connell *et al*., 2007; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007). Moriarty *et al*. (2008) notes that while social workers from countries like Australia and New Zealand are likely to return to their countries of origin, those from India, South Africa and Zimbabwe are less likely to. Usually when Africans come to the UK, they try to bring their families with them so as to make their stay as permanent as possible (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming; Pasura, 2008a). However, Abye (2007) reports that a number of Ethiopian emigrants invested in financial and social capital and returned to their home country as entrepreneurs. Pasura (2008b) also discovered that some of the male Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK had gone back to their home country, especially in situations where changing gender roles and relations had resulted in women earning more and hence, being more powerful. A survey carried out by Bloch (2005) on Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK and South Africa showed that two-thirds of the respondents would like to return to Zimbabwe and live there at some point. Most of those that did not have close family members in Zimbabwe and those that had acquired their citizenship status in either South Africa or the UK were less willing to return.

These return migrants are however known to face problems at governmental, societal and domestic levels (Williams, 2007; Chamberlain, 2006). After living in a foreign country for years, immigrants are likely to have problems re-integrating into their home countries. Considering the way the British culture is different from the African culture, a Zimbabwean going back home will probably be dressing differently, will have different priorities and different ways of coping with the Zimbabwean way of life. Some of the respondents in Marger (2006) showed concern of the social gaps that had formed between themselves and their home countries, such that they now felt like strangers if they visited home. A South African who had been living in Canada for fourteen years emphasised his commitment to the host country by saying:

> I don't even see myself as being South African anymore, or having been in South Africa, having lived in South Africa. I have been back once. I have no desire to go back… (Marger, 2006: 888).

There is a reintegration fund that is available for Zimbabweans who wish to go back under a voluntary return scheme, operated by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in partnership with the Home Office (Webber, 2010). Despite the survival struggles experienced by undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK (Mupedziswa, 2009b; Pasura, 2008a), participation in this voluntary scheme has generally been low (Webber, 2010). Even though the amount of cash available for voluntary return assistance was increased from £4,000 to £6,000 beginning of 2009, less than a hundred Zimbabweans had signed up for voluntary return by August 2009. In October 2009, the reintegration assistance was changed from in-kind to cash so as to try and increase the number of immigrants volunteering to return to their home countries (op. cit.). This scheme has, however, had a number of success stories, for example, Mrs V is said to be running a successful restaurant and a payphone business ever since returning from the UK in 2004. She however insists that life is equally tough there in Zimbabwe (SAMP, 2006). While

governments in receiving countries and some supporting organisations like the IOM are doing their best to support return migrants and prepare them for reintegration into their home societies, Williams (2007) gives a narrative account of the emotional and psychological challenges that he encountered as a return migrant to Jamaica after living in England for thirty years. In the past, researchers have studied migration and return migration as separate journeys. Small (2007) suggests, however, that emigration and return migration are connected processes and therefore should not be analysed as separate phenomena. As a result, the Zimbabwean social workers' attitude towards return migration will be part of their migration stories. It is important to note that these social workers are likely to be well settled in the UK, with professional jobs and a regular stay, therefore, it will be interesting to find out their thoughts on returning to live in Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

Social work as a profession in Zimbabwe was introduced during the colonial period and social welfare services discriminated against the black majority. Instead, the indigenous Zimbabwean population relied on their extended family for support. After independence, the Zimbabwean government invested in the social welfare department, among others, in an effort to redress past social injustices experienced under white colonial rule. However, due to heavy spending on social sectors like health, education and social services, the Zimbabwean economy began to suffer in the late 1980s and had to implement the World Bank and IMF-imposed Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991. Devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, the removal of subsidies and the lifting of price controls, as some of the ESAP policies, resulted in increased inflation which eroded people's income. As a result, poverty increased to levels never experienced before and the number of social service clients also increased. Social work practice

in Zimbabwe suffered, due to lack of resources, as the government had to reduce public expenditure. The controversial land reform launched in 2000 led to the eventual collapse of the Zimbabwean economy, which had been agriculture based. A review of the Zimbabwean situation shows that ESAP, land reform and political tension seem to have done more harm than good, resulting in increased poverty for the majority of people and isolation from the international community where help for African countries usually originates. Due to the social, economic and political problems in the country, a number of Zimbabweans had to use migration as a survival strategy.

Meanwhile, shortages in the social work profession in the UK led to UK local authorities and recruitment agencies launching recruitment campaigns in developing countries like Zimbabwe. This demand for social care professionals made it easier for Zimbabwean social workers to leave their country en masse, in search of greener pastures in the UK. There have been reports of racial tension by immigrants in the UK, especially in the workplace and, also by the media, which has served to remind immigrants of how unwelcome they are. This marginalisation might be the reason why the 'myth of return' is an integral feature of migrants' stories. Yet, while local people may complain that migrants are taking their jobs, some of these immigrants are genuinely filling gaps where there are labour shortages, like the Zimbabwean social workers in this study. These overseas social workers, however, are likely to face challenges associated with practising social work in a foreign country. These challenges include cultural differences, transferability of skills, language barriers and unfamiliar legislation.

Loss of social workers from developing countries has raised ethical concerns which led to the formulation of the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment in 2006. However, the effectiveness of this Code in regulating the recruitment of overseas social care professionals

has been questioned as it is a voluntary Code. In recent years, the UK government has implemented several initiatives like setting up the Social Work Task Force and upgrading the social work qualification to degree level, among other efforts to try and increase the number of 'home-grown' social workers and also improve retention levels within local authorities. Up to now, the shortage of social workers remains a problem, especially within children and family services. UK local authorities continue to recruit from abroad. It is the migration experiences of these overseas social workers that this thesis is trying to address using social capital theory, as discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUALISING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

While Chapter Two discussed the context in which the migration of the Zimbabwean social workers from Zimbabwe to the UK took place, this chapter looks at theoretical approaches to conceptualising migration. Most social capital theorists (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986) have agreed that being a member of a social network allows one access to more resources. Social capital theory is introduced as an important addition to mainstream migration theories. The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on social capital, mainstream migration theories and related concepts including transnationalism and diaspora. Social capital as a concept is explored and linked to migration in an attempt to contribute to an understanding of the role played by social capital throughout the migration process as experienced by Zimbabwean social workers in the current study.

The first section focuses on social capital as a conceptual framework upon which this study is based, the different components of social capital and how it has been classified into different categories. I move on to discuss mainstream migration theories and how they have not explicitly talked about social capital yet. In the following section I then look at the transition migrants go through in a foreign country, adapting the transition cycle from Williams (1999) to describe migrants' experiences. A focus on transnationalism as one of the most recent developments in migration literature follows, including a discussion of the debate on whether transnationalism came to replace adaptation strategies like integration and assimilation. The literature review ends by introducing the concept of diaspora and how some researchers have used it to classify Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK. Based on gaps identified in literature, the chapter closes

with a section on research aims and questions. I now turn to the discussion of social capital theory and its relevance to migration.

SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

The history of social capital dates back to the early twentieth century when L. Judson Hanifan, an educator and young reformer in the United Sates developed the term. Hanifan encouraged people to strengthen networks with each other as that was the only way he considered they could reduce the social, political and economic problems that were apparent in their communities (Putnam and Goss, 2002). Ever since then, the concept has been applied by many scholars (Du Plessis, 2006), with the most recent literature having been built upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam who are a French sociologist, an American sociologist and an American political scientist respectively. Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan make use of this expanding literature to summarise the concept of social capital:

> The basic idea of social capital is that a person's family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain. What is true for individuals, moreover, also holds for groups. Those communities endowed with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations are in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes, and take advantage of new opportunities (Putnam and Goss, 2002: 6).

Although there have been concerns with regard to the concept, the various definitions, according to Haddad and Maluccio (2003) have three major similarities:

- Individual social interactions are central to social capital,
- Social capital generates externalities, and

- Information transmission, establishment of trust and the development of norms of collaboration are the mechanisms behind social capital.

Understanding what undermines or builds social capital is important when trying to understand the impact of social capital on the lives of the Zimbabwean social workers under study. It is these social capital building blocks that I explore in the following section.

Components of Social Capital

The major components of social capital, which according to Putnam (1993) are social networks, trust and norms, have been termed 'moral resources' by Albert Hirschman who explains that the supply of such resources increases with use and becomes depleted if not used. Many authors have stressed the importance of networks in generating social capital (Reynolds, 2006; McKenzie, 2003; OECD, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1993). For migrants, these social networks may take the form of friendship, kinship, ethnic ties, cultural ties through a common history, shared regional dialects and geographic affiliations (Chen, 2000). These can help individual migrants in finding jobs, accommodation and for psychological support (Vertovec, 2001). Researchers have also emphasised the importance of social networks when it comes to coping with migration (Galchenko and van de Vijver, 2007; Andreotti, 2006; Zlobina *et al.*, 2006; Graham and Thurston, 2005; Halcón *et al.*, 2004; Kosic, 2004; Ward and Kennedy, 2001; Dunn, 2000). Networks are useful in shaping and sustaining migration by reducing costs, exchanging expertise and information, and facilitating the adaptation of migrants in the host society. Social networks improve the access of migrants to tangible and intangible resources like finance and information respectively. They also provide channels for moral support, political mobilisation and empowerment in general and are important mechanisms that facilitate socio-economic transactions (Kubursi, 2006).

Trust is an important element of social capital and forms the basis of cohesive and reciprocal societies. It is defined by Fukuyama (1995:26), as 'the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and co-operative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community'. It entails a willingness to take risks in a social context. Putnam (1993) gives an example of rotating credit associations which have flourished in both developed and developing countries based on trust. They are also accompanied by strong norms that help to minimise the risk of default. Evidence has shown that investing in relationships and institutions pays off. A good example is the Grameen-type credit agencies that started in Bangladesh. Such micro-credit lending agencies are based on trust and social solidarity and they have proved to be quite effective in reaching the poor. The credit default rate of these schemes has been minimal in developing countries (World Bank, 2005). In these schemes, social capital comes from the trust that each member has that no participant will drop out after they receive their pooled funds (Portes, 1998). Another example of mutual benefits obtained from trust is the ability to buy and sell products on eBay (Frean, 2005). It is the trust component of social capital that makes first time migrants depend on information they get from their friends and family who migrated earlier (Massey and Aysa, 2005).

Putnam talks about how trust can be spread in horizontal social networks in such a way that you end up trusting a friend's friend. In the civic regions of Italy, trust has worked to facilitate co-operation between different groups like the legislature and the executive, workers and managers, government and the private sector, where otherwise it could have been very costly or even impossible to achieve (Putnam, 1993). However surveys on trust, according to Helliwell (2003:10), ' have found people to be generally less trusting in communities where mobility is high, where population density is great, where ethnic diversity is greater, and where immigrant

densities are higher'. This means that it may take longer for immigrants to establish trust as they develop ties with people from other communities (Devo, 2006). It will be interesting to find out how the Zimbabwean social workers as a group manage to develop trust between them and other groups in the UK.

Social capital theorists have also centred on social norms as an essential component of social capital. Norms arise mainly due to the externalities that result from social capital (Putnam, 1993). Norms, obligations and expectations as important elements of social capital (Coleman, 1988) have an important bearing on the migration process. While immigrants from Africa may be tempted to live with their partners before marriage, this is not acceptable in most African countries. This shows that social capital through norms can restrict individual freedom. Some Indian women immigrants in the UK may also be tempted to wear casual clothes, like trousers and T-shirt, which is not readily acceptable in their culture. Shaw (2000), in Mand (2006), talks about how Asian families in the UK refusing marriage offers from Pakistan, which is their traditional practice, are viewed as having lost their values. Pasura (2008a) talks about how most Zimbabwean women in the UK conform to the cultural norm of not going to pubs. The author also reported to have found it disturbing when he saw a Zimbabwean woman smoking, at some point, while he was carrying out his research, as this is against the Zimbabwean culture. In such cases, social capital consists of norms that are a form of social control, encouraging people in a community to behave in a way that is approved by the society to which they belong (Coleman, 1990, 1988). Fears of disapproval may compel individuals to comply with the norms of society.

It is likely that, while first generation immigrants, like the Zimbabwean social workers in the present study, may find it easier to stick to their original norms and values, subsequent generations will be influenced by the norms both of their home countries and their host countries.

There are, however, other norms that are not culture-specific like reciprocity. Reciprocity as a social norm refers to a mutual relationship that involves expectations of individuals that, if they receive help today, they should return the favour tomorrow (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1988). This means that immigrants who receive help upon arrival in a foreign country are expected by their communities to help future immigrants. Failure to comply will result in sanctions being imposed against the non-conforming members such as, for example, not offering them any further assistance in future (Coleman, 1990). Putnam (1993) has questioned the ability of vertical networks to sustain social trust. Lack of trust in social networks may result in defection, shirking, exploitation, isolation, disorder, stagnation and many other negative effects (op. cit.). Research on social capital has rarely addressed issues of social norms and reciprocity when migrants form ties with more distant people like other nationals or receiving country institutions. In this study, the ability of vertical networks formed by the Zimbabwean social workers to sustain trust and norms of reciprocity is examined.

Studies of social capital have emerged from two main research traditions. One focuses on the utility of social capital for individual actors, that is, how individuals access and mobilise resources embedded in social networks to attain personal goals. The other focus is on the utility of social capital for collective actors, whereby participation in groups and associations enhances shared goals (Putnam, 2000). The two research traditions diverge at the level of analysis and the consequences of interest, i.e. individual achievement versus collective achievement, yet both have the same conceptual basis that social networks result in the accumulation of social capital. In the following section, the individual and collective elements of social capital are discussed.

Individual and Collective Social Capital

People usually migrate as individuals (Massey and Aysa, 2005; Ngondo and Djamba, 2004) leading to a higher chance of individual social capital being important during migration and its early stages. Massey and Aysa (2005) discovered that migration from Mexico to the US was heavily influenced by individual social capital where having a wife, a child, a sibling or a parent in the United States increased the likelihood of an individual migrating. Through individual social capital, migrants can access information, obtain accommodation and even get employment (Bauer, 2009; Aguilera, 2005; Massey and Aysa, 2005; Bagchi, 2001; Vertovec, 2001). Coleman (1990) and Bourdieu (1986) both used individuals or small groups as their units of analysis for social capital while focusing on benefits that result from having social ties. Classifying social capital into individual or collective social capital will be helpful in identifying the resources available to the Zimbabwean social workers through their connections as individuals and as a group.

As individual migrants join each other in destination countries and become families or communities, collective social capital is formed. The Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group has undertaken research investigating how social capital is constituted within the families and communities of different UK immigrant groups, concentrating on Italian, Caribbean and South Asian migrants (Reynolds, 2008; Mand, 2006; Reynolds, 2006; Zontini, 2006; Goulbourne and Solomos, 2004). It will also be interesting to find out how the Zimbabwean social workers in this study maintain or recreate family social capital in the UK. Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1997) argue that features of contemporary society, migration included, undermine social capital within the family and the wider community as social relations are torn apart. However, several researchers point out that social capital within the families and

communities of UK immigrants continues to exist and to heavily influence migrants' lives (Holland *et al*., 2007; Mand, 2006; Reynolds, 2006; Zontini, 2006). Reynolds (2006) observed that, although there is a continuous trend of Caribbean people migrating from their countries, they still maintain strong family networks despite the distance. These networks may become weaker with successive generations but they do not completely disappear. Improved technology like the internet, mobile phones and electronic money-transfer facilities, together with reduced transport costs, allow more communication and interaction, strengthening ties in the process.

Social capital constituted within families and communities is differentially related to aspects of migrants' lives like gender, age, ethnicity and social class (Holland *et al.,* 2007). Although literature on social capital has tended to ignore gender issues (Frean, 2005), men and women may benefit differently from their social ties. In the past few years, researchers have increasingly promoted gender awareness in social capital issues (Holland *et al*., 2007; Mand, 2006; Aguilera, 2005; Zontini, 2004; Edwards *et al*., 2003). While some studies cited in Aguilera (2005) have reported that men benefit more from social capital compared to women, Aguilera (2005) finds, on the contrary, that access to social capital by Puerto Rican women immigrants in the United States increased their wages and not their fellow men's wages. He concludes that women are likely to benefit as much from social capital as men; however, it could be that women benefit from different forms of social capital than their male counterparts. The gendered nature of social capital is explored in more detail with reference to Zimbabwean social workers in this study.

Stodolska and Santos (2006) talk, for example, about a Mexican immigrant in the US who shares an apartment with other Mexicans. In such a situation social capital has both an individual and a community attribute (McKenzie, 2003). By sharing, the man concerned will be saving more money for his individual needs while he is also helping others to meet their own needs. Common

interest or a common problem can lead to migrants coming together as a group to make use of social capital for the benefit of their community. Immigrants can form dense networks and help each other in their small groups. The larger the groups and the more dense the social ties, then the more social capital available. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) point out how social capital can create opportunities and constraints for individual migrants. Immigrants who face discrimination based on phenotypic differences are likely to come together to have a sense of community. For example, early Caribbean migrants to the UK, who were subjected to discrimination, economic deprivation and powerlessness, relied on each other as a community to create solidarity and reinforce their identities (Small, 2007: 378). In some cases, social capital can be negative and make excess claims on community members (Edwards *et al.*, 2003; Portes and Landolt, 2000). Portes and Landolt (2000) give examples of businessmen in Bali who ended up bankrupt due to the fact that they constantly had to assist members of their community who kept looking for jobs and loans and Catholic businessmen in the Ecuadorian highlands who experienced negative social capital in the form of constant requests to finance religious ceremonies and provide food for the community. In the migratory context, having a friend or relative who has recently migrated may mean that you have to accommodate them, give them food and help them look around for a job, which might mean going over your usual monthly budget. In some cases, people end up giving to others out of moral obligation and solidarity (Zontini, 2006). While social capital is enabling, it can also be limiting in the sense that those people who do not have the privilege of accessing certain resources are excluded from securing them. It is by nature exclusive and divisive (Portes and Landolt, 2000).

According to Siles *et al.* (2006), participating in local development projects allows for the creation of extended networks that develop based on people who live in the same community

having common characteristics. These characteristics may not be realised until people work together in organised community events. Putnam (2000) found that social capital gets people involved in group activities and that, such activities have a significant positive impact on individuals and the community in general, making everyone happier, healthier and more productive. Such networks facilitate co-ordination and communication, amplify reputations, and thus allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved. Newland and Patrick (2004) talk of a 'dense web of ties' that can be developed by immigrants as groups. Immigrants can participate in different organisations, including associations of migrants from the same locality, ethnic affinity groups, alumni associations, religious organisations, charitable organisations, political parties, humanitarian relief organisations, clubs for the preservation of culture and developmental non-governmental organisations (Pasura, 2010a, 2008b; Newland and Patrick, 2004). When immigrants interact at such levels, the social capital formed extends beyond the individual and family. Besides serving the community, this kind of social capital can also be mobilised to serve national and international purposes as groups of immigrants develop communities they left behind or invest in their country of origin. In some cases, individuals will gain resources from social capital at the expense of the community or some individuals will have more access than others. The connection between individual and collective social capital becomes confusing when social capital has opposite effects for individuals and communities (Portes and Landolt, 2000). Community members who have larger social networks are also likely to have greater control over social structures (Portes and Landolt, 2000). This shows the power that social capital can have as a tool for social control (Coleman, 1990). The extent to which social capital is mobilised for individual or collective purposes by a sample of Zimbabwean social workers is addressed in this research.

Bourdieu's (1986) approach to social capital concentrated on class-based power conflict, while Coleman (1990) was more concerned with the attainment of goals through social consensus and control. However, both these major theorists of social capital concentrated on its relationship with individuals and families, with Bourdieu focusing on the promotion of inequality through the transmission and accumulation of social capital and Coleman on the impact of contemporary society (Edwards *et al*., 2003). Putnam (2000, 1993) was more concerned with social capital in the context of communities and nations, rather than families, but still acknowledged the family as an important social capital unit. His focus has been largely on collective social capital, with more attention given to networks of civil society and governments. Putnam (2000) expressed his concern over the decline of social capital in the United States and the impact this has had upon people's health, education, happiness and well-being in general. He found the decline evident through the drop in associational activity and the ever-growing distance from families, neighbours, communities and democratic structures. While Putnam (2000) was concerned about the decline of social capital, which he measured mainly by 'civicness', he did not acknowledge that social capital may have taken other forms, as pointed out by (Edwards *et al*., 2003), like for example virtual social capital (see p.91) utilised through internet use (Gibson and McAllister, 2009; Ferlander and Timms, 2007). Considering that social capital is complex in nature and may periodically change forms, the measurement of social capital is beyond the scope of this study. However, the following section refers briefly to how other researchers have measured social capital, before moving on to the classification of social capital which is useful in understanding how the Zimbabwean social workers have traded some forms of social capital for more beneficial ones in their quest to settle and lead a successful career in the UK (see Chapter Seven).

Measuring social capital

Some researchers have raised concerns about how slippery social capital is as a concept (Molyneux, 2002) and how it has been applied in too many disciplines, resulting in its almost losing meaning (Portes, 1998). McKenzie (2003) considers social capital to be both an individual and community attribute but raises conceptual and statistical difficulties. The strategies required for investigating and understanding individual and group effects are different. 'In one sentence, social capital is an asset of intact families; in the next, it is an attribute of networks o4f traders; and in the following, it becomes the explanation of why entire cities are well governed and economically flourishing' (Portes and Landolt, 2000:535). Initially, social capital was regarded as important because of the benefits it yielded to individuals, then, confusingly, it became an attribute of communities and nations.

'Where social capital has been measured to date, it has often been done so using questionable measures' (Stone, 2001: viii). In some cases, outcomes of social capital have been used as indicators. Stone (2001) divides social capital indicators into two, namely 'proximal' and 'distal' indicators. Proximal indicators are meant to measure core components of social capital like networks, trust and reciprocity. A good example of a proximal indicator is Putnam's (2000) analysis where he uses civic engagement to measure social networks. Distal indicators are not directly related to the key components of social capital and may include life expectancy, family income and crime rates.

In a study to explore the relationship between levels of firearm ownership and social capital undertaken by Hemenway *et al*. (2001), social capital was measured using mutual trust and civic engagement among community members. Civic engagement can either be formal or informal. Formal civic engagement activities include volunteer work, attending club meetings, community

projects and church services. Informal civic engagement measures include attending football matches, playing cards with friends, giving or attending dinner parties and so on. An empirical study carried out in Tanzania, which measured social capital in terms of membership of groups, showed that village-level social capital was a key contributor to the welfare of households, all other things being constant (World Bank, 2005). The confusion on how to measure social capital is increased by the fact that some researchers have viewed it as an individual attribute, some as a household level resource while others consider it to be collective. There is still no consensus on the most appropriate level of aggregation with which to measure social capital (Mitchell and Bossert, 2007). However, this research is more interested in the qualitative nature of social capital than in its measurable quantity, hence the importance of the classification of social capital below.

Forms of Social Capital

Putnam (2000:22-24) divides social capital into bonding and bridging social capital, while Woolcock (2001:13) adds linking social capital to the classification. Bonding social capital is said to be generally inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups, while bridging social capital is outward looking and brings together people from different social structures, creating for them broader identities. Linking social capital refers to the relations between different social strata in a hierarchy, where power, social status and wealth are accessed by different groups (Talbot and Walker, 2007). Instead of treating social capital in general terms, the above classification is adopted in this study to establish if any particular type has been more useful for the Zimbabwean social workers at certain times than others. It is also important to establish whether the different forms of social capital are as fixed as this classification suggests. The different categories have, indeed, proved not to be mutually

exclusive. Chatting on the internet, for example, has both a bonding and bridging effect in that it may bond people with the same interests and way of thinking while bridging across geography, gender, age and religion. The internet may also be used to create linking social capital in situations where an individual becomes a member of an institution by joining on-line or makes use of institutional facilities on-line.

When migrants arrive in a foreign country they are likely to concentrate on forming bonding social capital, creating networks with people in the same social class. This could be through family members who migrated earlier, making new friends with people from the home country and joining ethnic-based organisations. These family or friendship ties form bonding social capital that is used to provide the accommodation, food and information required to settle in a foreign country (Abye, 2007). According to Helliwell (2003), bonding social capital can be so intense that small neighbourhoods in Toronto can have as many migrants from an Italian village as are left in that village back in Italy. Also, friends and relatives of initial immigrants will use the same travel agent, go and live in the same street and do the same job. However, immigrants are likely to limit their opportunities to develop if they rely mostly on bonding social capital, due to its limited capacity. When the UK government was heavily training and recruiting healthcare professionals, many Zimbabweans migrated to the UK to train or work as nurses. Zimbabwean immigrants who were not trained as nurses resorted to working as health care assistants (McGregor, 2007; Mbiba, 2004), while some of them even changed their profession to become healthcare professionals like earlier migrants. Information must have circulated that it is easier for an immigrant to get work as a nurse in the UK and that the long-term contracts offered would eventually lead to citizenship. According to Aguilera (2005), it usually necessitates living in an area for a long time or participating in local labour markets to obtain certain employment-related

information. However, the utilisation of social capital can make such information easily accessible, even for immigrants recently arrived in the host country.

Despite most research having concentrated on the importance of bonding social capital (Mand, 2006; Zontini, 2006; Massey and Aysa, 2005), some authors have implied that bridging social capital is in many circumstances more valuable (Cheong *e*t *al*., 2007; Aguilera, 2005; Putnam and Goss, 2002; Putnam, 1998; Granovetter, 1973). Bonding social capital among ethnic minority groups is considered less desirable by some owing to the possibility of its discouraging the incorporation of immigrants into mainstream society (Cheong *et al*., 2007), falling short when different groups are involved (Favell, 2003), producing more negative externalities compared to bridging networks (Putnam and Goss, 2002) or, in some cases, providing immigrants with information they already possess (Aguilera, 2005, Granovetter, 1973). As a result, bridging social capital is argued to be superior as it is 'public-regarding' in purpose, and generates rich social capital that benefits communities (Putnam and Goss, 2002; Putnam, 1998). However, Mand (2006) argues, with reference to South Asian families, that migration is a household decision and that social capital through kinship and ethnic ties is an important aspect of it. Migrants rely mostly on family and friends to obtain information prior to migration and for support upon arrival in a foreign country. Ethnic networks have proved to be useful for Chinese restaurant owners in Germany, for example (Leung, 2004). When migrant entrepreneurs arrive in Germany, they have to face and overcome multiple layers of policy controls. Networks of informal help provide cheap labour, raise start-up capital, pass on information about regulations and current business conditions, and much more. Chinese cultural associations, Chinese language schools, social gatherings, annual festivals and other official functions provide venues where

information is exchanged, recruitment is arranged and venture capital is raised. The Chinese community in general is an important source of information (op. cit.).

Bridging social capital as defined by Putnam (2000) is formed among migrants when particular individuals make friends with people from other ethnic groups and also through networks created with acquaintances and business associates, among others. This type of social capital results in weaker ties being formed with people from other countries or colleagues at work. Migrants are likely to find it more challenging to establish bridging networks compared to bonding ones. However, bridging social capital provided Puerto Rican migrants in the United States with more diverse information on US labour market conditions, while linking social capital gave them access to employers within the formal labour market, something they could not have achieved through relying on bonding social capital alone (Aguilera, 2005). Generally, migration literature has paid less attention to social capital formed outside ones close networks (bridging and linking social capital). The present study addresses this gap in literature by paying particular attention to the role of weak ties in the narratives given by the Zimbabwean social workers.

Amongst those migrants who have to search for jobs, some resort to using linking social capital, as in Aguilera (2005). Instead of relying on bonding or bridging social capital, immigrants may make use of employment agencies. Linking social capital also becomes important when immigrants want help from local government, health care services, financial or legal institutions. Kosic and Triandafylliaou (2003) discuss immigrants forming relationships with institutions in the receiving country. Immigrants may consult legal advice bodies or, in some cases, their local Member of Parliament (MP) for advice regarding immigration issues. In the United Kingdom, it is relatively easy for immigrants to gain access to mortgages, loans and health care and linking social capital comes into play in such processes. Changing one's immigration status to become a

citizen in a foreign country also requires investing in linking social capital. Immigrants may have to meet particular pre-requisites or fulfil particular requirements. In such a case, bonding and bridging social capital will become insufficient. Immigrants will have to establish themselves and create networks in the host country which may take more or less time depending on the individual's character and exposure and also on the attitude of host communities, as emphasized by Helliwell (2003). Through linking social capital, immigrants may influence the policy environment in the country of destination. In an effort to build bridging and linking social capital immigrants may become involved in formal or informal civic engagement as previously discussed (pp.69-70). The Zimbabwean social workers in this study may achieve this by participating in, for example, black and minority ethnic groups or research projects like the current one.

Organisations formed by immigrants, like home town associations (Newland and Patrick, 2004), promote the creation of mostly bonding social capital and to some extent bridging social capital. A home town association is formed when immigrants from the same town or village in the country of origin come together to support one other and also collectively to participate in activities that help to develop the communities back in their home country. It is important to distinguish organisations created by immigrants coming together under their own initiative from organisations created for them, and the different social capital that they encompass. Social capital can extend beyond the creation of networks by individuals to include the social and political environments that shape social structures and bind civil society (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). There is, for example, a London-based charity organisation called the African Foundation for Development (AFFORD) which serves to connect Africans for the purpose of developing their countries, and the Department for International Development (DfID) also

supports a network for black and minority ethnic people by mobilizing civil society (Newland and Patrick, 2004). Such organisations promote the formation of bonding and linking social capital. Through AFFORD, African immigrants in the UK are being offered access to a course on fundraising and resource mobilisation. While such organisations promote the formation of civil societies among Africans, they also result in the exclusion of other people and, in some cases, members with more power may use social capital for their own personal interests. Issues of power and inequality, as initially suggested by Bourdieu (1986), can also be relevant in migration. If people are not members of wider networks, which is usually the case with immigrants, their access to other forms of social capital will be restricted. In such circumstances, social capital acts as a constraint to excluded members (Portes and Landolt, 2000; Portes, 1998).

Bourdieu (1986) also suggests that social capital is fungible, that is, it can be converted to other forms of capital and the different forms of capital can easily be traded for each other. This might be evident even when people migrate, where, in the initial migration stages, bonding social capital formed through friends and relatives may be more important for food, accommodation and general information, with bridging and linking social capital taking over in later stages when migrants seek mortgages and professional development, for example. Immigrants could therefore be faced with the challenge of accumulating as much social capital as they can upon arrival in the host country, or at least trading less useful forms for more useful ones. Despite earlier suggestions that migration results in a decline in social capital (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1990), this remains questionable. This research seeks to explore the ability of the Zimbabwean social workers under study to create social capital throughout the migration process. In the following section, a critique of migration theories is presented bringing out the significance of social capital from the point of deciding to migrate onwards.

MIGRATION THEORIES

A thorough literature review (Kubursi, 2006; Lee *et al*., 2005; Ngondo and Djamba, 2004; Rotte and Vogler, 1998; Russell, 1995; Stahl, 1995; Massey *et al*., 1993) of migration 'push-pull' factors identified neo-classical, 'new economics of migration', dual labour market and world systems as the mainstream migration theories, hence the following discussion will focus on these four. These theories will be matched against the reasons the Zimbabwean social workers give for their migration to see to what extent they apply or fall short, in an effort to contribute to migration theory.

The neo-classical approach explains that international migration is caused mainly by differences between economic benefits in the country of origin and the host country (Lee *et al*., 2005). Neo-classical macro-economists view migration as being caused by wage differentials between two areas. People tend to migrate from countries where labour is abundant and wages are therefore low to countries where labour is scarce and wages are high. Neo-classical theory 'focuses on market and wage inequalities and ignores the fact that migration is a complex phenomenon with multi-level dynamics' (Ngondo and Djamba, 2004: 9). The neo-classical theory of migration does not talk about migration costs and social capital, yet they play an important role in migration. For migrants to know about the wage differentials in different countries they have to invest in social capital. As Portes and Bach (1985:10) put it, migration, 'can be conceptualized as a process of network building, which depends on and, in turn, reinforces social relationships across space'. Social capital is important for migrants when it comes to finding jobs, accommodation and information about the host country, circulating goods and services and obtaining emotional support. Also, not all people who have migrated have had better lifestyles in the host countries. There are many cases where skilled Zimbabwean migrants

have had to resort to other jobs that do not require their professional qualifications (McGregor, 2007; Mbiba, 2004). In such a situation, the neo-classical theory of migration becomes weak.

The 'new economics of migration' theory looks at households and decisions that they make as a strategy for risk diversification. According to this explanation, decisions are made in social units like the household or family, not on an individual basis. Migration is considered to minimise risks to family income or to overcome capital constraints (Lee *et al*., 2005). Its emphasis is on minimising risks through diversification to ensure survival. This means that only some of the people from a particular household migrate, while others remain in home countries participating in economic activities, as in Ngondo and Djamba (2004) where husbands would go to look for work while the rest of the family remained behind. Investing in social capital can also minimise risks by creating more opportunities. As a strategy, household members could migrate within national borders, for example from rural areas to towns as some Zimbabweans used to do (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002), or from smaller towns to bigger ones. While the 'new economics of migration' theory may vaguely consider bonding social capital in the form of family networks, it ignores wider bonding social capital and also bridging and linking social capital. Strategies to diversify risks can be formulated within local communities without thinking of international migration. In fact, migration is itself a risky business. Immigrants may find it difficult to establish networks in a foreign country, as previously suggested by Coleman (1990). While it may be relatively easy to create these networks and establish trust amongst people from the same country or ethnic background, the issue of developing trust within and across communities will be explored further in this study.

As observed by Abye (2007), in Ethiopia when one member of a family migrates, the others usually follow. He also found that the economically active ones are bound to migrate first. This

research will try to establish what the migration pattern has been like for the Zimbabwean social workers: whether the economically active people left first and then the entire family followed, whether the whole family came together or maybe the rest of the family members have remained in Zimbabwe. According to Ngondo and Djamba (2004), instead of the family or household making decisions as a unit, in most cases husbands impose decisions on their wives and children. Household members are therefore constantly involved in power struggles and, at the end of the day, the most powerful member is likely to make the decisions. Abye (2007) points out that Ethiopian immigrants generally rely on family networks. This means that they form mostly bonding capital, which tends to be restrictive at times. Bridging capital as defined by Putnam (2000) is formed by migrants when they make friends with local people, people from other ethnic groups and also through networks created with acquaintances and business associates, among others.

Dual labour market theory suggests that international migration is caused by the demand for foreign labour. Companies in receiving countries request workers from sending countries. Immigration is therefore not caused by push factors like low wages or unemployment in sending countries but by pull factors like an unavoidable need for foreign workers in receiving countries (Lee *et al*., 2005). According to Portes (1997), workers migrate to developed countries less because they want to and more because they are needed there. Social and historical forces contribute to the scarcity of labour in these developed countries. Initially, it was believed that workers recruited overseas were placed at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. United States companies, for example, would send recruiters to Mexico to bring back workers (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996 in Abye, 2007). Low status and low income jobs that the local people did not

want to do were the ones that were filled by these foreign workers. This migration pattern seems to be fading away and, now, overseas staff can also be found doing reasonable jobs.

Even though dual labour market theory does not talk about social capital, linking social capital contributes to migration when employment agencies recruit migrants in their countries and bring them over to the host country, as UK recruitment agencies have done in Zimbabwe (Batty, 2003). Linking social capital is also utilised when people intending to migrate consult with travel agencies and overseas recruitment agencies in their home countries for advice. Besides the fact that dual labour market theory does not take social capital into account, the need for foreign labour may not be the only cause for migration from developing to developed countries, as this research intends to explore. Abye (2007:341) has also said that, 'immigrants as a whole are the most affected by unemployment in a receiving country'. Abye's argument weakens the dual labour market theory. When immigrants arrive in a foreign country they undergo a 'transition period' where they have to adjust to the new environment. This contributes to the higher rates of unemployment among immigrants, compared to the local people. In 2001 the unemployment rate of recent immigrants in one Canadian study, those who had been in the country for less than five years, was 12.7 per cent compared to 7.4 per cent of the Canadian-born population. The unemployment rate for those who had been in Canada for less than five months was about 30 per cent (Lochhead, 2003). Considering that Lochhead says that Canadian immigration policy is favourable to international workers, unemployment rates among immigrants are likely to be still higher in other countries. In Norway, the unemployment rate of immigrants is three times higher than that of non-immigrants and has been for a long time (Statistics Norway, 2007). These statistics further weaken the argument of the dual labour market theory.

According to **world systems theory**, the main cause of migration is globalisation. Due to globalization, non-capitalist structures and patterns of social and economic organization have crumbled and capitalist economic relations have penetrated distant non-capitalist regions. The world system view sees globalization as having created highly mobile labour in developing countries while creating linkages to the labour markets of developed countries. Industrialization and agricultural development are known to have induced migration, according to world systems theory, especially in communities with unfavourable demographic and economic conditions (Kubursi, 2006). Industrialization and agricultural development are indicators of capitalism where industrial and agricultural operations become large-scale, to the extent that capital is substituted for labour. The wages of unskilled and semi-skilled workers will tend to fall or they will end up losing their jobs to mechanisation. These people will then form a large pool of potential migrants. Sometimes people just migrate to the nearest country due to proximity, for example, lots of Zimbabweans have migrated to South Africa and Botswana, just as South Africans and Mozambicans used to migrate to Zimbabwe in the 1980s (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002).

World systems theory says that, in an effort to increase profits and wealth in general, capitalists penetrate poor countries in search of land, raw materials, labour and new consumer markets. As soon as these resources are under the control of the world market, migration is kick-started. Colonial governments used to facilitate the penetration of developing countries and reap the benefits to improve economic conditions in the colonising countries but now multinational firms dominate the act (Massey *et al*., 1993). Both have created links between developed and developing countries which are now out of control. Although transport and communication links were originally created to ship raw materials, goods and machinery and to co-ordinate business

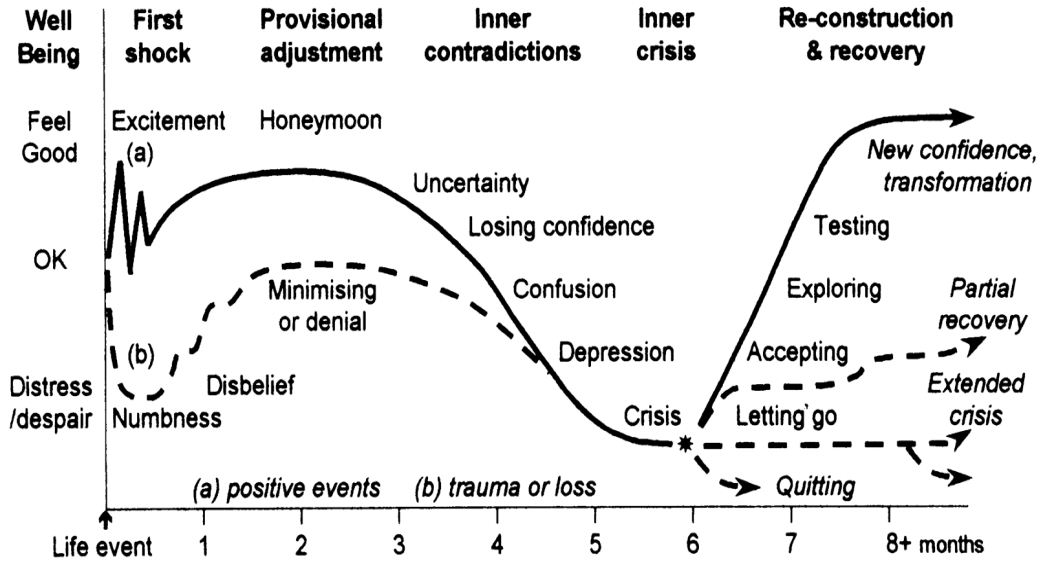
operations, they are the same routes that now promote the international movement of labour. Colonialism has also created everlasting links between capitalist countries and developing countries. As a result of these links, it has proved easier for people from former colonies to form bridging and linking capital with their former colonial masters. Pasura (2010b) uses the concept of 'reverse colonisation' to describe the migration of Zimbabweans to the UK as a response to British colonialism, which, as world systems theory, captures historical ties. From the point of view of those studied by Pasura (2010b), Britain as their former colonial master has a moral duty to treat them fairly, allowing them to study, work and settle without being stereotyped. 'What is significant about the idea of reverse colonisation is that it legitimises respondents' sense of being 'here' (in the hostland); it validates their status and activities, even if they are undocumented migrants' (op. cit.:1450).

Although many Africans have migrated to developed countries like the UK and the USA, basing their decisions on economic benefits, other migratory movements have been socially or politically motivated (Bloch, 2005). One migration theory alone is therefore inadequate to explain the movement of people within and across borders. While migration has mostly been reported to be a linear process, with men migrating to work for their families, this seems to be changing, with migration patterns becoming more circular and complex (Small, 2007). As a result, a study of the migration process should cover the decision to migrate, experiences upon arriving in the country of destination including the transition process, which is discussed next, and adaptation strategies, which are also discussed later in this chapter.

TRANSITION

Upon arrival in a new country, migrants are likely to undergo a transition, which is defined by the Oxford dictionary (2002) as a process of changing from one state or condition to another. Williams (1999) used a cycle to describe the transition process, as presented in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1: The Transition Cycle



Source: Williams (1999)

The above cycle describes how individuals respond to changes in their lives or in the environment surrounding them. I found it particularly useful in addressing migration issues because at least it is not linear; it is continuous and has various possibilities. However, not all changes cause transitions and both positive and negative changes can be associated with transitions, although most literature tends to view transition as a negative process (Mapel, 2007; Pacheco and Plutzer, 2007; Wickrama *et al.*, 2005; Doyle *et al.*, 2003; Guanipa, 1998; Williams, 1997). The reason is probably that, whether the transition is triggered by a good or bad life event,

transition symptoms are typically negative and, according to Figure 3.1, everyone reaches something of a crisis stage.

The transition cycle above can be used to explain different types of transitions. But, in this study, it is adapted to describe the experience of migrants. When people migrate, some of them will suffer economically, socially, emotionally and physically due to the difference between expectations and reality. Most migrants are likely to experience culture shock when they move to a country with a completely different culture, as illustrated in Figure 3.1. Oberg (1960) was one of the first authors to talk about culture shock in this context, when referring to the distress that was experienced by expatriates who had migrated. This is likely to have been the case when the Zimbabwean social workers in this study arrived in the UK. Morris (2002) defines culture shock as the physical and emotional discomfort that arises when someone moves to a culturally different environment. The period just before and just after the move is the euphoric stage where everything is exciting and you are looking forward to the change of environment.

In the first few weeks, a person is more worried about finding accommodation, food and other immediate things than about a different culture. The excitement then turns into discomfort when the cultural difference sinks in, a few weeks later, and one may start to feel irritable, anxious, incompetent and sad. The most commonly experienced transition symptoms include lack of sleep, irritability, headaches and stomach-aches, loneliness or homesickness if one is away from home, boredom, tiredness, depression, withdrawal from people, reduced concentration, anger, fear, anxiety, confusion, suspicions, loss of a sense of humour, a feeling of rejection and overeating or loss of appetite (Guanipa, 1998). When these symptoms occur, people may not relate them to transition. Also a person does not have to experience all the above symptoms to be undergoing the impact of transition. Some migrants move to the United Kingdom without being

able to speak English. They find it difficult to communicate until they learn the English language (Hussein *et al.*, 2010). In some cases, they may be able to speak English but the different accents make it difficult to communicate easily (Brown *et al*., 2007). Researchers need to look more into how social capital, through social ties with earlier migrants from the same country (Abye, 2007), friends or colleagues from the destination country, and information provided by institutions like the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA) in the UK (UKCOSA, 2006), can help to minimise culture shock. It is known, however, that with time, immigrants will adjust to the new culture and may actually start to adopt some of the new cultural practices or create hybrid cultures.

When going through a transition period, the individual needs to focus on their inner self and make adjustments because previously acquired skills and experiences will not help much. Values and expectations will have to be adjusted to suit the present circumstances, which may result in depression (Williams, 1999, 1997). After the crisis phase, some individuals will give up; for others, the crisis phase will be prolonged, while yet others will partially recover and others again will emerge stronger and more confident, as shown in the above cycle. An example can be an educated Zimbabwean migrating to the United Kingdom. On arriving in the UK, he or she may be shocked by the kinds of jobs fellow Zimbabweans are doing (McGregor, 2007). Only a few professional jobs like nursing, social work and teaching are readily available to foreigners in the United Kingdom, otherwise it is better to spend time trying to secure a job while still in your home country.

When immigrants get to foreign countries, they are likely to discover that existing power relations take away their potential to make strategic decisions or responses so they end up just finding ways to cope (Datta *et al.*, 2007). After a few weeks, these immigrants recover from the

numbness or shock. The next phase is about accepting reality and focusing on survival. They then look for any readily available job so as to start earning a living and paying bills. Most Zimbabweans who had managerial jobs at home end up doing warehouse jobs, cleaning or being healthcare assistants (McGregor, 2007; Mbiba, 2004). This is likely to be especially difficult for male migrants and most of them may find it degrading considering that, back in Africa, men do not carry out such duties, they do not even baby-sit. As Williams (1997) puts it, at this stage most people are still living in the new world by their old rules.

In the third phase of the transition cycle, contradictions between the old rules and reality emerge. The full impact of reality hits the immigrant and they realize that they are not in control of their life anymore and have to make do with the job they have, no matter how embarrassing they think it is. They also have to make decisions whether or not to tell their friends and families back home the truth about their status. This is the stage where they have to adjust their beliefs, values and expectations. The next phase is a crisis where an individual may not be able to cope. Investing in social capital may shorten the crisis phase for some immigrants as they get information or help on how to deal with their circumstances. Some immigrant workers will let go of their old beliefs and expectations and make the best of the situation. This may involve liking their low status jobs as carers for example, as in McGregor (2007), and appreciating the money they get from them. There are also other immigrants who might chose to train and qualify in new fields where jobs are easier to get, while others will remain hopeful that they will get their professional jobs one day so may further their education without changing professions. There are also those who will leave and go back to their home country. Pasura (2008b) talks about some Zimbabwean men who have gone back to their home country after failing to get better jobs than their wives, which in turn, threatened their position as main provider for the family. Considering that the

Zimbabwean social workers in this study are professionals, it will be interesting to note how their migration experiences compare to the cycle in Figure 3.1. This would mean examining whether they give up and go back to Zimbabwe; accept whatever circumstances they find themselves in here in the UK; or become transformed as individuals and acquire new confidence that enables them to face life in the UK or elsewhere. I return to this issue in the research findings (p.250).

Through linking social capital, immigrant nurses in the UK have to complete an 'overseas nursing programme' before they can register for practice and some people have found this to be oppressive (Brown *et al.*, 2007). While some nurses may find it useful in helping to adjust to the new environment, others may feel that the UK government is undervaluing overseas practice. In social work there is no such programme for overseas workers besides induction and this may be one of the reasons why overseas social workers find it hard to adjust to working in the UK, as mentioned in Devo (2006) and Brown *et al*. (2007). Some of the factors that help to enable successful transitions, as stated by Williams (1999), are:

- Economic security e.g. stable income, surplus resources, reduced debt.
- Emotional security e.g. supportive family, stable childhood, support networks.
- Health e.g. good physical fitness, prudent lifestyle, quality time for leisure.
- Prior transition skills e.g. positive transition experiences, clear goals.
- Supportive work environment e.g. low control culture, good team morale, clear role and contract terms, life-work boundaries respected, having time off work.
- Transition support e.g. briefing, monitoring issues, practical support, career planning, tolerance, dignity, valuing the past, confidential counselling, recognition for new ideas.

Gilbertson and Gurak (1992) talk about how the household composition of immigrants remains fluid throughout the migration process and is therefore likely to go through a transition. One of their major findings is that migrants' households become less dependent on kin, mainly due to

the fact that relatives are few or not available in a foreign country. This requires adjustment, especially with African and Asian families who will have come from a background of relying on kinship resources for everyday activities like childcare and advice and in some cases co-living arrangements.

Interpreting migrants' experiences using the transition cycle only gives a basic framework which helps to understand what they may go through. Otherwise, migration experiences are complex and do not neatly fit onto a graph. Some immigrants may migrate to a new place and go through the transition cycle all over again. Others may decide to go back to their home countries at some point and will have to adjust to life back home, which is another difficult process after living in a foreign country for some time as described by Small (2007) and Williams (2007). For those who make it past the crisis phase, what happens next?

ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

In the past, migration literature has generally assumed that once migrants entered a foreign country, they would break ties with their home countries and work towards being incorporated into the host society (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes *et al*., 1999). In an attempt to explain different ways through which migrants adapt to life in host countries, terms such as assimilation, integration, settlement, insertion and incorporation have been used (Vertovec, 2009), with authors concentrating on assimilation and multiculturalism as the two broad paradigms of migrant integration (Faist, 2009; Givens, 2007). Based on these different adaptation strategies, the extent to which the social workers in the present study have integrated into the UK way of life will be assessed.

With multiculturalism, immigrants are allowed fully to participate in host society institutions as cultural minorities (Faist, 2009). The host government is required to implement affirmative action measures, anti-discriminatory and equal opportunity policies, among others, to enable immigrants to access services like any other group in that country. Immigrants are also empowered to acquire the human and cultural capital needed to participate in the host society while maintaining the right to pursue their own culture (Vasta, 2007). Multiculturalism is therefore 'based on two key principles - social equality and participation, and cultural recognition' (Vasta, 2007:734). A study by Banting and Kymlicka (2004) found that Australia and Canada have strong multicultural policies, while other receiving countries like the UK, the US, the Netherlands and New Zealand have modest multicultural policies (Givens, 2007). However, Faist (2009) argues that some of these countries have counteracting tendencies, giving an example of integration and citizenship courses that are mandatory for acquiring citizenship in Denmark and the Netherlands. Even in the UK, immigrants have to pass a citizenship test on their knowledge of British values, culture and tradition before they can obtain British citizenship.

Park and Burgess (1924:735) define assimilation as 'a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. It is based on the assumption of different integrative stages; for instance, cognitive relating to the norms of the immigration society, structural relating to education and employment and civil societal relating to participation of immigrants in all spheres of life (Faist, 2009:175). Eventually, cultural markers on immigrants will disappear and they with be absorbed into mainstream society, together with their successive generations. There are, however, other physically unique cultural groups that find it difficult to integrate into their host country's culture

(DeLorenzo, 2000). Forcing immigrants to assimilate has become unpopular in recent years. Immigrants can live in a foreign country without being or wishing to be assimilated by the host society. They may try to adapt to the new environment in their own unique way to ensure survival.

While, previously, immigrants' success depended mostly on rapid acculturation into the host country, this has changed over the years, with mobilization of social networks across national borders emerging as a more attractive possibility for some immigrants, especially considering that such activities depend mostly on the individual's skills and on how they activate their social capital (Portes *et al.*, 1999). As a result, research on migration has started to focus more on how migrants keep looking back to where they came from rather than analysing their adaptation to host countries (Pasura, 2010a; Vertovec, 2009; Portes *et al*., 1999). However, researchers have argued that earlier migrants still felt connected to their homelands, but that, back then, transport and communication systems were not developed enough to allow migrants to maintain regular contact with the communities they had left behind (Faist, 2009; Vertovec, 2009; Portes *et al*., 1999). Considering how much technology has advanced over the years, it has become relatively easy to maintain links with people in different countries. As a result, the back and forth movements by migrants in recent years have acquired 'the critical mass and complexity necessary to speak of an emergent social field' (Portes *et al*., 1999: 217), transnationalism.

Transnationalism is defined as the process by which migrants, 'through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic and political relations that link together societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders' (Basch *et al*., 1994:6). These transnational fields are composed of people who live dual lives, speaking two languages, maintaining homes in two countries and making a

living through sustained contacts across national borders (Portes *et al.*, 1999). Portes *et al*. (1999) seem somewhat rigid in the way they define the concept of transnationalism. These authors, for example, explain that occasional activities like sending money to friends and family or buying a house are not regular enough to fall under the heading of transnationalism. However, while many researchers have looked into the transnationalism issue, sending money and gifts to family and friends has since become formalised and regular, among immigrants, to be considered a transnational activity (Kivisto, 2001). Al-Ali *et al.* (2001:594) found that transnational activities are continuously evolving and changing and, as a result, transnationalism 'is probably better conceptualized as a process than as a state of being'.

Transnationalism has not only been linked to advances in technology but to the globalisation process (Vertovec, 2009; Portes *et al*., 1999). Although Vertovec (2009) acknowledges that various new technologies like e-mails, faxes and cheap air transport have facilitated the process of transnationalism, he finds advancement in the telephone industry, allowing for cheap international calls, important also as it has enabled constant communication with friends and family abroad, which is one of the most fundamental aspects of transnationalism. He gives an example of pre-paid international telephone cards which are readily available in petrol stations, newsagents and convenience shops in most Western countries. Without a doubt, the availability of such phone cards allow immigrants to communicate with their family and friends on a regular basis, considering that a *talk direct* pre-paid card worth £5 will give you 1,000 minutes of airtime if you are calling a landline in Zimbabwe, from the UK.

Since the mid-1990s, migrants have also been able to utilise other information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructures like electronic mail, diasporic websites, video-teleconfences, film-making and satellite television to enhance their transnational lives (Vertovec,

2009). Advancement in technology has also led to the wide use of the internet, resulting in the creation of virtual social networks (Gibson and McAllister, 2009; Ferlander and Timms, 2007), that are fast becoming an important form of transnational social capital. While one may argue that it is not the same as face-to-face interaction, on-line communication can be more regular and can involve people across geographical borders more easily. Also, the ties people develop in virtual communities like internet forums also involve trust, reciprocity and social norms that members value and try to maintain, just as they do within face-to-face communities (Wellman, 1999 in Vertovec, 2009). Helliwell (2003 citing Keck and Sikkink, 1998) acknowledges the contribution of the internet in building social capital but finds it important that people meet first to establish trust before on-line communication take over. However, the fact that people buy and sell products on eBay shows that trust can develop through interacting on-line. There still remains the chance that this trust can be abused by people like paedophiles and other criminals who convey false messages such as 'you have won the internet lottery' to try and obtain people's personal information and abuse it. Social capital can also be used for negative purposes in cases that involve the operation of illegal and violent social networks to promote activities like trafficking in drugs, people and weapons, pornography and terrorism (Vertovec, 2009).

In an attempt to explain why people engage in transnationalism, Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) came up with three forms of transnationalism:

- **Linear transnationalism** where migrants simply continue maintaining ties with friends and family upon arrival in a foreign country.
- **Resource dependent transnationalism** where immigrants will only engage in transnational activities after they accumulate economic resources.

- **Reactive transnationalism** where immigrants engage in transnational activities due to lack of satisfaction with their lives in host countries or due to negative experiences**.**

The above categories are not mutually exclusive. Immigrants may get involved in transnationalism both as a survival strategy and/or after acquiring enough resources to allow them to participate in transnational activities. In addition to acquiring enough economic resources, according to Portes *et al.* (1999), those with greater access to social capital are likely to be more engaged in transnational activities compared to those with less social capital. Afro-Caribbeans, for example, are not afraid of movement which has made them popular in most receiving countries like the UK, the US and Canada. Migration has become a culture to them as stated by Small (2007). They travel back and forth between home and host countries and this has resulted in clear channels for circular and return migration. Some immigrants maintain strong ties with both the host and the home country as a way of coping and of participating economically, socially and politically in more than one country. Transnational migrants always want to be in touch with home and they use various means like visiting and communicating often, searching for information about home through other people or on the internet, and constantly demanding products from home (Pasura, 2008a). This can be a way of re-assuring themselves that they belong elsewhere, whatever they go through in a foreign country. While this may appear as a coping strategy, it may also be a crisis stage for some as it leads to the development of multiple identities (Glick Schiller *et al*., 1992). As Pasura (2008a) suggests, people may end up confused about who they are, where they really belong and where home is. Some of the immigrants also tend to overwork themselves to try and maintain the dual lives they are living, while others use transnationalism for their business activities, avoiding low status jobs in host countries (Vertovec, 2009).

According to Pasura (2008a), the majority of researchers have given less attention to the political aspect of transnationalism. McGregor (2009) talks about how the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), one of the Zimbabwean political parties led by Morgan Tsvangirai, has actively engaged with Zimbabweans in the UK (bonding social capital), lobbying for international support (bridging and linking social capital). As a result, more than 30 MDC branches have been established throughout the UK with committees that organise fund-raising projects for the political party and human rights campaigns. The Central London branch of the MDC set up a Vigil outside Zimbabwe House in London where Zimbabweans have gathered to demonstrate every Saturday since 2002 (op. cit.). This Vigil is open to all Zimbabweans in the UK and serves to highlight problems in Zimbabwe, like human rights abuse, starvation and lack of democratic space, in the hope that the international community can intervene. However, those who participate are usually asylum seekers, refugees, MDC members and white Zimbabweans who are mostly involved in organizing and co-ordinating Vigil activities (Pasura, 2010a). This shows how social capital can also be used to serve political and humanitarian purposes.

Pasura's (2010a) findings suggest a complex picture of transnational political activities by Zimbabweans in the UK. These immigrants, engaged in transnational political activities, mobilise funds for the MDC in Zimbabwe and use diaspora space to highlight problems like human rights abuses, starvation and lack of democracy that their home country is facing, to the international community. Furthermore, undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants participate in transnational politics as a way of obtaining the legal right to stay in the UK as refugees. This might then suggest that the extent to which the Zimbabwean social workers in this study participate in transnational politics is bound to be limited, in comparison to asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, since most of these social workers have been granted British

citizenship. In the current study, I will try to establish whether the Zimbabwean social workers are participating in any form of transnational activities.

Social capital theorists like Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1997) had concerns that social capital is adversely affected by migration as migrants left their social networks behind. However, transnationalism has shown that migrants now have more innovative ways of maintaining ties. Reynolds and Zontini (2006) observe that Caribbean and Italian communities in the UK maintain strong networks with those they left in their countries of origin. Migrants are getting involved in nurturing transnational social capital, and, according to Zontini (2006), such activities among Italian emigrants included organization of cultural events abroad, Italian church services, language courses for emigrants' children and the formation of Emigrants Associations back in Italy. Some authors have, however, questioned the durability of transnational social capital, wondering whether transnationalism can survive subsequent generations of immigrants (Favell, 2003; Kivisto, 2001). These networks may become weaker with successive generations but they do not completely disappear (Reynolds, 2006). Although transnational social capital may mostly involve ethnic networks, it can also consist of wider networks in the form of governments and non-governmental organisations that work with immigrants to develop communities in the countries of origin. Where they have been successfully established, these wider networks are likely to survive and carry the same momentum across immigrant generations. Koehn and Rosenau (2002) put together the kind of skills that are acquired through transnationalism as presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Dimensions of Transnational Competence

Analytic Competence • Understanding of the central beliefs, values, practices, and paradoxes of counterpart culture(s) and society(ies) – including political and ethnic awareness • Ability to link counterpart-country conditions to one's own circumstances and vice versa • Number and complexity of alternative cultural paths assessed • Ability to discern effective transnational strategies and to learn from past successes and failure
Emotional Competence • Motivation and ability to open oneself up continuously to divergent cultural influences and experiences • Ability to assume genuine interest in, and to maintain respect for , different (especially counterpart) values, traditions, experiences, and challenges (i.e. intercultural/transnational empathy) • Ability to manage multiple identities • Sense of transnational efficacy
Creative/Imaginative Competence • Ability to foresee the synergistic potential of diverse cultural perspectives in problem solving • Collaborative ability to articulate novel and shared transnational synthesis • Ability to envision viable mutually acceptable alternatives • Ability to tap into diverse cultural sources for inspiration
Behavioural Competence **Communicative Facility** • Proficiency in and use of counterparts' spoken/written language • Skill in interpretation and in using an interpreter • Proficiency in and relaxed use of interculturally appropriate nonverbal cues and codes • Ability to listen to and discern different cultural messages • Ability to engage in meaningful dialogue; to facilitate mutual self-disclosure • Ability to avoid and resolve communication misunderstandings across diverse communication styles **Functional (project/task) Adroitness** • Ability to relate to counterpart(s) and to develop and maintain positive interpersonal relationships • Ability to apply/adapt understanding, sensitivity, and imagination in transnational interactions • Flexible ability to employ extensive and nuanced range of transnationally accommodative organizational strategies and interaction paths • Ability to overcome problems/conflicts and accomplish goals when dealing with transnational challenges and globalization/localization pressures

Source: Koehn and Rosenau (2002: 110)

According to Koehn and Rosenau (2002), the attributes presented in the table above enable immigrants to participate effectively in transnational activities. Individuals may acquire and utilise some of the skills and not others, or do so in varying degrees, making some more proficient/competent than others. Economic competence, which is the ability to identify, exploit

and expand business opportunities (Carlsson and Eliasson, 1994), can also be added to Table 3.1 as an attribute required to facilitate transnational activities, especially where decisions to invest in the country of origin and/or country of settlement have to be made. Economic competence will require access to financial resources, as shown by the Ethiopian migrants studied by Abye (2007), together with the ability to allocate scarce resources and also to make strategic economic decisions, taking advantage of the economic situation in either the home or the receiving country (Pelikan, 1997).

Governments of sending countries are increasingly becoming involved in promoting and influencing the transnational activities of their emigrants for the benefit of the homeland (Vertovec, 2009; Aksoy and Robins, 2003; Kivisto, 2001). For example, countries offering dual citizenship are on the rise (Vertovec, 2009), although for some countries like Zimbabwe it remains a challenge (Pasura, 2008a). However, Portes *et al*. (1999) find transnationalism a 'superior alternative' for immigrants as it requires individual skills and utilisation of social capital rather than relying on help from governments. With the growing popularity of transnationalism, the relationship between transnationalism and the integration of immigrants into receiving societies has recently been questioned (Schans, 2009). In other words, does the integration into mainstream society of the Zimbabwean social workers under study here increase or reduce their participation in transnational activities? Earlier research seemed to view transnationalism as another potential outcome of how immigrants adapt to foreign countries, an alternative to earlier processes like assimilation and multiculturalism (Faist, 2000; Portes *et al*., 1999, Glick Schiller *et al*., 1992). A traditional assimilation perspective views ties to the home country as incompatible with ties to the host country (Schans, 2009). Before rushing to such conclusions, there is a need to acknowledge the complexity of the different ways in which

migrants adapt. Vertovec (2009:79-82), in an attempt to explore the relationship between transnational practices and integration, analyses a number of empirical studies. He finds that integration is affected by a range of other factors like migration channels, immigration status, community structure, and economic and political circumstances in the country of origin, among other things. Nevertheless, migrants' involvement in transnational activities does not mean that their integration into host communities does not take place (Vertovec, 2009; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). Nor does participation in transnational activities diminish as migrants become more incorporated into the host societies. Rather, empirical studies have shown that there is a positive relationship between transnationalism and integration/incorporation into the host country (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Kivisto, 2001). 'The incontestable fact is that with regard to either processes of transnationalism or integration, migrants adapt' (Vertovec, 2009: 82).

Some authors have linked the concept of transnationalism with that of diaspora to talk of transnational diasporas (Pasura, 2008a; Leung, 2004; Cheran, 2003). In some cases, transnationalism has been used as a synonym of diaspora and the two concepts have collapsed into one (Cheran, 2003). It is to the concept of diaspora and how the term has become applicable even to Zimbabwean immigrants, which I turn to in the following section.

THE CONCEPT OF DIASPORA

The term 'diaspora' is derived from Greek words *dia-* and *-speirein* which mean 'through' and 'to scatter' respectively (Brah, 1996: 181). Originally the concept of diaspora referred to the dispersal of the Jews from their original homeland (Safran, 1991). Today it is often used as a metaphoric definition to refer to well-established communities which have an experience of displacement like the overseas Chinese, the Armenians in exile, the Palestinian refugees and the whole African diaspora (Leung, 2004). It is now used to describe any community that has a

history of migration including any Zimbabweans living beyond national borders (McGregor, 2010; Pasura, 2010a, 2008a; Mupedziswa 2009b). Safran (1991) argues that the degree of force causing a population's dispersal tends to legislate what counts as a diaspora. Safran (1991) suggests that immigrants should conform to at least some of the following criteria to be called a diaspora community:

- a history of dispersion;
- memories of a homeland;
- alienation or a feeling of being insulated from the host society;
- a desire to return to the homeland;
- a collective commitment to contribute to the homeland's safety and prosperity;
- the maintenance of personal or vicarious relationships with the homeland which promote a sense of collective cultural consciousness.

With diasporic groups, ties to the home country remain strong and some individuals are constantly looking for current information including homeland politics. There is also constant demand for cultural products and exchange of symbolic goods and services including media content. They make good use of on-line services like e-mails, internet relay chat, skype which easily connect communities in various continents for free in most cases. Diasporic websites are assembling global directories of individuals, community institutions and businesses, on-line versions of newspapers are available and on-line discussions between similar diasporic groups are going on (Pasura, 2010b, 2008a; Karim, 2003). As a result, some authors have suggested that all diasporas are transnationals, but, not all transnationals are diasporas (Leung, 2004; Cheran, 2003). According to Leung (2004:19), diaspora is infact 'a particular form of transnationalism'. Pasura (2008a), however, argues that, not all diasporas are transnationals. For a diaspora community to be called transnationals, they need to maintain homeland connections.

The notion of home and a sense of belonging to an imagined home defines people in diaspora (Karim, 2003; Brah, 1996; Safran, 1991). While most scholars associate diaspora with a strong desire, to return home at some point, Leung (2004) argues that not all members of diaspora yearn to return home. Some of these immigrants might have been forced to leave their home countries by circumstances beyond their control, while others might have chosen to leave and felt privileged to be away from home. In the past, being in diaspora was associated with negative connotations like trauma, victimisation and displacement. This has changed with time and positive aspects like multi-locality, diversity, hybridity and post nationality are also being associated with being in diaspora. Depending on individual cicumstances, being in diaspora can either be traumatic or liberating (op. cit.). Brah (1996) warns people not to assume that 'diaspora' refers to homogeneous, unified groups sharing common characteristics, values and goals. Leung (2004) supports this notion making reference to the fact that when people speak of 'the Chinese diaspora' they are making reference to millions of Chinese scattered on every continent of the globe for a variety of reasons. To avoid this unconvincing generalisation, diasporas must be discussed on the basis of their distinct historical experiences, and, attention should be paid to particular details of the many journeys that join, intersect or overlap to find out how the different journeys influence the sense of belonging.

Chinese migration, for example, has gone through three general patterns over the years namely the labour diaspora, the trade diaspora and the knowledge diaspora (Qiu, 2003). The labour diaspora was common in the early 1800s and it involved people migrating due to famine, feuds, overpopulation, bad economic conditions and unstable social conditions. It was mostly men who left their homelands to go and work in richer countries under conditions even close to slavery so that they could send remittances back home to support their families. As social and economic

conditions in the host countries began to change causing high rates of unemployment and strong anti-Chinese feelings, among other things, Chinese immigrants responded by becoming a trade diaspora where they ran small businesses like Chinese restaurants and hand laundrettes. The success of their enterprises relied heavily on traditional networks like kinship, clanship, brotherhood and common locality of region and this trade diaspora pattern remained common until the 1980s. Ever since China started participating in the globalization process, the knowledge diasporas have become dominant. The Chinese government and employers have been sending scholars to countries like the US, UK, Canada and Germany for further study and some families have also been sending their family members to study abroad (op. cit.).

Pasura (2010b, 2008a) identifies five overlapping phases of migration from Zimbabwe, from around 1960 to the present. Throughout the phases, major destinations for migrants have been neighbouring countries (Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia), and the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The first phase, from the 1960s, consists of the migration of black political exiles, within the context of the liberation struggle and, the recruitment of Zimbabweans in gold mines in South Africa. The second phase, relates to the emigration of white Zimbabweans prior to, and post independence in 1980 while the third phase was when the post-independence ZANU-ZAPU conflict in Matabeleland caused the Ndebele people to flee from the country and seek refuge abroad. The fourth phase of migration, from the early 1990s, is the period when skilled professionals left the country to seek opportunities abroad, as a response to the economic hardships brought about by ESAP. The fifth phase, which started from around 1999, describes the exodus of both black and white Zimbabweans running away from the country's political instability and violence, and economic crisis (see Chapter Two). As conditions have become worse from 2000, arguably, all

Zimbabwean immigrants can claim that their migration was forced. It is within this context that Zimbabweans abroad, who include asylum seekers and labour migrants can be referred to as a diaspora community (McGregor, 2010; Pasura, 2008a). The sense of being marginalised in the receiving country through racism, loss of status and hostility towards migrants by the UK media, also contributes to Zimbabweans in the UK seeing themselves as diasporans (McGregor, 2010). According to Pasura (2010b, 2008a), there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Zimbabwean immigrants fit into the classification of a diaspora. This argument is based on the Zimbabweans' history of dispersal from their home country, settlement in the UK, their uneasy relationship with the receiving country, the maintenance of a distinct collective identity, and their connections with the homeland including the desire to eventually return. The migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers in the present study will be assessed, against the above criteria of a diaspora community, to see how much their experiences, as immigrant professionals, relate to those of other Zimbabweans.

Drawing upon the literature review from Chapter One to this chapter, the general objective of the thesis is given below, together with research questions aimed at addressing identified research gaps.

OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study seeks to explore the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council between 2000 and 2008, focusing on the opportunities and challenges they face as overseas social workers and how they are able to draw upon social capital to access as many resources as they can for their personal and professional development and for the development of communities. The main research question is:

- To what extent can the different forms of social capital help us to understand and theorise the settlement, adaptation and progression of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK?

The specific research questions are:

- What factors influenced the Zimbabwean social workers to migrate?
- In trying to meet their professional needs, did they generate, destroy, maintain or reconstitute social capital upon arrival in the UK?
- Did they generate, destroy, maintain or re-constitute social capital in trying to adapt to and progress with life in the UK? If yes, how?
- How did structural factors like gender, ethnicity, class and race impact upon the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers?
- To what extent have the Zimbabwean social workers utilised social capital to maintain links with their country of origin?
- How has migration shaped and influenced identity and belonging for the Zimbabwean social workers in the study?

CONCLUSION

When people migrate, most of them will suffer economically, socially, emotionally and physically due to the difference between expectations and reality. Different forms of social capital, classified as bonding, bridging and linking social capital, can play a significant role in helping migrants as they undergo the transition period and adjust to their new life. Immigrants tend to rely more on bonding social capital, which are strong ties formed between people of the same background or origin like family and friends. These family or friendship ties are relied on for the accommodation, food and information required to settle in a foreign country, among other things. However, immigrants are likely to limit their opportunities to develop if they rely mostly

on bonding social capital due to its limited capacity (Putnam, 2000, 1998). Where close ties through family and friends become insufficient, there will be a need to consider bridging or linking social capital.

As new and more flexible migration patterns have emerged, newer forms of social capital, like virtual and transnational social capital, have been utilised by immigrants. This transnational social capital that spans borders (Chen, 2000) has allowed migrants to live dual lives, unlike in the past when those who migrated would have limited contact with people back home. This can be an effective way of coping with migration pressures because, if immigrants cannot achieve something in one place, they may be able to achieve it in another. Advances in technology and globalization in general may also have led to the popularity of transnational activities by immigrants. The relationship between transnationalism and adaptation strategies for immigrants, like assimilation and multiculturalism, remains questionable and will be explored in relation to the Zimbabwean social workers in this study. Diaspora as a form of transnationalism, as explored by Pasura (2008a), can also provide a theoretical framework for understanding contemporary migration phenomenon. However, the notion has become over-stretched, as it is now used by others, to describe any group of people living outside their country.

Theories that have been formulated to explain why people migrate include neo-classical theory, the 'new economics of migration' theory, dual labour market theory and world systems theory. These theories seem to view migration as a process which has a fixed end-point without taking into account certain aspects of migration like temporary migration, re-migration and return migration (Small, 2007), which can make migration a cycle. This suggests that migration patterns are becoming more complex and that traditional theories need to undergo modification as people's experiences change.

This thesis draws upon the social capital concept to try and theorise migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers under study. In the process I argue that, the concept of social capital needs to be incorporated into migration theories as it plays an important role in the migration process. It is, however, important to bear in mind that, social capital can affect immigrants negatively when it acts as a form of social control and when immigrants have to conform unwillingly, when it leads to community members making excessive claims from others and also when it acts as a tool of social exclusion, as previous scholars have found. What makes this study unique is its particular focus on the experiences of immigrant professionals in social work, which is a relatively under researched area at present. A qualitative methodology is employed to explore the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers, as discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council from 2000 to 2008. Following the heavy recruitment of overseas social workers in the UK, this study aims at identifying support networks available to Zimbabwean social workers in their transition to become established social workers in the UK. Whilst the epistemological debate refers to qualitative and quantitative research methods as representing divergent paradigms (Bryman, 1988), the choice of research methods employed in this study is based on their relative suitability in answering the research questions and not philosophical assumptions. The use of exploratory research allowed me to build a full picture of the migration experiences of the social workers in this study, from leaving Zimbabwe to arriving in the UK and, integrating into the workplace and wider society. Mixed research methods are utilised to allow for triangulation, thereby capitalising on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand social phenomena (Creswell, 1994). Semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection method were complemented by the use of a survey to access as many Zimbabwean social workers as possible and also for validation. The interviews and questionnaires were analysed using a hybrid method drawing upon thematic analysis and grounded theory.

I begin the chapter by giving a description of the research design employed in this study, including the use of exploratory research and the mixed methods approach to data collection. Sub-sections on pilot testing, sampling and research ethics follow. Then, I move on to discuss how data was collected through documentation, interviews and questionnaires, followed by how

data was analysed. A profile of interview participants is also given and the last two sections describe the role of the researcher, validity and reliability.

RESEARCH DESIGN

After having done a thorough literature search on international migration, I found that there was little known about the experiences of overseas social workers in the UK and Zimbabwean social workers in particular. In considering an appropriate design for this study, I consulted a range of research methods literature. Based on the research questions, I had to decide whether my research would be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory (Robson, 2002). I decided that the exploratory research approach would be more suitable in trying to answer research questions raised in Chapter One. According to Robson (2002), exploratory research helps to:

- find out what is happening, especially where little is understood
- seek new insights
- ask questions
- assess phenomena in a new light
- generate ideas and hypotheses for future research.

Yin (1994a) argues that exploratory research may follow intuitive paths and data collection may be carried out before finalising research questions and hypotheses. This study is influenced by insights from the case study approach, due to its ability to look at contemporary events and the fact that it focuses on a phenomenon within its context, as indicated by Yin (1994b). However, the ability to study the context was limited in this research due to lack of access to organisational documents and the LCC management. The idea of interviewing Large City Council managers had to be foregone after several attempts at getting ethical approval from the local authority, as

discussed later in this Chapter (see section on 'Ethical Considerations'). As a result, this study does not qualify as a case study per se. It is, rather, a sample set of 'stories' of migration and its aftermath, gained from Zimbabwean social workers in one particular local authority, drawing on interviews, questionnaires and documentary evidence.

For this research, both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used, to allow for triangulation. Methods that combine qualitative and quantitative techniques can be more useful in certain cases besides trying to overcome the usual constraints of time, money and competence. However, over the years, there has been an on-going debate on quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative research methods were originally developed in the natural sciences to study natural phenomena and are strongly associated with techniques like surveys and experimental investigation. Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to study social and cultural phenomena and are mostly associated with participant observation and in-depth interviewing (Myers, 2003). The use of quantitative methodology (e.g. experiments and surveys) in studying social research is philosophically referred to as positivism (Bryman, 1988). Although qualitative and quantitative research differs in its underlying philosophical assumptions and approaches to investigating social reality, positivists see no reason why quantitative methods cannot be equally applicable to the study of society (op. cit.). Critics of quantitative research (Guba, 1985) have said, however, that positivism is a poor way of studying social reality. They argue that, making use of the 'scientific approach' to study people in the form of surveys and experiments is a failure to appreciate the difference between humans and objects of the natural sciences. When methods of the natural sciences are applied to social issues, concepts are ill defined and in some cases become too complex for statistical analysis (Johnson, 2006). Proponents of qualitative methodology prefer data collection techniques like

participant observation because of their ability to meet a prior set of epistemological requirements: for example, the ability to see the social world from the point of view of the actor (Bryman, 1988). It seems, however, that philosophical assumptions made about quantitative and qualitative research seem to exaggerate the differences between these two methods. Based on the research problem, any method, be it qualitative or quantitative, can be used as long as it is the most appropriate data collection method for the study. A researcher could even use a mixed methods design (Bryman, 1988), as in this study.

This research was carried out using a multiple approach to data collection, making use of interviews as the primary data collection method, questionnaires and document analysis, as discussed later in this chapter. I explored the Zimbabwean social workers' migratory experiences by interviewing them, building a full picture of their journey from their decision to leave Zimbabwe, their recruitment by the local authority or agencies to their settling in Large City Council and what has happened to them since then, as individuals and as a group. Considering that international labour mobility in social work has only become popular in recent years (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming), this approach allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the migration and transition issues that the Zimbabwean social workers were faced with as overseas social workers employed in the UK. The use of documentation and questionnaires allowed for triangulation. Due to the richness of collected data, I was able to build upon theory relating to the migration and transition needs of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK. Based on this particular study, I was able to challenge and refine existing migration and social capital theories as discussed in the research findings and conclusion chapters.

Before I discuss the data collection methods in detail, I will turn to how I prepared for the study through pilot testing, sampling and research ethics procedures.

Pilot Testing

Strydom (2002 in McKinlay, 2004) emphasises the importance of preliminary exploratory studies when planning to undertake a research project and advises that a pilot study should be carried out. I had informal discussions with three Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC in an effort to establish the issues they faced and the availability of more social workers to interview. These discussions influenced research questions for this study (pp.3-4). These three social workers all later participated in the main study. Van Teijlingen and Hungley (2001) raise concerns that contamination can result if data from a pilot study were to be included in the main study or new data were to be collected from pilot participants who have been included in the main study. However, I did not find interviewing the Zimbabwean social workers whom I had previously had informal discussions with, affecting my research in a negative way. Preliminary discussions were also held with authors who had published articles regarding overseas social workers and a few more overseas social workers who had participated in related research carried out by Brown *et al*. (2007), Devo (2006) and Tobaiwa *et al*. (2006). This whole process took about four months as it was difficult to obtain contact details for some of these authors. Appointments also had to be made to meet some of the social workers, which was not easy as they are busy people.

According to McKinlay (2004), a pilot study allows re-designing of the project, starting all over again or abandoning the intended project altogether. A pilot study was carried out for the questionnaires where copies of the draft questionnaire were handed to five Zimbabwean social workers and two South African social workers in the South East of England where I lived. Since the pilot questionnaires were sent to social workers I knew, within two weeks of posting them feedback was received. Information obtained from the pilot study helped to improve on the

questionnaire content, wording, choices given for answers and order of the questions. With the interviewing process, insights gained in previous interviews were used to improve subsequent interviews.

Sampling

Large City Council was strategically selected as the location for the study as recommended by de Vaus (2001). According to de Vaus (2001), researchers should select a setting that they know something about and should also consider whether it meets particular requirements. Besides being a Zimbabwean (which I discuss in the section, 'The Role of the Researcher') having influenced my decision to focus on Zimbabwean social workers to some extent, I particularly chose to focus on this group of overseas social workers because it has been reported that nearly half of Zimbabwe's total social work workforce has come to work in the UK (Batty, 2003). Large City Council is one of the local authorities known for having recruited many Zimbabweans (references withheld to preserve anonymity of the local authority), so more potential research participants would be available compared to a local authority with only a few Zimbabwean social workers. Yin (1994a) also suggests that cases be selected based on topical relevance, feasibility and access, whereby certain people are willing to participate in a study. For this study, Yin's advice on feasibility and access was considered. As previously mentioned, I contacted two Zimbabwean social workers who had participated in a study by a particular author[1], and one further Zimbabwean social worker, to obtain preliminary information. This made Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC more easily accessible compared to focusing on a new location where I had not established any contacts.

[1] Name of the author is withheld to maintain anonymity of the local authority under study.

Purposive sampling was used in this study to identify participants for the interviews, where all members of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers employed by Large City Council were targeted. Research participants had to be accessed through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers because the LCC Human Resources Department said that they did not readily have information that specified employees' nationalities. The fact that I chose to access participants through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers meant that time was not consumed focusing on social workers from other countries, who were outside the study. Despite the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers claiming to have access to all Zimbabweans employed within the local authority, there was a risk that any who did not belong to the Network would automatically be excluded. E-mails inviting Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC to participate in this study were sent through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Those social workers who expressed willingness to participate in the study had their contact details forwarded to me, the researcher. I then contacted all of them to arrange the date, time and venue for the interviews. In the end, 24 Zimbabwean social workers were interviewed.

For the questionnaires, a list of Zimbabwean social workers still working for Large City Council and the area offices they worked in was obtained through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Postal questionnaires were then sent to those Zimbabwean social workers who had not participated in the interviews, using their work addresses. I was aware of the fact that postal questionnaires are known to have a low response rate (Robson, 2002). Flyers advertising the research were distributed in area offices. Snowball sampling was used as a complementary technique to target a wider sample of questionnaire respondents. Interview participants were requested to pass the questionnaires on to Zimbabwean social workers they knew, especially those who had left LCC. Snowball sampling has been said to be suitable when a researcher is

trying to locate members of a special population like a group of immigrants or in cases where there is a pattern of recruitment to an organisation (QMSS, 2007). Some people who are not highly connected may be left out when using such a sampling technique, however.

Ethical Considerations

According to the ESRC Research Ethics Framework (ESRC, 2005), this research may be considered to involve more than minimal risk since it involves an ethnic group. Reminding these Zimbabwean immigrants of their ethnic status or experiences may be sensitive and in some cases may even induce psychological stress. Before carrying out this research, ethical approval was obtained following research procedures set by the School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Durham. Another ethics application was submitted to Large City Council requesting to interview Zimbabwean social workers and social services managers (see Appendix). Following advice offered in Banks and Barnes (2005), I also sought permission from Large City Council to access their policy documents pertaining to overseas social workers. I was advised by the LCC Research Governance Officer that, with University ethics approval, Zimbabwean social workers could be accessed through an association they had formed called the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. This advice was followed but there remained a need for ethics approval from LCC to interview managers so as to follow up on certain issues that had been raised in interviews with the Zimbabwean social workers.

Two research ethics applications were made to LCC. The Research Governance Advisory Committee raised concerns with the first submission. Necessary changes and clarifications were incorporated into the second application. Additional concerns were raised, so neither the first nor the second application was approved. Further information and re-consideration of my work was required and I ran out of time to engage further with them, as the process had already taken more

than three months to get these disappointing results. Although this part of the research had to be put aside, I wish to pursue the possibility of interviewing LCC managers in the future. Thus, a management point of view on questions regarding the support (or lack of it) to the Zimbabwean social workers in this study remains an issue for further research.

Before the interviews, participants were sent an information sheet (found in Appendix A) by e-mail, which explained what the research was about, its purpose, their rights as participants to withhold consent at any point during the process, and the complaints procedure in case they wished to lodge a complaint about how I had conducted the research. A day before the scheduled interview, I called each participant to remind them of the meeting the following day. On the day of the interview, before beginning, it was made clear to the Zimbabwean social workers that participation was voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time without penalty and that there would be no payment involved. I reminded each participant about what the study entailed, its objectives and the intended outcomes. Research participants were also assured of confidentiality and anonymity. I told each interviewee to feel free to ask questions or seek clarification at any point during the interview. Then, an informed consent form had to be signed before proceeding. There were no participants who withdrew once the interview had started, and there were no signs of distress from the social workers concerned. However, debriefing arrangements were made beforehand with the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, in case any participant became distressed during the interview.

Audio tapes were destroyed as soon as they had been transcribed. Following the requirements of the Data Protection Act, 1998, transcribed data is stored in a password-protected database that only the researcher can access while questionnaires are locked away. All data will be destroyed

one year after successful completion of the degree and will not be manipulated in any way, except for purposes of the PhD thesis and resultant publications.

DATA COLLECTION

In the present study, interviews were used as the primary data collection technique, while a questionnaire survey and documents were used as complementary methods. Semi-structured interviews helped to explore the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers and, surveys were useful in getting straight-forward and fairly factual information. The problem that I encountered with triangulation was that having to carry out interviews and also develop, distribute and analyse questionnaires was time consuming. However, the use of triangulation in this study provided rigour and helped to confirm findings from interviews through the use of questionnaires. Below, I describe the data collection methods used in this research, which include document analysis, followed by interviews and then questionnaires.

Documentary Evidence

Secondary sources like books, academic journals, newspapers and materials from the internet were reviewed, as suggested by HFRP (2004), to get an understanding of issues surrounding migration, social capital and transition of migrants. Information that was used to define the research problem, formulate research objectives and design the research methodology was obtained from secondary sources like books, magazines and journals, accessed through Web of Knowledge and other internet resources that I accessed through the Google search engine. Policy documents dealing with the recruitment and handling of overseas social workers, including induction guidelines, were requested from LCC under the Freedom of Information Act, 2001, in an effort to locate the Zimbabwean social workers within an organizational context. The only policy document obtained from LCC upon request for policy documents that directly addressed

the issue of overseas social workers was the LCC Recruitment and Selection Toolkit. This Recruitment and Selection Toolkit consists of the organisation's recruitment policy and general recruitment and selection practices for all employees in general. There is only a small section that addresses overseas workers' needs by stating that the City Council can pay for all the travel expenses to interviews for skill shortage areas. While providing the Recruitment and Selection Toolkit as an Appendix might seem a good idea, it is a long document with little information on overseas workers. This would also destroy anonymity for the local authority in question as its name is all over the policy document, hence, it has not been included.

The induction files that I downloaded from the LCC website had general induction guidelines without referring to overseas social workers. My request for induction guidelines and procedures for overseas social workers from the local authority was refused. The reason given was that, during induction for overseas social workers, the local authority invites various people to come and make presentations in line with their work, covering different areas like the organisational structure and culture, front line practice and legislation, among other things, so there would be no written record. Through searching on the LCC website, I found the Annual Employment Monitoring Report for 2007/2008 and the Equal Opportunities Policy which were deemed relevant to overseas social workers (references withheld to preserve anonymity of organisation). The City Council's Equal Opportunities Policy is based on various Acts of Parliament with some Acts like the Equal Pay (Amendment) Act 1983 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 more relevant to the Zimbabwean social workers as a group than Acts like the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 and the Disabled Discrimination Act 1995 which also influence the Equal Opportunities Policy. The Annual Employment Monitoring Report had percentages of employees for Large City Council by ethnic group from 1997/8 to 2007/8 and, among other

things, statistics on promotions, grievances, training received and information on staff leaving the local authority, all analysed by ethnic group.

This Employment Monitoring Report shows that the local authority is committed to improving the profile of the workforce for vacancies where Black and Minority Ethnic groups are under-represented. The City Council advertises itself as 'employer of first choice' in the Black and Minority Ethnic communities. While, through the Annual Employment Monitoring Report, the local authority acknowledges that it has a diverse workforce to serve its diverse communities, its policy documents are generic, with no special reference to a particular nationality or ethnicity. When I requested information relating to Zimbabwean social workers, for example, how many they had as social workers within the local authority, it was reported that they were classified as overseas social workers without any ethnic-specific information being held. Policies relating to the welfare of different ethnic groups were not available, even after requesting this information from Human Resources and after a thorough search on the LCC website. However, skimming through the website and documentation obtained helped me to understand the local authority's values, priorities and concerns. Upon further request of policies regarding overseas social workers towards the end of this study, the Human Resources Department said that they had stopped recruiting from overseas. They also mentioned, however, that they could not rule out recruiting overseas social workers in the near future. Due to the absence of policy documents specific to overseas social workers within the organisation, LCC policies and procedures did not constitute a major part of this research. Maybe if I had been able to interview LCC managers, I would have learned from them which policies they had found useful in addressing the needs of overseas social workers. The issue of not being able to interview managers has been discussed in the ethics section (p.112).

According to Mahoney (1997), documentation may provide insight into a setting or a group of people in a way that would not be possible purely from observing or using other forms of data collection. However researchers need to be careful when it comes to the use of organisational documentation because they are part of an administrative process and may not reflect reality (Hall and Hall, 2004; Gillham, 2000). The Social Care Code on International Recruitment (SCCIR, 2006) was the closest document that I identified as addressing the needs of overseas social workers and a discussion of this code has been presented in Chapter Two.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews employing open-ended questions were used as the primary tool of data collection to elicit rich detailed material from the Zimbabwean social workers. According to Robson (2002), the use of semi-structured interviews allows rich data to be collected while it remains more thematic and topic centred compared to unstructured interviews. Using interviews as the main data collection method also gave respondents more freedom to express themselves, compared to the use of questionnaires which limit respondents' capacity to expand on their views. The major disadvantage of interviews, besides bias, is that they are time consuming both in preparation and analysis (Robson, 2002).

Twenty-four interviews were carried out between February and May 2008, with 22 of them being face-to-face interviews and two being telephone interviews. Use of semi-structured interview questions enabled me to understand the personal experience of each participant without deviating much from answering the research questions. Due to the nature of their job, some of the social workers had emergency calls when we had scheduled the interviews, resulting in last minute cancellations, rescheduling and some of them remaining too busy over a long period of time and later suggesting that they would respond over the phone. Collecting data through the

use of interviews allowed me to follow up on interesting responses, and in some cases to investigate underlying motives. With the face-to-face interviews messages from non-verbal cues also could be read, unlike with the telephone interviews.

Most of the interviews were conducted at participants' workplaces, in interview rooms, after permission was sought from Large City Council. The reasoning behind this was that participants would be more relaxed and confident within familiar settings. Nevertheless, it turned out that the women participants were not comfortable with being interviewed at work. As a result alternative arrangements were made; one was interviewed in a restaurant, two at a community centre, two at the bed and breakfast where I stayed, one at her home, one over the phone and only one at the workplace. To ensure my safety, I informed someone of interview times and venues at all times.

I asked for permission to record each interview beforehand. Some respondents regard recording as a sign that their responses are of importance and will be reported accurately, other respondents might become anxious and worried about how that information might be used (Hall and Hall, 2004). While two women research participants refused to be recorded on tape, the rest of the participants seemed comfortable and also understood that it would help me to listen to the conversations over and over again and would also help for transcription purposes. For those whom I could not record, detailed notes were taken in shorthand and typed the same day. Quotes from these transcripts are also used in the study. However, during these two particular interviews it became difficult for me to show interest in the conversation and to maintain eye contact with the participant because attention was also needed to concentrate on writing. Recording helps to reduce note-taking, allowing the researcher to concentrate more on prompting and probing (Bryman, 2001). Sparse notes were also taken during recorded interviews, just in case there was a technical fault with the recordings and these helped, especially, with one of the telephone

interviews where the tape recorder interacted with the phone to produce a noisy background. Soon after each interview, I would listen to the recorded interview in a quiet room, checking if everything had been recorded and also to re-capture the moment without any disturbances.

An interview guide (found in Appendix A) with a list of questions or issues to be explored was used to ensure that all research questions were answered. Major areas to be covered included the following:

- reason for migration
- social support upon arrival in the UK
- professional support received as overseas social workers
- opportunities they have utilised as overseas social workers
- challenges they have met along the way as overseas social workers and immigrants in general and how they have managed to cope with the challenges
- how they relate to different groups of people in the UK
- if they have retained links with people in Zimbabwe
- short-term and long-term career prospects
- recommendations for improving the preparation of overseas social workers aiming to practise in the UK.

Information to be gathered in this study included historical and current accounts of experiences, relationships, roles, behaviours, perceptions and attitudes, among other things. Although the interview questions had some order to them, this order would change with each successive interview. However, the first question remained the same throughout the interview process and this was:

Tell me about your migration experience from leaving Zimbabwe to arriving and settling in the UK as an overseas social worker.

Upon hearing the question, more than half the research participants smiled or laughed and then said something like,

Oh, I don't know where to start.

I felt that this kind of question allowed the participant to tell a story rather than answer a question. It was left to the participants to establish what they deemed relevant to their migration experience without any early pointers from me. Depending on the participant's understanding of the question and willingness and/or ability to recall and articulate events, some of the participants covered a good deal of the questions that I had hoped would follow while, with others, I had to probe to get more information on the issues they had raised. There were also certain cases where I had to redirect the conversation after the participant got too carried away in narrating a particular event or in retelling stories of a more personal nature.

I worked on improving the next interview based on previous ones and also ended up, for example, asking a further question on funding for the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, after it had been brought up by a research participant. This was made possible due to the nature of the interviewing process which permits an 'iterative process of refinement', whereby issues identified in earlier interviews may be followed up in subsequent ones (Bryman, 2001).

Questionnaires

The questionnaire consisted of both closed and open-ended questions. It sought information on personal characteristics like age, gender and marital status, work experience and attitude, perception, roles, networks and the behaviour of the social workers throughout their experience

as overseas social workers. Although the questionnaire covered more or less the same content as the interviews, it was more specific when it came to addressing the issue of social capital. It also had questions, which followed up on those Zimbabwean social workers that had left Large City Council to find out why they had left and how their new employer compared to the old one.

Questionnaires are generally cost effective and cover a wide geographical range of respondents (Robson, 2002). They were also used to reach those social workers who could not participate in face-to-face interviews. The main purpose of using the questionnaires was to complement the interviews, which is one of the main reasons for triangulation, alongside that of validating findings (Bryman, 2001). While a survey, through the use of questionnaires, could have been used as the primary method for this research, it limits the number of variables to be analysed, it tries to maintain uniformity and its ability to investigate the context is limited (Agranoff and Radin, 2006).

Twenty questionnaires were sent out to try and reach as many Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC as possible, something that would have been difficult to achieve using interviews only, due to time and financial constraints. The questionnaire had attached to it an information sheet, an informed consent form and a post-paid reply envelope (see Appendix A). Initially, five postal questionnaires were returned from the 20 that I had posted. Reminders were sent to those who had not responded to the postal questionnaires after three weeks and a final reminder was sent another three weeks later. I also had to resort to snowball techniques to distribute 15 more questionnaires by giving them to some of the Zimbabwean social workers I had interviewed, who were prepared to pass on the questionnaires to their colleagues or friends who had left LCC. The major disadvantage of using snowballing to distribute the extra 15 questionnaires was that I could not send a reminder to all intended participants. In the end, 14

out of 35 questionnaires were returned, achieving a 40 percent response rate which I found to be reasonable.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis started as soon as data collection began and this, according to Bryman (2001), allows the researcher to be more aware of emerging themes that might need following up in later interviews. Methods that can be used to analyse qualitative data include analytic induction, grounded theory and thematic analysis. With analytic induction, 'the researcher seeks universal explanations of phenomena by pursuing the collection of data until no cases that are inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation of a phenomenon are found' (Bryman, 2001:389). Analytic induction begins with defining a research problem, formulating a hypothesis and then examining cases till there are no deviant cases. Otherwise the researcher has to redefine the hypothesis to exclude the deviant case or reformulate the hypothesis and re-collect data. Analytic induction as defined by Bryman (2001) was not appropriate for analysing this research because it is an exploratory study focusing more on theory building than theory testing.

Hall and Hall (2004) suggest thematic analysis for qualitative data, particularly when the data comes from semi-structured interviews. In this study, some of the themes from the interview guide (for example, career progression, family, maintaining links with Zimbabwe), which were derived from research questions, were used as codes to look out for in the transcripts. Although thematic analysis was used to some extent to analyse data, it was not sufficient because, instead of concentrating on previously developed themes only, new themes were allowed to emerge from the data. I make it clear when discussing the research findings whether the theme under discussion was pre-determined or obtained from the interviews.

A generic hybrid qualitative data analysis approach drawing upon thematic analysis and grounded theory was used for this study. Grounded theory is 'derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process...theory emerges from data' (Strauss and Cobin, 1998: 12). In this method, data are obtained from research without preconceived ideas and data collection and analysis are closely linked. The two main features of grounded theory are that theory is developed from data and data collection and analysis repeatedly refer back to each other. Data has to be fully transcribed and then coded. Coding is said to be one of the central processes in grounded theory. The iterative process in grounded theory makes it a rigorous process that requires a great deal of time, patience and analytic skill (Allan, 2003b). The study was not able to meet all the requirements for the grounded theory approach as suggested by Strauss and Cobin (1998). It would have been difficult to meet the extent of iteration required in grounded theory due to the fact that time was a constraint.

Collected data were managed and analysed with the help of the qualitative software package NVivo-7. The use of computer software reduces the manual tasks that a researcher has to do, like cutting and filing, and hence saves time. Concerns that have been raised about the use of qualitative analysis software packages include causing the researcher to focus on quantity instead of meaning, homogenisation of qualitative data analysis approaches and the amount of time spent learning how to use such packages (St John and Johnson, 2000). In this case, I attended the first NVivo course more than a year before data collection and, since I did not practise using the software then, I had to attend a refresher course just before data collection.

In this study, interviews were transcribed and then imported into NVivo where each interview was read line by line. All the meaningful words, phrases and sentences that seemed relevant to the research questions were given codes. Coding has been criticised for fragmenting data in such

a way that it loses its context and narrative flow (Allan, 2003b). Those researchers who are against coding may use narrative analysis which allows continuity in the stories told by participants (Bryman, 2001). St John and Johnson (2000) also warn researchers not to get carried away and develop too many codes that will not be utilised efficiently. In NVivo, I found it easy to develop codes, link them, merge, erase and redevelop them. Initially, as many as 155 codes (free nodes as they are called in NVivo) were developed. Combinations of similar codes were grouped to form themes that I would then interpret.

With the questionnaires, I examined how their content answered the research questions the study was investigating. Data from questionnaires were compared to that obtained from the interviews to see if interviewees' responses and those from questionnaire respondents were similar or not. Themes that emerged from the interviews and questionnaires are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

PROFILE OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

In Table 4.1 below is the demographic profile of the 24 Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study between February and May 2008. Names used throughout the study for participants are fictitious, to maintain privacy and anonymity. All the Zimbabwean social workers interviewed for this study worked in the Children, Young People and Families Directorate.

Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of Research Participants

Name	Gender	Age Group	Marital Status	Position at Work	Year of Joining LCC
Itai	Man	36-45	Married	Senior practitioner	Early 2001
Nyasha	Man	36-45	Married	Senior practitioner	Mid 2002
Mufaro	Man	Above 55	Married	Senior social worker	Mid 2002
Sipho	Man	46-55	Divorced	Senior social worker	Early 2002
Ed	Man	36-45	Single	Senior practitioner	? 2002
Ngoni	Man	46-55	Married	Social worker	Early 2007
Tatenda	Woman	46-55	Married	Senior social worker	Early 2001
Ushe	Man	36-45	Married	Senior practitioner	Mid 2001
Tapuwa	Woman	46-55	Married	Senior practitioner	Late 2002
Makanaka	Man	36-45	Married	Senior practitioner	Early 2001
Shamiso	Woman	36-45	Married	Senior social worker	? 2002
Rudo	Woman	36-45	Single	Senior social worker	Late 2002
Chipo	Woman	26-35	Single	Senior social worker	? 2003
Sekai	Woman	26-35	Married	Senior social worker	Mid 2001
Panashe	Man	26-35	Single	Senior practitioner	Mid 2002
Kurai	Man	36-45	Single	Senior social worker	Mid 2001
Thando	Man	36-45	Married	Senior social worker	Late 2001
Vuyo	Man	36-45	Separated	Senior practitioner	Mid 2002
Tawana	Man	46-55	Married	Senior social worker	Early 2003
Theresa	Woman	36-45	Single	Social worker	Mid 2006
Nompilo	Woman	46-55	Married	Social worker	? 2003
Bongai	Man	36-45	Divorced	Senior social worker	Mid 2002
Will	Man	36-45	Married	Senior practitioner	Early 2002
Chenai	Woman	26-35	Single	Senior social worker	Early 2002

N= 24
? - there is no information on the month of arrival

As shown in Table 4.1**,** 15 of the participants were men while 9 were women, giving a total of 24 participants. Despite the fact that the social work sector is said to be dominated by women (Moriarty *et al*., 2008), the majority of the Zimbabwean participants were men. Four of the participants fell within the age group of 26-35, thirteen were between the age of 36 and 45 years, six were between 46 and 55 years, while only one interview participant was over 55 years old. Of the 24 participants, 14 indicated that they were married, seven were single and 2 were divorced, while 1 was separated. At the time of interview, nine of the Zimbabwean social workers were senior practitioners, 12 were senior social workers while three were social workers. The year they started working for LCC ranged from 2001 to 2007, with 19 out of the 24 interviewed social workers having started in the period 2001 to 2002.

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

Almost every postgraduate research student finds the starting point tricky; which area to focus on, which topic to choose, how to define the research problem and so on (Marshall, 1994), and it was no different for me. The whole process, from selecting a topic, gathering data and writing up, involves a range of emotions which have in the past been excluded from research reports (Pickering, 2001; Code, 1993). Some researchers have, however, become interested in emotionality as an element of subjectivity (Pickering, 2001; Alcoff and Porter, 1993; Code, 1993; Stanley and Wise, 1993). My interest in this research developed because I am an immigrant who initially came to the UK to work. The decision to focus on Zimbabwean immigrants was heavily influenced by the fact that I am Zimbabwean. And the focus on Zimbabwean social workers was because many Zimbabwean social workers have migrated to the UK and still very little is known about them and overseas social workers in general. As an immigrant, I was and still am intrigued at the opportunity to discover information that could

influence policy and practice and change the lives of immigrants and their communities. Having been educated using the resources of my country up to a certain level, I feel that it is my duty to contribute something in return by improving the lives of my fellow Zimbabweans, both in 'diaspora' and back in Zimbabwe. As I have succumbed to the pressures of globalisation and migration in particular I also feel it is my duty to make it as comfortable an experience as possible, not only to migrants but to receiving countries like the UK.

When I started, I was anxious about having to engage with the voices of marginalised people. While I was looking forward to carrying out the study, I did not know how to prepare myself for the stress that would come with the whole research process. Marshall (1994: 120) finds it unfortunate that literature on how to get a PhD and debates on methodology do not address stress. The issues that were causes for concern included getting ethical approval and managing the financial strain. And, how was I going to find respondents for the research? How would I make the interview process a smooth one? Would I get relevant information? As the PhD has to be completed within a specified period, time was also a crucial factor. While the university ethical approval sufficed to access Zimbabwean social workers through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, approval from LCC was required to interview LCC managers. While I appreciate the fact that Research Ethics Committees are there to ensure that research is robustly undertaken, in this research institutional practices acted more as a barrier that prevented me from interviewing LCC managers. It proved a challenging process to obtain ethical approval from this organisation as the Research Governance Advisory Committee kept 'shifting goal posts': raising new concerns with each successive application. After incorporating their comments, further comments would be sent to me and more clarification would be required; more changes had to be made and more information had to be given. There came a point where I

felt that maybe they were just trying to discourage me or at least that they did not want to take responsibility for allowing this research due to the sensitive nature of my research topic. I also felt I was being treated unfairly because I was a student and, more so, a black student as my name and intonation over the telephone suggested. The process was extremely frustrating and time-consuming, with disappointing results in the end. While I decided to put the issue of interviewing managers aside, I still hope to pursue this in future research or at least someone has to do it.

In times of frustration I have depended and continue to depend on support from my academic supervisors, friends and family and anti-stress strategies like exercising and taking regular breaks, not forgetting my faith in God which has taken me through my journey as a research student.

This study involved an examination of the experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council, allowing them to reflect on their journey from the decision to leave Zimbabwe to how they have coped with challenges and adapted to life as overseas social workers in the UK. The fact that I was a Zimbabwean student researching Zimbabwean social workers placed me in the interesting position of being an insider-outsider as suggested by Foster *et al.* (2005). The authors, citing Kanuha (2000), explain that, to be called an insider, the researcher has to share social or historical connections with the participants. This will involve the researcher describing a phenomenon that he or she understands or has experienced. An outsider will not share social or historical connections. My position as another Zimbabwean immigrant made me an insider, while the fact that I was a student and not a social worker for Large City Council made me an outsider. Pickering (2001) talks about self and other in relation to insiderness and outsiderness. She refers to self as the researcher or an observer and otherness as

the research subjects. Being self and other during the research project facilitated feelings of closeness at certain times and strangeness at other times. Having also come to the UK to look for work, my past experience, according to Greed (1990: 145), 'enables me to develop sensitising concepts more readily because I already have an awareness and empathy with the issues that an outsider would not be able to develop so effectively in the time available'. There is still the danger that some issues may not catch my attention yet may constitute important information. Delamont (1985) in Greed (1990: 148) says that, in such kind of situations, the researcher should 'struggle constantly to make the familiar strange'.

A day before my first interview, I called a friend and asked her, 'I am interviewing a social worker for my studies tomorrow, what do you think I should wear? Should I be casual or formal?' Despite her advising me to wear formal clothes, I ended up wearing a pair of black casual trousers and a semi-formal shirt. Fontana and Frey (2000) say that the researchers' presentation, like for example dressing down to the respondents' level, will help in the process of establishing rapport. In my situation I thought I might dress up only to get there and find the social workers in jeans. Worrying about my presentation did not stop with the first interview. In another case I was going to interview a man, more like my father's age and, being a young woman who has readily adopted the UK way of dressing, I had to wear a skirt which was more decent and accepted in our Zimbabwean culture. While most of the participants may have also embraced the western way of dressing, I did not want to take chances and offend the research subjects. Throughout the interviews I generally dressed in a way that made me look more mature and demure since I was dealing with people older than me. The atmosphere in the area offices where most of the interviews were carried out also helped me to be invisible, I felt comfortable

going to the social workers' offices because there were people constantly coming and going and others sitting by the waiting area.

The next hurdle was building rapport with the respondents. Before the actual interviews I had already managed to establish relations with three potential respondents and maintained communication with them through e-mail and by telephone. I also tried to talk to each research participant a couple of times before the actual interview, to make the interview appointment, arrange the venue and remind the participant of the interview the day before. Phoenix (1994) reports that, although feminist research is believed to be comfortable due to shared gender, other factors like social class, race, ethnicity and age also count. It was easy for me to establish rapport with the research subjects because we had common factors like being Zimbabweans, being in a foreign country and having the same culture. Although Zimbabwe is generally made up of two major tribes, the Shona people and the Ndebele people, the cultural differences between the two tribes become less significant when in a foreign country. I am Shona in origin but also had to interview a few Ndebele people. The difference in language did not have much effect since the interviews were carried out in English. There were, however, Shona participants who would sometimes use Shona words or phrases during their interviews.

Pickering (2001) talks about how frustrating it can be if a researcher cannot establish rapport to the same level with all participants. I was satisfied with the extent to which I built rapport with each interviewee, except for one participant who seemed uncomfortable and kept looking at her watch. She said she had too much work and was also worried that her senior was going to be looking for her any minute. I had to constantly ask if this participant was willing to continue with the interview or maybe we could re-schedule but she wanted to continue, maybe to get it over and done with I thought. While she touched on many issues, as a researcher I felt that I could

have had more information from this social worker had she not been worried about finishing the interview. Maybe I should have arranged an alternative venue for her outside her workplace, like I did with other women participants.

As previously mentioned, there were social workers who cancelled the interview appointments at the last minute due to emergencies at work. At first I had not prepared myself for this but, with time, I got used to it. This did not cause me any major disappointment and most of these participants showed willingness to reschedule their appointments. What frustrated me were the participants who had indicated willingness to participate in the interviews when speaking to the Zimbabwe Network of Social Workers Committee members who facilitated the interviews, but who when I contacted them, indicated that they were not sure whether they wanted to participate or not. Of course research ethics allow participants to withdraw anytime, but I found having to deal with undecided participants draining. Those who totally changed their minds at the last minute were three women participants. One of them changed her mind when I got to her workplace for the interview, saying she had become busy and did not wish to participate. When I called the other potential participant to say that I was on my way she said she did not want to participate in the interviews due to ill-health caused by stress at work. Having to go over the experience would make it worse for her, she thought, a position which was understandable. The third potential participant told me when I got to her area office that she was going away on holiday the following day, so she was busy. She also said that she would be too busy catching up with work when she returned. I asked her if she would fill out a questionnaire instead but she just smiled and walked away. As a human being, sometimes I would sit and wonder why someone would not have an hour to talk to a fellow national; if not for the sake of improving policy and practice for them as overseas social workers then why not think of just helping me accomplish

my studies. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers requested that I send them the interview questions first so that they could see if they wanted to participate or not. This I did not do because I wanted to avoid a situation where participants could discuss interview questions or think long and hard about what answers to give on the day of the interview. Those social workers who had requested for interview questions beforehand still took part in the interviews. Another participant requested that I send her the questions and said that she would write down the responses because she had a lot of work to do. This I also declined.

Being a Zimbabwean immigrant, I found myself caught between being a researcher and a participant. I am well acquainted with some of the experiences of having to leave your country of origin to come and live in the UK. I made it clear to the research participants, however, that they should not leave out certain information assuming it was common knowledge to every Zimbabwean immigrant. I later noticed that the phrase 'as you know' appeared a number of times in the interview transcripts. The Zimbabwean social workers would say, for example, *'As you know, our weather in Zimbabwe is nice and warm...'* or *'As you know, back home [Zimbabwean] women my age mostly wear skirts....'*

Even though people may be from the same country, migration experiences differ because some people come to the UK to study, others to work. Some people, like the social workers who participated in this study, manage to secure jobs while they are still in their home country but others get caught up in doing informal jobs (McGregor, 2007). While I was relatively at ease interviewing people from my country, there was a feeling of being intrusive and anxieties built around having to be reminded and to remind people of their past. Respondents may find being asked about their lives intrusive and they may also feel vulnerable, fearing how their words may be twisted and how the information may be used (Phoenix, 1994). I had to convince the

participants that I did not mean any harm, I could be trusted. Deep inside I was worried that, after these participants devoted their time to giving me information, what if it did not make a difference to anyone's life? Greed (1990) calls the researcher-researched relationship a give and take relationship. While getting information from the participants will help me complete my research and make progress in my career, I also have to give something back to them by making sure the research results will address their problems and improve their lives (Dominelli, 2005b).

While this research does not focus on investigating the emotions of the Zimbabwean social workers, Stanley and Wise (1993) strongly recommend that emotions of both the researcher and participants should not be ignored. To read the participants' emotions I depended on facial expressions and description of their emotions that the participants themselves volunteered. In some cases, my own experience as an immigrant helped me to realise how deep were the emotions expressed by statements like, '*It's not easy to leave your family and friends to come to a strange country where you know no one*' Or '*I miss home*'; I know how this feels. I responded according to the type of emotions that were being experienced by the research participants and used distracting techniques like changing the topic where necessary. Although some of the participants got emotional when they were addressing sensitive issues, like having left their families in Zimbabwe or struggling to be promoted at work, no one became distressed. I had made debriefing arrangements for the emotional well-being of those participants who needed them, with two committee members of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, before the interviews began. However, there were no observed or reported incidents of distress amongst participants throughout the research process. In the end, some of the research participants said that they had mixed emotions about their migration experiences but felt good having had to talk

about the journey since they never really had a chance to do this. It was easy to tell that being listened to was indeed therapeutic for most of the social workers who participated in this study.

According to Pickering (2001: 486), 'To reveal emotionality about one's self, is not only to reject the neutral observer and knowledge maker role, it is also to take responsibility for the power relations inherent in the research process'. The power dynamics of research make the researcher more powerful at times and the participants more powerful at other times. Ethical considerations in relation to power and control were taken into account throughout the research process and I tried to maintain a balance of power between me as the researcher and the participants. I had the power to decide what to focus my research on but, in an effort to balance power relations, I had an informal chat with a few Zimbabwean social workers to find out what their issues were and to try and actively involve them from the beginning. Research participants had the power to give consent and the fact that respondents had the right to withdraw at any point also shifted power and control towards them. Semi-structured interviews encouraged engagement between me and the research subjects, thereby negotiating power in the process.

Although I was the researcher, in a way I was also the researched. This was because, being a woman and small in stature respondents may have found me less intimidating, while being a student also helped to reduce the gap usually created between researchers and respondents. I found myself being asked several questions ranging from when and why I came to the UK, whether I was a social worker by profession, if I was married or not, when I would finish the PhD, whether I could help in preparing proposals and whether I had information on sources of funding for research projects. I actually felt that respondents who asked me questions showed how comfortable they were in engaging with me. According to Phoenix (1994), the researcher's willingness to answer questions reduces the power gap between researcher and participants. This

creates a less exploitative relationship and a more balanced power relation. Power is constantly negotiated throughout the research process so neither the researcher nor the participant is in control at all times (Dominelli, 2005b). While the research participants had territorial advantage and the right to withdraw during data collection, this changed when it came to data analysis, interpretation and report writing. The fact that I was writing up the research report gave me ultimate power (Stanley and Wise, 1993), and increased the vulnerability of respondents (Pickering, 2001). Research participants may be worried whether their words will be fairly represented and how and by whom information they provided will be used. To ease their worries each participant has been promised a summary of the research findings once the study is complete. I plan to present my findings to respondents and other interested parties within Large City Council through a seminar, so as to get feedback on whether I have accurately represented their voices. This will lessen their fear of how I might have interpreted their words while, at the same time, it will also reduce my anxieties as to whether I have satisfactorily represented the research subjects. A copy of the completed thesis will also be sent to LCC and the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers.

As Williams (1990) puts it, the researcher may find links or similarities between his or her experiences and those of the respondents. 'It is, in this way that I can speak of beginning to understand the experiences of others, by recognising that we are located on the same critical plane of activity and understanding' (op. cit.: 261). While opening up to participants encouraged the building of trust and rapport, I also found it difficult in some cases to draw the line between treating the social workers just as respondents or as newly acquired friends. Was I just going to leave and only call when I wanted follow-up information or call to thank them for participating and then ring once in a while to check how they were doing? Every time I read an interview I

somehow felt connected to the respondent and felt like picking up the phone to call them. Maybe if I had given the participants a small gift of appreciation I would not be feeling so indebted to them. However, as it was self-sponsored research, I had serious financial constraints. I might just attach a thank you card when I send a summary of research findings to the research participants.

Research subjects have a tendency to give politically correct answers (Phoenix, 1994). The fact that I am black and a woman makes me fall into the category that is identified by Stanley and Wise (1993:169) as having 'a unique opportunity to represent directly the experiences and understandings of oppressed people of various kinds…'. I felt that research participants were more trusting in revealing certain issues to me that they may not have been comfortable saying to a researcher of a different race and nationality. For example, the Zimbabwean social workers may not have been comfortable talking about racism to a white researcher. The participants may, however, have concealed other issues from me, like maybe their monthly salary, considering that we are from the same country and maybe would have been more comfortable revealing this to a researcher of another race or nationality. Ethnicity issues which have come up in some earlier studies of Zimbabweans (e.g. McGregor, 2008) did not come up in this study. The fact that I am a Zimbabwean might have made it difficult for the Zimbabwean social workers to talk about their dislike of other Zimbabweans of a different ethnic background when they were not sure if I was Ndebele or Shona or even from some of the smaller ethnic groups found in Zimbabwe. I also felt that the majority expressed very mildly the way they struggled as individuals with issues like accommodation, communication and lack of UK experience because, as professionals, they occupy a higher social position than other Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK who are mostly doing informal jobs, are asylum seekers or students. The Zimbabwean social workers tended to refer to how their fellow Zimbabwean colleagues had suffered more than they did. They made

statements like; *'Some of my friends (other Zimbabwean social workers) were dumped by this other recruitment agency and had nowhere to go, we had to run around to make sure they had somewhere to stay'*. Most of the male social workers emphasised how they had helped others more than they had been helped themselves, reflecting how men want to be seen as providers and in control and not recipients.

The concept of interrogating the role of the researcher is located within feminist methodology. While I am not a feminist, this section of the chapter has been strongly influenced by feminist literature that I have read, some of the authors having been recommended by my supervisors. At some point I actually felt there was a chance of me becoming a true feminist at heart because what some of the authors (Dominelli, 2005b; Pickering, 2001; Phoenix, 1994; Stanley and Wise, 1993; Williams, 1990; Harding, 1987) have written has changed my approach to research. This includes having to write about the researcher's emotions and trying to balance power relations between the researcher and research participants.

When analysing and interpreting data I tried to reflect on how I may have influenced the research through my background, values, experiences, and interests. Certain assumptions may have guided the way I conceptualised the research problem, therefore focusing on certain issues and not others. My experience as a fellow Zimbabwean immigrant may also have influenced the way I gave meaning to the research results. To be reflexive, I tried to understand the biases, assumptions and perspectives that underlay components of my research (Weber, 2003). I thoroughly read through the literature to have a deeper understanding of migration and social capital and how people in different positions may have described such phenomena. I looked at different research methods and how they may have been applicable to this research, instead of just choosing quantitative methods which I am used to. When analysing data, I kept going back

to the findings to check if the meaning remained the same or had changed. Besides reflexivity, I also had to address issues of validity and reliability as discussed below.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Interpretive social science tells us that human beings are social actors who constantly produce meanings by interpreting the world in which they find themselves (Blaikie, 1993). They are constantly involved in interpreting their world, social situations, other people's behaviour and their own behaviour and they develop meaning in the process (op. cit.). By drawing on the interpretive tradition, this research sought to describe or understand the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers in terms of the meanings they constructed and reconstructed as a necessary part of their everyday activities (Bryman, 2001). A qualitative research approach was employed in this study because of its ability to engage research participants in a process of dialogue (Roberts, 2001), thereby enabling them to describe fully their migration experiences, from leaving Zimbabwe to settling in the UK. Findings are reported in a way that brings out the point of view of the Zimbabwean social workers as the social actors involved in reproducing their own social reality. I quote extensively from the interview transcripts, allowing the voices of participants to be heard (Rowley, 2002).

The internal validity of research relates to how findings are congruent with reality, external validity is concerned with the generalisation of findings while reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated (Merriam, 2009). Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested that qualitative researchers adopt new criteria for determining internal validity, external validity and reliability and, this should be credibility, transferability and dependability, respectively. While this notion has been widely adopted in North America, qualitative

researchers in the UK and Europe continue to use the terminology of validity and reliability (Morse *et al*., 2002), as in this study.

As this is a study of a group of Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC, it is easy for managers and policy makers to dismiss unpopular findings from the study by simply arguing that they are not representative (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). The fact that I focused on one group of participants makes the generalisability of findings limited (Hamel *et al.*, 1993) yet, this aspect is important for external validity (Rowley, 2002). I placed emphasis on understanding how Zimbabwean social workers as overseas workers had utilised opportunities and overcome challenges, if indeed they had. The important issue was not generalising findings to a wider population, since this is a relatively new research area for social work, but gaining significant insights into the issues surrounding the recruitment of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK. Instead of aiming for statistical generalisation, the study aims to achieve what Rowley (2002) has called 'naturalistic generalisation'. In this type of generalisation, readers are allowed to make a decision and take the ideas they find relevant from the study, into their own experience. In Chapter Two, details of the research context are presented and these can help readers to judge and see if they can transfer findings to other contexts. Where new theory is generated in a study, that theory can later be tested in other settings (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001). If two or more studies confirm the same findings, a theory can then be established with rigour (Rowley, 2002).

Efforts were made, however, to place the findings from this study within the broader research literature by referring to findings from more or less similar studies like the one carried out by Brown *et al.* (2007). Experiences described by the Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC could be compared with future studies of other migrant groups or of Zimbabwean social workers employed in other local authorities. As interest in the recruitment of overseas social

workers is growing in the UK, I hope that more overseas social workers from different countries will be studied, with this study providing a point of comparison for others. Eventually, patterns may then be established and generalisations made. Also, comparisons were made within this study based on factors like gender and age, and through this means, internal validity was reached. There is also the problem of bias introduced by the researcher's subjectivity and by participants who provide most of the information in the study (Hamel *et al*., 1993). Bias is a problem that all researchers must find ways to deal with (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to reduce bias. Also, throughout the study, I used to meet with my supervisors often to discuss and critically review my work, from reviewing literature, developing the theoretical framework and research questions, implementing the methodology and discussing the research findings.

To enhance validity of a qualitative study, techniques like prolonged engagement with research participants, multiple, persistent observations, triangulation and clarification with participants of tentative findings can be used (Barringer, 2006). From planning the research, I had preliminary discussions with a few Zimbabwean social workers to find out what their issues were. This changed my intended research focus from how the Zimbabwean social workers acted as agents for social, economic and community development to focusing on how they made use of different forms of social capital, to utilise opportunities and overcome challenges they faced as overseas social workers in the UK. Exploratory research was used in the present study, to gain a deeper understanding of the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers and, by providing a rich description, credibility was enhanced. Triangulation, as a 'validity procedure' (Creswell and Miller, 2000), was used to improve the validity of the research. Interviews and questionnaires were used to corroborate the same findings. This helped to provide rigour and

credibility (Rowley, 2002; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). While coding the data I kept going back to the audio tapes, listening to them to check if the meaning had changed. Towards the end of the study, I had to go back to some of the research participants that I randomly selected, and check with them if the way I had interpreted research findings was an accurate representation of their reality.

To strengthen reliability, I thoroughly document research procedures followed throughout the study. The theoretical framework upon which the study is based and the research questions that guided the study are clearly stated while how participants were selected, the methods of data collection and analysis are described. Problems that I encountered during the research process are well documented. Relevant documents, including ethics applications, interview transcripts, questionnaires and references are readily available in a database that I developed for this study. This helps to increase the transparency of the findings and strengthen the repeatability of the research (Rowley, 2002). If other researchers were to repeat this study, using the procedures I have documented, I am confident that major findings will be reproduced.

CONCLUSION

Using qualitative methodology allowed for deep exploration of the Zimbabwean social workers' experiences, which was of importance considering that migration of social workers is a relatively new research area in the UK. While findings from this study may contribute towards theory development, they cannot be generalised to a wider population. There is a need for more studies to be carried out in the same area to allow for comparison and therefore more generation of theory. If similar patterns are established, then generalisability of findings may eventually be possible. Triangulation goes beyond the qualitative-quantitative divide. As a result, data were collected primarily through the use of semi-structured interviews but was complemented with

postal questionnaires. The use of questionnaires helped to access those social workers who could not make themselves available for the interviews. The response to postal questionnaires was poor so that, in the end, snowball techniques had to be used to distribute more questionnaires. The major disadvantage of having used snowball techniques in distributing some of the questionnaires was that reminders could not be sent to most of the potential respondents. Findings from the survey served mainly to confirm findings from interviews although new findings were also obtained. I had not anticipated Large City Council ethics application problems and delays. Otherwise, I would have started the ethics application process much earlier instead of letting the phase of interviewing Large City Council managers depend on information obtained from social workers' interviews. As a Zimbabwean, like the research participants, I acknowledge my insider-outsider status and how I may have influenced this study from choosing a topic, formulating the research problem, analysing data and interpreting it. I tried, however, to be as reflexive as possible throughout the research process. Issues of reliability and validity are also explicitly addressed to enhance the quality of the research. In the next three chapters I present my research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: LEAVING ZIMBABWE TO ESTABLISH A CAREER IN THE UK

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is one of three chapters that present findings from interviews carried out with Zimbabwean social workers between February and May 2008. My aim was to find out about their experiences regarding migrating to practise in a country other than that in which they trained. Most of these social workers were brought into the UK as migrant professionals, directly from Zimbabwe, by UK recruitment agencies following shortages of social workers in the UK (Batty, 2003). Having developed the theoretical framework for this research in Chapter Three, my interest is to apply the concept of social capital to understand and theorise the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers. Although semi-structured interviews were the key data collection method used, questionnaires were also sent out to permit triangulation.

Throughout the next three chapters, findings from the interviews are discussed. In some cases, depending on whether questionnaire responses strongly agree or strongly disagree with findings from the interviews or when they bring up different issues, questionnaire findings from 14 respondents are utilised. Findings from the study are presented on a theme-by-theme basis. While some of the themes emerged from the data itself, others had been pre-determined by the researcher during the development of research questions. This chapter focuses on the first two research questions of the thesis as outlined in Chapter One (pp.3-4):

- What factors influenced the Zimbabwean social workers to migrate?
- In trying to meet their professional needs, did they generate, destroy, maintain or reconstitute social capital upon arrival in the UK?

In an attempt to address these research questions, major themes explored in this chapter are reasons for migration, preparation to practise as overseas social workers and career progression. A demographic profile for research participants is found in Chapter Four, which is the methodology chapter. As previously mentioned, pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis to maintain participants' anonymity and confidentiality. While some of the pseudonyms are English, most of them are tribal names from Zimbabwe.

WHY MIGRATE?

Theories of migration are said to be central to migration studies (Abye, 2007). When the Zimbabwean social workers were narrating their migration experiences, almost all of them felt the need to explain why they came to the UK, indeed what caused them to migrate. Bridging and linking social capital, which can be referred to as 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973), played a major role in influencing the Zimbabwean social workers to migrate. Employment agencies would go to Zimbabwe and launch recruitment campaigns to look for social workers, carry out screening interviews and organize interviews with potential employers in the UK. Instead of migrants relying on bonding social capital to migrate (Abye, 2007; Massey and Aysa, 2005), in this study the Zimbabwean social workers show how bridging and linking social capital can encourage migration. The most common reason for migrating was the need for international exposure which was given by nine social workers including Panashe, who said:

> I went to an international conference of social workers and at that conference I wanted to sort of interact with social workers from around the world … at that conference I also got the feel of saying, OK, if I get the opportunity to work abroad that will be nice because I will have the chance to have the experience of international social work, international exchange.

Another common reason was 'joining the bandwagon' which was given by six of the social workers. Although most of the participants cited international exposure and joining the bandwagon as their reasons for migrating to the UK, the Zimbabwean social workers used the opportunity of migrating to extend their networks so as to meet underlying needs. The majority of the participants gave more than one reason for leaving Zimbabwe and this brings out the interaction of different motives. Some of the reasons proffered were to join family and friends already in the UK, resulting in the strengthening of bonding social capital which had previously been weakened or destroyed by migration (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1997). Reasons such as the need for better healthcare for disabled family members show how migration allowed the Zimbabwean social workers access to linking social capital that was not available in Zimbabwe.

The low status of social work in Zimbabwe, poor working conditions, conflict with colleagues at work, political instability and economic deterioration in Zimbabwe were push factors for a small minority. The Zimbabwean social workers who left Zimbabwe after 2002 reported that it was becoming more and more challenging, practising in an environment where social workers were leaving in masses. To fill in vacancies, the Zimbabwean government had started to recruit graduates trained in other fields to practise as social workers. Those who reported fleeing conflict suggested that this was caused by the government, which was now recruiting graduates trained in other fields to practise as social workers. Bongai commented:

> Any person, with any degree, could now be employed as a social worker and the frustrating thing was you could go for an interview for a senior position and not get the job. Instead, even senior positions were being given to those graduates from other disciplines and they had to make decisions that impacted upon our practice as social workers.

Ngoni, who left Zimbabwe much later, also talked about how working with people who were not trained as social workers resulted in too much conflict at work, and this was the major reason that made him decide eventually to leave Zimbabwe for the UK. Non-social workers recruited to practise as social workers in Zimbabwe 'have no knowledge of social work principles, ethics and values – let alone social work methods of service delivery' (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006:170). According to these authors, the recruitment of non-social workers in Zimbabwe resulted in many cases where social work clients were not being properly handled and poor reports being produced.

The neo-classical theory of migration explained in Chapter Three (p.76) of this thesis suggests that people migrate due to wage inequalities, while the 'new economics of migration' theory (p.77) talks about migration as a way to minimise risks to family income. These two theories are somehow relevant in explaining what caused Zimbabwean social workers to migrate as the literature review suggests that by early 2000, when most of them migrated to the UK, the Zimbabwean economy was beginning to struggle. Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006: 165) report that although social, political and economic problems in Zimbabwe 'had been simmering over a long time, the year 2000 saw the problems become more visible ... this period also witnessed the protracted mass exodus of scores of social work professionals to the Diasporas'. One particular respondent, Itai, who admits to the economic and political situation having driven him out of Zimbabwe says:

> This is a time when the economy was deteriorating, the political environment itself was going in the same direction, this is a time when the whole agrarian system had eroded into nothing really … that's when the land grab started and as a result personally I felt it was time to look elsewhere.

Although economic and political reasons have been reported to be the major reasons why Zimbabweans migrate (McGregor, 2009; Bloch, 2008; Pasura, 2008a), most of the Zimbabwean social workers did not cite economic reasons as a key contributing factor to their leaving Zimbabwe. While five of the research participants mentioned economic factors as a secondary reason for migrating, seven participants voluntarily mentioned that the economic situation had nothing to do with their leaving Zimbabwe, as shown by the following statements from Will and Tatenda, respectively:

> When I came here, although it is classified as economic migration, it was a personal decision that I made, not that the situation was bad in Zimbabwe then, no it wasn't.

> Although there were other issues like the economy which was starting to deteriorate, that wasn't the major reason why I left home ….

Probably these social workers left at a point when they could foresee that the Zimbabwean economy was taking a downward spiral but they were not individually feeling the effects. These findings challenge especially both the 'neo-classical theory' and the 'new economics of migration theory' which view migration reasons mainly in economic terms. Overseas workers are stereotyped as exclusively economic migrants by local people (Alonso-Garbayo and Maben, 2009; Larsen *et al*., 2005), and this seems to place them on the lower levels of the social ladder in host countries. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study felt that their British colleagues and even social services service users viewed them as having run away from poverty, regardless of their being professionals. Shamiso said:

> Even the clients [social service users] look down upon you, they think that they are better than you because you are from Africa. They ask you questions like, 'Did you own a telly (television) back in your country?' or 'I hear you don't have houses in Africa, you live in trees with baboons, you wouldn't want to go back to your country now, would you?'

Itai had this to say, regarding being looked down upon by the local British social workers:

> I would drive to the office, they would all stand by the windows because initially we used to use buses. When I bought a car they all stood by the windows to find out who is this driving. To me as a person, it's denigrating my being, I mean, it's dehumanising my status as God's image if you want to put it that way.

The 'new economics of migration' theory assumes that migration is a household decision but findings from this research reveal power struggles within households. Ngondo and Djamba (2004) suggest that migration decisions are in most cases made by husbands as they are more powerful than their wives and children. The power struggles brought forward by these authors particularly apply to married couples. Although the Zimbabwean social workers who were married when they migrated reported having discussed the decision to migrate with their husbands, for the single ones it was reported as a personal decision that they informed their families about. Both the male and female Zimbabwean social workers who were single when they made the decision to migrate seem to have had more power than their fathers in Zimbabwe, despite the fact that gender relations in Africa traditionally give more power to men. The fact that the female social workers who were single made their own decision to migrate could have something to do with them being adults and more educated than their fathers. This shows that while fathers may have more power when their children are young, power is constantly negotiated as pointed out by Dominelli (2005b), even within households, and over time the power balance may shift from one member to another.

Dual labour market theory (p.78) says that people migrate due to the need for foreign labour in developed countries (Lee *et al*., 2005). This could be one of the reasons why the Zimbabwean social workers migrated to the UK, especially those who in their interviews did not give a

substantial reason for migrating. UK local authorities and recruitment agencies were running recruitment campaigns in Zimbabwe (Batty, 2003) to fill staff shortages in the social services sector. All the Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study were recruited by Large City Council to Children's Services as this has always been the directorate with more social worker shortages. As discussed in Chapter Two, it remains the one more in need of social workers (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009). British social work professionals may be gravitating away from working with children, an area of practice that, according to the Zimbabwean social workers is challenging and risky, with many problems also having been reported in the media (BBC News, 2010; Stevenson, 2009; Laming, 2003). While dual labour market theory is relevant in explaining why most of the Zimbabwean social workers migrated to the UK, two of the social workers reported having come to work in the UK well after British companies had been discouraged from recruiting from developing countries, for moral and ethical reasons. Recently, there have been reports that some UK local authorities have resumed advertising social work posts in African countries like South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe, although the campaigns are no longer as aggressive as they were around the year 2000 (Mupedziswa, 2009: personal communication).

One of the mainstream migration theories, the 'world systems theory' (p.80) states that migration is caused by globalisation and draws on links that were created during colonialism (Kubursi, 2006). Zimbabwe being a former British colony, old colonial ties which constitute a form of linking social capital, may have influenced some of the Zimbabwean social workers' decision to migrate to the UK and not to other countries if they aimed to get international exposure. As a consequence of colonialism, English remains the official language in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean education system mirrors that of the UK and they are fully aware of the details of

British history as earlier suggested by Brah (2000). It was only from around the mid-1990s to the year 2000 that major changes were made to localise Zimbabwean 'O' level and 'A' level syllabi, with examinations being wholly run by the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) instead of in conjunction with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (Xinhuanet, 2002). Although the localised examinations are said to be comparable to British standards, individual students can still opt to take local examinations, Cambridge examinations or both (Maingire, 2009). The Zimbabwean social workers in this study also talked about how social work education in Zimbabwe is significantly influenced by the British social work system. While social capital created between colonial states and their colonies may have previously benefited the UK more, back in colonial days, the situation has changed as the needs of communities in the two countries have changed. Now, the UK has been reported to be one of the major destinations for Zimbabweans who migrate (Mupedziswa, 2009b; Bloch, 2005; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002) Being in the UK allows Zimbabwean immigrants to send remittances back home, giving them a chance to reverse the exportation of resources from the former colony (Pasura, 2010b). These Zimbabwean immigrants are said to be sending significant remittances to Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008). The contribution of the Zimbabwean social workers in Zimbabwe is explored in Chapter Seven where transnationalism is discussed.

Mainstream migration theories (Neo-classical theory, New Economics of Migration theory, Dual Labour Market theory, World Systems theory) are relevant to some extent in explaining why people migrate, but they do not address some of the migration reasons given by the Zimbabwean social workers in this study like the need for better medical facilities and flight from political instability, among others. Reasons why these social workers migrated are varied and complex. The mainstream theories do not seem to have embraced new concepts like social capital, yet

networks, one of the features of social capital, keep coming up as important to migration processes, in this research and previous studies (Abye, 2007; Ngondo and Djamba, 2004; Vertovec, 2002).

Although the Zimbabwean social workers may cite various reasons for migrating, without forming or accessing social capital they would not have migrated. Four of the social workers came to visit friends and family and then decided to look for work, which shows the role bonding social capital can play in the migration process. Three of the research participants were recruited by Large City Council directly from Zimbabwe, while 17 were recruited through agencies. This shows that most of the Zimbabwean social workers developed bridging and linking social capital through links with recruitment agencies and potential employers while they were still in Zimbabwe. Following on from Putman and Goss (2002), they had access to more superior forms of social capital, bridging and linking social capital, which enabled them to access resources outside their own networks. These outward-looking types of social capital are 'public regarding', hence of more benefit to generating rich social capital in society (Putnam, 1998).

While in the past immigrants including Zimbabweans have been known to occupy low status jobs, with both educated and uneducated Zimbabweans mostly working as carers (McGregor, 2007), these social workers migrated to the UK as professionals with most of them having secured skilled jobs before migrating. When immigrants arrive in a foreign country they tend to undergo a transition period where they have to find accommodation, establish themselves within that country's social structure, learn and adapt to that country's laws and regulations and most importantly find a job (Lochhead, 2003). Lochhead (2003) calls this period a 'transition penalty' and further suggests that the longer it takes for migrants to get a job, the longer and more severe their 'transition penalty' becomes. The fact that the Zimbabwean social workers in this study

came through organized recruitment makes their experience different from most Zimbabwean immigrants who have had to look for jobs when they first arrived in the UK (McGregor, 2007; Bloch, 2005). This makes the Zimbabwean social workers under study exceptional because, due to their ability to create linking social capital while still in their home country, they did not struggle with finding jobs or applying for work permits. As a result, their 'transition penalty' would have been less severe and shorter compared to Zimbabwean migrants who have relied on bonding social capital to migrate (McGregor, 2007; Bloch, 2005).

The experiences of some of the social workers bring out how the different forms of social capital can be complementary. Although advertisements were being placed in local newspapers, information about the recruitment campaigns in Zimbabwe reached some of the social workers through friends and colleagues. Makanaka said:

> Initially I didn't even know there were people who were recruiting social workers from Zimbabwe … somebody saw this M&R agency recruiting people and they gave my name. The next thing I got was a telephone call to say 'Can you come for an interview', so I went and they said 'Yes, you are very suitable', so they took my name and they said they were going to submit my name to local authorities here.

Also bringing out how different forms of social capital can complement each other is the fact that some of the social workers, like Mufaro, used the opportunity provided by the recruitment agencies to join their spouses, friends and relatives already in the UK:

> When she [wife] got the job, I was left on my own because my children had already left Zimbabwe … It was quite easy [to make the decision to migrate] because I was left lonely in Zimbabwe … If it wasn't for my wife who was already here I wouldn't have come.

In the above case, weaker ties through linking social capital were used to reinforce bonding social capital. The fact that this participant and a few others had family or friends in the UK but had to rely on recruitment agencies to join them exposes a weakness of bonding social capital associated with limited resources, problems with visa applications and problems getting a skilled job. What can be highlighted is the fact that, where it is possible to draw upon bridging and linking social capital, this can be more effective in facilitating migration compared to bonding social capital embodied in friends and family. This might have to do with bridging social capital, for example, being a superior form of social capital, as suggested by Putnam and Goss (2002), thereby enabling access to more efficient resources. In this particular situation, weaker ties formed by Zimbabwean social workers while still in their home countries facilitated their work permit applications, helped to cover their transport costs and provided employment upon arrival. The next section focuses on how Zimbabwean social workers in this study relied on social capital to meet their professional needs.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Interviewees were asked what preparation they had to practise in the UK as overseas social workers. There was also another question which required them to comment on opportunities they had had for professional development. Issues that came up included induction provision, training opportunities and career progression, among others, and these are discussed below.

Induction and training

Researchers have debated whether or not social work practice translates easily across borders (Welbourne *et al.*, 2007). Research participants were asked to comment on how they were prepared to practise as overseas social workers in the UK. Although the Zimbabwean social workers were of the view that basic social work values are universal and that their training in

Zimbabwe was derived from the British education system, most of the social workers still felt the need for additional training when they arrived in the UK. They looked to their employer (linking social capital) to provide them with induction and training. Challenges which faced the Zimbabwean social workers included lack of induction and shadowing opportunities, the UK legislation, the local accent, lack of recognition of their professional qualifications and not knowing the local culture, as previously noted by Tobaiwa *et al*. (2006) and White (2006). Although Abye (2007) talks about how knowledgeable people from developing countries are about Western countries' values before they even migrate to those countries, findings from this study were different, with most of the participants' responses implying that they experienced 'culture shock' when they first arrived in the UK.

According to Principle 5 of the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment, international social workers should by the end of their induction have the same level of knowledge and proficiency as someone trained in the UK. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, the above principle does not specify what the induction should entail or for how long it should last so the decision rests with the employer. Although the migration literature has established the importance of bonding social capital to migrant communities (Stodolska and Santos, 2006; Mand, 2006; Massey and Aysa, 2005), this is a requirement that immigrants cannot fulfil if depending largely on their own networks. The Zimbabwean social workers relied upon linking social capital through their employer for induction and training. Those social workers who were among the first groups of Zimbabweans arriving in 2001, and some of those who were recruited as individuals in later years, reported having had no induction when they started. According to one of the social workers who came early in 2001, they were the 'guinea pigs'; the system did not know how to handle overseas social workers. The Zimbabwean social

workers also felt that they were not given time to adjust to their new settings; instead, they were allocated cases to work on as soon as they started since they were 'experienced social workers'. Yet, in terms of their salaries they started at the bottom. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers believed that, given their circumstances, they coped very well, with a typical response being one from Itai, one of the first Zimbabwean social workers to work for LCC:

> We proved beyond reasonable doubt, within the short period that we came in, that we were very able to do the job … and as soon as we proved our worth, though the department did not want to acknowledge fully that we were able to do this, they went back and recruited in mass social workers from Zimbabwe because of what we had demonstrated, what we were able to do.

For those who came later, induction ranged from one week to one month and covered issues like getting around town, the structure of the organisation, the legal framework, child protection procedures, presentations from practitioners and role play. Those Zimbabwean social workers who came earlier reported having helped LCC to prepare a more comprehensive induction package which tried to address problems that they had faced. Only two social workers were satisfied with the induction that they received. They felt that this was good enough considering that the social work skills that they had acquired from Zimbabwe were transferrable. An added advantage according to one of the satisfied social workers was that the local authority had just changed from using what they called primary assessments to the linear framework assessment so everyone, including the local social workers, was being trained to use the new system. There could have been other individual attributes like high self-esteem or previous international exposure which made it easier for some social workers to adapt to UK practice compared to their fellow Zimbabwean social workers. All the female respondents had concerns with the support that they received in preparation for practising in the UK, but there were no significant

differences between the responses from men and women, who all felt that the induction they had did not prepare them enough.

White (2006:8) views 'cultural differences in the way people relate to each other' as one of the greatest challenges for foreign-trained social workers. Both the interview participants and questionnaire respondents were given an opportunity to mention any challenges they had faced as overseas social workers and, if they had, how they overcame them. All of the Zimbabwean social workers reported having struggled with the cultural aspect in one way or the other, as shown by Tapuwa's statement recalling her experience when visiting service users during her first days:

> When you get into someone's house [a service user], do you sit down, do you shake hands, what do you do?

Bridging social capital through having British friends could have helped the Zimbabwean social workers to learn about British culture more easily and quickly. Large City Council could also have promoted the formation of bridging social capital between the Zimbabwean social workers and their British colleagues by providing shadowing opportunities. Training on UK social norms could also have helped the Zimbabwean social workers. Theresa said:

> I remember during the early days someone said, 'Have you spoken to the child's GP [General Practitioner]', and I was saying 'Oh, does the child have a GP?' Where I come from, not everybody has a GP. You know, people have a GP when they are sick, when they are referred to a GP, it is things like that. You later on discover that, oh, everybody has a GP, when they move from here to there, they change register, whether they are sick or not.

One of the participants said that it was quite distressing having to do a visit on her own, soon after induction, and at some point she even took a bus going in the opposite direction and she got really scared because it was during winter and it was already dark outside. In this case, most of

the Zimbabwean social workers felt that their employers could have done more by assessing individuals first, finding out how much they needed to learn and offering shadowing opportunities.

The Zimbabwean social workers also felt that having cultural orientation as part of their induction could have eased their difficulties in learning the British culture and tradition. Instead, they had to read widely about the local British culture at the same time as they had to research social work practice in the UK. While Chipo said she had never researched like that in her whole life, this is how Ngoni tried to deal with the matter:

> I had to understand them and have meanings for their interaction ... I read quite a number of materials, I read newspapers, listened to the television, joined local church groups where I would mix and interact with, you know, the British people.

Will, Kurai and Theresa commented that, as overseas social workers, their learning is an on-going process, with Theresa emphasising how her learning has mostly been by 'trial and error.'

Most of the respondents reported having struggled to create bridging social capital through associating with British social workers. While this appears to support the view of Putnam (2000) that migration reduces one's social capital, the complexity of migration processes makes it difficult to tell for certain whether migration strengthens or weakens it. Putnam's view, above, ignores the fact that social capital comes in different forms. While all the participants in this study made use of social capital in their transition to becoming experienced and settled in the UK, research findings show that different forms were used for different purposes at different times depending on their needs, initially as a group and later as individuals. Their story so far shows that the Zimbabwean social workers left their country as migrants who came to the UK for employment. In their journey to become immigrants they felt they had to depend on each other

as Zimbabwean social workers (bonding social capital), to settle in the UK and for professional guidance to overcome the ineffectiveness of helping agencies. Being in the UK meant that there were more opportunities to expand their overall social capital base. Maybe, had there not been a large group of Zimbabwean social workers in Large City Council, these overseas social workers could have opened up and invested more in the creation of bridging and linking social capital soon after arriving in the UK.

Career Progression

The Zimbabwean social workers had to rely solely on linking social capital for promotion at work. When they arrived in the UK, they were told by their employer that they were 'an unknown quantity' and had to start at entry grade despite years of experience. White (2006) acknowledges that social work qualifications obtained in different countries are not equivalent but can still be assessed comparably. It is highly unlikely that a fair assessment of the Zimbabwean social workers, taking into account their qualifications which included a degree in social work for some and years of experience, would have placed all of them at the same level as a recent UK graduate. LCC had no system in place to assess the Zimbabwean social workers or promote them rapidly, commensurate with qualifications, knowledge and skills. Most of them expressed their disappointment in the system which only wanted to know about their Diploma, regardless of them having further qualifications, and some of the Zimbabwean social workers felt exploited. Sipho, who was a research fellow back in Zimbabwe, expressed his frustration:

> What frustrates is most of the people come, they hide their qualifications, you just produce your Diploma, you can't tell them you've got a Master's or a PhD, they say they pay per Diploma and then they will increase the money as you gain experience and attend their internalised [in-house] courses. So it doesn't surprise you that someone with a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ), who did their funny courses and obtained their local certificate from here is by far your senior and maybe you were a lecturer or

> whatever from home. You come here they want to see only your diploma against your culture and flow of things.

Even if they got promoted later on, the inequality was built in at the beginning and will affect their salary for as long as they work as social workers or in related jobs. White (2006) mentions an advertisement by the British professional press where mature and experienced overseas social workers were required. Although the Zimbabwean social workers who joined Large City Council did not have their experience considered, advertisements such as the one referred to by White (2006) in the above statement show that there are other overseas social workers from developed countries who have their work experience taken into account by UK local authorities. As previously suggested, institutional racism could have played a role in devaluing Zimbabwean social workers' qualifications and work experience. The Zimbabwean qualifications could not have been much of a challenge to evaluate with respect to the British qualifications considering that, as a former British colony, the medium of instruction from Grade 1 up to University level is English, the 'O' and 'A' level examinations till 2000 were set in the UK and the curriculum, as argued by Brah (1996), has very little about Africa itself.

Having started at entry level, the Zimbabwean social workers had to constantly re-negotiate their position and for this they had to look beyond bonding social capital. They were promised that after six months they would be assessed for progression to become senior social workers. They had to negotiate ties that would help them to access resources outside their own ethnic networks. They felt that they had to work harder than the local social workers to prove their competence which is in line with previous research on overseas workers (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010; Brown *et al*., 2007; McGregor, 2007). It also happened that not all the social workers got progressed as soon as they had finished their six months, instead one had to be very assertive and keep asking

the managers when they would be assessed. As a result it took much longer for some people to be progressed than others. Eleven participants voluntarily mentioned not having been progressed after the six months. According to some of the participants, their employer did not follow what was written on the contracts that the Zimbabwean social workers had signed. Vuyo expressed his dissatisfaction as follows:

> Our contract stipulated that we were supposed to be quickly accelerated within the first six months … I was one of the people who struggled to be progressed. Now they were saying 'Well, talk to your managers', so people got demoralised in the process and this then led to a mass exodus to join private agencies and other local authorities.

Vuyo's contract with LCC was for two years, so when he finished those two years without being assessed for progression he decided to leave the local authority.

When the social workers were asked about their professional development, they measured it in different ways, such as:

- salary increase to almost double the initial salary
- being progressed to a senior social worker and then senior practitioner for some
- having learned new things
- being able to carry out duties more confidently
- having attended lots of training courses including Post Qualification 1 (PQ1), Post Qualification 2 (PQ2) for others and other relevant degrees.

Another participant who was not happy with her career progression was Tapuwa who felt that it has been a downward spiral since coming to the UK. She said:

> I found myself bundled up with someone who had just graduated from university, that's what it has been like. Initially I felt deskilled but I quickly caught up ... but, career-wise, I don't see myself, with the environment, I can't see myself getting higher.

While the majority of the participants were not satisfied with their progression to senior posts there were about six Zimbabwean social workers who now seemed content with their positions. The general feeling was that many Zimbabweans should have been promoted to managerial positions, considering their numbers and the years they had served in that local authority. Although the social workers felt that having three recently appointed Zimbabwean managers within the local authority was not good enough, some of their statements showed reluctance to occupy managerial positions. This is what Nyasha had to say:

> If I wanted to go higher I think by now I could have, but I didn't see the purpose, I didn't see the need, but where I wanted to be I got there.

Making an almost similar statement was Will who said:

> When it comes to positions at work, I've gone through the ranks and I've come to a point in my life where I have said I do not want to go further than where I am in social work, as a senior practitioner. I do not want the responsibilities, I do not want the trouble … I do not have that ambition for both professional and personal reasons.

The Social Work Task Force (2009b) found that the career structure in social work did not promote advancement for those who wished to remain in frontline practice, compared to other professions like teaching and nursing which offer advanced and consultant levels. The Task Force therefore recommended that a career structure be developed for social workers where they would be able to choose from three career routes: advanced practice, practice teaching and management. For LCC to have employees who are reluctant to occupy senior positions may mean that the Zimbabwean social workers remain underutilised despite the local authority dedicating resources to train them and equip them to progress. When there is need to fill senior positions they may have to get outside people who know less about LCC compared to an internal

person, and this will mean more training about the organisation's structure and culture. Also, not having ethnic minority employees in managerial positions may be viewed as discrimination.

Nine interviewees said that they were now senior practitioners, while 12 mentioned being senior social workers. Three participants who had joined LCC in 2003, 2006 and 2007 were still social workers. This shows that, unlike with bonding social capital where resources can easily be accessed through people you know, with bridging and linking social capital someone may have to prove their worth before they can benefit from weak ties. One of the three social workers who had joined the local authority much later mentioned that he had been told that he would be assessed for progression after 18 months, which is different from the six months that had been promised to earlier groups of Zimbabwean social workers. One of the Zimbabwean social workers who was a senior practitioner at the time of interview was later promoted to become a team manager. This information was obtained when arrangements for disseminating research findings to the Zimbabwean social workers were being made.

Three of the interviewees had left LCC with no promotion after two years of service. Failure to access more resources by these three social workers led them to abandon their established linking social capital through LCC in pursuit of more beneficial ties to new employers. One of the three social workers even mentioned that his salary when he left LCC in 2004 was about £19,000 per annum, while Sekai who had also left the local authority just said she had not really 'gone up the ladder'. From the questionnaire respondents, four said they were team managers (two being deputy team managers), six were senior practitioners while four were senior social workers. I assume that three of the questionnaire respondents who were unemployed at the time of completing the questionnaire must have stated the positions they occupied in their previous jobs. Of the nine questionnaire respondents who had left Large City Council, eight of them said that

they had left as social workers without promotion. Most of the questionnaire respondents who had left LCC felt that working for private agencies was better as they earned more money for their hard work. Five questionnaire respondents who had left LCC reported to have found it easier to be promoted at work with their new employers. One of them, who is now a deputy team manager, commented that he found it easier to get promotion where he is now working in London and he felt that, had he remained working for LCC, he would not have reached that managerial position. Four of the nine questionnaire respondents who had left LCC felt that there was not much difference between LCC and their new employers in terms of career progression and meeting their needs as overseas social workers.

Poor management was the most common reason for leaving LCC given by questionnaire respondents in this study, followed by lack of promotion. Nine Zimbabwean social workers are now senior practitioners; this shows that some of those who stayed with LCC eventually succeeded in acquiring more senior positions. There were also reports from some of the interviewees that there were currently three Zimbabwean managers within the local authority. Ed expressed his excitement when mentioning this development:

> We have come a long way but there is no stopping us. Who would have thought there would be a Zimbabwean manager in Large with the way they treated us. Finally, they have acknowledged [that Zimbabwean social workers can also be managers], in one of the area offices.

Most of the Zimbabwean social workers felt unable to change employers when they were on the LCC work permit, although some still managed to look for employment elsewhere. Social capital can therefore act as a barrier that prevents members of a group or community from extending their networks. After five years, when the Zimbabwean social workers qualified for 'indefinite

leave to remain' in the UK, the majority of the social workers felt a shift of power in their favour and were freer to decide if they wanted to remain with LCC, join a different local authority or work for private employers. Of the four interview participants who had left the local authority to work for a private agency, one was Sekai who said:

> You see, the good thing is we only had to put up with that [treatment of overseas social workers] when we were still on their work permit for about five years, then, from there, I had my indefinite leave to remain so I had the freedom and flexibility to work wherever I wanted to, so I got out.

When the interview participants were asked about their future career plans, none of them wanted to retire as a practising social worker. About six participants had since obtained other qualifications from the local university in various fields, including management, teaching and international relations, and wanted to use those skills instead of remaining a social worker. Many other participants also mentioned being in the middle of their studies or having intentions to go and study. Bongai had this to say:

> Ever since coming to the UK, my view of the social work profession has changed. There is no way I can live my life like this, it's the frustration of practising here. Everyone is working against you, the clients, colleagues, management, including the director's office which is the highest office. With the risky nature of child protection work, people should work together. Anyway, I am in the process of completing an MBA which I am going to use to exit the social work profession. I want to work in management in a completely different area, as far from social work as possible.

Most of the social workers had plans to leave the profession, some sooner than others. Maybe some of these Zimbabweans view social work as a means to an end and not necessarily an end in itself. Will also expressed his intention to leave social work practice but would act on a different plan:

> You know, it's quite painful being a social worker in this country, a painful experience, of which I don't foresee myself, you know, where I am right now, I don't know how to put it … I've got a feeling that there should come a point where I should look back and acknowledge what I have done, be proud of my achievements and say it's time to move on. I don't want to retire while still a social worker. Now I'm starting to work towards leaving this job, I want to work for two years, put my savings aside and make a decision that I'm going, no matter what … I think I've done the best possible. Whether Zanu PF remains the ruling party or not, one good thing is I'll be going with my own things, start my own life, I won't be working for someone but for myself, running my own things.

The above statements by Bongai and Will show lack of job satisfaction by the Zimbabwean social workers. If many social workers experience such dissatisfaction, employee retention in social work will remain a problem in the UK. Previous research has established that even local British social workers leave the profession at some point, some as early as after just one year of practising as a social worker (Mulholland, 2009; Moriarty *et al*., 2008). Overseas social workers like the Zimbabwean social workers in this study may stay with one employer for longer as they are at times bound by their work permits, unlike the local British social workers who can change employers more easily. High employee turnover means that local authorities have to recruit social workers often, invest resources in training the new social workers and then lose them again, leading to discontinuities and disruption of service provision (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming). One of the interviewees was about to leave the social work profession within two months into a new venture. He had a completely different reason for leaving as shown by his statement below:

> For me I'm taking a different direction. I'll be leaving social work just to do something else, probably where I belong. But I'm not leaving because I got tired of social work, no, I feel like I've been called to do something else, so it's a different departure. I'm leaving

> social work happy, content, having done the most I can in the profession but I feel I have to take a different direction because God has some plans for me in that direction.

Almost all the Zimbabwean social workers were satisfied with their access to training courses with those who had left LCC mentioning it as a major advantage compared to working for private agencies. Although the Zimbabwean social workers were recruited well before the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment was launched, almost all the respondents felt that they had access to education and training courses equal to that of British social workers. They said there were many training opportunities and the local authority was always happy to sponsor them. As a result, the social workers had undertaken a good deal of in-house training, had completed their Post Qualifying (PQ) training (PQ1 and for some PQ2) while others were studying for degrees like MBA from the University of Large. Nyasha described the courses he had undertaken:

> Oh a lot, probably too many. I've done PQ1, what you call Post Qualifying, and I've done a B.Phil, you know, Social Work, Bachelor of Philosophy in Child Care. I just graduated in December and they have paid for me. I have done training as a Unison shop steward, I've had a lot of training … I've done it all and they have paid for everything I wanted, for everything I said I wanted to do....

The female social workers, however, did not seem to have done as much training and education as their male counterparts. Some of the women talked about how family obligations like child bearing and child care had prevented them from going to university to further their education. This means that, for these women, bonding social capital acted as a constraint to accessing linking social capital which could have been created by them going to university. Another reason given by these female participants for not attending as much in-house training as their male counterparts was lack of awareness of training opportunities. Investing in education seems to be one of the ways in which the Zimbabwean social workers tried to recover from the loss of status

they suffered 'in a system that does not recognise overseas experience' (McGregor, 2008: 478). The Zimbabwean social workers showed a sense of worth when they started talking about how much they had accomplished in terms of education. Stodolska and Santos (2006) report a lack of desire by Mexican immigrants to upgrade their qualifications, putting earning money to support their families as their priority. While some African immigrants have been reported as taking degrees like nursing and social work so as to get jobs easily and eventually obtain citizenship in the UK, studying is a general trend observed among Zimbabweans, including those in informal work who, according to McGregor (2008), mostly define their status by what they are studying rather than the low status jobs they are doing in the UK. This means that linking social capital is enabling the Zimbabweans to access education, thereby allowing them to redefine their status in the UK.

Reynolds (2008) talks about how ethnic minorities feel discriminated against in the job market, resulting in some of the subsequent Afro-Caribbean generations who want better jobs returning to their home countries. If the Zimbabwean social workers ever decide to return to Zimbabwe, they will have more than just experience and international exposure. They have undertaken professional development in terms of in-house training and university education and have created bridging and linking social capital through forming relations outside their own Zimbabwean networks. However, even after many years of practising in the UK, the difference in social work practice in Zimbabwe and the UK remains an issue as most participants tended to compare the two, as discussed in the following section.

Views on Social Work Practice

Most of the Zimbabwean social workers emphasised how social work values are the same everywhere. Typical responses included the following:

> After all, social work, the basic values and knowledge and skills are the same, globally they are the same. The only thing that will vary will be the community, the procedures, the policies and the culture of the people, the cultural context.

and:

> Social work is like water, it can fit into any container, but what is important is that the container shapes the water. I think what was lacking in Large (LCC) was that, whilst we were qualified as social workers, they did not take the opportunity to mould us into matching the environment that we were working under.

Tobaiwa *et al*. (2006) have referred to social-work training in Zimbabwe as 'western-based', and the Zimbabwean social workers also emphasised how Zimbabwean social work training is derived from the British system. However, they found the context very different in the UK. They also felt that they were not given time to adjust to their new settings, instead they were allocated cases to work on as soon as they started, just because they were experienced social workers. This was quite a challenge for them, considering that the issues that they were used to dealing with in Zimbabwe, like poverty alleviation, were very different from the ones they had to deal with in the UK and the casework approach they had to use was different from the community and co-operative approach that they used in Zimbabwe. To address some of the gaps, the research participants said they tended to call round to see if any of their fellow Zimbabwean social workers had dealt with a similar case. In the end, they had to form an association which they called the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Through this network, the Zimbabwean social workers would meet to share their experiences and help each other (the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers is discussed in detail in Chapter Six). Despite the research participants having been recruited under Children's Services, some of them talked about how their training in Zimbabwe was generic. This genericism made it easy for them to move from one area of social work to another. Vuyo and Ed explained that social work training in Zimbabwe

was ‘wide and shallow’ covering all areas, while in the UK it was ‘narrow and deep’, allowing people to specialise from the word go.

Besides the cultural context, the legal framework was also cited as a challenge by many social workers, including Nyasha who said:

> There are so many legislations here, there are so many rules and regulations, not to say in Zimbabwe there are no rules and regulations, they are there, but I think that they are not as intrusive and as massive as here. Here, for everything you do, there is legislation on this, there’s legislation on that and you’ve got to know and be up to date with that.

To become knowledgeable about and cope with the legislation, the Zimbabwean social workers had to read a lot. Dealing with paperwork was another challenge commonly cited by these migrant social workers. The Social Work Task Force (2009b) also reported that social workers spend 22 per cent of their time on client-related work, recording notes. This is how Shamiso felt:

> The amount of paperwork one has to do! It’s like the computer has taken over social work practice, I have become a secretary.

A lot of the participants commented on the welfare state and how they thought it encouraged the dependency syndrome. Some of the social workers felt that too much money was being allocated to children in care compared to families which take care of their own children. This, they felt, led parents to abandon their children so that the state could look after them. Mufaro commented:

> I find the welfare state in England is a very inhibiting factor for development. For example, we have clients who have got second, third generation of people who don’t work because it’s not economical to work, it pays more to sit down and get state assistance.

Makanaka also said:

> I also believe there is a lot of spoon-feeding within this community, probably because of the welfare state. People don't go to work, for no good reason, and also the other thing is there seems to be an incentive for having more children even if you cannot afford to feed them because of the support that is available. And the social work that we practise is not empowering, it just keeps people's heads above the water, it's not life changing.

While the social workers in this study had concerns about social work practice in the UK, the Social Work Task Force (2009b) found that there was not a strong professional voice for promoting the social work profession and for representing the interests and views of front line social workers in debates that shape social work practice and policy. Therefore, a recommendation has been made by the Task Force that a national college of social work be established. This college would be run by social workers, working together with the government, employers, educators and the general public, setting professional standards, promoting good practice, raising public awareness and influencing policy and legislation.

What the Zimbabwean social workers in this study said about social work practice in the UK has implications for social work training and practice in this country. The Social Work Task Force (2009b) recommended that reforms be made to improve social work education and training, beginning with the recruitment of high calibre social work students. According to the Task Force, the curriculum also needs overhauling, with contributions from employers and service users in its design. Strong partnerships would be formed between universities, employers and other stakeholders to ensure that the education system consistently provides high quality education and training. Such collaboration would enable academic staff to keep up to date with what is happening in front line social work. This would help to align the academic and practical aspects of the social work degree to best effect. The Task Force also emphasized the importance of continuing professional development which, according to the Zimbabwean social workers in

this study, has helped to vastly improve their understanding of social work practice in the UK, having trained in Zimbabwe.

Although social capital can bridge across social divides and bring together people from different backgrounds, there was a general concern among the social workers of a clash between their personal values and the values of their employer. The Zimbabwean social workers grew up in a different continent, hence they had different values. Due to cultural differences, issues like children should not be beaten, couples can stay together even if they are not married, gay couples can adopt children, living with pets inside the house, were against what most of the Zimbabwean social workers believe in. At the end of the day, they reported having learned how to separate their own personal values and their professional values. It might be worth considering social workers' background and culture when allocating cases of a sensitive nature, involving issues such as homosexuality. This shows the complexity that surrounds recruitment from overseas. It would be better to invest more resources in training local British social workers and working towards improving employee retention levels. However, it is important to note that, in some cases, having overseas social workers can be helpful in meeting the needs of service users who might have the same ethnic background as some of the overseas social workers (Lyons and Huegler, forthcoming).

Almost all the participants in this study said that they found doing child protection work very challenging and they used words like complex, stressful and risky, among others, to describe their line of work. Previous quotes by Bongai and Will, cited under the subheading *Career Progression* (pp.164-165), also expose the challenging nature of social work practice in the UK. Panashe commented on its risky nature:

> If you are going to someone's [a service user's] house, you have to make a risk assessment. You have to be very careful because sometimes these families are violent. Back home, I remember my last job, I was working in the communities. It never crossed my mind that I had to get worried that my community, the people I worked with on that project, would ever think of killing me, it never occurred to me. But that was one of my worries when I started working here. Even up to now, when we do our work, we still have to be sure, we still have to be very careful because the families we work with are dangerous families, highly unpredictable.

Almost all the participants complained about the amount of work they had to do, which they felt was excessive. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers mentioned that the heavy workload was due to shortages caused by social workers leaving the local authority or being on sick leave indefinitely. Other reports have also found that staff shortages and the resulting workload pressures are some of the reasons that have led to the compromising of high quality services to clients by social workers and child protection failures in some cases (Social Work Task Force, 2009a; Laming, 2003). Two research participants even implied that they now had stress-related health problems due to too much work. A Zimbabwean social worker who was on sick leave expressed her unwillingness to participate in the interviews due to ill-health, which she said was caused by stress at work. Nompilo's concluding remarks in her interview were as follows:

> For anyone who wants to come to the UK to work, I would advise them to avoid child protection work at any cost. The stress is not worth the money, there are many other jobs out there.

Lack of supervision was another problem cited by more than half of the Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study. One social worker reported that he had at one time gone for six months without supervision because he could not get hold of his manager and, when he did, the manager said he was too busy. Most of these social workers said that they did not receive

constant supervision and, in some cases, they even had to make critical decisions when they could not get hold of their managers for weeks. Laming (2003) expressed similar concerns about the supervision offered to social workers by their managers and made recommendations for regular supervision. The Social Work Task Force (2009b) has taken this further and recommended that national requirements for the supervision of social workers be developed to improve the quality and frequency of supervision.

Efforts are being made by the government to improve the quality of social work in the UK and make it an attractive profession. A good example is how the government set up the Social Work Task Force to undertake a comprehensive review of social work practice in this country. Recommendations have now been made by the Social Work Task Force (2009b) to reform the whole social work profession. Areas covered by the recommendations include initial training and education; professional development and career progression; resources and support for social workers; and public understanding of social work. The Task Force emphasized that the government will have to work together with employers, social work educators, professionals who work with social workers and users of social work services to develop an effective reform programme and put it into practice. While advice is given on a programme of reform in social work, there is no focus on overseas social workers who continue to form an important part of the social work profession. There are also concerns that previous reports meant to improve social work practice have not been successful in the past (Unison, 2010).

CONCLUSION

While mainstream migration theories have been useful in explaining why people migrate, they fall short when it comes to explaining the major reasons why the Zimbabwean social workers migrated. Their migration reasons varied from personal to economic, political and social, and

these various factors interacted with each other. This makes it difficult for one migration theory to explain the complex reasons given by the Zimbabwean social workers. Instead of the common pattern of relying on bonding social capital through family and friends to migrate (Abye, 2007), most of these social workers formed bridging and linking social capital with UK recruitment agencies which made their migration process faster. They also had jobs waiting for them. There were, however, negative consequences associated with the Zimbabwean social workers relying on linking social capital through recruitment agencies and Large City Council. One can conclude that the Zimbabwean social workers were taken advantage of on more occasions than one, including having their contracts changed and their employers not assessing them for progression within six months as initially agreed. Social norms of reciprocity as an element of social capital and sanctions associated with not complying with these social norms (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1988) failed to prevail as the Zimbabwean social workers were helpless.

Upon arrival in the UK, the Zimbabwean social workers struggled to fit into existing teams. They were faced with the challenge of practising in a foreign country with a completely different cultural context. Their stories expose the lack of preparation they were given by the local authority, to make their transition easier. Problems within social work practice in the UK reported by the overseas social workers included staff shortages, heavy workloads and irregular supervision. Some of their criticisms picked up on those made by other reports and therefore have wide-reaching implications for social work training, practice and research. Despite a substantial number of Zimbabwean social workers having left LCC by the time of the research, most of those who remained eventually managed to position themselves comfortably within their teams and progressed in their careers to become senior social workers, senior practitioners and managers. Compared to other Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK, the social workers occupy a

higher position in the social hierarchy due to the fact that they are incorporated into the formal labour market. Social work as a profession is also given more status in the UK than in Zimbabwe. Besides establishing a career in the UK, the Zimbabwean social workers in the present study were also concerned about creating relations among themselves and outside their community as Zimbabwean social workers. This aspect of their migration journey is addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: FORGING NEW TIES

INTRODUCTION

Besides trying to establish themselves professionally as valued social workers in the UK, as illustrated in Chapter Five, the Zimbabwean social workers also had to settle in the UK and establish relationships with people around them. Research findings in relation to the Zimbabwean social workers' safety, self-esteem and social needs upon arrival in the UK are discussed in this chapter. The concept of bonding, bridging and linking social capital is used to understand and theorise the social workers' experiences in adjusting to life in the UK. This chapter addresses the following two research questions:

- Did they generate, destroy, maintain or re-constitute social capital in trying to adapt to and progress with life in the UK?
- How did structural factors like gender, ethnicity, class and race impact upon the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers?

Social capital theory is developed further and also challenged by looking at the processes of its formation, the barriers to using it, the opportunities for using it and the gains to be made by doing so. Needs were a key theme that evolved from all the interviews with the Zimbabwean social workers. In this chapter, I classify the Zimbabwean social workers' needs using Maslow's hierarchy of needs, into safety, social and esteem needs, excluding professional needs which have already been discussed in the previous chapter.

NEEDS ON ARRIVAL IN THE UK

Needs that the Zimbabwean social workers had to meet upon arrival in the UK were many, complex and competing. In an effort to categorise the different needs that faced these social

workers, Maslow's hierarchy of needs which is commonly used by social scientists is applied in this study. Maslow's model suggests that people will want to satisfy their needs in the order of physiological needs first (level 1), followed by safety (level 2), then social needs (level 3), self-esteem (level 4) and finally self-actualisation (level 5) (Huitt, 2004). Although the categories as proposed by Maslow proved useful in identifying and classifying the needs of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, circumstances did not allow the social workers to tackle their needs in the linear stages suggested. Their needs varied from accommodation, recognition, acceptance, food, registering with General Practitioners (GPs), opening of bank accounts and to know their way around a new town, all at once, regardless of where these needs fell under Maslow's hierarchy. The social workers had to prove their competence at work at the same time they were negotiating for places to rent with landlords, and during the same period they also talked about suffering from self-esteem issues. Sipho expressed the frustration of having had to deal with so many issues at the same time.

> The way they were bringing in different people to lecture to us (about social work practice and legislation in the UK) … you are actually bemused because when you come from the tropics to the UK, you are busy fighting the weather and directions, so it was just horrible.

The needs as they were being met by the Zimbabwean social workers did not neatly follow stages suggested by Maslow who stated that people will satisfy physiological needs first, followed by security needs before attempting to satisfy higher level needs like love and self-esteem. Instead the Zimbabwean social workers moved up and down Maslow's hierarchy of needs trying to meet physiological needs, safety needs, social needs and self-esteem needs haphazardly and in some cases attempting to meet both lower and higher level needs simultaneously. There were also cases where these migrants would crash down from higher level

needs back to the beginning. This pattern was mostly found among Zimbabwean social workers who had left Large City Council to work for private agencies as locum[2] social workers. Three questionnaire respondents mentioned being unemployed, one interview participant was also unemployed and busy going for interviews, while another mentioned having lost her job in the past. I could not establish how most of these social workers had lost their jobs since some of the information was obtained through questionnaires. Maybe it had something to do with employment agencies closing down or having no work. Rudo was the only one who volunteered information on how she had previously lost her job:

> I left Large City Council in 2005 and went to work for an agency … However when I went home (Zimbabwe) to visit the other time I spent about 2 months there. When I came back my job with this other agency had finished, they said I had stayed too long in Zimbabwe.

Losing a job for Rudo unexpectedly meant that she had to start applying for a job, she even mentioned struggling to pay her bills and mortgage and at some point had to borrow money from a relative. Instead of sending her child to the Polish child minder she used to rely on, she had to leave the child at Zimbabwean friends' houses so as to keep her costs down and when she had spare time she would also mind their children. When Rudo was in financial difficulties she lost some of the resources she had access to through bridging social capital like the Polish child minder. She had to rely on her individual networking ability to create a child minding circle. This particular case shows a situation where bonding social capital trumped bridging social capital. Rudo' story also brings out the inter-connectedness of financial capital and social capital as initially suggested by Bourdieu's (1986) social capital theory.

[2]A locum is a professional employed on a temporary basis to fill for an absent employee or a vacant post (SSR Personnel, 2010).

During the interviews the social workers mostly talked about their efforts to meet needs from levels two, three and four on Maslow's hierarchy which are safety, social and self-esteem needs. and these will be discussed below.

Safety Needs

In most cases immigrants have relied on ethnic networks for accommodation in host countries (McGregor, 2007; Stodolska and Santos, 2006). Of the 16 social workers who relied on bonding social capital for accommodation and stayed with friends, relatives or fellow Zimbabwean social workers when they first arrived in the UK, seven of them resorted to bonding social capital for accommodation after they were left stranded, having assumed that the local authority had made some arrangements for them. This shows that bonding social capital continues to be significant even in cases where the social workers have been recruited through bridging and linking social capital. For the remaining eight social workers, the local authority organised bed and breakfast accommodation for the first few weeks but this proved expensive and according to some, was not very user-friendly. Panashe who depended on bridging social capital for accommodation commented on his stay in bed and breakfast accommodation with an English family:

> The experience in the B&B ... I think what she wanted was money, the fact that I was paying. There was no interaction, where people sit down with you and say ok, this is how things are like in this country. We only got to know about that orientation through our own friends who had been here earlier than us, really. At home, it was, you just have your supper, sometimes you watch telly [television], but there was no sort of conversation, like where you could sit down and [they] say, 'How are you finding the UK? Do you know where you get the bus from?', how to get to town, all those things, you know.

Panashe and many others wanted to meet the basic needs of food and shelter and social needs, all at the same time. When it came to finding accommodation using linking social capital, the social

workers were even more frustrated dealing with landlords. To get accommodation, landlords required credit checks; they needed references, deposit and rent in advance and the social workers obviously could not meet these requirements. In the end, their employer had to write letters stating that they were new in the country but had full-time employment which assisted them in getting accommodation, opening bank accounts and registering with GPs. While some of the Zimbabwean social workers mentioned in their interviews that they were not trusted because they were black, it was probably more an issue of following procedures on the part of those whose services they required, because everyone in the UK has to meet those same requirements regardless of race, ethnicity, class or gender. Trust, as an issue brought up by these social workers, is explored in detail in the section on 'Relationship with the UK Community' (p.204). Three social workers, who talk about having been promised they would be met at the airport by their employer, expressed their frustrations when they arrived in the UK to find no one was waiting for them and, to make matters worse, one of these participants arrived on a Sunday when offices were closed. They had to turn to fellow Zimbabwean social workers who had come earlier to accommodate them since they did not have money for hotels. In the case of Zimbabwean social workers in this study, bonding social capital through others who had come to the UK earlier was more readily available when it came to meeting basic needs. A few of the social workers said they had provided accommodation to a number of newly-arriving Zimbabwean social workers, with three social workers mentioning having had to provide accommodation to recent arrivals at short notice. This shows that social capital can be negative in terms of obligation to help people from your community (Coleman, 1990), as some respondents complained. This is what Tawana had to say:

> There is one recruitment agency which brought lots of Zimbabweans and dumped them, having promised that they had booked hotels for them. When I heard that they were all at

> one house I said that had nothing to do with me because I was still struggling to settle, c'mon, life in this country is a continuous struggle and you don't want an extra mouth to feed. I had only been here for a few months, you know. Anyway, one of the new arrivals who knew I had come over to the UK asked, 'Where is Tawana?', and that's how they got my number ... The next thing I received was a phone call and I ended up accommodating three of the guys for a number of days.

According to Maslow (1970), after the physiological and safety needs are met, people begin to hunger for affectionate relations with people in general. With the Zimbabwean social workers it was not like that. Instead, they found the different needs competing all at once. I now turn to how they were utilising different forms of social capital to meet their need for family and friends.

Social needs

Nineteen of the 24 research participants talked about how they missed the relations they had back in Zimbabwe as soon as they got to the UK. For some of them, the more settlement problems they faced, the more they wished they had their friends and family around as had been the case back in Zimbabwe.

Family

Edwards *et al*. (2003) and Zontini (2006, 2004) view families as basic units for migrants and therefore emphasise relations built within the family. Following from the respondents' narratives, family is also important to the Zimbabwean social workers in the present study, although only one social worker reported migrating to the UK at the same time as his family. Most of the married social workers came as individuals and their families followed months or years later. When they arrived in the UK, all of a sudden they no longer had their family networks to rely on. Instead of implying that migration reduces social capital in general (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1997), I found that, in the case of the Zimbabwean social workers, migration

destroyed or at least rendered inactive a particular form of bonding social capital constituted within families. Most participants mentioned that, when they arrived in the UK, they missed having their families around, especially the support and encouragement they offered in times of trouble. Researchers who have investigated social capital within migrant families talk about how it is re-constituted (Reynolds, 2006; Zontini, 2006; Edwards *et al*., 2003) but, with the Zimbabwean social workers, this came as a later stage. A few of the social workers even experienced barriers that prevented them from bringing their families to stay with them in the UK. Theresa, for example, would have loved to stay with her children but she cannot afford to pay their university fees, considering how high fees are for overseas students. As a result, she only sees them during school holidays when they come to visit. Shamiso would also not bring her husband to live with her in the UK. She explained:

> My husband is back in Zimbabwe. He comes to visit at times ... although I would want us to stay together I can't go home right now with the way things are in Zimbabwe. He can't come here either, what job would he do, honestly? He is a respectable man in society and I can't see him doing all these funny jobs Zimbabweans are doing here.

Kurai who is single and has got his parents and siblings in Zimbabwe felt emotional about not having his family with him:

> This is a win-lose situation. I miss my family, my mom, my dad, my sisters, my brothers, my aunts, my uncles, my cousins. I have become a stranger in my own family, of course I do visit when I can but it's not the same. My brothers are getting married, having kids who don't know me personally, just as uncle ... My grandparents are dead, more relatives are dying because of HIV, there is no medication in Zimbabwe and the diet is poor. When you think about it you almost feel guilty for eating and throwing away leftover food. It's like you don't know who will still be alive when you next visit [Zimbabwe].

Some of the social workers struggled to bring their families as they were required to have savings in their accounts to prove that they could take care of the families. Lack of financial capital acted to prevent or at least delay family re-union. Vuyo mentioned having made several attempts to bring over his elderly mother who is now a widow to stay with him as a dependant, but all his visa applications had so far been refused. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers, however, were able to bring over their husbands, wives and children to the UK, although it took longer for some (up to three years) than others. Three of the male participants reported having been involved in extra-marital affairs while their wives were still back in Zimbabwe. Even if some of the female social workers may have been involved in extra-marital affairs, none of them mentioned it. In actual fact, in Zimbabwean culture it is taboo for women to talk about cheating on their partners, although men can easily brag about cheating. This is how Thando felt about having left his family back in Zimbabwe:

> My family came years later and I almost got divorced ... many marriages are breaking apart and the funny thing is that people want to file their papers in Zimbabwe, the divorces. They use lawyers in Zimbabwe and divorce in Zimbabwe but the people are here. Many marriages are breaking apart. The reason being that, I will come here on my own, I spend two years without my wife and my children ... but when a man of the age that is working now stays alone, rarely does he spend two months without finding another partner. Now if you stay with a partner for two years it will be difficult to get rid of her to bring your wife from Zimbabwe; there is a problem. They should facilitate bringing your family because in the end you will not be able to bring them over because the one who is here will actually be saying no, and, naturally, when two people stay together they will do a lot of things together. They will start shopping together, they buy a car together and they sort out their bills together, they start moving around together and to split that, it will take an effort, possibly another child or children will be born, yet there are children in Zimbabwe....

Thando went on to say that one may start an extra-marital affair as just a 'fling' but end up falling in love with that person. Although he was able to work things out with his wife, there are some who ended up divorced. The men who cheated on their partners when they got to the UK might have done so to satisfy their need for company. Nevertheless, the relationships they formed would become detrimental to their families. In those particular cases, social capital which was formed between married people and the new partners they dated in the UK worked in a negative way to destroy marriages. Kurai recalled how he just became too busy dating other women and became distant to his girlfriend in Zimbabwe. One day, his UK girlfriend answered his phone and that was the end of the relationship with the girl in Zimbabwe whom he had intended to marry. Two male Zimbabwean social workers said they were divorced while one said he was separated. When probed by the researcher, one of them, Vuyo, blamed distance and chasing careers for the separation. The other two interviewees just laughed and the researcher did not probe more, bearing in mind that divorce is a sensitive issue. Three questionnaire respondents, two men and one woman, ticked the option of being divorced on the questionnaire but the researcher could not establish the reasons.

For those who were able to re-unite with their families, familial social capital was then re-activated, but did family relations stay the same? Traditionally in Africa, men are gendered to be privileged and powerful, having the role of decision-making (Ngondo and Djamba, 2004) among other important ones reserved for them, while women are underprivileged and less powerful. For those female social workers who migrated to the UK, being a professional in a First World country gave them a platform to re-negotiate power relations. While in Zimbabwe men are not necessarily the sole providers, in most cases they earn more than their wives (Pasura, 2008b). Coming to the UK as a social worker for the women meant that they could now provide more for

their families compared to their husbands, who were either still back in Zimbabwe or doing mostly informal jobs in the UK. When husbands stopped earning more than their wives, gender roles had to be negotiated according to the new terms of living in the UK. Such negotiations of gender roles have also been common with other migrant groups (Bhatia and Ram, 2009; Hibbins, 2005). Now the women either expect their husbands to undertake duties that they never used to do back in Zimbabwe, like cooking, cleaning the house and baby-sitting, or some women just find their husbands doing the household chores anyway. In relation to this issue Nompilo said:

> My husband wants to come over and stay with me here but I will not let him. Imagine when he is around he expects me to cook for him, do the laundry, like I used to do back home. It doesn't make sense to me, or anyone for that matter, for him to sleep and do nothing, waiting for me to come from work and then cook for him ... These days when he visits he does his fair share of household chores. This is England.

The view that Zimbabwean women should do all the household chores has become contested in the host country, as also found by Pasura (2008b). While all the Zimbabwean families have been involved in role negotiations, there has been one case of dramatic role reversal with one husband having at one point taken complete care of their baby and done all the housework since he became unemployed. This did not go down well with relatives who later visited from Zimbabwe to find the husband doing household chores every day, including changing baby's nappies which Zimbabwean men never do back in Zimbabwe, as explained in McGregor (2007). Gender relations were also altered even for women like Sekai who stated she had a husband with a higher-paying job in the UK. She talked about the fair division of domestic work, including child care.

For those social workers who had young children, child care was an issue in the UK, unlike in Zimbabwe where they could all afford nannies. Back in Zimbabwe, relatives were also available

to help with child care. Ushe was changing jobs to join a different unit but still under the same employer. He reasoned:

> I intend to stay there for two years, the reason why is I have a small daughter. During the day I will be available, then at night I go to work while the mother stays at home because at the moment it's very expensive in terms of child care which was not the case while we were in Zimbabwe. You would just say 'C'mon somebody, do you want a job?', and you would pay them peanuts, or, if you don't have the money you sent the child to stay with the grandparents.

Due to problems with child care, Sekai sometimes brings her mother from Zimbabwe to help her take care of the children.

What also came out from the interviews is that older children can do informal jobs while they are still at university or even at high school and be able to buy what they want instead of fully depending on their parents. In Zimbabwe, high school students do not have the option of looking for a job. However, the ability of children to earn their own money somehow gives the parents less control over their children in the UK. In the end, social norms and values that restrict children's freedom, like having to be at home by a certain time or not arguing with your parents, are negotiated. Tawana talked about how his children were freer to discuss issues with him, compared to the relationships between fathers and children in Zimbabwe. He was happy that they could talk about almost anything and that his son, who is still at university, was free to bring home whoever he was dating at a particular time, which would be unheard of in Zimbabwe unless you were planning to get married. It is clear that Zimbabwean families have been transformed by being in the UK, with inequalities between family members having been reduced as discussed above. More resources can also be accessed through men, women and older children all going to work.

Those social workers who got married after migrating to the UK ended up with a different form of family than the ones they had in Zimbabwe, re-constituting familial social capital in the process. Ed, who mentioned dating and living with a British partner, extended his networks to form a substitute family that combines bonding social capital with bridging social capital. This shows that in some cases, bridging social capital can be transformed into bonding social capital or one can argue that there are types of social capital that have elements of bonding and bridging. Under these circumstances, cultural norms and values will tend to interact and negotiations will have to take place as shown by the following statement from Ed:

> It's fun but a lot of work, the way she [British girlfriend] thinks, the way she does her things, just about everything [laughs] is different from what African women do. Every Friday we should hit the pubs … I had to remove my moustache because it was an issue everyday….

As time went on, even those who had family in the UK came to realise that it was not the same as being in Zimbabwe. Itai commented on how the sense of family in the UK was different from that in Zimbabwe:

> [Being in the UK] It creates a bit of selfish individuals and I think the sense of sharing, the sense of family, is eroded because of the pressures of wanting to go and raise money. You can't even meet with your friends and relatives. For all of you, to have the same dates to be able to meet is not easy. You can't even meet with your own family at times, when you come in the other one might be going out.

In the absence of close friends and family, a number of the Zimbabwean social workers talk about how they have extended their social capital through relationships that go beyond people. These social workers believe in God and treasure the relationship they have with Him and pray

consistently over their lives. For others, believing in God means that they have a pre-destined journey in life as implied by Will who said:

> I had absolutely no major reason for coming here but I just came for the sake of it. But then the economic situation has continued to decline back home, as a believer who believes in God, now I look back and say God talks to his people before the people even know why they are doing something.

Most of the Zimbabwean social workers believe in a form of networking with God, but the extent varies from one person to another. This can be argued to be a form of linking social capital where an individual has an exclusive relationship with someone in a higher position. This relationship comprises of trust and social norms (Putnam, 2000, 1993), has components of virtual social capital (see p.91) but is significantly different because one party to the relationship is perpetually invisible and cannot be accessed in person. No one is physically there to form a relationship with, so it exists in the person's head, heart and soul. Those social workers who made use of this type of social capital said they were not worried about decisions they made and how they were going to survive because God would always provide for their needs and fight for them in times of trouble. One can argue, however, that believing in this kind of relationship, where someone else is said to be in control of what you do, is a way of running away from responsibility, for example, in the event that wrong decisions are made. Being religious is associated with being optimistic, a better quality of life and lower levels of depression (Cleveland and Chang, 2009). This is what Nompilo said:

> You don't have your mother and father to give you encouragement and support and, even if you have a relative or two friends, you'll notice that they have their own problems. I became stronger in my faith and kept praying to God to give me strength and wisdom.

Just like with other types of social capital, social workers utilising this particular form of linking social capital have to abide by certain norms and values, willingly or unwillingly. As a result, some of these social workers were worried about certain behaviours that they had to deal with which were against the norms of being a Christian, as expressed by Kurai:

> You come to this country and you have to face all these issues of homosexuality and abortion that go against what the Bible says and against all that you believe in....

What the interviews with those social workers who dwelt on this issue brought out was that having a relationship with God made them worry less about problems. This proved helpful to these social workers who were facing many challenges as they struggled to fit into existing teams at work and to progress as valued workers in a foreign country. This issue of having an intimate relationship with God goes beyond going to church to fellowship with others and requires further research. The relationship that almost all the Zimbabwean social workers talked about the most was among themselves as Zimbabwean social workers and to a lesser extent their friends and relatives in the UK. This is explored below.

Relationship with fellow Zimbabweans

While answering the first question on retelling their migration story, more than half of the social workers mentioned the importance of their relationship with other Zimbabweans, especially their fellow Zimbabwean social workers in Large City Council. Findings from the study are consistent with most migration literature, which suggests that immigrants find it easier to form networks with members from their own ethnic communities (Stodolska and Santos, 2006). Although the use of bridging and linking social capital facilitated most of the social workers' migration, upon arrival bonding social capital in the form of Zimbabwean friends and relatives and fellow Zimbabwean social workers was more important in terms of support in settling in the UK.

Eight interview participants mentioned depending on Zimbabwean friends and relatives in the UK for information and accommodation among other things. All participants as individuals have also relied on fellow Zimbabwean social workers at some point, it could have been for accommodation or advice upon arrival in the UK, support at work or for other social or financial matters. In the absence of family, the Zimbabwean social workers forged new ties with each other and formed the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. This created a new form of bonding social capital for the social workers. Seventeen participants voluntarily mentioned how, through this network, they would help each other, while seven of the participants had to be asked by the researcher if they were aware of the Network. All the participants knew about the Network and had attended meetings, except for one social worker who had joined Large City Council in 2007. He reported having just heard that a Zimbabwean Network existed but had not followed up on it. Maybe this also had to do with the fact that the Network was no longer as functional as in previous years. Since the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers kept an up to date list of all Zimbabweans within the local authority and made newcomers aware of the Network, I was able to access this particular social worker. On why they formed the Network, Makanaka said:

> When we came we actually formed a Network, we formed it because at that time we felt we were alone and we needed to be there for each other.

The Zimbabwean social workers experienced several problems, ranging from lack of accommodation for new-arrivals, poor induction or lack of it, poor guidance at work, lack of career progression and not fitting well into existing teams of social workers. Due to the fact that these were common problems, the overseas social workers decided to come together and face these problems as a group. Through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, collective

social capital was mobilised. Zimbabwean social workers would accommodate those who had just arrived into the UK, they would meet up and share their experiences, give each other professional guidance, social support and financial support where it was required. As Zimbabweans, they could call each other any time, unlike when it comes to consulting with managers or more distant associates, and they could also discuss issues more clearly in their mother tongues. One can argue that, in a way, the Network served as a substitute family for the overseas social workers. Also, the social workers realised that they could have more power and negotiate better as a group. Through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers they negotiated for an increase in the relocation package. Committee members also had to represent fellow Zimbabwean social workers when they felt they were being treated unfairly, being used as scapegoats for institutional failings or when they had disputes at work, among other issues. Itai gave an example of how, as an organisation, they could challenge their employers:

> For instance, if you go back to the literature or media you might find it, one of our social workers was the allocated worker when one of the children died, one of the very major cases. The department thought of blaming a Zimbabwean social worker in the press and not the system which means they are not a learning organization, they thought of blaming an individual and not a system, we don't work in isolation to the system. We are working in an organisation where systems operate. We had to call a meeting with the directors in which we challenged the fact that they had put that person's name to the press and blamed an individual Zimbabwean social worker for whatever had gone wrong and yet this person had a manager … so we completely chided the management.

Although the majority of the research participants said they had benefited from the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, more than half of the interviewees were no longer sure of its existence. Of the nine participants who were sure the Network still existed, three of them commented that it remained on paper but was no longer vibrant. Instead of the Zimbabwean

Network of Social Workers getting stronger over time, it has actually deteriorated with the social workers having less desire to maintain it. This is how Ed and many others felt about the Network at the time of interview:

> I don't know whether it still exists, to be honest. When I first arrived in the UK it was very helpful, but, now everyone is settled and others have left for other areas. I, for one, have no time for that anymore. My weekends are filled up, Saturdays I have other projects to attend to, trying to make ends meet, and Sundays I go to church.

Echoing Ed was Chipo who said:

> Now that people are settled, they probably don't see the reason to keep attending the meetings. Also, we now have lots of activities going on, like for me during the week I am busy at work, then on Saturday I spend the whole day at church because I'm a Seventh-Day Adventist and then Sunday is the only day that I've got to do my laundry, my shopping and try to relax. It's a hectic life you know.

The social workers lost interest in the Zimbabwean Network as they became settled in the UK and some left Large City Council for other local authorities. Vuyo, who now works in London, stated that he could not travel all the way just to attend meetings for the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers so decided to join a similar one for black people in London. With today's advanced technology, distance should no longer be a barrier to participating in groups of interest. Virtual networks like Skype and Facebook can be used to maintain membership to a particular group or community even if people are in different areas and even use video conferencing where necessary. For those social workers who remained in Large City Council, common problems like accommodation and lack of experience in UK social work practice which had brought them together were no longer an issue. According to participants, the Network did not evolve with people's changing needs. The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers should have transformed

with time to meet people's current needs like meeting to discuss current affairs, providing entertainment or promoting cultural activities among the Zimbabwean social workers and their children, creating inter-generational social capital in the process. The Zimbabwean social workers utilised the bonding social capital provided by the network for as long as they needed it. As soon as it stopped being beneficial, the Zimbabwean social workers discarded it and started concentrating on other forms like going to church as mentioned by Ed above. Some of the participants also mentioned that, over the years, they have managed to build their own informal networks as individuals. Some of their needs now seem to require more of bridging than bonding social capital with some talking about how they meet to work on assignments with university students from various backgrounds. A few social workers also gave personal issues as the reason why the Network became dysfunctional. Sekai said:

> You know what happens when Zimbabweans gather, people end up not following the agenda, those with personal issues will think that's the time to settle scores and all that.

Echoing Sekai was Sipho, who also said:

> Over time it just fizzled into nothing because of inter-personal issues and people didn't want to, I think, share power or relinquish it to others so people just got fed up … We were a very small community in Zimbabwe … so most of us knew each other from home and people who had their issues from there were fighting them out in the scenario of that thing [the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers].

What the above statements also bring out is negative consequences associated with bonding social capital. The fact that most of the Zimbabwean social workers knew each other from home meant that those who didn't get along continued to meet and carried on having problems with each other. It's more difficult to avoid someone within your close networks compared to people from wider networks.

Although Bourdieu (1986) emphasises the relationship between social capital and other types of capital like financial capital, there is a tendency by researchers to ignore economic factors when looking into social capital. Putnam (1993) has looked into how social capital impacts upon the economy and not vice versa. Some of the committee members for the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers mentioned that availability of funding from sponsors and the local authority could have helped the Network to develop and be in a position to do more for its members and even do charitable work to promote social work practice in Zimbabwe. Itai stated that there were times when the Network wanted to support fellow Zimbabwean social workers to take their cases to court but there were financial constraints. Other committee members also mentioned that there were several times when they had to dedicate their own resources to help other social workers. In some cases, for example, they had to use their own fuel going up and down, representing fellow social workers in disciplinary hearings with no financial incentive or even free lunch. This links with the theory of social capital where obligation and commitment (Coleman, 1988) and excessive claims on members (Portes and Landolt, 2000) are downsides to bonding social capital. Zontini (2004) cites Molyneux (2001) as noting that possessing social capital as a group can also have drawbacks when it is viewed as a substitute for provision and support policies. This is evident in the case of the Zimbabwean social workers, as suggested by Nyasha:

> The Department then actually formalised it [the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers] and, when they formalised it, whenever there were problems involving Zimbabwean social workers the Department would say 'So and so, we know you are co-ordinating this, could you help?'

The Zimbabwean social workers' relations involved power struggles where some participants reported that the failure of the Network to thrive was due to the unwillingness of the original committee to step down. Social capital within the Network seemed gendered, with men talking

more about how they had helped other social workers while women talked about how they had been helped by male social workers especially with work-related issues. Seven of the nine female participants mentioned looking to the male social workers for support and advice which shows that, despite re-negotiations at home that redressed past power imbalances between husbands and wives, female social workers still believe that their male counterparts at work are wiser and more powerful.

While all participants acknowledged the support they got from friends, relatives and fellow Zimbabwean social workers upon arrival in the UK, the younger women social workers have shown preference for having no Zimbabweans around them. Issues that came up among these women were mainly to do with rivalry and gossiping. These social workers have found themselves happier in area offices where there are not too many Zimbabweans and, for some, where there are no Zimbabweans at all. Ngoni, a male participant, also mentioned leaving a Zimbabwean church to join a local British church. Traditional Zimbabwean social relations have been affected by being in the UK. As the Zimbabwean social workers have become settled, almost half of the participants (seven women and four men) mentioned that they preferred staying as far away from their Zimbabwean colleagues, friends and relatives as possible, despite in Africa having daily contact with neighbours, friends and relatives, visiting each other and chatting on the streets (Brah, 1996). This indicates a change in social relations among the Zimbabwean social workers. Rudo emphasized how she has learned the importance of making an appointment before visiting friends or family:

> Can you imagine people just come to your house [in Zimbabwe] anytime, anyhow, without notice? Your uncle, with his whole family, just knocks on your door and expects you to feed them, entertain them and, in some cases, even give them somewhere to sleep. What about your plans for the day, into the bin? You know, with the transport in

> Zimbabwe someone travels 10 hours to go to the village [remote areas] to visit, what if you get there and there is no-one? But then sometimes you can't help it with the poor communication networks there ... However, when I go back to live in Zimbabwe, people will have to learn to make appointments if they want to visit me. They can hate me all they want or say she is too English now....

Considering that the majority of the Zimbabwean population is Shona-speaking and the UK recruitment agencies would recruit from Harare (the capital city), which is in Mashonaland Province, participants for this study were mostly of Shona origin (see Chapter Two which gives an overview of the regions and ethnic divisions in Zimbabwe). From the interviews, there is no evidence of ethnic tensions among the Zimbabwean social workers. The three participants who talked about ethnicity seemed comfortable with the matter. For example, one Shona participant mentioned being married to a Ndebele woman and having children who speak both Shona and Ndebele. However, according to findings from McGregor (2008), ethnicity issues do arise with, for example, a Ndebele woman talking of her dislike for Shona people and Bloch (2008) also discovered ethnicity to be a sensitive area among Zimbabweans. Pasura (2010b) found that Zimbabwean asylum-seekers and refugees in Wigan, who experienced extreme marginalisation and discrimination, stuck together as a group, irrespective of ethnicity. Maybe due to the reported lack of support from their employer and fellow colleagues, the Zimbabwean social workers had to stick to each other regardless of ethnic differences or, as social workers by profession, they are more tolerant towards structural divisions within society, as Bagley and Young (1982) discovered to be the case among social work professionals in Britain. This may also have been due to the fact that I am a Zimbabwean, so had an insider status that may have influenced responses to some of the questions, as discussed in Chapter Four. The fact that most of the Zimbabwean social workers were silent regarding their ethnicity might also mean that

ethnicity as a form of social capital has been lost among these social workers. In the following subsection I now explore how research participants viewed their relationship with fellow British colleagues.

Relationships with British colleagues

Participants were asked to comment on how they related to groups of people in the UK. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers reported having struggled to create ties with their British colleagues when they first arrived in the UK. Instead, they depended more on their fellow Zimbabwean social workers, showing how bridging social capital may take time to establish. Twenty-two of the 24 research participants felt that the local social workers were not welcoming and as a result did not feel comfortable in asking for help and guidance from them. Of these 22 participants, four had to be encouraged to talk about their relationship with the local social workers. The reason for resentment from local social workers, according to some of the participants, was thought to be that, when the first groups of Zimbabwean social workers arrived in Large, the local social workers were negotiating for a salary increase based on a shortage of social workers and their arrival therefore meant that there was no longer a basis for these negotiations. One particular social worker said he found it difficult to be an effective team player when he did not feel accepted by team members. This suggests the importance of dealing with the recruitment context and disputes that may arise when recruiting overseas social workers in large numbers. Nyasha felt that their employer should have sensitised the local social workers before the arrival of the Zimbabwean social workers:

> Next time, probably, they should tell people in advance that we are bringing some guys from abroad. They might be different, but they are good. Please welcome them, please support them, they need help in this and that, they are not taking your jobs, we have got vacancies, they deserve to be here….

Boekestijn (1988), citing Guthrie (1975), talks of *Interaction Fatigue* whereby people in receiving countries avoid developing personal relationships with immigrants due to communication problems that result when migrants are not fluent in the new language. However, when expatriates went to Zimbabwe, their Zimbabwean colleagues were more than willing to interact with them, despite their different English accents which were difficult for an average Zimbabwean to understand. Guthrie's suggestion may be influenced by power relations, whereby those who believe to own a particular territory or have higher positions in the social hierarchy, as described in Brah (1996), are not bothered about entertaining someone whom they perceive to be of a lower status.

In the questionnaire, participants were asked to indicate who they would approach for help when in financial need and for personal advice. This question was meant to assess their reliance on bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Only one respondent mentioned approaching a British colleague for personal advice. Four questionnaire respondents said they would borrow money from the bank, among other options of friends and family. Otherwise, the rest ticked the options of fellow Zimbabweans, be it a partner, relative, friend or another Zimbabwean social worker, for both financial assistance and personal advice. Of those interviewees who commented on how their relationships with British colleagues have transformed over time, seven said that the local social workers have become friendlier, while 14 still find it hard to engage with the local social workers on a social note, as expressed by Sipho:

> During the first days I used to try to initiate conversation and if I bought or brought any food I would try to offer it to people in my office, but I have since given up. Even when you greet them in the morning some will just say 'Mhh', some don't even answer, they pretend they didn't hear you. There are also others who have plastic smiles, they just grin at you. I have told myself there is enough work to keep me busy anyway....

Ushe also mentioned that, when he got promoted to a senior post, within six months 90 per cent of the local social workers in his team had left the local authority. He felt that the local people were not comfortable having an overseas social worker in a position more powerful than theirs. It might be interesting to follow up on this issue in further research.

Two questions, asking the Zimbabwean social workers about how they had been prepared to practice in the UK and how they related to people already living in the UK when they arrived, somehow led them to talk about their managers. Of the 18 social workers who felt that their managers were not as helpful as they should have been, the majority thought that probably they did not know how to handle foreign-trained social workers. Some felt that, since they were said to be experienced social workers, they felt that the mangers ignored the fact that they were new to the system and expected them to 'get on' with the job. Two of the social workers, Panashe and Ngoni, felt that when they started working for the local authority they had 'understanding' managers. One of the managers assigned a senior practitioner who would meet up with the Zimbabwean social worker to help him with his cases once every week or whenever the Zimbabwean social worker required assistance. The utilisation of both bridging social capital and bonding social capital made Panashe's life much easier. Although four social workers did not comment on their management, two of these mentioned getting most of their support from fellow Zimbabwean social workers. Five social workers, with one of them having arrived in 2001, three in 2002 and one in 2006, reported that managers in area offices were not aware of their arrival on their first day at work leaving them with no desks or office space. This could have been due to lack of effective communication between recruitment agencies, the head office and area offices. Some of the social workers felt that their managers did not take criticism very well. They reacted in an unprofessional manner, as if the person would be trying to undermine their authority, which

made it difficult for the social workers to voice their opinions. Seven of the nine questionnaire respondents who had left LCC listed poor management as one of their reasons for leaving but did not elaborate. Theresa, one of the interviewees, describes the management as follows:

> It's a completely different system you know, I will talk about even the style of management, [it's] very different from home, very different ... It's different in that, at home, if there is something that is wrong, I found that emphasis was on finding out what was wrong and correcting it, whereas here it's finding out who to blame, that's what I found, that's a very big difference. Even if it's something that can be corrected easily, let's not correct it, let's find someone to blame and pin down. That's a different management style from what I was used to. I found the management is about blame, blame, blame, and the practice is about let's get someone into trouble which makes it very difficult in my opinion, instead of let's correct what's wrong....

A few participants were concerned that, as social workers, they had less power to make decisions in their profession, compared to when they were practising in Zimbabwe. They were allowed to have their opinions and views but managers had to make all the major decisions. This should have improved, however, as the social workers moved up the ladder to become senior practitioners and even managers.

Nineteen social workers felt that 'racism' was a big problem within the organisation. Of these 19, six did not mention the word 'racism' but used phrases like , 'unequal treatment based on colour' or 'ethnic discrimination', with them taking longer to be progressed at work and being given more work to do compared with the British social workers. Even the fact that the Zimbabwean social workers' previous work experience was not taken into account when they started working for Large City Council can be viewed as institutional racism, which is defined in Chapter Two (p.50). Because their qualifications and work experience were devalued, the

Zimbabwean social workers felt that the organisation's policies and procedures disadvantaged them and, being new arrivals and a minority, they could not challenge this.

In the Annual Employment Monitoring Report 2007/2008 for LCC which is discussed in Chapter Four, the local authority aims to promote itself as an 'employer of first choice' for Black and Minority Ethnic people. When the research participants were probed to comment on the commitment to policies like the Equal Opportunities Policy, Equal Pay (Amendment) Act 1983 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 within the organisation, almost all of them strongly felt that such policies were just there on paper and were not being put into practice within LCC. Bongai had this to say on the issue of policies:

> What surprises me is the irony. You are reminded everyday through posters, and every report you read, that we are an organisation committed to equality and non-discriminatory practices. Yet the opposite is true....

Sipho echoed Bongai's feelings regarding non-discriminatory policy and practices within LCC:

> The council itself, it's very discriminatory … the way they used us and the way they still maintain that people are equal while they are actually encouraging the inequality, what do they call it, institutional discrimination. It's alive and kicking, and it hurts you because you have to write in reports that practice has to be fair and non-discriminatory, equal opportunities and all that.

The above two statements show that an organisation's documents are in some cases an outcome of social processes and tend to conceal more than they reveal (Hall and Hall, 2004). As a result, a wide gap can exist between an organisation's policies and the reality that employees face, as shown by the narratives of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study.

Twelve of the 14 questionnaire respondents listed racism as one of the challenges they faced while working for LCC. Although some of the Zimbabwean social workers felt that they were being given a lot of work because they were black, a survey carried out on behalf of Unison reported that 67 per cent of social workers in the UK felt they had excessive workloads while 79 per cent felt that their workloads had increased over the past year (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009). Being black might also have prevented them having easy access to social capital outside their own ethnic networks. From their statements, most of the Zimbabweans seemed reluctant or not too sure whether their being treated unfairly was due to racism.

> I can also safely say that the managers were not very nice to us Zimbabweans. It was racism in a subtle way I think. (Chipo)

> We just felt that maybe they were a bit racist or whatever. I don't know if it was racism or what, but they didn't care very much about our welfare, you know. (Ngoni)

> The element of, mhh, you could say racism, is there. (Panashe)

Other immigrants share the same experiences of 'indirect racism' (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010; Herbert *et al*., 2008; Pasura, 2008a; McGregor, 2007; Layton-Henry, 2002). Nyasha was one of the few who did not seem reluctant to talk about racism:

> I mean, before I came here I don't think the concept of racism, I don't think I ever thought of racism or I'd ever experienced it before. It never existed in Zimbabwe, you know we were all blacks most of the time, there were whites there but because there was a majority of blacks it was alright. But when you come here, then you begin to see the difference, how you are treated, how a European worker is treated and how an Asian is sometimes treated. You can feel it, I mean it's so tangible….

There were however two social workers, Makanaka and Will, who felt strongly about not having been racially discriminated against, with the remaining three social workers not bringing up racial discrimination in their interviews. However, racism between blacks and whites is only one form, with many other forms of tension between different groups of people. In this study, one-third of the Zimbabwean social workers talked about not getting along with one particular group of black people, the African-Caribbean social workers. Some of these Zimbabweans felt that the African-Caribbean social workers thought that they were better blacks than Africans. This is what Panashe said:

> When people talk of racism it's between blacks and whites, but you can have racism between blacks of different ethnic backgrounds….

Class has been one of the major causes of tension between Africans and African-Caribbeans in the UK (McGregor 2008: 477). It seems that, African-Caribbeans feel that they are entitled to a privileged status as they have been in the UK longer than most of the African immigrants. The two groups also have stereotypes about each other, with Africans associating African-Caribbeans with drug-dealing and violence, among other things (Mwakikagile, 2007). In agreement with one participant in McGregor (2008), who blames the Caribbeans' behaviour on their history of slavery, this is what Williams (2007: 393-394), who is an African-Caribbean says:

> … The trauma of being wrenched from our original homeland in Africa is etched so deeply in our collective psyche that it must permeate and structure our very personality.

Such explanations for one's behavior may be critiqued as evasive of personal responsibility (Cross, 2003), as these are descendants, not the actual people who experienced slavery. However Mesadieu (1999) talks about trans-generational scars of slavery, which are psychological. Symptoms of slavery in descendants include a constant search for identity, a sense of fear and

low self-esteem. It might also be that African-Caribbeans have grown to become defensive and not too trusting, having grown up hearing stories of how badly their ancestors were treated.

I now turn to discuss how the Zimbabwean social workers related to other local British people besides colleagues and, how trust as a major element of social capital came into play.

Relationship with the UK community

Of those participants who had not talked about it, the Zimbabwean social workers were prompted to comment on how they related to other people in the UK, to further assess how they had extended their networks to form bridging social capital. From their responses, there did not seem to be much interaction with the local community by the Zimbabwean social workers except on a professional basis. Like migrant Asian workers in Brah (1996), there were chances that the Zimbabwean social workers as 'ex-colonial subjects' were being viewed as lower class even by unskilled white people. While some of the social workers mentioned that social services clients were hostile towards social workers in general, more than half of the participants felt that the hostility would become worse if it was a black social worker. Boekestijn (1988) talks about how physical differences like colour generate social distance. As mentioned previously, being black acted as a barrier to bridging social capital formation for the Zimbabwean social workers. The social workers reported that service users would say that they did not want a black social worker because they struggled to understand their English. For some of them, they had to try and change their intonation so as to make it easier for the local people to understand them. However, the social workers also mentioned having had difficulties in understanding the local English accent. This means that, besides colour, linguistic barriers due to different English accents also limited interaction between the Zimbabwean social workers and local British people.

The Zimbabwean social workers in this study also found it difficult to deal with certain issues like homosexuality and the way some of their clients were obsessed with pets like dogs and snakes. Over time, the relationship between the Zimbabwean social workers and service users seems to have vastly improved, with Sekai commenting:

> When I got here to the UK the service users were not willing to work with black social workers such that they would come up with different stories like, 'Oh, I don't understand what they are saying', 'Oh, I can't pronounce their name' … to try and avoid us, but then they got used to the idea that we are here to stay.

Mufaro mentioned that, although he had his wife with him, they both felt lonely in the neighbourhood in which they lived. He said that the British were not as embracing as other people like the Irish. For example, he would use the same bus with someone everyday and know that if he didn't greet them first they wouldn't greet him; actually they would pretend to read a book or a newspaper to avoid him and this was the same with some colleagues at work. This is what Ushe also said about his neighbour:

> Here in Britain people don't care about the welfare of their neighbours, you don't want to know. I have stayed where I'm living for almost six years now and I just greet my neighbour, 'Hi, hi', that's it. Recently, I got to know his name is X.

Hall (2002) suggests that the pub remains one of the most important settings associated with informal sociability in Britain. In an effort to assess the sociability of the Zimbabwean social workers in informal settings and their integration into British culture, the questionnaire had a question asking how often the Zimbabwean social workers visited the pub in a month. Eight of the questionnaire respondents said they had never gone to the pub, four said once in a while and the remaining two said often. Ed, one of the three interviewees who brought up the issue of socialising in pubs, found it tricky that he has to drive to the pub yet, when you drink and drive,

you get charged. Generally the Zimbabwean social workers in this study did not frequently visit bars.

According to Putnam (1993), trust is one of the major components of social capital which is believed to form the basis of cohesive and reciprocal societies. Trust as an important element of social capital is defined in Chapter Three (p.61). Following from the research responses, it seems that lack of trust between Zimbabwean social workers and the local British people made it challenging for the Zimbabwean social workers to access as many resources as they potentially could have done from bridging social capital and linking social capital. Sixteen participants felt that the organisation was too sceptical to give senior posts to people from developing countries, with many interview participants emphasising how Zimbabwean social workers were not trusted by their employer. This is what Thando said:

> In this organisation it takes a lot of time to trust a Zimbabwe social worker and promote them to responsibilities where they can sign for money (financial duties) ... I don't know when they will be able to trust us.

While it has been easy for the Zimbabwean social workers to trust and rely on each other within bonding social capital, the social workers felt that there was a lack of trust between them and the British community as a whole. Although the majority of the participants felt that they could not be trusted as foreigners, it seems that this lack of trust is two-way. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers also expressed their lack of trust when it comes to dealing with the local British people. The questionnaire was more specific, asking respondents to tick the appropriate remark concerning trusting the British public, with more than half of the respondents saying that most of them cannot be trusted. This is supported by the following statements from some of the interview participants:

> You can't judge things fairly and squarely because all you now think of is that you are a victim. Even those white people who are genuine towards you, you don't see them as that anymore, you just end up not trusting anyone. Imagine the level of trust that you come with from back home. (Sipho)

> You have to be very careful whatever you are doing, more of defensive practice, lest someone uses that against you, everywhere, even with our managers, clients, other professionals. Initially I left myself exposed, rather, with that presumption of trust. You trust everyone and, by so doing, you are leaving yourself exposed. Sometimes you communicate things with people, you don't back it up with a written letter, you go to a meeting, they turn around and say you never told me that. After some time you begin to understand that, in this job, you have to make sure that you cover your back, watch your back.... (Panashe)

According to Coleman (1988), trust is easier to develop in communities with shared norms and closed networks. While it was relatively easy for the Zimbabwean social workers to develop networks and trust each other as Zimbabweans, it was more difficult for them to establish trust across communities. However, the fact that more Zimbabweans were recruited by one organisation must mean that there was a degree of trust from the employers. Logically, having more Zimbabweans within one organisation was supposed to increase interaction between Zimbabwean social workers and British social workers allowing trust to be established. In practice, the Zimbabweans interacted less with the British social workers since they could socialise with each other as Zimbabweans. As a result of lower levels of interaction, it became even more challenging for trust to be established between the Zimbabwean immigrants and their British colleagues. One can then argue that the availability of bonding social capital to the Zimbabwean social workers acted as a barrier to accessing bridging social capital. While they could rely among themselves, there was no incentive to extend their networks outside their

community. But there later came a time when they no longer trusted the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers to meet their needs and, they had to focus on developing more useful networks with other people at church, other organisations or creating their own individual friendships outside the community of Zimbabwean social workers.

Esteem needs

Seven of the participants stated having struggled with esteem issues as soon as they arrived in the UK. Others expressed feelings of inferiority, lack of confidence and helplessness which, according to Maslow (1970), result when esteem needs are thwarted. When the social workers joined the local authority, the work experience they had acquired while working in Zimbabwe was not taken into account. Instead, they were made to start at entry grade where they were paid like people who had just qualified from college. This, according to the social workers, eroded their self-esteem. They needed their experience and achievements to be recognised. As most of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study felt that they were not adequately prepared to practise in the UK (Chapter Five), they felt less confident in their work. There were only three social workers who mentioned being sufficiently confident when they first arrived, one of them having previously lived in another Western country. One particular social worker, Willy, said he now had higher self esteem after coming to the UK, where the social work profession is given more respect than in Zimbabwe. Most of the self-esteem issues mentioned by the Zimbabwean social workers had to do with the difficulties they had in forming bridging social capital. More time and effort is usually required to form bridging social capital compared to bonding social capital. According to Kurai, with time, the local social workers became friendlier and, as a result, he then became more confident working with them and approaching them whenever he needed advice. Indeed, eight questionnaire respondents, no longer working for LCC rated their

relationship with British social workers higher than their relationship with fellow Zimbabwean social workers. This might be due to the fact that they are now working in places with less Zimbabwean social workers, allowing for more interaction with the local British social workers. It could also be that these Zimbabwean social workers now have the experience of living and working in the UK, so no longer feel sidelined.

While the Zimbabwean social workers were struggling to make out the local English accent in Large, the British social workers and clients were also struggling to understand the African accent. This therefore meant that interaction between the Zimbabwean social workers and the British people was a tall order, to begin with. Chenai and Thando mentioned that the local British people struggled to pronounce their Zimbabwean names. Generally, they felt that their fellow British colleagues were not willing to learn how to pronounce their names properly, as reflected in the following statement by Chenai:

> There are certain things that I took for granted when I was at home [in Zimbabwe]. When you tell someone that your name is Chenai, they know that is your name. Then I got here, you say your name but they [British social workers] don't get it because it's in a strange or funny language. I had to say it over and over again, spell it out, and write it down and the next day the same process over again. To be honest, I still don't think my name is difficult to pronounce at all, but I appreciate that it was new to them [British social workers]. Then, over the phone, you know how people want to know who they are talking to. I had to spell out my name with every phone call, but now I don't bother, I have realised there are lots of funny names out there.

Thando remembered how callers would ask to speak to someone else when he kept saying 'Pardon?' over the phone. Such communication problems were reported to have produced an inferiority complex in some of the Zimbabwean social workers.

Although the social needs and the esteem needs as propounded by Maslow (1970) are clear cut, with most of the social workers in the study the boundaries were blurred. While issues like the local English accent, accommodation and fitting into established teams, which were more pressing when the social workers first started in LCC, have become less of a problem, the issue of recognition continues to bother them. One of those who yearns for recognition is Theresa, who said:

> And I've found there isn't a lot of praise around here, you know, like what I'm used to at home. You do something correct or something that's over and above what you are supposed to do, people pretend they haven't seen it.

Others, like Jamie, felt happy that their efforts were being recognised. He said:

> I'd say, when I came here, each and every supervision that I've had with my manager, she has always been full of praise, acknowledging that my work is good, excellent and things like that, she acknowledges that. She is always saying that your learning curve is vertical so there is that appreciation, recognition, it's good when they recognise your efforts. And also, I think it was my second report, they also acknowledged that it was of high quality, so it sort of encourages you.

When the Zimbabwean social workers got to the UK they had less power and control over their lives compared to when they were still in Zimbabwe and this could have contributed to their lack of self-esteem. Those in power, like employment agencies, the local authority, landlords and the receiving community, in general defined their position. Although they were promised a relocation package by Large City Council, the problem was that they had to bring receipts first and get reimbursed. There were conditions attached to spending the money, according to some of the social workers. One example given was that they could not buy a television set above a certain size. The social workers did not have many options but to do as they were told or to try

and negotiate their way through to reach a compromise. For Thando, the most upsetting thing was going to the office the first day and realising that his contract had been changed unilaterally. Two other social workers also claimed arriving in the UK to find an amended contract. Thando felt that this obviously had to do with power relations:

> The reason why our employer did that [change contract] was because they knew that these people are defenceless, there is no way they can challenge this.

Information that was given to the Zimbabwean social workers while they were still in Zimbabwe and contracts that they were shown by recruitment agencies did not tally with contracts they were given to sign upon arrival in LCC. For example, they had been told by the agencies that their qualifications and work experience was going to be taken into account by their employer and they were also promised more money. Besides networks, social capital is about trust and norms of reciprocity (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1988). Failure to comply leads to sanctions being imposed upon the misbehaving member (Coleman, 1988). The Zimbabwean social workers could not impose any sanctions on the recruitment agencies or Large City Council, let alone follow up on this issue. There was an element of desperation on the part of the social workers who did not want to go back to Zimbabwe when they had a chance to improve their careers and lives by practising in a developed country. Ed commented:

> When I was given the contract by the local authority it was so different from what we had been promised in Zimbabwe, I could not believe my own eyes. Going back home was not an option because I had resigned and said all the good-byes. Also we couldn't question the employer in case they told us to go back to Zimbabwe.

When the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers was formed, it could have followed up on some of the social workers' contracts having been changed upon arrival in the UK, but there were no reports of that having happened. Norms of reciprocity become less relevant in

circumstances that rely on linking social capital. Once the Zimbabwean social workers got to the UK, recruitment agencies did not want anything to do with them and did not expect to have a continuing relationship or expect, in turn, to get help from the Zimbabwean social workers as expected under the norms of generalised reciprocity (Putnam, 1993, Coleman, 1988). Research findings show that recruitment agencies took advantage of this relationship since, as gatekeepers, they had a more influential position than the social workers. It is evident from this research that such ties created between people of different social strata, with one being more powerful than the other and hence controlling access to resources, can result in exploitative behavior. This is how most of the Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study felt about the recruitment process. There were only two social workers in this study who expressed having had a positive recruitment experience in general. It would be helpful if more research is carried out to investigate this claim of contracts having been changed to see what the original contract was, how this compared to the amended contract, who changed it and why, among other issues. Grant (2005) identifies a 'data gap' which exists in cases where migrants get exploited by their employers. He reports that, in most cases, migrants fear that reporting such practices might result in loss of employment. Migrant workers tend not to be aware of the rights they are entitled to or not know how to claim them (Grant, 2005; Brah, 1996), which the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment (discussed in Chapter Two) has tried to partially address.

Lack of experience in working in a developed country made the social workers powerless. As they became familiar with the UK lifestyle, gained more experience and moved to higher positions, the social workers started feeling more powerful and, as time went on, some of them regained self-esteem. Of the 18 social workers who commented on how hard working Zimbabweans are, seven of them were of the view that they were responsible for the

improvement of the local authority's performance rating. According to these social workers, Large City Council only started getting stars for their social services after the Zimbabwean social workers were recruited. Ed commented:

> LCC never used to do well in performance ratings (0 to 3 stars). Actually, it was a zero-star rated council, ranked among one of the worst in the country. When we [Zimbabwean social workers] joined the local authority it was really struggling but, in recent years, it has managed to get a star or two, which is a move in the right direction. We have been doing most of the work. Imagine, at some point we were more than sixty Zimbabweans within the local authority.

Although they believe that their hard work improved the status of LCC, another explanation could be that, before the Zimbabwean social workers arrived, the local authority did not have enough staff to provide satisfactory services. It seems that quite a number of the Zimbabwean social workers had played influential roles while in Zimbabwe (politicians, magazine editors, chairpersons of various organisations) but most of them have kept a low profile in the UK. This could be due to the heavy workloads that they complained about, scarce opportunities or feelings of inferiority that did not allow them to have the confidence to take up leadership positions in their local community in the UK. Will emphasized how he internally struggled with the position of power he now held at work as a team leader:

> Our up-bringing is that of white superiority and black inferiority, now I am in a position of authority, how do you balance that, my position as a practitioner, the status quo? It was my own experience of dealing with that, not to say that I stayed in a very hostile environment. No, in my own self on how to deal with the situation, in my own feeling of inferiority versus people who required my services, those to some extent politically considered as superior.

Reynolds (2008) talks about how blacks in the Caribbean internalise from a young age that white people are better than black people. Being white or light-skinned is associated with wealth, class and therefore power. Such notions could be challenged, especially in America where there have been rich influential black people like Denzel Washington, Oprah Winfrey and now a black President. However, relying primarily on dichotomous opposition to conceptualise social relations is to be ignorant of the multidimensionality of power (Brah, 1996).

There are others who have assumed leadership roles amongst themselves as Zimbabweans in the form of being committee members of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers and at church. In such cases, ethnic networks have been used to redress the lack of self-esteem. While Brah (1996) argues that difference is not always a marker of hierarchy and oppression, with the majority of the Zimbabwean social workers being different from the local British people and having come from Africa seems to have meant that they were in a lower class. The social workers talked about how they looked different in skin colour, the way they dressed, their intonation, their experiences, not to mention the colonial history which already situated them as subordinates. A previous quote from Itai in Chapter Five (p.148) talks about how his British colleagues called each other to look through the window when one of them saw him driving a car to work for the first time. However, the Zimbabwean social workers, as individuals and collectively, refused to be treated as second class citizens and showed resilience in the face of social and professional challenges, not losing focus of the trophy which, according to many of them, was developing their careers so as to be able to give the best they could to their families.

CONCLUSION

The experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers bring out the multi-dimensionality of issues that they had to deal with when they arrived in the UK. Maslow's hierarchy of needs remains

useful in identifying and classifying needs for the Zimbabwean social workers. However, the order in which these social workers tried to meet the needs did not neatly follow the stages proposed by Maslow. Instead the social workers tried to meet all their needs at the same time resulting in them constantly moving up and down Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

The Zimbabwean social workers had to rely mostly on bonding social capital to settle in the UK and decided to form an association to support each other socially and professionally, which they called the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Other reasons for the formation of the Network may have been related to power issues and the need to be heard. The experiences of these social workers show that having a common problem leads to people coming together to create collective social capital. There is more power in a group compared to an individual and, the larger the group, the more social capital is available. The social workers' behaviour in investing more in bonding social capital goes against the views of Putnam (1998), who argues that people should, rather, concentrate on creating bridging social capital which is of more value and helps people to 'get ahead' compared to bonding social capital which only allows people to 'get by'. As soon as the social workers had settled in the UK, the bonding social capital they had created through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers became less important. They stopped attending meetings, since the Network was no longer beneficial to them and concentrated on forming other relationships as individuals at church, organizations for black people, at university and many others. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers felt that supporting new arrivals from Zimbabwe had become burdensome. Although social capital is mostly viewed in a positive light, it can also be negative when it takes the form of excessive claims from community members.

Family is important to the Zimbabwean social workers but, when they migrated to the UK, most had to leave their families behind. Migration for these social workers meant that they could not utilise social capital constituted within families. Although most of these social workers were able to re-constitute their families in the UK, traditional social relations did not stay the same. For example, women, having started to earn more than their husbands, negotiated for more equality in carrying out household tasks and making decisions. In trying to cope with migration pressures, most of the Zimbabwean social workers have also relied on their spiritual relationship with God. The Zimbabwean social workers found it challenging to create bridging social capital when they first arrived in the UK. The majority of the research participants felt that their relationships with British people, especially at work, were plagued with lack of trust and racial discrimination. Tension was also reported between Afro-Caribbean social workers and the Zimbabwean social workers. Relying on bonding social capital too much may also have led to their exclusion from the wider community. Treating the different forms of social capital as complementary rather than competitive might have enabled these social workers to form strong networks within and outside their community as Zimbabwean social workers.

In the following chapter, I look at how the Zimbabwean social workers made use of social capital to maintain ties with their homeland. I also explore how being Zimbabweans settled in the UK affected their identity and sense of belonging.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TRANSNATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND BELONGING

INTRODUCTION

While in the past migrants would stay for long periods of time without being in touch with people back in their home countries, newer forms of flexible migration patterns have emerged, whereby immigrants can participate in activities which require their presence in more than one country at the same time. This chapter is the last of three chapters, where responses from interviews carried out with Zimbabwean social workers employed within a particular local authority in the UK are discussed. Chapter Five examined the Zimbabwean social workers' reasons for migration and their career development in the UK, while Chapter Six looked at how they developed social ties in an effort to meet their safety, social and self-esteem needs. The present chapter is divided in three main sections. The first section looks at how the Zimbabwean social workers have managed to lead dual lives, participating in socio-economic and political activities in both the UK and Zimbabwe. The second section gives a presentation of how they have been able to negotiate their identity as Zimbabweans in the UK. The third section focuses on how the Zimbabwean social workers have been involved in home-making processes in the UK, while still referring to Zimbabwe as a home they will eventually return to.

In this chapter, the last two research questions are addressed and these are:

- To what extent have the Zimbabwean social workers utilised social capital to maintain links with their country of origin?
- How has migration shaped and influenced identity and belonging for the Zimbabwean social workers in the study?

I will start by examining the nature of their transnational activities.

TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

There have been suggestions by Putnam (2000) that migration weakens social capital as migrants leave their friends and family behind. While this may be true to some extent, the Zimbabwean social workers seem to have embraced transnationalism as a way of life and continue to develop and strengthen networks with their communities here in the UK and in Zimbabwe. Social capital in the form of traditional kin structures has been gradually replaced by other forms like transnational social capital which involves social ties that cross national borders to link people in their country of origin and country of settlement (Favell, 2003). According to Bloch (2008), not much research has looked into the transnational activities of Zimbabweans. To assess the aspect of transnationalism among the Zimbabwean social workers, they were asked if they had retained links with their home country. Research findings from this study suggest that the Zimbabwean social workers are living dual lives, participating in the economic, political, social and cultural activities in Zimbabwe while they are living in the UK. Al-Ali *et al*. (2001) classify transnational activities into economic, political, social and cultural activities, while Portes *et al.* (1999) divide them into economic, political and socio-cultural transnational activities. For this study, the classification devised by Portes *et al*. (1999) is adopted because the boundary between social and cultural transnational activities by the Zimbabwean social workers is sometimes blurred.

Economic Activities

Transnational economic activities were most common among the Zimbabwean social workers, with all 24 interviewees and all 14 questionnaire respondents mentioning that they send remittances to family members in Zimbabwe. In some cases they buy food, clothes, medication and fuel, among other things, and send them to Zimbabwe. Although most of the participants say they have to send money to people in Zimbabwe because the economic situation is bad at the

moment, it is in any case an established African tradition that the more fortunate member of a family bears the burden of supporting the extended family. This seems to go back in history where those family members who would migrate to cities to look for jobs had to take care of everyone who remained behind. Economic hardships in Zimbabwe also mean that there is increased pressure on social services. As a result, the quality of services in the country has deteriorated and not everyone can access financial support due to barriers of distance to district offices, bureaucracy and red tape (Kaseke, 1998). According to participants, the Zimbabwean government has been negligent towards its nationals, leaving it to emigrants to take care of the families that they leave behind. The burden of taking care of the less privileged has fallen heavily upon family members with more resources. Then there is the economic crisis and poverty (Mupedziswa, 2009a; Bloch, 2008; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Parents in developing countries have to work very hard to send their children to school. Their contribution is more like investing in their children, with the natural expectation that one day your child will get a good job and take care of you. As research findings suggest, the fact that the economy is in turmoil (Mupedziswa, 2009a) seems to have increased the pressure on those who have been fortunate enough to be living in other countries that are doing better than Zimbabwe. Bloch (2008) reports that most Zimbabweans, who participated in her research project, send remittances to Zimbabwe. However most of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study became victims of bonding social capital, supporting people in Zimbabwe out of moral obligation. This is what some of the participants said about supporting their families in Zimbabwe:

> ...and sending money when you can, of course you can't run away from that, can you? That is our duty without choice, as long as you are African you know, uncle so and so and auntie and grandmother, your whole extended family needs help and you just have to offer the help. (Chipo)

> Just lift the phone and phone home, you know, or even don't phone them. You know, by this time, end of the month, they'll be phoning saying there is this and that, oh this and that, things that need money, and when you phone home to check on how things are, they will tell you the most horrific stories and, if you have any money, you'll part with it and the way they describe it is like they are already dead. (Ushe)

> I assist financially from time to time but I can't meet all their needs. Where I can, I do assist. It's like they expect you to support them. You have no plans, you don't need to make any investments for yourself, but to just send them money. (Ngoni)

These social workers felt that people in Zimbabwe think that, when people are in the UK, they have lots of money, which, according to some of the participants, is a misrepresentation of reality. This is shown by statements like the following which was made by Chipo:

> It's better when someone has been over here to see the kind of life we live. After I brought my parents here for a holiday, when they went back their perception of the life we live had changed because they saw the reality of our struggles. Even their expectations from me changed a lot, they were no longer much I'm telling you.

Such a statement shows that, although bonding social capital is helpful and easily accessible, it also consists of norms that tend to restrict people's freedom by forcing them to behave in a particular way (Edwards *et al*., 2003; Portes and Landolt, 2000; Coleman, 1990). Close people like friends and family may tend to make excessive claims without considering how you might be having difficulties yourself. Six questionnaire respondents and one interview participant mentioned that they had resorted to doing other jobs, with one questionnaire respondent specifying that he does care work to supplement his salary as a social worker. The fact that some of the Zimbabwean social workers, who are professionals, have to rely on informal jobs to supplement their salaries might be worth pursuing in further research.

These social workers have power over friends and relatives back in Zimbabwe since they are the ones supplying resources like food and clothing. In cases where migrants expect favours from their families back home, like looking after their children, properties and businesses, power can then be negotiated, resulting in an almost balanced relationship. It is not uncommon within bonding social capital or any other form of social ties that people help others with the expectation that they will return the favour or help other members of their community in the near future (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1988).

Reynolds (2008) presents an argument on whether remittances lead to the development of the local economy or otherwise. According to the structural school of thought, remittances increase inequality in the community and lead to economic decline in the long run as people in receiving countries develop a consumption culture and a dependency syndrome. However the opposing functional school of thought views remittances as essential to investment and economic development in host communities. Unlike the Chinese immigrants who are reported to mainly invest back in China (Newland and Patrick, 2004), the Zimbabwean social workers mostly send remittances to their families rather than invest in Zimbabwe. Sending remittances to family members is likely to reduce poverty in the short run while investing in the country of origin will be more likely to reduce poverty in the long run and for more people (Newland and Patrick, 2004). Only two social workers reported running small enterprises, while one mentioned operating farms in Zimbabwe. It is justifiable for the Zimbabwean social workers to exhibit a remittance-led pattern and not follow a business-oriented model like the Chinese considering the current economic climate in Zimbabwe. It would not be wise for these migrants to heavily invest into an economy infested with economic sanctions and hyper-inflation, with percentage increase rates being measured in millions (McGregor, 2009) when their family members are struggling

even to meet basic needs of food, shelter, health and education. It seems reasonable in such circumstances that migrants send remittances to households directly to address poverty before thinking of long term poverty reduction strategies. After all, if the environment is conducive to economic development, consumption by households can generate multiplier effects in the domestic economy (Reynolds, 2008; Small, 2007; Newland and Patrick, 2004).

Considering the brain drain Zimbabwe has experienced (Mupedziswa, 2009a; Bloch, 2005; Tevera and Crush, 2003), remittances alone may not be enough to give back to the country although they can be a good starting point. Small (2007) argues that for remittances to contribute to real development, they have to be invested in the home country or at least used for the consumption of domestic products rather than imported ones. Mexico is one of the countries which has benefited from both remittances and from investment by Mexicans abroad. Some of these Mexican immigrants have come together, based on their town or region of origin in Mexico, to form hometown associations that sponsor development activities in Mexico. In the process, transnational social capital with a bonding effect is utilised. Despite being the world's second-largest receiver of remittances, the Mexican Diasporas through hometown associations participate in a number of projects back in Mexico that include infrastructural development, development projects in health, education and recreation and capital investment in income generating activities (Newland and Patrick, 2004). There is no mention of hometown associations or anything similar by the Zimbabwean social workers, with McGregor (2009) confirming their absence among Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK despite other African countries like Nigeria and Ghana having benefited from them (Mohan, 2006; Newland and Patrick, 2004). While Ghanaian hometown associations are associated with class divisions

(Mohan, 2006), these associations can bridge class divides, bringing together immigrants from the same town regardless of their job, income or legal status.

According to Small (2007), remittance to community groups, voluntary organisations and church constitute investment in social capital. There have been no reports of investing in government schemes, non-governmental organisations or community development by the Zimbabwean social workers I interviewed, despite their having formal jobs and secure residence permits. Maybe those without secure legal status but who have access to the labour market are likely to invest more in their country of origin due to uncertainties surrounding their lives in their country of settlement. In the event that they are deported back to their country of origin, they will need to have things to fall back on like a house to live in and maybe a business to run. A study by Bloch (2008) found that Zimbabwean immigrants who did not have permanent residency in the UK, but had jobs, were most likely to send remittances to Zimbabwe compared to those who had British citizenship or the Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR). Bloch (2008) also believes that access to the regular labour market by migrants in the UK will alleviate global poverty. Considering the poor economic situation in Zimbabwe (Mupedziswa, 2009a; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002), with for example, how the Zimbabwean social workers in this study said they were helping people in Zimbabwe, one would argue that re-building a country like Zimbabwe requires more than access to the formal job market by its nationals in foreign countries. I suggest that policies that show the government's commitment to its people outside and inside the country and to developing the country would be a good starting point. As it is, the Zimbabwean government has been excluding Zimbabweans in foreign countries with the refusal of dual citizenship, stripping them of voting rights and the general absence of policies that can mobilise Zimbabwean migrants to invest in their country of origin (Pasura, 2010a; McGregor, 2009; Bloch, 2008). There has been only one

initiative, called Homelink (Pvt) Ltd., which was a housing scheme and a money transfer service launched in 2004, by Governor of the Reserve Bank, to cater for the needs of Zimbabweans overseas. Zimbabweans in the diaspora were encouraged to transfer money to Zimbabwe through this scheme and also to invest in property through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (Pasura, 2010a; Maphosa, 2005). This initiative was seen, by some, as an effort by the Zimbabwean government to redefine its relationship with its emigrants, but, expectations of more inclusion by the home government were crashed when Zimbabwean migrants were not allowed to vote in the 2005 parliamentary elections (Pasura, 2010a). The Homelink programme has not been successful and this might have been due to the use of personal networks and private organisations to send money to Zimbabwe (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2007), unattractive rates offered by the Zimbabwean government and/or lack of confidence in the government by its people (Pasura, 2010b; Bloch, 2008; Maphosa, 2005). Maybe commitment towards Zimbabwean nationals in foreign countries will improve with the 'inclusive government' that was formed in February 2009 between the ruling ZANU-PF party and the opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). According to findings from other authors (Pasura, 2010a; McGregor, 2009) and research participants in this study, the MDC has been actively engaging with Zimbabweans outside the country as discussed under the section, Political Activities (p.231). For now, I look at socio-cultural transnational activities, then I will move on to discuss the political aspect.

Socio-Cultural Activities

The social workers continue to invest in bonding social capital by maintaining contact with friends and relatives back in Zimbabwe, some more regularly than others, mainly through the telephone, by e-mail and visiting Zimbabwe. Technological advances like e-mails, faxes, telephone and affordable air transport have compressed distance, time and space to allow for

easier and faster exchanges across borders (Leung, 2004; Portes *et al.*, 1999). Some interviewees however, mentioned that they find it expensive to visit Zimbabwe regularly and have to search for discount airfares or buy tickets well in advance to get reasonable airfares. Ed was one of the three social workers who mentioned having not gone back to Zimbabwe to visit and this was his reasoning:

> It's quite expensive to visit Zimbabwe, [it is] not just the airfare, but buying gifts for people and sustaining yourself while you are there … sometimes it's better, the people there are happier if you send them money to use than you going to visit empty-handed. The other time my grandmother passed away [in Zimbabwe], and I was very close to her. I wanted to go but then I thought, what if I send the money for airfare to be used for the funeral service, my grandmother will have a decent funeral rather than me using the money to travel all the way.

Questionnaire respondents were asked how often they visited Zimbabwe. Their responses were divided between once a year and once every two to three years. No one, among the questionnaire respondents, said that they had not gone back to Zimbabwe, although three interview participants mentioned not having visited Zimbabwe since coming to the UK. Some of the interviewed social workers mentioned having invited their family members to visit them in the UK. Three participants with young children said that they try to go with them to Zimbabwe regularly so that they can grow up knowing their relatives and culture of origin. Whether first generation Zimbabwean immigrants will maintain strong links with Zimbabwe remains to be established by future research. Some authors have questioned the sustainability of transnationalism among successive generations of immigrants (Favell, 2003; Layton-Henry, 2002; Kivisto, 2001). However, Reynolds (2008) reports that second-generation Caribbean immigrants in the UK continue to identify themselves as Caribbean, maintaining strong ethnic ties as immigrants and

also maintaining transnational family networks. Eventually, some of these children of Caribbean immigrants have even returned to live in their parents' country of origin.

More than half of the research participants mentioned having bought houses both in the UK and back in Zimbabwe, with some of them even paying gardeners and house maids back in Zimbabwe, despite having their immediate families with them in the UK. While some maintain transnational links with Zimbabwe as a way of coping with migration pressures, others do it as a strategy to minimize risks to their income, more for security reasons. Vuyo said:

> If plan A doesn't work then I'll use plan B, so already I have bought a house in England and, if things don't work well, I've also bought a house in Zimbabwe. If things don't work well there, I can live here because I've got property; if things are OK back home then I can always go back anytime.

If immigrants cannot achieve something in one country they may be able to achieve it in another, as mentioned by second generation Caribbeans in the study by Reynolds (2008). For example, it might be easier for Zimbabwean immigrants to send their children to private schools in Zimbabwe, while they may not be able to afford to do that in the UK. Boundaries created by nation states have become irrelevant in many ways for transnational families. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers have to overwork themselves, as previously mentioned, doing overtime or informal jobs to try and maintain the dual lives that they are living. Four Zimbabwean social workers mentioned having presented at social work conferences and contributed to articles in British journals and magazines and/or also for African magazines and newspapers. Bridging social capital as embodied in such networks allows the Zimbabwean social workers to influence social work policy and practice in the UK through what they say and recommend in the conferences and published articles.

Vertovec (1999) has argued that virtual transnational networks do not create new social patterns but reinforce existing ones. Bongai, one of the male social workers, utilises virtual social capital often and participates in internet forums even for minor things, like asking for a Zimbabwean recipe or asking when a Zimbabwean artist will be coming to perform in the UK, and he also gives advice to fellow Zimbabweans when he can. As technology is becoming more advanced, some of the Zimbabwean social workers are using social networking sites like Facebook and online chatting sites like Skype, Yahoo messenger and Google talk, to maintain contact with friends and family. People can even make use of a webcam while chatting on the internet to see images of each other. Virtual social capital is now available to Zimbabweans in different countries, taking social, economic and political interaction by Zimbabweans to a new level. As discussed previously in the literature review chapter, social capital utilised through the internet has a bonding, bridging and linking capacity. The Zimbabwean social workers have mostly used the internet to reinforce bonding social capital, as explained by Rudo.

> Nowadays we have the internet. I e-mail my friends [Zimbabwean] who are here in England, the States [United States], back home and all over the world. There is also Facebook, where you get to see and chat to long lost friends, people you went to high school with and your relatives. It's good... You also get to add your colleague [British] who sits next to you in the office as a friend [on Facebook], but that's as far as it gets. Even if you see that they are online, what's the point of saying 'Hi', they are sitting next to you, or, if you are at home, you've just spent the day with them and hardly said a word to each other.

It is, however, important to note that, like any other form of social capital, virtual social capital, which is defined in Chapter Three, has both opportunities and barriers. Shamiso, one of the female social workers, talked about her reluctance to use social networking internet sites, calling

it risky due to the nature of her job. Virtual social capital generally excludes people who are not interested or do not have access to the internet.

Some of the respondents reported enjoying Zimbabwean traditional meals and other products they get from shops that sell African products in the UK. Newland (2003) identifies nostalgia for food and products from home countries as a form of transnational networks. Thando reports having struggled, in the early days, with eating prawns and crabs and the traditional British meals like fish and chips and 'bangers and mash'. The social workers now tend to buy maize-meal to prepare 'sadza' (maize-meal thick porridge, which is the staple food in Zimbabwe) and a lot of other Zimbabwean foods like dried vegetables, juice and biscuits from shops selling these products in certain UK cities like London, Milton Keynes, Luton and Leicester. Considering the economic situation in Zimbabwe, it could well be that, while immigrants in the UK are accessing these foods, people in Zimbabwe are actually struggling to get hold of them due to unavailability or in some cases financial problems. The younger social workers have mentioned a greater appreciation for their own culture and tradition, including Zimbabwean music, since moving to the UK. Chenai said that she now regularly attends live shows by popular Zimbabwean artists like Oliver Mtukudzi and Thomas Mapfumo when they come to play in the UK:

> Back home I wasn't a Tuku [Oliver Mtukudzi] fan, never attended any of his shows or bought any of his music, but look at me now, I have such a collection of his music and other Zimbabwean gospel artists like Fungisai and all. Back home, it was all R'n'B and hip-hop for me....

The Zimbabwean social workers also contribute to social development in Zimbabwe by providing their families with basics like food, clothes and money for their education and health needs. Only two of the 24 interview participants mentioned giving support beyond their extended

family back in Zimbabwe, through charity work which they undertake as individuals. One of them mentioned sending containers to orphanages in Zimbabwe with basic products like lotions, sanitary towels and clothes, and in some cases old computers to schools. The other one is involved with a children's home. After finding it expensive to ship clothes to Zimbabwe, he has resorted to transferring £50 into the children's home account every month from his own pocket. Two questionnaire respondents have also participated in charity activities in Zimbabwe through their churches, with one of them mentioning paying fees for a needy student to go to one of the private local universities called Africa University. Zimbabwean churches in the UK and NGOs are most commonly known for supporting humanitarian causes back in Zimbabwe (McGregor, 2009). It may be that, due to the high cost of living in the UK and family demands from Zimbabwe, the majority of the social workers are left with no resources for helping the Zimbabwean community at large. Mufaro felt that Zimbabweans in the diaspora should get more involved in helping the wider community in Zimbabwe:

> We are not that charitable. To look back home and say 'OK', in what way can we assist? How can people benefit from our being here? We are too individualistic. The only ones to attend to is your extended family, that's all.

In an effort to assess civic engagement, which was used by Putnam (2000) to measure social capital in the USA, questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate which organisations they had participated in within the previous year with options including, among others, local community groups, political groups, environmental groups, parent-teacher associations, religious groups and sports groups. Religious groups proved most common, followed by parent-teacher associations. Seventeen interview participants, which included almost all female participants, reported going to church during weekends, although this question was not asked in the interviews. These findings are consistent with previous research whereby Zimbabwean

immigrants have mentioned going to church as one of their social activities (Pasura, 2010b; McGregor 2009; Bloch, 2008). In this study, the types of churches attended by the social workers were many and varied. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers attended Zimbabwean Pentecostal churches which help to 'create continuity with home' (McGregor, 2008) while others attended local British churches with a presence in Zimbabwe like Anglican, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches. One particular respondent, Rudo, said she attended a United Methodist church for Zimbabweans only, despite the fact that there are Methodist churches in the UK. Christianity as a religion creates a form of social capital which bridges across gender, class, race and nationality, which is important for someone in a foreign country. The fact that some of the social workers stick to Zimbabwean churches limits the ability of Christianity to bridge across social divides like race and nationality. There were a few social workers, however, who mentioned initially attending Zimbabwean churches and later changing to churches with mixed races and nationalities.

Most of the Zimbabwean social workers reported attending social gatherings like birthday parties and weddings with other Zimbabweans in the UK, but maintaining contact mostly with close friends and family. McGregor (2009, 2008) mentions social activities among Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK to include events such as the Miss Zimbabwe-UK beauty pageant, Zimfest celebrations[3], barbeques, football, parties and events such as weddings and funerals, emphasizing how attending such gatherings cross-cuts differences created by work and legal status and how it also gives the migrants a sense of belonging. Despite Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK being able to meet for social activities, they have not come together to undertake economic activities,

[3] This is an event where Zimbabweans and those interested in the Zimbabwean way of life come together to celebrate Zimbabwean music, art, culture, sport and food (BBC News, 2007). Zimfest is known to attract large numbers of white people (McGregor, 2009).

maybe due to lack of financial resources. Getting involved in group transnational economic activities would probably result in a different form of social capital which could be utilised more for the benefit of communities in Zimbabwe and not just for individual families. Besides using the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers to help themselves, as an association it could have raised funds to run projects at home, be these to improve social work practice or help the community in general. None of the participants mentioned any involvement with organisations that support diasporic links, so the Zimbabwean social workers have been maintaining ties with people in their home country on their own initiative with no support from their government or any other established organizations. The Zimbabwean social workers did not even mention the Homelink initiative (housing development scheme and money transfer service), discussed in the previous section, as part of their transnational activities.

Political Activities

While all the social workers in the present study are involved in transnational economic activities of some sort, only four interviewees mentioned being actively involved in transnational political activities. Three of these social workers said they regularly attended MDC gatherings organised in various towns in the UK. Of these three, one already has a significant post within party structures, whilst another is participating with the hope of attaining a senior position in the event that the MDC becomes the ruling party in Zimbabwe. No-one mentioned attending the Zimbabwean Vigil where Zimbabweans demonstrate every Saturday, in central London, in a bid to highlight problems in Zimbabwe to the international community so that they can intervene (see Chapter Three, p. 93). According to Bloch (2008), those who left Zimbabwe for political reasons are more engaged in political activities than those who migrated for other reasons, with men more likely to participate in politics than women. Pasura (2010a) further suggests that, for

the majority of black Zimbabweans, a close relationship exists between lack of legal immigration status and their participation in transnational politics. The fact that most of the interviewed social workers have obtained British citizenship, together with lack of time due to a heavy workload, probably explains the laid back attitude towards Zimbabwe politics, by the majority of the Zimbabwean social workers. However, white Zimbabweans, with dual nationality, and those already granted refugee status, also participate in transnational politics, showing that lack of legal status is not the sole motivation for engaging in such activities (Pasura, 2010a).

A follow up interview with Tawana, who had recently attended an address by Morgan Tsvangirai in London, revealed his disappointment in the MDC leader who was telling professional Zimbabweans to go back home since, in his view, the situation has improved. He said:

> His [Morgan Tsvangirai's] thinking is way behind. He was telling us 'Come back home and develop your country, your country needs you.' Come back home, what for? Being in the UK doesn't mean that we cannot contribute to building Zimbabwe. What Zimbabwe needs at the moment are people who can invest in the country while earning in foreign currency. We can still build Zimbabwe while we are here, maybe even faster….

Most of the social workers actively search for information about their home country through websites like newzimbabwe.com, the media, and in some cases by word of mouth, and were particularly concerned about the results of the Presidential elections which had just been carried out in Zimbabwe, despite the fact that Zimbabweans are not allowed to participate in national elections while they live in foreign countries (Bloch, 2008). Nine research participants voluntarily mentioned participating in elections in the UK. Having been in the UK for years, the Zimbabwean social workers have tried to extend their networks, investing in bridging social capital which allows them to access resources that they would not be able to access within their own community as Zimbabwean social workers or Zimbabweans in general. Five of the

Zimbabwean social workers mentioned in their interviews that they were active members of Unison[4], while two others said they were members of the Black Workers' Support Group (BWSG)[5]. Being in the UK has, however, not stopped some of the social workers from being politically active in Zimbabwe. One supporter of the ruling Zanu-PF party said:

> I'm also into politics. Actually, I was there [in Zimbabwe] a few weeks back for the elections because I was campaigning to become a Member of Parliament for the ruling party... People should vote wisely, for people like me who have had exposure. You know, when you elect someone straight from a nobody, they do not know that being an MP means that you are the people's servant. Instead, they will be more concerned about improving their own welfare before they can even begin to think of the constituency or the people in general. If people had voted for someone like me, I have been living here in the UK for a few years now, I know what democracy means.

While another participant who supports the opposition (MDC) said:

> I am an opposition politician and I'm also an advisor of Tsvangirai [MDC leader]... I still phone him [MDC leader], I still talk to his representatives, I still write articles for the website. We've got a good website that we are running, we still look for money to support the party, to buy fuel for MDC in Zimbabwe. We are doing it now and I think this weekend we are sending £2000 for fuel for transportation. He's having rallies now,so we buy the fuel. We are also raising money for salaries for MDC workers, electricity bills, water; we are doing that.

[4] Unison is a public sector union that speaks up for people working in the public services or for private contractors providing public services and essential utilities. These include full and part-time employees in local authorities, the National Health Service (NHS), colleges and schools, the police services, electricity, gas and water suppliers, the transport industry and the voluntary sector. Generally, the union challenges discrimination and promotes equality through negotiating and bargaining on behalf of its members (www.unison.org/about/about.asp).

[5] The Black Workers Support Group (BWSG) is a locality based support group set up to meet the needs of black workers. The BWSG works with local authorities to provide support and guidance in the recruitment, training and development of black employees. The group also offers advice, assistance and representation to black workers in relation to issues of inequalities, harassment and discrimination. (www.solihull.gov.uk/jobs/docs/Black_Workers_Support_Group.pdf)

The above statement shows the intertwined nature of social capital with other forms of capital: political and financial capital in this case. Surprisingly, fundraising activities by Zimbabweans in the UK, as McGregor (2009) also discovered, were only mentioned as supporting political activities for the MDC back in Zimbabwe and not for social or economic purposes. Two social workers mentioned that they saw real opportunity in having leadership positions within the MDC if it were to become the ruling party. This on its own can be an incentive to organize or participate in fund-raising for political activities. The reasons why Zimbabweans have not organised fundraising activities for social and economic purposes back in Zimbabwe, like the Mexicans (Newland and Patrick, 2004) or West Africans (McGregor, 2008; Mohan, 2006), could not be established through this research. This can be an issue for further research. However, it may be due to the general thinking among Zimbabweans that it remains the responsibility of the government to develop the country. It could also relate to concern that funds will be misused due to the current economic and political crisis in the country (Mupedziswa, 2009b). Lack of trust as an essential element of social capital can act as a barrier to transnational activities aimed at developing the country of origin socially, politically and economically. This aspect of not trusting people back home by the Zimbabwean social workers came up in some of the interviews. Thando was concerned that he had been sending money to his brother in Zimbabwe to build a house for him. He felt that the progress his brother was reporting did not match the funds he had been sending. Theresa also talked about how she had hired a gardener and a housemaid to maintain her house in Zimbabwe, and then later commented:

> Hopefully they haven't run away as we talk. Probably they are just receiving the money, you never know.

Due to technological advances and the reliability of communication services in the UK compared to Zimbabwe, news travels faster among Zimbabwean immigrants compared to those back in Zimbabwe. Two social workers claimed that, in most cases, they are aware of what is happening in Zimbabwe before the people there even know about it. In extreme cases, Rudo has had to pass messages from one person in Zimbabwe to another due to the poor mobile network in Zimbabwe or lack of money to buy airtime/top-up. Radio stations like SW Radio Africa, Studio 7 and Voice of the People, with online streaming, have also been established for Zimbabwean immigrants in different countries, together with people back in Zimbabwe, to listen to and discuss current affairs. The Zanu-PF government has, however, been accused of trying to prevent such diaspora media from being broadcast in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2007b). At the moment, there is no satellite TV for Zimbabweans as there is for other African countries like Nigeria and South Africa. This is a more recent form of transnational networking that has become more popular as technology has become more advanced. Although the social workers did not mention getting involved with NGOs, there are some NGOs that sponsor transnational activities to make sure that migrants remain in touch with each other and contribute to the development of their home countries and some, like the International Organization for Migration (IOM), facilitate return migration and integration issues. Another NGO, called Widows and Orphans Relief Development (WORD) Trust International, has been advertising posts for qualified Zimbabweans in foreign countries or non-Zimbabweans to go and lecture at the University of Zimbabwe as volunteers in different departments including Social Work (www.wordtrustinternational.com). This provides an opportunity for Zimbabwean social workers to give back to their country since they will be contributing to the training of more social workers while, at the same time, passing on information about what they have learnt while practising in the UK. Being able to involve the

Zimbabwean social workers in such a project will generate a new form of transnational social capital that benefits the Zimbabwean community at large.

From the responses, there is now a possibility that people back in Zimbabwe would prefer to maintain social relations with their friends and relatives abroad, compared to those still in Zimbabwe, because those abroad can send them money or things like fuel and groceries. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers seemed more excited about how they have maintained networks with people back in Zimbabwe compared to the ones that they have formed in England and this might go back to issues of power and control because, when it comes to relations with people in Zimbabwe, those in the UK are the ones in control. Transnational social capital as a specific form of bonding social capital has been important to the Zimbabwean social workers and has allowed them to play a significant role back in Zimbabwe in terms of helping their suffering friends and relatives. Most research has focused on the positive aspects of transnational social capital, ignoring the fact that it can also be used for negative purposes. Transnational social capital can be used for illegal and violent activities like terrorism, drug dealing, child abduction and border jumping (Vertovec, 2009; 1999). The Zimbabwean social workers, who may in certain cases deal with some of the issues raised by Vertovec in their workplaces, are less likely to participate in such activities as it is their professional responsibility to ensure that communities are safe. As a professional group, they may also find no need to engage in such risky and destructive activities which may result in them losing their career, their citizenship and their families.

As the Zimbabwean social workers are living their lives as transnationals, participating in social, political and economic activities in both the UK and Zimbabwe, this is bound to have an effect on how they construct their identity as discussed below.

IDENTITY

There was no question on identity posed by the researcher but identity issues surfaced for most of the participants. Their responses showed that there are certain behaviours that they associate or do not associate with being Zimbabwean. They are professional social workers in the UK when they want to classify themselves as such, but then may feel they do not perfectly fit in that class because they are African or black or from Zimbabwe. Some of their statements also showed that, although they are Zimbabweans, they are a different breed of Zimbabweans now, having gone through the experiences of being a migrant worker. Despite most of them being British citizens, there was the sense of being caught in between for some of the participants, with three questionnaire respondents stating their nationality as 'Zimbabwean/British'. From the interviews with the Zimbabwean social workers, it has not been easy to establish whether they have integrated into the UK culture or not, as most of them appear to be 'in between' acculturation models.

Social contact by immigrants at home and at work with members of the host country will lead them to realise the discriminatory nature of host societies (Leung, 2004). As a result, some immigrants will form a protective shell around themselves and try to maintain their identity, while others will compromise their culture to try and fit in. Among the Zimbabwean social workers interviewed, a strong sense of national belonging and nostalgia was evident. This shows that being away from home and being different tends to mould and reinforce identity in immigrants (Triandafyllidou, 2009). UK policies in recent years have not forced immigrants to assimilate or integrate, with the country widely known to promote multiculturalism (Meer and Modood, 2009; Blair, 2006; Fortier, 2003). Multiculturalism which tries to preserve the cultural diversity of different immigrant groups (DeLorenzo, 2000) seems to have become more popular,

with UK employers and service providers being encouraged to take account of ethnic diversity in the workplace (Lloyds TSB, 2010; Acas, 2009; Department of Health, 2004). Other authors have argued, however, that in recent years the government has been retreating from multiculturalism, emphasizing 'Britishness' (Bourne, 2007; Appleyard, 2006). More subtle forms of integration are being used, with the social workers in this study reporting having had to pass a citizenship test before being granted British citizenship. The '*Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey into Citizenship*' test requires applicants to show their knowledge of the English language and life in the UK (White, 2008). The fact that a citizenship test has to be passed before one can acquire permanent residency in the UK means that immigrants have to learn certain aspects of the UK way of life before they can become citizens.

In an effort to re-construct identities as circumstances have changed, various identities have resulted for some of the Zimbabwean social workers. A typical example is Shamiso, who talked about how she had selected aspects that she likes about the UK way of life and retained those she liked about her original culture. This then means that new or 'hybrid identities' have been created in the process (Modood, 1994), drawing from both the Zimbabwean culture and the UK culture. Identity is not simply given; it is allowed to change under new circumstances or when social space is being shared with other heritages or influences (op. cit.). The fact that identity is fluid allowed the Zimbabwean social workers to review their identities from time to time as they made efforts to fit in at work, within their Zimbabwean community and within the UK society. Identity negotiation by the Zimbabwean social workers is a never-ending process even if they decide to go back permanently to Zimbabwe. Tatenda explains that although she wears mostly trousers and tight fitting clothes here in the UK, when she visits her parents in Zimbabwe she wears only skirts as women mostly do back in Zimbabwe. The act of partially suppressing a

sense of one identity while asserting another 'does not mean, however, that different identities can not co-exist' (Brah, 1996: 124). The younger social workers seemed more willing to recreate their identities so as to fit in, in the UK, as explained by Sekai:

> I think there is a certain age group for some of us who were sort of, like, switched on and more in tune and then some people [older Zimbabwean social workers] were like, 'Oh, they want to be more English-like already'. They were, like, 'Listen to the way she speaks her English now. Oh, this girl wants to be in sync with these people'... but I didn't mind that, during lunchtime or when we met elsewhere, we switched off the English and we used our mother tongue, but not at work.

Sometimes identities are also negotiated sub-consciously for practical reasons. Their jobs as social workers involved constant communication for research participants with team members, managers, service users and many other people. As a result, they had to make communication as easy as possible, although for Panashe he seemed unaware that his accent had changed:

> ... for them [the British] I'm more fluent than I was when I came, when I came I still had a strong strong strong African accent, so they say... It's good when you speak with your accent, it's good because that's how you can identify. It's a question of identity, isn't it? Because, when you speak, they say 'Where are you from?' Or sometimes, when people see your name, they say 'Oh, this is not an English name'. That's another experience for me as well, my name.

None of the six Zimbabwean social workers who were single when they moved to the UK became involved in mixed marriages. Instead, two of them mentioned having brought over and married their partners from Zimbabwe, while the rest either looked for Zimbabwean partners in the UK or stayed single. Migrants getting married to people from the receiving country is said to reflect or at least promote integration into the local community (Gaspar, 2009). This lack of inter-ethnic marriages among the Zimbabwean social workers is likely to change with first and

second generation immigrants who tend to mix more with the local people from a young age. There was particular concern amongst almost half the research participants about identity issues for future generations of Zimbabwean immigrants. A few of the social workers reported that their children had white British friends. While some did not seem to mind, others were worried, with Mufaro, who felt strongly about this matter, echoing concerns that 'they will adopt the yobbish behaviour, insubordination, gangsterism and drugs, mistaking it [such behaviour] for sophistication, civilisation and affluence'. Will was particularly concerned about how one of his children may be losing her identity as he felt had been the case with some Caribbean immigrants:

> Of course they were born here, they are more fluent in English, but, with us, we have our identity while they do not have, they have lost their identity and, with some of them, they classify themselves as British. I look at one of my children who is also like that and it disturbs me, people actually refer to her as 'British' because of the way she speaks and the way she acts and dresses, everything. It's that sort of confusion, it's all by virtue of where you live but it doesn't change your own colour, race and everything….

The fact that Will in the above statement mentions race as part of one's identity probably shows that colour can act as a barrier to integration for immigrants, despite the fact that there are black British people in the UK. There are certain migrant groups who might be able to negotiate their racial identity. A good example is some of the Afro-Caribbean people who do not necessarily recognise themselves as black (Brah, 2000, 1996), and South Asians who only consider themselves black when talking about racism (Brah, 2000). Although Asians, Caribbeans and Africans came together as a black community in the 1960s and 1970s, Bourne (2007) argues that, by calling themselves black, these people denoted their shared experience of colonialism in their countries of origin and racial discrimination in the receiving country. Otherwise, for some of them, black was the colour of their politics and not their skin. The Zimbabwean social

workers in the current study did not try to negotiate their racial identity. Even if they had wanted to, it might not have been possible because they have black skin. Their race therefore remained constant as they only referred to themselves as being black people. The fact that they have not married people from other races or nationalities shows a continuation of racial identity with first generation immigrants although some of the male social workers reported having dated local British women. Although some authors have mentioned the fear amongst particular Asian immigrants that getting involved in inter-marriages may erode their cultural values (Samuel, 2009; Naidoo, 2007), this did not come up as a concern from the interviews with the Zimbabwean social workers. Nor did the Zimbabwean social workers emphasise the ethnic dimension of their national identity, unlike other Zimbabweans in the UK studied by McGregor (2008) and certain nationals as noted in other studies (Triandafyllidou, 2009; Green and Power, 2006). The reason for this could be that internal divides like ethnicity can be ignored when people are faced with more serious issues like adapting to life in a foreign country. As previously mentioned, perhaps, it is also the fact that social work professionals have been found to be less prejudiced and more tolerant towards social and cultural differences (Bagley and Young, 1982).

Some of the social workers felt that, as they are the ones who had migrated, it was their duty to preserve their culture and those with children were also hoping this could be passed on to them. They tried to let their children visit Zimbabwe to learn about their culture and tradition, and they taught them to speak Shona or Ndebele, Zimbabwe's main local languages. Even those who did not bring up their children in the UK, like Mufaro, were still concerned about how Zimbabwean values could be passed on to children growing up in the UK:

> What I'm finding is that our children are losing out, they will be misfits yet they are Zimbabweans ... We have been here for years now and yet we haven't taken some

> contingencies to ensure that the children we bring here can maintain their cultural identity. We need, as social workers here, to put our minds together, old people like me, my wife and other elders; we could be used as cultural advisors. We could even hire somebody from home, oldish people who are here probably, someone who has retired who can be able to have a nursery of some kind or a home where children can be taught our Zimbabwean values, culture and tradition.

However, for the time being, it seems the responsibility for transmitting the Zimbabwean culture and tradition to children falls on the parents. Makanaka was proud that his children were able to speak English and two Zimbabwean languages, Shona and Ndebele, fluently. Besides parents actively teaching their children to speak the local language, there was no mention of activities or associations in the UK that promote Zimbabwean culture and tradition among young children, even in previous research on Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK (Pasura, 2010a, 2008a; McGregor, 2009, 2008, 2007; Bloch, 2008, 2005). The Zimbabwean social workers reconstructed a Zimbabwean community in the UK through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers in an effort to form a collective identity. Some interviewees wished the Network had evolved to meet social and cultural needs of immigrants and their children as they became settled.

Unlike the findings of a study by McDowell (2003), where immigrants were reluctant to apply for citizenship, the Zimbabwean social workers could not wait to obtain theirs, as Bongai explained:

> ... when you come to England, the ultimate objective is to get the red passport, that's it, you keep counting down the years, months and the days of course 'til you get it. Now they [employers] cannot walk all over me like they used to do when I was on the work permit. I have the same rights as someone who was born here. I can travel to Zimbabwe and European countries and come back with no problems at all.

Nevertheless, of the eight social workers who talked about having acquired British citizenship, some of them perceived it in civic terms rather than as a newly acquired identity. They talked about how it allowed them to access child benefits, and lower rates of school fees, to invest in property, change jobs and pursue unrestricted political participation, among other things. The identification of Zimbabwean social workers with the host society remained weak, despite most of them having obtained their British citizenship. This is how Kurai felt about being a British citizen:

> It's just a piece of paper that makes your life easier, more of paying you for your years of contribution to the country. It doesn't change who you are inside and outside. You know it won't change you in the slightest, if England is playing football with South Africa or even Brazil or Germany for that matter, I will never support it, it goes back to the colonial era... and if I commit a crime here, do you think they will say a British did this and that, they will say a Zimbabwean. That's the way it is.

The Zimbabwean social workers were in constant touch with British families, who are service users, where they discussed social issues. Considering that they come from a different cultural background, conversely there were certain aspects of their culture that they were bound to pass on unknowingly to service users. The fact that the British are living with other groups of people requires that not only migrant groups but the local people constantly reproduce and re-affirm their identity (Triandafyllidou, 2009). Abye (2007) points out that today's migrants have knowledge of Western values before they migrate, making it easier for them to integrate when they migrate. In this research, it was the younger social workers (falling within the 26-35 year age group) who claimed to have been westernised while still in Zimbabwe, mainly through magazines and television, and this made their adjustment to life in the UK far easier. Otherwise, the majority of the social workers had a good deal to learn about the UK way of life.

Studies that have looked at migrants from higher classes have concluded that these migrants do not disturb the existing cultures of their host countries. 'In their case, it is not multicultural, transnational diversity they are expected to bring, but international cultural convergence and transnational similarity' (Favell, 2003: 401-402). According to Favell (2003), these mobile elites are believed not to challenge or upset the order of nation states as migrants from poorer backgrounds may be thought to do. Rather, it is assumed that they easily adapt to their new environments. While the social workers who participated in this study are professionals, they do not fall into the class of 'mobile elites' described by Favell (2003) above. It is the white Zimbabweans who have migrated to the UK through ancestry visas, who have integrated fully into the UK way of life and no one ever hears about them (McGregor, 2008).

There is continued interest about the identity of immigrants, yet host and home communities are also involved in reconstruction of identity as they interact with migrants. Even for people back in Zimbabwe, as they are influenced by friends and families abroad when they visit or just through values, ideas and gifts from western countries like clothes and music. Zimbabweans adopted Christianity from British missionaries and they now practise white weddings more than the British, as if it were part of their own original tradition. None of the Zimbabwean social workers mentioned believing in ancestral spirits, which was the common tradition before Christianity was introduced to Zimbabweans. In the next section I look at how the Zimbabwean social workers, who after a long struggle are now settled, make of Britain as their new home.

HOME AND BELONGING

Interview participants were asked how they felt about having left Zimbabwe to come and work in the UK. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers said, looking at the current economic and political situation in Zimbabwe, they were happy to be in the UK. Almost all the social workers

said that, initially, they had no intention to stay for longer than five years but, as circumstances changed, so did their plans. They might have come to the UK as temporary migrants but, based on findings from this study they have utilised bonding, bridging and linking social capital to make their stay in the UK as permanent as possible. Drawing upon arguments made by Small (2007), being immigrants settled in the UK is not the final stage of the social workers' migration process and neither is returning to Zimbabwe. For now, they remain as potential migrants who may decide to use transnational social capital to migrate to other countries and see themselves as belonging to several countries, like many of the Caribbean people described by Small (2007). So, where is home, then, for the Zimbabwean social workers? Migration literature in recent years has emphasized how 'home' has become a highly contextual and ambivalent notion (Butcher, 2010; Reynolds, 2008; Braakman, 2005; Hammond, 2004). The Zimbabwean social workers' interviews highlighted a multiple and fragmented sense of home, like Afghans interviewed by Braakman (2005). Braakman (2005) went on to suggest that there are two kinds of home, a 'symbolical home' and a 'practical home'. The former offers a metaphorical space of belonging and identity, while the latter constitutes a lived space where practical needs are fulfilled.

United Kingdom as Home

The Zimbabwean social workers were able to re-create a 'home' in the UK in a practical and geographical sense. Practically, the UK had become the centre and arena of their everyday lives offering the social workers and their families economical security, safety and education among other needs (Braakman, 2005). Many of the Zimbabwean social workers however, said that although England has been their home for a few years now, they still felt a gap in their life. Responses from Tatenda and Chipo respectively were:

> I am never happy in this country.

> Here, you drive, you have your house, you buy this and that, but you are so unhappy. There is just this emptiness that is in this country and a lot of stress, I don't understand it.

While home implies rootedness and habitation in a place (Tuan, 1977), it also implies a state of mind, centred on a sense of belonging (Tuan, 1980). The latter is what was reported to be lacking in the UK by the Zimbabwean social workers. More than half of the research participants reported that they did not feel a sense of belonging in the UK, with Theresa summing up the thoughts of the rest by saying:

> Home will always be home.

The majority may have reported not feeling at home but they have been involved in home-making processes and are quite settled in the UK now. They have had their families join them from Zimbabwe, or have married and had children in the UK, have invested in property, their careers are progressing and they have acquired the status of British citizenship. They are different from Zimbabwean migrants with informal jobs (McGregor, 2008, 2007) or the Mexican immigrants in Stodolska and Santos (2006: 634) who had to 'suspend their normal lives for a limited period of time, to make as much money as possible, and to return to their home country'. Brah (1996) argues that, when migrants talk about home, it is important to distinguish whether it is the desire to settle down and make a home or desire for the 'homeland'. Otherwise, people may just want to settle and establish homes, not necessarily in their country of origin. The Zimbabwean social workers in this study had established homes in the UK but claimed to lack the sense of belonging, which according to them, will be satisfied when they go back to live in Zimbabwe. They might however, discover that this is an illusion, as Zimbabwe has changed during their absence. According to Brah (1996: 192), the country of origin as home is 'a mythic

place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense, it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of origin'.

A personal narration of being a returnee is given by Williams (2007) and, of how home may not be home by the time one decides to go back. Research participants in other studies have talked about the feeling of in-betweeness or homelessness brought about by being a migrant (Braakman, 2005). One can argue that the moment one makes the decision to migrate, the sense of belonging is compromised forever, be it in the host country or back in the home country. According to Hammond (2004:10), 'home is a variable term, one that can be transformed, newly invented, and developed in relation to the circumstances in which people find themselves or chose to place themselves'. Four of the social workers in this study said home for them was both in the UK and back in Zimbabwe. This challenges the notion of home as a fixed place (Sinatti, 2009), as these immigrants saw themselves as belonging to multiple homes. As Vuyo puts it:

> ... [England] it's my second home now, but I cannot see myself living here for the rest of my life because I miss home [Zimbabwe] like everyone else.

Brah (1996:194) argues that the fact that people in the diasporas refer to more than one location as home 'does not mean that such groups do not feel anchored in the place of settlement'. While the narratives of the Zimbabwean social workers show that they are settled in the UK, most of them felt that they had not been accepted at work, in their neighbourhoods or by the UK society at large. They talked of how they were constantly reminded through the media and by politicians that they did not belong to the UK. This might also have worked to unsettle relations between the Zimbabwean social workers and the local community. Kurai talked about insecurities to do with

the government threatening to revoke immigrants' citizenship status if they were found on the wrong side of the law.

For almost all the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, the ultimate home remained strongly identified with Zimbabwe. However, Brah (1996), citing other authors, argues that migrants may fail publicly to proclaim that Britain is their home due to experiences of social exclusion or in fear of what the 'real' British people would say. Rudo talked about how one of the local British social workers was asking her if she would be migrating to Australia after reading that UK immigrants were moving on to other countries:

> I said, 'Why? What about you, will you?' She was asking me but we are supposed to be the same. I am British too. I am supposed to be in my country too. Same rights, innit [isn't it]?

While four of the interviewed social workers had left Large City Council, the rest were still working for the local authority. Typical reasons for staying with the local authority included the following from Thando:

> Now if I go and start work elsewhere, that will be different. This is why I continue to be here, I now know the system, I now know what happens, I now know who does what. Nothing surprises me any more here.

Itai also had his reasons:

> What I can say is what makes people settle down is the fact that you've been with an employer for two or three years, some have children who attend school and some have relatives who live in and around Large and that on its own is a pull factor to keep you where you are, as opposed to going into unchartered waters. So it's not that people want to stay in Large but I think there are situations where we are only saying, 'Look I've got a house in Large. Why do I need to go elsewhere when I've got property in Large? We have formed social relations with the local community, like I might be going to a

> particular church where I feel spiritually supported and you'd rather maintain those kind of relations rather than going to a new area where you don't know how they are going to respond.

Although the above two quotes do not mention the word 'home', following from Braakman's (2005) notion of a 'practical home' one can argue that, in a way, Large City Council has become home for the Zimbabwean social workers, where their practical life needs are being met. The above statement by Itai shows how the social workers constructed a sense of belonging to a place that has now become home. Vuyo who had left LCC to work for a private agency in another town said his reasons for leaving the local authority were personal. However, he felt more sentimental about LCC being home. This is what he said:

> Although I have left, I still have Large [LCC] in my heart, you know, it was my home for many years and that's why I am here right now.

Tatenda was another participant who had left LCC to work for an agency as soon as she got her residence permit. She said her reasons for leaving were too much work, such that she could not spend enough time with her family, and also too much conflict with British colleagues and managers at work. However, she was now back working for the local authority and said that, although there was more money working for agencies, it lacked benefits like training opportunities and security. In comparison, she felt that if someone had worked for Large City Council, they could work 'anywhere under the sun'. Regardless, there were no reports of anyone having given up working for LCC and gone back to Zimbabwe. The least they did was conform to what was expected of them for the years they were employed by LCC. Some of the Zimbabwean social workers left when they finished their employment contract, while others waited for at least five years to get citizenship status.

The transition cycle (p.82) talks about four different endings for people who have undergone a transition. These people may give up; end up with an extended crisis; with a partial recovery; or with new confidence after having been transformed by what they have gone through (Williams, 1999). While Williams (1999) gave the transition process a fixed time frame, the length of the process for the Zimbabwean social workers in this study varied, depending on several factors like previous work experience, level of self-confidence and available support through investment in social capital. An example is the fact that it took longer to be progressed at work for some than others. Bonding social capital, accessed through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers (Chapter Six), helped to shorten and ease their crisis stage. These social workers had their ups and downs, as suggested by the transition cycle, but were determined to make it in the UK no matter what challenges they met. This might have been to do with not wanting to return home as a failure, the contract that they had signed or being afraid of the economic and political situation back in Zimbabwe. In the end, they did not give up and did not get stuck in their crisis but emerged with new confidence to deal with whatever challenges they met by being in a foreign country. Despite most of them having lived in the UK for at least five years and having managed to establish themselves as professionals, the social workers still expressed a sense of belonging to Zimbabwe, hence all but one of them but one dreamed of returning 'home' one day.

Returning to Zimbabwe

Like immigrants from the Caribbean (Reynolds, 2008; Williams, 2007; Chamberlain, 2006) and other Zimbabweans in general (McGregor, 2008; Pasura, 2008a), the 'myth of return' is an integral feature of the Zimbabwean social workers' migration stories, making them potential migrants. If the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe improves, those Zimbabweans who have 'irregular status' or are in informal jobs are likely to go back to Zimbabwe (McGregor,

2008). Indeed, there are greater chances that Zimbabweans with informal jobs or those undocumented will return to Zimbabwe, compared to professionals like social workers in the current study. If eventually social workers or Zimbabwean immigrants in general decide to return to their home country, more could be learned from other migrant groups like the Ethiopians and those from the Caribbean (Reynolds, 2008; Abye, 2007; Williams, 2007).

The interviewed social workers were asked about their long term plans and all but one said they would eventually go back to Zimbabwe, with a few mentioning first re-migrating to another country. Sekai was the social worker who mentioned wanting to retire in the UK and have a holiday home in Zimbabwe which she would use during the UK winter season. Some of the social workers mentioned the possibility of returning home to work for NGOs, but most of them would want to return and run their own businesses, with a few already running farms and enterprises in Zimbabwe from the UK. When asked about the challenges of re-integrating back into Zimbabwe, almost all the participants seemed comfortable with the idea of going back to live in Zimbabwe. Itai said:

> I wouldn't use the term re-integrate because we haven't cut ties.

Research participants in other studies (Braakman and Schlenkhoff, 2007; Ramji, 2006) felt that having maintained ties with the home country by visiting regularly made them more aware of reality than having memories of an idealised home country. This means that undocumented migrants would be likely to find it more challenging to adjust to life in Zimbabwe, considering that they will not have visited Zimbabwe in a long time. But, Williams (2007) suggests that returning to the country of origin after living in another country for years involves re-integration challenges even for immigrants who maintain ties with people they leave behind. It could be that the Zimbabwean social workers are underestimating how much Zimbabwe has changed since

they have been away in the UK. Ramji (2006) also reports how British Indians who returned to India discovered that the home they imagined while in the UK was now very different from the real one they had to live in. Being a return migrant for the British Indians involved re-negotiations of identity and belonging, and adjustment to the real issues associated with being a returnee. Among the Zimbabwean social workers, there were two female participants who were worried about the gap between them and their friends back home, which they felt had widened ever since they emigrated such that they could never catch up. Below is a statement by Chenai in relation to going back to Zimbabwe:

> I will be going back to Zimbabwe but not to work for someone else. [It will be] to do my own things. I would love to run health and beauty shops... but, you know those people there in Zimbabwe, those people have survived the hardships, they have resilience, they are clever and we can't compete with them. You know, I see when I go home to visit, the clothes they [Chenai's friends] wear, their hairstyles, the cars they drive, the houses they live in ... We are the cowards, we chose to run away.

Most of the social workers said how soon they would be returning to Zimbabwe would depend on the economic and political environment, while four of the participants were adamant that they would be going back within the next five years whether the political and economic situation changed or not. There were also other social workers who said changes in their personal circumstances would determine when they would go back to live in Zimbabwe like, for example, when their children become independent. One social worker in an unusual situation said going back to Zimbabwe would depend on a family member with learning difficulties improving or being independent enough to remain alone in the UK where healthcare and social care facilities are better. While those with children always try to go with them to Zimbabwe so that they know their relatives and learn some of their culture and tradition first hand, when it came to going back

to Zimbabwe permanently, three participants mentioned that they would prefer leaving their children in the UK where there are better educational and career opportunities. This means that migration patterns for subsequent generations of immigrants are likely to be different from those who actually migrated from their country of origin. For now, the migration patterns of Zimbabwean social workers exhibit temporary return migration to visit. This study, along with Pasura's (2008a), shows that return migration to Zimbabwe by those in the UK remains futuristic and may never be realised.

While there may be some people who migrate and never go back to their home countries, Zimbabwean social workers in the present study have maintained links with Zimbabwe, and talk of migrating to other countries like Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the United States and South Africa and eventually going back to Zimbabwe. As things stand, the social workers are also acting as agents for migration, sending their children and relatives to school in other countries and facilitating the migration of friends and family to join them in the UK.

The IOM is proposing that the inclusive Zimbabwean government work with them to promote the return and re-integration of skilled Zimbabweans so that they participate in recovery and development programmes (IOM, 2009). While this may be appealing to Zimbabweans who are struggling in the diaspora, for now it is unlikely to change the views of the Zimbabwean social workers much, regarding when and why they should return to Zimbabwe, since the government still appears shaky and the economy has not improved a great deal. A few social workers, however, reported being interested in expatriate schemes to Zimbabwe. Apparently these schemes will be sponsored by American organisations with professional Zimbabwean immigrants being encouraged to go and work in Zimbabwe for long periods, being paid the same amount and in the same currency as they are getting in host countries. As most of the social

workers have been granted British citizenship, the Zimbabwean government will have to implement strategic policies and packages like dual citizenship to attract this group of migrants back to Zimbabwe. As for now, the idea of the social workers returning to Zimbabwe remains nothing but a 'myth'. In the event that some of the Zimbabwean social workers do go back to live in Zimbabwe, Hammond (2004) suggests that return migration is a new beginning. Therefore, social scientific analysis is required to identify challenges that return migrants face so that significant assistance can be provided.

CONCLUSION

The Zimbabwean social workers in this study are playing a major role in supporting suffering people back in Zimbabwe. They send remittances to provide for basic needs like food, clothes, education and health in a country where access to such resources has become scarce. They are utilising transnational social capital which allows them to be in constant touch with friends and family back in Zimbabwe and also allows them to participate in economic, political and social activities in both the UK and Zimbabwe. Migration patterns exhibited by the Zimbabwean social workers are far from being linear, as almost all of these overseas social workers travel back and forth between Zimbabwe and the UK. Although transnational activities can take place at the individual or group level (Portes *et al.*, 1999), with the Zimbabwean social workers economic activities have been strictly at individual level. The new inclusive Zimbabwean government needs to implement policies that bring Zimbabweans in foreign countries together and mobilise transnational social capital for the benefit of communities and the country at large.

The Zimbabwean social workers arrived in the UK as migrants but have since become settled as immigrants, using social capital in its different forms to access resources they could not have had as migrants. A few of the Zimbabwean social workers also mentioned having plans to re-migrate

to other countries while all of them except one claimed to have plans eventually to return to live in Zimbabwe. This means that, while they can be classified as immigrants, they remain potential migrants. The feeling of not being accepted by the British may be the reason why the Zimbabwean social workers are living their lives as transnationals and why the 'myth of return' remains an important part of their migration stories. Although the UK, as a country they have lived in for years, has become home for the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, their ultimate home remains Zimbabwe. The stories told by the Zimbabwean social workers bring out how complex and decentralised the notion of home has become. Identity for the social workers is fluid, allowing them to (re)negotiate it as their circumstances change. The Zimbabwean social workers seem more worried about the identity of their children and believe it is their duty to make sure these first generation immigrants are aware of the tradition and culture of their country of origin.

There seems to be a lack of awareness of re-integration challenges amongst these social workers if they have to be return migrants. Whether they return to live in Zimbabwe or not, there is an interactive dimension to different forms of capital waiting to be utilised in Zimbabwe through the Zimbabwean social workers with their numbers, international exposure, professional development, financial resources, social networks and British citizenship if they are to come together and work towards developing communities in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

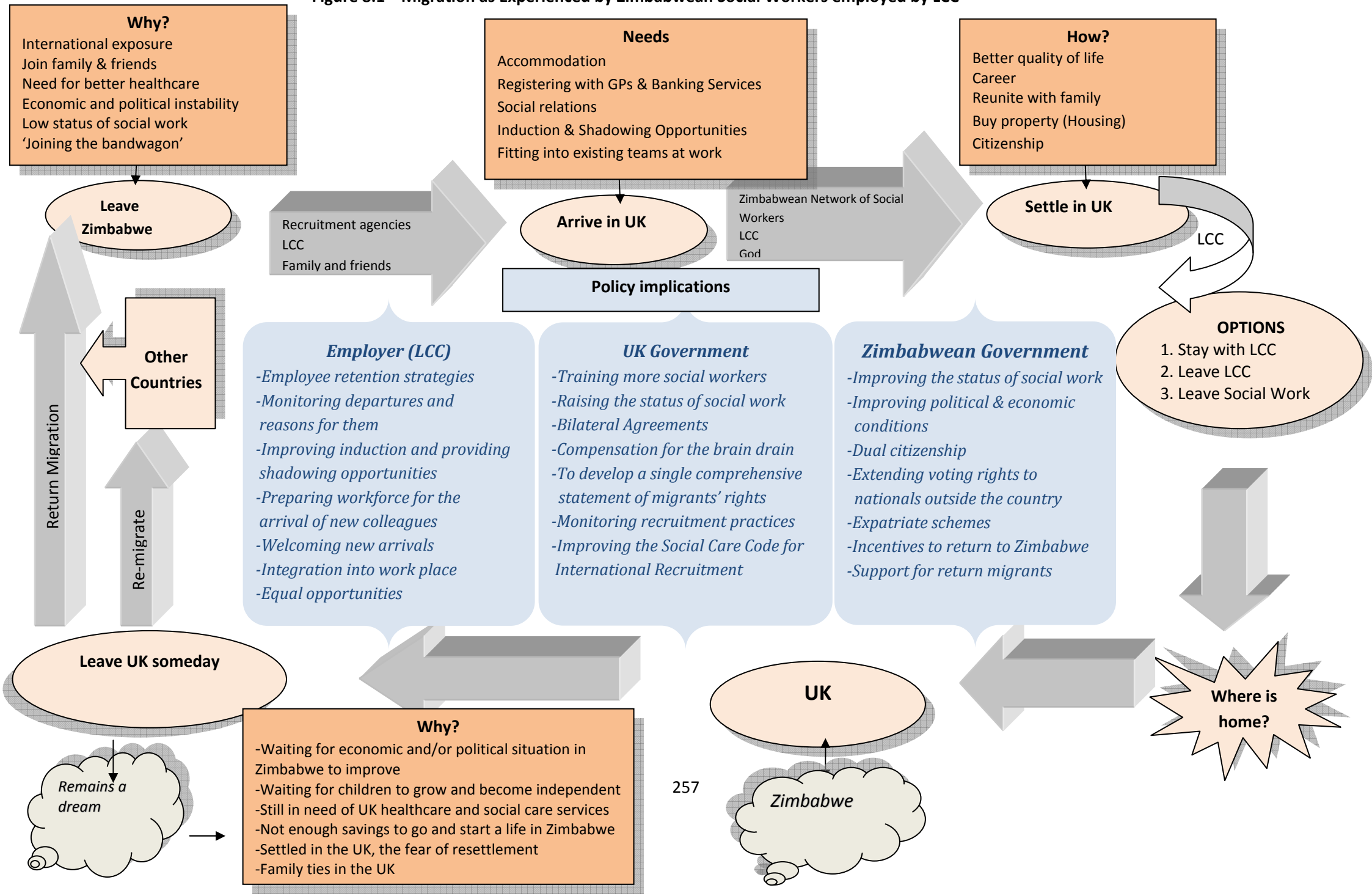
INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study has been to explore the migration experiences of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council in relation to how they have utilised social capital, from arriving and settling in the UK to progressing with their careers as overseas social workers. It has sought to bring out the importance of social capital in its different forms within the migration process and, as a result, to contribute to migration theory and the development of social capital theory. Through the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers, an attempt has been made to contribute to policy and practice for these and other overseas social workers. Major themes that came up in interviews have addressed the research questions outlined in Chapter One and have included the following: reasons for migration, professional development, career progression, social needs, transnationalism, identity and belonging. The main research question was:

- To what extent can the different forms of social capital help us to understand and theorise the settlement, adaptation and progression of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK?

The concept of social capital has been immensely useful in exploring the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers as discussed below. This study demonstrates how the Zimbabwean social workers as immigrant professionals have drawn upon bonding social capital, bridging social capital and linking social capital to address migration complexities highlighted in Figure 8.1, and progress to become highly valued workers and citizens. Recommendations for theory, practice, policy and research are also made in this chapter. It is important to highlight that concluding remarks and recommendations made are based on findings from a sample set of migration stories, so need to be treated with caution.

Figure 8.1 Migration as Experienced by Zimbabwean Social Workers employed by LCC



ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The unique contribution of this study stems from the fact that I present an untold story, recording experiences of a particular group of Zimbabwean social workers that migrated to the UK. Most studies of Zimbabweans in the UK have predominantly focused on Zimbabwean immigrants in general, with professionals being totally ignored or just being mentioned in passing (McGregor, 2009; Bloch, 2008; McGregor, 2008; Pasura, 2008a; Bloch, 2005). Research to do with labour market participation has mostly looked at those doing informal jobs (Mupedziswa, 2009b; Pasura, 2008b; McGregor, 2007), with little attention being paid to professional Zimbabwean migrants. As immigrant professionals, Zimbabwean social workers can be overlooked by researchers, as they are arguably better positioned than some groups of Zimbabwean immigrants studied by these other scholars. It is also important to point out that this group of professionals are in a better position, when it comes to contributing to developing Zimbabwe, compared to undocumented migrants and those in informal employment. As they are professionals and have a legal right to be in the UK, it is easier for them to invest in their country of origin and move back and forth between the two countries. By focusing on this particular group, spill-over effects of policy implications also benefit the UK Government, local British social workers, service users and people back in Zimbabwe as shown in Figure 8.1.

The present study represents a pioneering contribution to the literature on the labour market experiences of professional black Africans in the UK. It is also among the few emerging scholarly attempts to uncover issues surrounding the recruitment and handling of overseas social workers in the UK. It brings out the several opportunities for professional development and better lives that become available to professionals (and their families including those they leave behind in home countries) who migrate to work in a developed country like the UK. The

Zimbabwean social workers in the present study talked about how they had attended significant in-house training, together with university education, with all costs paid by their employer, LCC. At the same time, this study exposes the lack of effective induction upon arrival, and this links to broader issues of deskilling, exploitation and hostility experienced by some migrant workers (see Chapter Five). Based on research findings, this thesis questions the preparation given to managers on how to handle foreign-trained social workers. Furthermore, it reveals the unpreparedness of local British workers and social service clients to work with black overseas workers. The study also brings out the reluctance of black African migrants to pinpoint what could be regarded as everyday racism. Besides racism between black and white people, there is also evidence of tension between different groups of black people in this study (see Chapter Six).

It is also worth noting that for black employees, it can be tricky to separate exploitation, racism and unequal treatment based on factors other than skin colour. Some of the deskilling, exploitation and institutional racism is evident in the way the Zimbabwean social workers were made to join LCC at entry level without recognising their experience from working in Zimbabwe, and also the fact that the contracts that some of the social workers were shown while still in Zimbabwe did not tally with the ones they were made to sign once they arrived in the UK. This misleading practice could be going on not only within the local authority under study or in social work generally, but in other professions throughout the country. This shows how vulnerable migrant workers are, and their lack of knowledge or reluctance to claim rights they are entitled to out of fear of being sent back to their home countries. More importantly, this study shows the ability of immigrant professionals, as social actors, to be able to organise themselves individually and collectively, and come up with various strategies to cope with the pressures of practising and living in a foreign country. A good example is how the social workers formed the

Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, which served to provide a forum where they could help each other professionally, socially and financially. Coming together as a group also made it easier for the Zimbabwean social workers to negotiate power relations, in a situation where they had been rendered less powerful, just by being in a foreign country.

The Social Work Task Force (2009b) has recommended that the UK government work together with universities, employers, clients and other stakeholders to reform the social services sector. Although the Task Force does not mention how they will specifically deal with overseas social workers, they remain an important part of the social care workforce. One of the contributions of this research has, therefore, been to build an information repository for issues surrounding the recruitment of overseas workers in the social care sector (see Chapter Five), which according to Moriarty *et al*. (2008), is a relatively under-researched sector. While the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers in the present study could be different from other overseas social workers' experiences, their stories contribute to literature on overseas recruitment in the UK, from which employers, policy makers and other groups of overseas social workers could learn. Although this study focuses on a particular group, I hope that anyone interested in issues surrounding the recruitment of overseas social workers will be able to learn something from this research. The context within which the migration of the Zimbabwean social workers takes place is presented in Chapter Two, so that readers can make an informed decision on what to transfer from this study to other contexts. Of particular importance is the support that overseas social workers require (see Figure 8.1), so as to settle comfortably and be able to carry out their duties effectively. The aim of this study is not generalisation but contribution towards theory development. If research carried out on other groups produces similar findings, eventually findings may be generalised.

In this thesis, I emphasise what recent scholars have been saying about migration not being a linear process but inter-connected (Pasura, 2008a; Small, 2007). This study goes a step further to suggest that social capital as utilised by migrants is useful in inter-connecting the different stages as migrants travel back and forth between countries. As illustrated in Figure 8.1, I try to capture not only one aspect of the migration experiences but the whole journey from leaving Zimbabwe, arriving, settling and dreaming of returning one day. This thesis incorporates the social capital concept into the migration framework. Social capital as a concept has rarely been applied in relation to how migrant workers use the resources locked in the various types of social capital to improve their integration into the workplace. The thesis demonstrates the role played by social capital in shaping every day experiences of migrants, including their participation in the labour market. The general argument presented in the thesis is that social capital plays an important role throughout the migration process, and therefore should be acknowledged as an important element of the whole migration process.

Social capital has previously been studied in other migrant groups but the models applied have been static, looking at the existence of social capital at one point. I argue that categorising social capital into bonding, bridging (Putnam, 2000) and linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001) is a useful starting point in theorising migration experiences, since specific forms that are helpful at particular points in migrants' lives can be identified, along with how they are substituted for each other. I present a dynamic and variable portrayal of social capital development by the Zimbabwean social workers, from linking with recruitment agencies while still in Zimbabwe (linking social capital) to forming the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers (bonding social capital) upon arrival, and later discarding it for bridging social capital created through church communities and friends from university, among others. Indicating a change in social relations,

some of the research participants mention wanting, at a later stage, to stay as far away from fellow Zimbabwean social workers, and other Zimbabweans in general, as possible (p.195). In other studies that have examined social capital use among migrants, emphasis has been on bonding social capital, but this study gives equal attention to all types, examining which is more prevalent at a particular point. As a result the role of weak ties (bridging and linking social capital), under-researched in migration studies (Bagchi, 2001), has been explored.

Chapter Six in particular illustrates how these overseas social workers were able to resist institutional structures and draw upon bonding social capital (through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers), to achieve personal and professional goals (see Chapter Six). The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, in a way, even served to improve social work practice in the UK because through this network, the overseas social workers would consult each other regarding work issues and, according to the social workers, they could discuss matters more clearly using their mother tongue, Shona. The agency of these social workers shows in that when they knew that the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers was no longer useful, they abandoned it for more useful networks. This study also brings out the sophistication with which migrants can extend their networks to reach people they leave behind in their home countries. In the present study I look at the use of social capital that spans borders, where the Zimbabwean social workers have sustained families in Zimbabwe providing basic things like food, fuel, clothes, education, medication and advice. One example is that of a Zimbabwean social worker in the UK campaigning to become a Member of Parliament in Zimbabwe. By investigating how social capital is constituted within a group of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council, this study extends the applicability of social capital to new settings.

An attempt to develop social capital theory in this study is made by focusing on how social capital can sometimes have negative effects. This study provides evidence of lack of reciprocity in bridging and linking relationships (see Chapter Five and Six), for example, where recruitment agencies would just abandon Zimbabwean social workers as soon as they got to the UK, because they could not benefit from them any further. The inability to impose sanctions upwards on more powerful members in these vertical relationships also emerges. The overseas social workers could not punish these employment agencies or their employer when they did not stick to contracts signed (for example, failing to assess the Zimbabwean social workers for progression after six months). Negative social capital in the form of non-marital affairs, gossip and carrying over previous grudges from Zimbabwe is also apparent in this study.

I make a further attempt to develop social capital theory by looking at relationships that go beyond people. Most of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study had a relationship with God, which made them stronger when they faced difficulties in the UK. In this thesis I argue that the relationship between the Zimbabwean social workers and God could be regarded as a form of linking social capital, where emotional resources can be accessed. As with other types of social capital, this relationship comprises of networking, norms, trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 1993), with 'someone' in a higher position. As previously mentioned in Chapter Six, this type of social capital has components of virtual social capital in that there is no physical contact. However, it is significantly different because it is an exclusive relationship, and one party to the relationship is perpetually invisible. This type of social capital is fashioned through belief systems that are real to those involved and that guide behaviour at times, and at other times explains lack of action. Making use of this type of exclusive networking with God gave the Zimbabwean social workers confidence, as individuals, that their situation of struggling to settle and to fit in at work was

going to get better. This says something about people's agency and support systems and how they exercise these at different points in their lives to deal with uncertainties. Despite most of them expressing a lack of belonging to the UK, these Zimbabwean social workers have managed to create a home in Britain (Chapter Seven). They have had their families join them from Zimbabwe, they have invested in property, they have progressed with their careers and have established themselves as British citizens.

One distinctive feature of this study is that it has been carried out by a black female researcher - an identity suggested by feminists as being able to represent directly the lived realities of oppressed individuals and communities of different backgrounds (Stanley and Wise, 1993). My insider-outsider status as a Zimbabwean student researching Zimbabwean social workers also plays a huge part in allowing me to present findings from the point of view of the participants. Throughout the thesis I have shown that migration is a complex process as discussed in the section below. However, I demonstrate that migrants are not passive victims, as they actively engage in forming and transforming social capital to access as many resources as they can, and, extending their networks as far as possible to develop themselves and their communities.

MIGRATION AS A COMPLEX PHENOMENON

Findings from this study show how Zimbabwean social workers who came to the UK as temporary migrants utilised different forms of social capital to become immigrants, with a potential to become migrants again. Figure 8.1 sums up the migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, from leaving Zimbabwe to making a life in the UK and dreaming of returning to Zimbabwe one day. This shows how migration has become an interlinked process rather than an event. Actions that LCC and the UK and Zimbabwean

governments can take to smoothen the migration process are highlighted, while further actions for Zimbabwean and British social workers are covered under Recommendations.

Overseas social workers have become a group targeted by Western countries to cover labour shortages, with countries like the UK heavily recruiting from other countries without taking into account the ethical implications. The continued loss of skilled workers in developing countries has resulted in negative effects like brain drain and loss of tax revenue (World Bank, 2005). The raising of ethical concerns led to the formulation of the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment which was launched in 2006 (SCCIR, 2006), long after countries like Zimbabwe had already suffered from the severe loss of their professionals.

This study, as shown in Figure 8.1, suggests that reasons that cause people to migrate are diverse and complex, which is consistent with prior research (Alonso-Garbayo and Maben, 2009; Bloch, 2008; Abye, 2007). Although economic reasons remain high on the list for some migrant groups, this is different with the Zimbabwean social workers. While one or more migration theories may work for particular migrants, they fail to apply in all cases. Abye (2007) also argues that conditions that cause migration for a particular group may change with time, making a migration theory that used to apply irrelevant at a later stage. In this era of globalisation, mainstream migration theories need to be revised if they are to remain relevant. Migration theories remain good points of departure, however, in trying to address the complexities that surround international migration.

Findings from this study challenge 'neo-classical' (p.76) and 'new economics of migration' theories (p.77), which focus on economic push and pull factors. The thesis shows that migration reasons for the Zimbabwean social workers varied (see Figure 8.1) and did not centre upon

economic motivation. International exposure was the most cited reason although, for some, there were more personal reasons like joining family and friends already in the UK and the need for specialised health care which could only be accessed in the UK. This shows that the Zimbabwean social workers were willing to extend their networks and access resources they would not be able to access while in Zimbabwe, creating social capital in the process. The fact that 'joining the bandwagon' was the second highest reason for migration given by the participants shows the power that social capital had in influencing the migration of the Zimbabwean social workers. Giving such an insubstantial reason also suggests that some of these social workers used the opportunity of migrating to the UK provided by recruitment agencies to meet underlying needs.

While 'dual labour market theory' (p.78), which talks about the need for foreign labour as a pull factor, and 'world systems theory' (p.80), which blames old colonial ties for migration, may be somehow relevant in explaining the decision of the Zimbabwean social workers to migrate to the UK, they do not explicitly incorporate social capital as a key concept. Although the fact that Large City Council needed to fill shortages of social workers is in line with the dual labour market migration theory, analysis should not end there. The local authority had to extend networks to create social capital, either with recruitment agencies or with Zimbabwean social workers, for migration to take place. Even with the world systems theory, although colonial ties exist between Zimbabwe and the UK, some Zimbabweans have migrated to nearby countries like South Africa and Botswana. Social capital theory states that, if social capital resources are not used, they get depleted. In the case of the social workers these colonial ties had to be re-activated and transformed into ordinary linking social capital by recruitment agencies going to Zimbabwe.

Despite migration theories not having embraced social capital, social capital in its different forms plays a central role in migration. Although some studies have emphasized the importance of networks in influencing the decision to migrate (Massey and Aysa, 2005), they focus more on bonding social capital through family and friends. As illustrated in Figure 8.1, weaker ties resulting in bridging and linking social capital were formed between Zimbabwean social workers and UK recruitment agencies that were launching campaigns in Zimbabwe. Most of the social workers used these links with UK recruitment agencies to migrate. As a result, it proved easier for them to process work permits while they were in Zimbabwe and, unlike those relying on bonding social capital to migrate, they had jobs waiting for them when they arrived in the UK.

The Zimbabwean social workers move about more often than mainstream migration theories suggest and some have plans to re-migrate. This is in line with Small (2007) who argues that migration patterns have become inter-connected in nature, as opposed to being linear. Almost all the Zimbabwean social workers expressed intentions to return to Zimbabwe eventually, although whether they will go back is another issue. To rely on mainstream migration theories to explain why people migrate is to assume that migration ends with arriving in the country of destination. What is needed is a concept that focuses not solely on one aspect but on migration as a connected process (see Figure 8.1), with social capital as the missing link. This means that traditional migration theories need to be modified as new migration processes have evolved.

Migration theories should also encompass the adjustment process, which this study shows is not a smooth one. While one can assume that the Zimbabwean social workers are now well settled, with migration things can go wrong and suddenly people may have to start all over again. This happened especially to those who left LCC to work for a private agency. This involved searching for a job and, for some, moving to a new town. For those who want to re-migrate, they will have

to go through the same process that they went through when they left Zimbabwe, only now their previous migration experience may ease their transition process, as suggested by one social worker in this study, who had previously migrated.

Transnationalism, which involves living two lives in more than one country at the same time (Portes *et al*., 1999), challenges traditional migration theories by showing how social networks determine migration patterns. It is social capital which works to sustain transnational activities (Vertovec, 2009; Portes *et al*., 1999). Transnational social capital through social networks mobilised across borders enables the Zimbabwean social workers to access resources and take advantage of opportunities in both the UK and Zimbabwe. Although they have persevered to establish themselves as citizens, they defy the neat boundaries of acculturation models (Bhatia and Ram, 2009). While one can argue that they have integrated into the UK, to what extent remains the question. The Zimbabwean social workers are a transnational group. They are leading dual lives, participating in economic, political and socio-cultural activities in both Zimbabwe and the UK. In the process, they are utilising transnational social capital, which can be argued to be a specific form of bonding social capital since it consists mostly of ethnic networks. However, economic transnational activities are more popular among the social workers compared to socio-cultural and political activities. The prioritisation of economic transnational activities could be due to the fact that most people in Zimbabwe are living in poverty (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). Remittances sent to Zimbabwe are mainly for consumption and not investment. As a group of Zimbabwean social workers, the research participants demonstrate no group transnational economic activities. The social workers as individuals are more concerned about looking after their immediate families, with only a small minority being involved in charity work. The absence of policies by the Zimbabwean

government to mobilise its people in the diaspora does not help the situation. However, these remittances can benefit the economy through multiplier effects (Reynolds, 2008), resulting in support for the financial sector and employment creation among other things (Small, 2007).

Transnational activities carried out by the Zimbabweans show how resources are being transferred from one economy to another in this global world. There is too much expectation from families and extended families in Zimbabwe that those in the UK can supply all their needs. The fact that bonding social capital can be negative in terms of obligation to assist family members is consistent with earlier work (Zontini, 2004). Among the tactics adopted by some of the Zimbabwean social workers to cope with the excessive demands from Zimbabwe has been to find second jobs to obtain additional income.

These social workers remain interested in preserving their culture abroad and have the desire to instil traditional Zimbabwean values in subsequent generations, although there were no reports of organised cultural activities. Also important to note from the results of the study is the fluidity of identity. Participants are constantly involved in negotiating their identity and this is likely to remain the case even if they go back to live in Zimbabwe, as experienced by Williams (2007) who found himself stuck between being 'British' and being 'Jamaican' after going back to Jamaica having lived in England for thirty years. One can then argue that migration compromises one's identity and sense of belonging forever. The complexity that surrounded the research participants' feelings of belonging emerged, as some of them referred only to Zimbabwe as their home while others referred to both Zimbabwe and the UK as home. While the Zimbabwean social workers are fairly settled in the UK and have obtained their citizenship, this has not fundamentally altered the attachment of the Zimbabwean social workers to their homeland. Zimbabwe remains their nostalgic home, an imaginary idealised place of origin which they will

return to one day, while the UK as a place they inhabit has become their reconstructed home. The finding from this research is that the meaning of home has become de-centred as shown in Figure 8.1.

This whole study demonstrates that migration is a challenging process. Although the possibility of obtaining international exposure is an attractive one for professionals, it is important to note that leaving your home country to go and settle in a foreign country is not easy. Migration is a complex phenomenon where benefits are packaged together with costs. While Brown *et al*. (2007) found that most overseas social workers reported having had a positive migration experience, findings from this study show that the Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC had a challenging experience, from adjusting to life in a foreign country to adapting to social work practice in the UK. The Zimbabwean social workers, especially those without family or friends in the UK, were over-dependent on the employer leading to frustrations when their needs were not met. They expected their employer to meet them at the airport, arrange accommodation for them, financially support them in the form of a relocation allowance, and provide information on how to open bank accounts and register with GPs, in addition to professional support. The effectiveness of communication between recruitment officers, LCC headquarters and area offices must have been poor as some of the research participants also reported that, on their first day at work, no one was aware of their arrival. However, the fact that the local authority left most of the recruitment to employing agencies suggests that they did not feel responsible for the inconsistencies. From the respondents' point of view, LCC seems to have been more concerned with having work done than with the welfare of the new recruits. Having been brought over to fill in where there was a severe labour shortage, meant that the

Zimbabwean social workers had no time to adjust to their environmental setting; instead, they had to rely on their own resources to attend to their settlement and professional needs.

Although social work skills are transferrable, practising in a foreign country requires more than the knowledge of basic social work values, especially when one is making the big jump from practising in a Third World country, where social work focuses on community development, to a First World Country where statutory casework predominates. Cultural awareness is a crucial aspect when migrating and becomes even more crucial when migrating as a professional who has to deal with the lives of local people on a day-to-day basis. Abye (2007) argues that today's migrants are culturally competent when they get to their countries of destination but, in this study, it was only the younger social workers in their early 30s who claimed to have had considerable knowledge about the UK way of life. Having previously migrated was also an advantage. Nevertheless, learning about the British culture and understanding cannot be achieved in one day; it remains a continuous process. Overseas social workers need to be flexible enough to be able to adjust their own values and beliefs to suit those of their employer.

Inadequate support structures from the onset inhibit the blossoming of overseas social workers to full capacity. The Zimbabwean social workers experienced many barriers to establishing themselves as valued social workers in the UK. The level of support and guidance offered to the overseas social workers by Large City Council was not enough to enable them to perform their duties effectively. Considering the shortage of social workers within UK local authorities (Moriarty *et al*., 2008), there may not have been enough time and human resources to allow for proper and detailed induction and shadowing. The other reason could have been that their employer did not know how to prepare the overseas social workers. This is evident through reports that some of the overseas social workers attended the same induction programme as local

social workers. The fact that most of them arrived in groups should have made it easier to address their needs as a community of Zimbabwean social workers.

Getting the Zimbabwean social workers to work on a backlog of cases on their first day at work or soon after induction may have led to the compromising of service users' welfare. Child protection work is extremely challenging and a single error of judgement can cost a child's life. The many reviews into child protection and the abuse of vulnerable clients that has featured in British social work since the Maria Colwell Inquiry of 1973 (Scott, 1975) has affected many local authorities, and LCC was no exception. In one case that was referred to by my respondents, the Zimbabwean Network of Social workers had to intervene to ensure that individual workers were not scapegoated for systemic failings. With the recruitment of overseas workers becoming more popular in social work, the ability of employers to leverage the skills and expertise that these social workers bring with them is paramount.

The Zimbabwean social workers endured many forms of exclusion. Contrary to findings from Findlay *et al. (*2009), where immobile local employees are at an occupational disadvantage compared to internal migrants, with international migration, migrants are likely to be at a disadvantage. Advancement in the overseas social workers' careers was hindered from the outset, with their previous experience not being taken into account. The fact that the social workers started at entry level but were given complex cases to work on straight away reflects some form of exploitation of foreign workers by the system. Institutional racism can also be blamed for the de-skilling of the Zimbabwean social workers when they started working for Large City Council. These migrants experienced a 'transition penalty' (Lochhead, 2003), as they entered the UK labour market and this has had implications for their careers. The position they started from was worse than where they were in Zimbabwe and, even if they later progressed,

this inequality had already been built into their career progression. There was no effective tool for assessing when to progress them at work or, if it was present, the managers did not follow it. As a result, it took longer for the Zimbabwean social workers to get promotion at work. Narratives from the Zimbabwean social workers illustrated a sense of social exclusion linked with racial discrimination. Inequality in progressing social workers from the black minority is evident. Fang *et al*. (2009) talk about how stereotypes and certain biases may prevent overseas workers from getting salary increases and promotions and, considering the struggle reported by most Zimbabwean social workers to be progressed at work, these factors cannot be ruled out. These social workers put up with being placed at the bottom of the occupational ladder, and with poor working conditions like slow progression and hostility from service users, without leaving. What kept some of them going was the fact that their earnings in the UK were worth far more back in Zimbabwe. Being a social worker in the UK alone boosted their status compared to back in Zimbabwe where social work as a profession is not given as much respect (Mupedziswa and Ushamba, 2006). Migration is viewed by many as a survival strategy (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002) but what this study shows is that migration as a survival strategy requires survival strategies. The use of social capital can help ease migration pressures for migrants and, at the same time, help in theorising migration experiences, as discussed below.

THE EXPLANATORY POWER OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The migration experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers show that they cannot be viewed as passive victims. Their main strategy for survival was investing in social capital. While migration has been said, by major social capital theorists, Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1997), to reduce the amount of available social capital, attempting to quantify social capital is to over-look its multi-dimensionality. Following narratives by the Zimbabwean social workers, this research

leads to the conclusion that migration cannot be entirely associated with a decline in social capital. Instead, emphasis is placed on the way in which, during the migration process, social capital is lost, while new forms are created. Some forms of social capital can also be transformed, while others get substituted with more useful ones.

Findings from this study show that family is important to the Zimbabwean social workers, paralleling the Italians in Zontini (2006, 2004). Zontini (2004) posits that families do not disintegrate due to migration but get re-constituted in new forms. However the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers show that migration was prone to destroy bonding social capital, which had been constituted within their families, upon arrival in the UK and it took up to three years for some to recover it. It is also important to note that, instead of generalising that family is re-constituted (Holland *et al*., 2007; Zontini, 2006, 2004), in this particular case it was easier to bring family in the form of spouses and children. Family in the form of parents and siblings has mostly remained in Zimbabwe. Barriers to family re-union include visa requirements, difficulty in getting skilled jobs for some professions and high university fees for older children. Gender differences emerged in that it was only some of the female social workers whose spouses remained in Zimbabwe, suggesting a link between being male and a reluctance to do informal jobs, which mostly involve care work among Zimbabwean immigrants (McGregor, 2007). There were also a few others who managed to forge new ties in the form of non-marital affairs that acted as a substitute for family. These later had negative consequences, resulting in separation or divorces.

By the time those who were re-united with their families eventually reached that stage, the bonding social capital embodied within their family relations had taken on different structural elements. Gender roles were re-defined within families resulting in men and women sharing

housework and child care, unlike back in Zimbabwe where women do all the housework and men have nothing to do with child care either. A negotiation of gender roles among immigrants has also been reported in previous research (Bhatia and Ram, 2009; Pasura, 2008b; Holland *et al*., 2007). While in Zimbabwe men are gendered to be the primary bread winners and hence more powerful, most of the married female social workers were now earning higher salaries than their husbands who were doing informal jobs in the UK or working in Zimbabwe. The fact that these women were now bringing in more money to take care of the family meant power negotiations had to take place. These women, for example, also started making decisions without consulting their husbands all the time, and having the freedom to buy what they wanted. Older children attending colleges and universities could also earn money for their needs which similarly gave them a platform to negotiate their positions as 'independent dependants'.

Although relying on linking social capital for migrating meant that the social workers had no problems with visa applications and had a job ready when they arrived, research findings highlight the weakness of bridging and linking social capital for initial settlement. There was a marked difference between those social workers who stayed with friends and relatives when they first arrived in the UK and those who depended on Large City Council for accommodation. Those who stayed with the former had a more comfortable experience including being shown around the UK and how to go about things like registering with the doctor and opening bank accounts, unlike those who were put in a Bed and Breakfast where interaction was minimal. Some of the social workers mentioned arriving at the airport on a Sunday with no one waiting for them, even though their employer had promised to meet them. Despite social capital theory claiming that norms of exchange and reciprocity are basic elements of social capital and failure to follow them will result in sanctioning (Coleman, 1988), this study shows that, within linking

relationships, these norms are not taken as seriously as in bonding communities. When the Zimbabwean social workers arrived in the UK, they were given different contracts from the ones they were shown in Zimbabwe. Their work experience from Zimbabwe was not taken into account as initially promised and it took longer for them to be assessed for progression, yet their new contracts with LCC had stipulated that within six months they would be assessed. Even when some of the Zimbabwean social workers found no one waiting for them at the airport and later had their contracts unilaterally amended, as migrants they were reluctant to assert their basic labour rights for fear of losing their jobs. They could not even impose any sanctions against the recruitment agencies or Large City Council, as suggested by social capital theory. This shows that social norms of reciprocity are more binding within bonding social capital and become relaxed as ties become weaker (bridging and linking social capital) and relationships become less mutual. Since linking social capital is about relations between different social strata (Talbot and Walker, 2007), failure to negotiate power may result in exploitative behaviour.

Despite all the problems they were facing in trying to adjust to life in the UK and as social workers who had qualified in a foreign country, the Zimbabwean social workers decided to come together to form an association which they called the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. In this particular case of Zimbabwean social workers, ethnicity as a form of social capital was not being utilised. Having common needs, as shown in fig 8.1, resulted in the formation of collective social capital, regardless of whether people were Shona or Ndebele. Although the Zimbabwean social workers faced social and professional challenges, this study shows resistance among the social workers to being disempowered. One strategy of empowerment the social workers employed was to develop networks of support within their own community as Zimbabwean social workers, to address their personal, social and professional needs. The

behaviour of these social workers went against Putnam's (1998) argument that weak bridging social capital is more valuable than strong bonding social capital. In other words, according to Putnam, the Zimbabwean social workers should have concentrated on creating ties with colleagues from the UK and other countries and not with their fellow Zimbabwean social workers. Putnam (2000, 1998, 1993) has mostly been concerned, however, with the use of social capital in regions and countries and not by individuals. Through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, the overseas social workers consulted with each other and exchanged information on how to deal with cases they had been allocated at work. This means that, besides the usual support of providing information, accommodation, companionship and financial support, among other things, this Network served to improve social work practice within the local authority, through supervision by peers.

While social capital theory has established that people use social capital to access as many resources as they can (Putnam, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986), what it does not tell us but which is evident in this study is that, as soon as particular forms of social capital stop being beneficial, people supplying these networks abandon them in pursuit of more beneficial ones. It is also apparent in this study that there are limitations to what bonding social capital can achieve. As a result, migrants use it to get on their feet, then start looking for the bridging and linking types. As soon as the social workers had settled in the UK, the bonding social capital they had created through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers became less important. It now had less to offer compared to other networks that the social workers were forming. They stopped attending meetings of the Zimbabwean Network since it was no longer useful to them. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) posit that immigrants' economic success depends on the character of their own communities. However, over time the Zimbabwean social workers in this study became

stronger as individuals and left behind the influence of collective social capital accessed through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Besides that, the Zimbabwean Network was no longer meeting the new needs of its members, and the decline of the Network also had to do with the negative sides of social capital which were in this case power struggles, rivalry, gossip and carrying over of previous grudges from Zimbabwe to the UK. Some research participants made their own Zimbabwean friends outside the workplace and also concentrated on forming social capital with elements of bonding and bridging through people from church, organisations for black people and the local university, among others. Some of the bridging social capital was gendered, with a few male social workers having forged links through dating both local British women and women from other African countries.

The Zimbabwean social workers in Large City Council are religious, but attend various churches. The bonding and bridging social capital that they formed through the church played a huge role in keeping them grounded in the face of adversity. What was more fascinating was their faith in God and how much they valued this relationship. Through the experiences of these social workers, I conclude that, for believers, a relationship with God can be viewed as a source of linking social capital where emotional resources are accessed. Due to their belief in God, they remain optimistic as they continue their journey through life in a foreign country. Cleveland and Chang (2009) also talk about how religion is associated with less stress and more optimism.

The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers acted as a barrier to the formation of bridging social capital since the Zimbabwean social workers could strongly rely on each other for personal, social, economic and professional matters. Communication problems can also restrict one's capacity to form bridging social capital as happened when the Zimbabwean social workers

first arrived. They struggled to understand the local English accent while the local people also struggled to use Zimbabwean names and to understand a strong Zimbabwean accent.

The weak ties formed between the Zimbabwean social workers and the local social workers were permeated by lack of trust and racism. The attitude of the British social workers towards the Zimbabwean social workers had an important bearing on how they fitted within established social work teams. Social integration for the migrant workers could have started at work but there was general lack of acceptance by the British social workers and social service clients, especially at the beginning. Bridging ties with British colleagues and those from other countries have generally remained weak in nature, except for those of the younger social workers who mentioned at least inviting or being invited to parties. There is no doubt that obtaining support from fellow British colleagues could have made their transition a great deal easier. Although there are concerns amongst local people that immigrants take their jobs, it is important to note that, with this group of professionals, they were solely filling in where there were critical shortages. Up to the time of writing, there remain shortages of social workers in the Children, Young People and Families Directorate (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009).

LCC offers its employees good opportunities for training, be it in-house training or at chosen universities. The Zimbabwean social workers in this study were able to realise their ambitions to learn by utilising linking social capital. They therefore took advantage of considerable opportunities and undertook training and development courses. Some of them went further to study for degrees. Education might also have worked as a way to redress their social position at work. Female social workers could not attend as much training as the male social workers due to child care and other family duties. There are gender roles that cannot be negotiated like being pregnant, giving birth and nursing and these can work against women's ambitions, unlike men's.

Another drawback of linking social capital that came out of this study is that it can be restricting. Initially, the Zimbabwean social workers were forced to be loyal to LCC through contracts that bound them to the organisation, but in the end they had options as shown in Figure 8.1. Many left as soon as they were no longer tied to the organisation, which indicates that some had continued to work for their employer unwillingly. Local authorities like Large City Council, which recruited heavily from overseas in the early 2000s, continue to face social worker shortages (Marsh, 2010; Mahadevan, 2009). According to a professional officer for the British Association of Social Workers, overseas social workers only fill gaps in the short term, as they tend to leave after a few years and go back to their countries (Mahadevan, 2009). The rate at which the Zimbabwean social workers left LCC reflects a high degree of dissatisfaction with the local authority, more than with the job itself as they have continued to practise as social workers. But problems associated with practising as a social worker in the UK, which include lack of support for overseas social workers, heavy workload and lack of regular supervision, as reported by participants in this study, cannot be ruled out as reasons for changing jobs.

This study highlights the complexity of recruiting overseas social workers. The Zimbabwean social workers in this study had a challenging experience but were able to draw upon the different forms of social capital to cope with their transition from migrants to settled immigrants. Social capital embodied within their social networks has been dynamic. It has evolved to assume different forms as the Zimbabwean social workers became more settled in the UK. Research findings from this study confirm the important role played by bonding social capital during the earlier stages of trying to settle in a foreign country. Although previous research has mostly mentioned individual networks formed with friends and family as central to coping with migration (Stodolska and Santos, 2006; Massey and Aysa, 2005), the Zimbabwean social

workers relied on collective social capital through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers during their initial settlement in the UK. As they became more settled, these social workers later abandoned collective bonding social capital in preference for social capital with a bonding and bridging effect. While the different forms of social capital are complementary, there are instances where the Zimbabwean social workers have concentrated on using one form at a time, due to barriers preventing them from accessing other types of social capital. Putnam and Goss (2002) clearly state that the building and maintenance of social capital requires time, energy and, occasionally, civic skills. Lack of time due to a heavy workload has been a constraint preventing the social workers from participating in more organizations and having social interactions with the British community outside work. What is important is that the Zimbabwean social workers in this study have achieved successful careers as international social workers, with a few others having used social work as a stepping stone to fulfil careers in other professions. In the end they have all managed to establish a home away from home.

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Similar studies like that by Brown *et al*. (2007) have looked at overseas social workers in general. Being able to limit my analysis to a specific group offered some degree of reliability. Focusing on one group and location also offered important insights into the process of migration and its complexity and exposed the dynamics used to create and utilise social capital. Using semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection method allowed for a deep exploration of the social workers' experiences, without losing sight of the research questions. The fact that social capital can vary across locations, within family structures and across communities (Ravanera and Rajulton, 2010; Aguilera, 2005; Goulbourne and Solomos, 2004; Bagchi, 2001; Putnam, 1993), makes exploring experiences of one specific group a particularly good method

for investigating issues pertaining to social capital. This study was also able to incorporate a longitudinal element that allowed the patterns formed by the use of social capital to be established. One of the limitations to acknowledge is that this study did not attempt to measure social capital. I was more interested in the qualitative aspect of social capital (how the social workers utilised different forms at different times) and not the quantitative aspect (how much they were using).

The ability to generalise findings from the present study to a wider population is limited. However, this study contributes to the growing interest surrounding the recruitment and retention problems of social workers within UK local authorities especially how overseas social workers that come in to fill shortages adapt to practising in a foreign country. Although the findings are specifically relevant to the Zimbabwean social workers who participated in this study, I believe that there are certain aspects brought up in this study which, to a certain extent, may apply to Zimbabwean social workers employed elsewhere in the UK or even overseas social workers from other countries, operating within similar settings to the case under study. Studying more than one group of immigrants is one way external validity could have been achieved but there were financial constraints. Otherwise, the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers could have been compared to those of another group of social workers, maybe from a developed country, to make evidence from the study more compelling. I used the literature, however, to try to relate findings to previous studies, allowing for comparisons to be made and gaps to be identified. If more studies are carried out addressing similar issues, developed theory will be refined and eventually findings may be generalised.

As the researcher, I also acknowledge the problems engendered by the research ethics application and delays experienced in the effort to access Large City Council managers who had

worked with Zimbabwean social workers. The research ethics application process for the managers should have started earlier. Instead of dividing the research into two phases (Phase 1: Interviewing Zimbabwean social workers and Phase 2: Interviewing LCC managers), with the second phase dependent on the first one, I should have treated interviewing the Zimbabwean social workers and the managers as simultaneous events rather than sequential. The rationale behind interviewing managers after completing the interviews with the social workers was that I would have gained more insight from the interviews with the social workers. I would have been able to ask the managers more relevant questions and follow up on certain issues so as to get managers' perspectives about them. Maybe having made arrangements to meet with the research governance lead officer for LCC and discuss the research with him face-to-face would have made a difference to the ethics application responses as LCC would have felt more involved in the process, thereby avoiding them raising new concerns with each successive response. This can be a problem in the research process where people want to get on with their research but there are so many stages to go through and issues to resolve that, often, time runs out and the issue has to be left to future research.

To access social workers to interview, I resorted to using the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. Going through LCC to recruit participants would have meant all social workers employed by the organisation receiving e-mails and information about the study, since the organisation did not have their social workers classified by nationality or ethnicity. It would have taken longer to get the sample and would have been an inconvenience to the other social workers. Relying on the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers could have meant that Zimbabwean social workers who were not members were excluded. The Zimbabwean Network

of Social Workers' Committee assured me, however, that they had contact details for every Zimbabwean employed by LCC, ensuring the inclusion of all potential participants.

The response rate to postal questionnaires was not as good as I would have liked, so I had to supplement it with snowballing. The major disadvantage of using snowball techniques in distributing some of the questionnaires was that I could not send reminders to all intended participants. In preparation for the interviews, I assumed that all participants would be more comfortable being interviewed in familiar settings at their workplace. However, it turned out that almost all the female participants preferred to have their interviews take place away from their area offices, which resulted in last minute venue changes and re-scheduling of meetings. I should have asked if the social workers would have preferred other venues, to allow them as research participants to be as comfortable and as relaxed as possible. Risk to the researcher should be considered in cases where interviews take place in people's homes or strange places. I made sure someone knew about my whereabouts and how long the interviews were to last on average.

All the research participants were black Zimbabweans. It would be interesting in future research to have white Zimbabweans as part of the sample, so as to find out if they have had the same experiences as the black Zimbabweans (e.g. local British social workers not being friendly, clients not wanting to work with them, lack of promotion, contracts getting amended).

I recommend that other researchers use NVivo to deal with qualitative data, as the data analysis software makes it quite easy to manage lots of data and to go back and forth between interviews and codes. There is a danger of getting carried away and developing too many codes, but these can easily be merged and re-merged. For those who attend NVivo training, I recommend practising after training and not waiting until one is about to go into the field to collect data. I

had to attend an NVivo refresher course after having attended NVivo training previously but not used it straight after the training. The book, *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo* by Bazeley was helpful as a reference. NVivo is relatively easy to use and time invested in learning the qualitative data analysis software package is worth it in the end.

Insights from the grounded theory approach and thematic analysis were used to analyse data. I acknowledge the possibility that further analysis of data by another researcher might yield additional information, although major findings are likely to remain the same. I am also aware of how I might have influenced the formulation of research questions and interview questions, and the process of data collection, data analysis and interpretation, because I am a Zimbabwean immigrant like the social workers in this study. I tried to be as reflexive as possible, however, with help from my academic supervisors. I am confident that if another researcher were to carry out the same study, following the procedures I recorded, more or less similar findings would come up. There are certain issues that the Zimbabwean social workers would have been comfortable telling me about, like racism, while there are others they would rather hide from me, like their salary and ethnicity issues. Although I understood that their job as social workers meant that they could be called to go and attend emergencies at any point, I felt that there might also have been an element of taking me for granted because I was young and a fellow Zimbabwean. This resulted in the re-scheduling of appointments, in some cases at the very last minute. Nevertheless, it was generally a comfortable experience interviewing fellow Zimbabweans. The whole research experience has been a journey of continual reflection and growth.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents recommendations that have been developed from the research findings. They cover theory, policy, practice and further research. However these recommendations do not reflect current policies and practice for the local authority in question as they are based on interviews carried out in 2008 with research participants recruited from 2000 to 2007. Upon request for current policies regarding overseas social workers, Large City Council said that they have since stopped recruiting from overseas, however they have not ruled it out as an option in the near future.

Recommendations for Theory

Mainstream migration theories are inadequate in explaining why the Zimbabwean social workers migrated to the UK. Reasons for migration given by the Zimbabwean social workers were various and complex. While mainstream migration theories remain good points of departure when studying migration, they need to be modified if they are to remain relevant. These migration theories should stop viewing migration as having a fixed end-point, and also take into account migration processes and outcomes as they have become interconnected (Small, 2007). Focusing solely on reasons for migration leads to over-simplification of a complex phenomenon. The Zimbabwean social workers in this study relied on social capital to make their settlement in the UK as smooth as possible. This study brings out the importance of migrants accessing resources through social networks to enable them to settle and adapt to life in a foreign country. Through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, the church and other social ties, the Zimbabwean social workers in this study were able to readily access social, financial and professional support. The role played by bonding, bridging and linking social capital in reducing the risks and costs associated with migration in this study cannot be ignored. Social interactions

were central to how the Zimbabwean social workers in this study tried to cope with the social and professional challenges they met as overseas social workers. As a result, it is important that migration theories incorporate social capital as a key concept since migrants, including the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, are continuously involved in processes of developing, maintaining or transforming social capital to access as many resources as they can, so as to settle and progress with their lives. From the experiences of the Zimbabwean social workers in this study, we also learn that the development and use of social capital is dynamic. Social capital that may be available to an individual and beneficial today might later disappear, become of little importance to that same person or even have negative consequences. Social capital theory should be developed further to cover how people make rational decisions, both to use social capital when they need it and to discard it when it is no longer beneficial.

Whenever researchers are investigating social capital issues it is also important to specify the nature of the social ties in question and not just their existence. For example, bridging and linking social capital were crucial for facilitating migration from Zimbabwe, while bonding social capital became important in meeting needs for accommodation, social support and professional support on arrival in the UK. Migrants who put energy into developing and using social capital should also know that it may have different implications for men and women, young people and older people. Social norms of exchange and reciprocity are important elements of social capital. It is important, however, to make people aware that in some cases these norms are not followed, especially within linking social capital where relations are between people of different social status. The Zimbabwean social workers ended up locked in exploitative relationships. When they arrived in the UK, these overseas social workers were given different contracts from the ones they were shown in Zimbabwe. Their work experience from Zimbabwe

was not taken into account and it took longer for them to be assessed for progression yet their new contracts with LCC had stipulated that this should occur within six months. It is important that such negative effects of social capital are acknowledged and highlighted within social capital theory. Other negative effects of social capital as experienced by my research participants and those in other studies included helping family and community members out of moral obligation, excluding non-members and conforming to social norms and values unwillingly (Zontini, 2006; Edwards *et al*., 2003; Portes and Landolt, 2000; Coleman, 1990).

Recommendations for Practice

Pre-Migration Stage

My research findings indicate that the Zimbabwean social workers struggled to settle in the UK socially and professionally. While overseas social workers are still in their home country, recruitment agencies and employers should provide as much information as possible covering the nature of employment, expected challenges and procedures for settling down, so that social workers can make informed decisions about their move. The overseas social workers could also help themselves by actively searching for information about their country of destination over the internet or through reading books. Recommendations have emerged from the research participants that reading a book published by the Home Office for citizenship tests, called *Life in the UK: A Journey to Citizenship*, before migrating or upon arrival, can help immigrants to familiarise themselves with life in the UK.

Settlement Issues

Some of the social workers reported having struggled with finding a place to live and had to be accommodated by Zimbabwean social workers who had come earlier. Those who were made to

stay in bed and breakfast accommodation found the experience uncomfortable. It is important that accommodation arrangements are made prior to the arrival of the social workers. If the overseas social workers are to be placed in private family accommodation, consideration should be given to finding someone from their country of origin. It would also be more helpful if overseas social workers could get their relocation package as soon as they start work, not as re-imbursements, since those from developing countries like the Zimbabwean social workers in this study might have no foreign currency at all. There were also reports from some social workers that, when they arrived in area offices on their first day at work, no one was expecting them. Communication between parties involved in the recruitment process, such as recruitment agencies, social services headquarters, and area offices could be improved.

Preparation to practice

The Zimbabwean social workers' training in Zimbabwe was generic while, in the UK, they had to carry out more specialised child protection work. Some of the social workers reported that they started work with no induction at all or with a general induction that was not helpful and this means they struggled at work. It is important that employers are committed to offering the support that overseas social workers require in order to carry out their duties effectively, beginning with a comprehensive induction package. For those recruited in cohorts, training should be suited to the needs of the specific group, also covering settlement issues like registering with the GP and opening bank accounts. The provision of shadowing opportunities would allow the social workers to familiarise themselves with agency procedures. Overseas social workers could also be assigned mentors, where possible someone of the same ethnic origin or at least someone from overseas who might have gone through the same kind of experience.

Almost all the Zimbabwean social workers in this study felt that managers were not supportive and poor management was the most cited reason for leaving LCC by those social workers who had left the local authority. It is important that managers are adequately prepared to respond to the needs of overseas social workers. Brown *et al*. (2007:78-89) have developed an assessment tool that can be used to identify the specific learning needs of overseas social workers when they come to work in the UK. Managers could be more supportive, taking time to assess the induction and training needs of the overseas social workers and providing them with regular supervision.

Interaction with the local British people

There was a general feeling among the Zimbabwean social workers that the British social workers were not welcoming and that service users did not want to work with them. This suggests the importance of dealing with the context and potential disputes when recruiting from overseas in large numbers. It would help if local social workers and users of social services are sensitised with respect to overseas social workers so that they are prepared to work with them. Activities that facilitate integration in the workplace could also be looked into. Nights out organised at work and shadowing opportunities, for example, might encourage interaction between British social workers and overseas social workers.

The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers

The experiences of this particular group of social workers show that being able to develop informal networks as a community can help to facilitate settling down in a foreign country. The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers was useful to the Zimbabwean social workers when they arrived, but it later became less useful instead of growing. This shows that the Network should have changed as the needs of the Zimbabwean social workers changed. The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers could have evolved to meet the social and cultural needs of its

members by, for example, providing entertainment to social workers and teaching children of immigrants about their Zimbabwean culture. The Zimbabwean social workers reported being placed on a level with recent graduates when they started working for LCC, with their previous experience not taken into account. The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers could have taken up the issue of starting at entry level, to redress initial lower salary. With appropriate support, like funding from sponsors, the Zimbabwean network could also have reached out to support social work training and practice back in Zimbabwe.

Recommendations for Policy

Employers

Local authorities should aim to introduce a higher pay scale to attract more British social workers to practise under the Children, Young People and Families Directorate, since this directorate seems to be more challenging than others like adults and communities and mental health, and therefore more prone to employee retention problems. Implementing employee retention strategies could also help to reduce turnover. This may involve human resources carrying out employee satisfaction surveys. Problems could then be addressed and positives reinforced. While the Zimbabwean social workers in this study had full protection of their human rights as professional migrants, they still felt that they faced racial discrimination and were being subjected to unequal opportunities at work. It would be helpful if employers could demonstrate their commitment to policies like The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, the Equal Opportunities Policy and other relevant policies by raising awareness through campaigns, in the process allowing Black and Minority Ethnic employees to air any grievances they might have. The gap between principles and practice needs to be reduced so that migrants can enjoy the same level of protection as citizens. During the early stages of this study, LCC was contacted

requesting information on the number of Zimbabwean social workers they had. However, the human resources department reported that they did not readily have information regarding the nationality of overseas employees. Disaggregation of employees' demographic characteristics, including country of origin, is likely to help employers when it comes to meeting the needs of overseas social workers and dealing with cases of discrimination.

The UK Government

Research findings exposed bad recruitment practices by employment agencies, like leaving social workers stranded in a foreign country and having their contracts unilaterally changed upon arrival. This shows the vulnerability of the Zimbabwean social workers as migrants, especially during the early migration stages. Although UK legislation covers Black and Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK, the laws need to be extended to cover the whole migratory process. At present, the law only applies when you are settled in the UK, leaving vulnerable people like those looking for work, refused asylum seekers and other illegal immigrants with nothing to draw upon. Grant (2005) emphasises how all immigrants, regular and irregular, are entitled to enjoy the same protection as citizens. He also talks about how migrants' rights are dispersed in different laws and policies, making it difficult for migrants to know their rights. As a result, there is a need to develop, in clear and non-legal terms, a comprehensive statement of the human rights to which migrants are entitled, to guide not only the migrants but policy makers too. The Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment helps to provide guidance to UK employers so that the recruitment of overseas social workers is bound by ethical and appropriate standards. However, this Code of Practice would be more helpful if mechanisms for monitoring recruitment practices were put in place by the government. The Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment should also be legally binding so that those that do not comply with

these standards can be sanctioned. To prevent heavy recruiting of social workers from needy countries, a quota system could be put in place or bilateral agreements could be made between two countries. There is also a need to look into how countries like Zimbabwe that have a significant number of their social workers employed in the UK can be compensated as spelt out by Dominelli (2005a). Schemes introduced to attract more social work students should be evaluated every five years to see if they are achieving their purpose, otherwise more effective reforms and incentives would be required to train more social workers in the UK.

The Zimbabwean Government

My research findings indicated that Zimbabwean social workers are not directly involved in activities that promote economic development in their home country. Maybe, if the Zimbabwean government were to introduce policies that attempt to include their emigrants rather than exclude them, investment by the Zimbabwean social workers in their home country would improve. Such policies could include the introduction of dual citizenship and voting rights for Zimbabwean nationals living in other countries. It is also important that the Zimbabwean government should provide opportunities where Zimbabwean social workers can go and work in other countries as expatriates for a prescribed period. This would help to meet their need for international exposure. It would also make them aware of how challenging it can be. At least if they decide to migrate, they would be making an informed decision.

Recommendations for further research

It is recommended that all the themes that emerged from data analysis in this study be subjected to further research so as to gather more stories surrounding the international migration of social workers.

- Findings from this study raise important questions about the practices of LCC in relation to overseas social workers. Poor management was the most commonly cited reason for leaving the local authority by Zimbabwean social workers who were now working for private employers. Due to difficulty in obtaining research ethics approval and time constraints LCC managers could not be interviewed in this study. However, it would be interesting to follow up the issues raised by Zimbabwean social workers in the present study, like having had no induction or poor induction for some, lack of supervision, problems with being assessed for progression, heavy workload, employee retention and changing contracts.
- The Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers played a huge role in helping the social workers to cope with social and professional challenges they met as migrants, but was later abandoned. Patterns and trends of ethnic organisations could be explored in future research.
- The Zimbabwean social workers talked about how their relationship with God helped them to stay positive, even in adversity. Forms of relationships that go beyond humans may be interesting to pursue.
- Claims of contracts being changed and employers not following what was stipulated in contracts could be further investigated by other studies. The following questions may be addressed. Has it happened to any other groups of overseas social workers/other overseas workers? Does it happen to local employees as well? Who gives the initial contract? Who gives the amended contract? Are there known reasons for the amendments? Trade unions may be able to provide some of the information.

- Future research should be carried out with white Zimbabwean social workers to get their stories.
- It emerged from this study of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK (and another study by McGregor, 2008, of Zimbabwean immigrants in general) that those who get involved in fundraising activities do it only to serve political purposes. The Zimbabwean social workers in this study did not talk about group participation in investment or development projects back in Zimbabwe. Yet, such participation has become common among other immigrant groups from countries like Mexico, Nigeria, Ghana and Ethiopia (Chacko and Price, 2009; Mohan, 2006; Newland and Patrick, 2004; Orozco, 2004). Research into this issue may discover the reasons that prevent Zimbabwean social workers, as many as they are in the UK, from forming associations that aim to develop Zimbabwe.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A1: Interview Invitation for Participants

Re: Inviting Zimbabwean social workers to participate in interviews for a PhD study

My name is Moreblessing Sithole and I am a PhD student at the University of Durham, School of Applied Social Sciences. I am inviting you to participate in an interview for a research project that focuses on Zimbabwean social workers currently or previously employed by Large City Council. The general objective of the research is to explore the migration experience of these social workers in relation to how they were prepared to practise in the UK, how they settled in and their contribution to people's lives. The study aims to identify if any forms of support were available to the social workers, if they were available who provided them and how? It also aims at looking at the support, if any, the social workers are offering to people in the UK and back in Zimbabwe.

Information from the study will be reported in such a way that anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained. Collected data will be destroyed one year after completion of the degree. A summary of the research findings will be sent to all participants. The overall aim of the study is that research findings help to improve policy and practice for overseas social workers in the UK.

If you are interested in taking part in the interviews would you kindly respond to my e-mail.
Your participation in this research project will be most appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Moreblessing T. Sithole
School of Applied Social Sciences
University of Durham

Appendix A2: Invitation for Questionnaire Respondents

Re: Inviting Zimbabwean Social workers to fill out questionnaires for a PhD study

My name is Moreblessing Sithole and I am a PhD student at the University of Durham, School of Applied Social Sciences. I am inviting you to fill in the attached questionnaire for a research project that focuses on Zimbabwean social workers currently or previously employed by Large City Council. The general objective of the research is to explore the migration experience of these social workers in relation to how they were prepared to practise in the UK, how they settled in and their contribution to people's lives. The study aims to identify if any forms of support were available to the social workers, if they were available who provided them and how? It also aims at looking at the support, if any, the social workers are offering to people in the UK and back in Zimbabwe.

Participation in this research project is voluntary and you may withdraw from participating at any time without penalty. Information from the study will be reported in such a way that anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained. Collected data will be destroyed one year after completion of the degree. Research findings will only be used for the PhD thesis and related presentations and publications. A summary of the research findings will be sent to all participants. The overall aim of the study is that research findings help to improve policy and practice for overseas social workers in the UK.

Please find attached an information sheet and the questionnaire. It should take you about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Your participation in this study will be most appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Moreblessing T. Sithole
School of Applied Social Sciences
University of Durham

Appendix A3: Information Sheet for Participants

Que: What is the research on? *It is a case study of Large City Council (BCC) focusing on Zimbabwean social workers who have been recruited by BCC from the year 2000 onwards. It looks at how the social workers were prepared to practise in the UK, how they settled in and their contribution to communities in the UK and back in Zimbabwe.*

Que: What is the main objective of the research project? *To explore the migration experience of Zimbabwean social workers in relation to their utilisation of different forms of social networks.*

Que: Who will be involved? *Zimbabwean social workers previously or currently employed by BCC are required to either participate in interviews or fill out questionnaires.*

Que: When and where will data collection take place? *Between February 2008 and April 2008 in Large.*

Que: How long will it take? *Interviews are expected to last for about an hour on average while the questionnaire should take about 30 minutes to complete.*

Que: What if a participant changes his/her mind? *Participation in this study is voluntary, you may withdraw from participating at any time without penalty and may also decline to answer particular questions.*

Que: Could the study cause physical or psychological harm, or other negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life? *Some people may become upset during interviews if they recall unpleasant experiences. I will make arrangements for counselling to those needing them through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers.*

Que: To whom can participants lodge complaints about the research process? *To Professor L. Dominelli who is a lecturer at Durham University, School of Applied Social Sciences. Her e-mail address is lena.dominelli@durham.ac.uk.*

Que: Will participants' names appear in the research project? *Information from the study will be reported in such a way that anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained. Fictitious names will be used when writing up.*

Que: Who is going to get the information? *Anonymised data from interviews will be stored in a password-protected database and anonymised questionnaires will be kept in a locked cupboard that only the researcher can access.*

Que: How will the information be used? *Data will only be used for purposes of the PhD thesis, presentations in seminars and conferences and for related publications.*

Que: What's in it for me? *This is a chance for you to have a say in the improvement of policy and practice for overseas social workers in the UK. There will be no financial incentives. However, a summary of research findings will be sent to interested participants.*

Appendix A4: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: Making Britain 'Home': Zimbabwean Social Workers' Experiences of Migrating To and Working in a British City.

Please complete and return to the researcher:
Moreblessing T. Sithole
School of Applied Social Sciences
University of Durham
Elvet Riverside 2
Durham
DH1 3JT

Your Name:……

Please read the following statements and tick the appropriate boxes.

	Yes	No
I have read the information sheet attached and understand what this research is about.	☐	☐
I have been able to ask questions about the research before reaching my decision.	☐	☐
I understand that I can change my mind at any point and decline to be involved any further in the research without penalty.	☐	☐
I consent to taking part in an interview as part of this project.	☐	☐
I understand that the information I give during the research will be kept securely and confidentially and will be destroyed one year after completion of the PhD.	☐	☐
I consent to findings being used anonymously for the PhD thesis, for presentations in seminars and conferences and for publications.	☐	☐

Your signature:…… Date:……..

Appendix A5: Interview Questions (Guide)

1. Tell me about your migration experience from leaving Zimbabwe to arriving and settling in the UK as an overseas social worker.(Are there any specific groups of people that helped you to settle in the UK?)

2. Were you prepared in any way to practise as a social worker in the UK? If yes, by whom and how?(How were you prepared to practise as a social worker in the UK?)

3. Are there any challenges that you have faced at work? & If yes, how did you manage to cope with the challenges?

4. Have you had any opportunities for professional development since moving to the UK?(How would you describe your career progression since moving to the UK?)

5. Are you aware of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers? If yes, what do you know about it?

6. Tell me about your experience with the Zimbabwean Network of Social workers if you have been involved with the association in any way.

7a. Did you bring your family with you to the UK when you came over?

7b. Have you retained any links with people back in Zimbabwe and if so, with whom and how?

8. How do you feel about having left Zimbabwe to come and work in the UK?

9. Where do you see yourself in the next 5 years and in the distant future?

10. If planning to return to Zimbabwe, are you aware of any re-integration challenges?

11. Have you got any recommendations for improving the preparation of overseas social workers to practise in the UK?

12. Are there any other issues you would like to raise?

13. Do you have any questions to ask me?

14. Have you got any other comments you would like to make?

Appendix A6: LCC QUESTIONNAIRE (for Zimbabwean social workers)

Instruction: *Use as much space as you require. You may add additional paper if you need to.*

1. Age Group (please circle the appropriate answer)

Under 25 26- 35 36-45 46-55 Above 55

2. Gender (circle the appropriate answer) Male Female

3. Marital Status (circle the appropriate answer) Single Married Divorced Widowed

4. Nationality…….....

5. Ethnicity (circle the appropriate answer)

White Mixed Asian Black Chinese Other (specify)……....

6. Which country did you obtain your qualification from?.....

7. How many years experience have you got as a social worker? (circle the appropriate answer)

Less than 1 year 1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 more than 20

8. For how long have you lived in the UK? (circle the appropriate answer)

Less than 1 year 1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 more than 20

9. For how long have you worked for Large City Council? (circle the appropriate answer)

Less than 1 year 1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 more than 20

10. Are you still working for Large City Council? (delete inapplicable) Yes/No

a) If Yes, continue to question 11.
If No, who is your employer now?

b) What were your reasons for leaving Large City Council?

c) What was your position at work when you left Large City Council?

d) How do you compare your new employer to LCC?

11. What is the social work section/unit that you currently work for?

12. What is your current position at work?

13. What were your reasons for migrating to the UK?

14. Were you provided with information about the UK prior to migration? Yes/No

a) If Yes, what kind of information were you given?

b) Who provided the information?

15. Upon arrival in the UK did you get any support in settling in? Yes/No

a) If yes, what kind of support did you get?

b) Who provided the support?

16. Upon arrival in the UK, which of the following did you find problematic? (tick all that apply)

	language
	not having family
	not knowing the city/town
	not having friends
	not having a job
	finding accommodation
	financial constraints
	discrimination
	transport problems
	Other(specify)
	None

17. Upon arrival, from where/whom did you get help? (please tick all that apply to you).

	relatives
	spouse
	Large managers
	British social workers
	social workers from other countries
	fellow Zimbabwean social workers
	employment agency
	friends
	ethnic/cultural group
	religious group
	government agency
	bank/financial institutions
	Other (specify)

18. On a scale of 1(very poor) to 5(excellent) and 6(don't know), rate each of the following:

Large City Council when it comes to induction of overseas social workers	
Your relationship with Large managers	
Your relationship with fellow Zimbabwean social workers	
Your relationship with British colleagues	
Your relationship with colleagues from other countries	
Your relationship with your British neighbours	

19. How do you cope with stress? (please tick all that apply to you)

socialising with friends	
counselling	
religious activities	
physical exercises	
alcohol	
family support	
spouse support	
Other(specify)	

20. In a month, how often do you go to the pub/bar or club? (please tick the appropriate)

	Often
	Once in a while
	Never
	Don't know

21. Which of the following clubs, groups or organisations have you been involved in within the last year?

	local community groups
	political groups
	environmental groups
	parent-teacher associations
	social groups
	sports
	religious groups
	cultural groups
	Other (specify)

22. Which unpaid help have you offered to those outside your family and friends networks in the UK? (please tick all that apply to you)

	raising/handling money
	visiting people
	representing
	campaigning
	child minding
	committee member/leader
	giving advice/counselling
	providing transport
	domestic work
	mentoring
	Other (specify)

23. If you need advice on personal problems who would you go to? (Tick all that apply to you)

	Husband/wife/partner
	Friend
	British colleague
	Someone from my own ethnic community
	Bank/ financial institutions
	Relative
	Neighbour
	Manager
	Wouldn't ask for help
	Other(specify)

24. If you are in need of financial assistance from whom would you ask for help? (Tick all that apply to you)

	Husband/wife/partner
	Friend
	British colleague
	Someone from my own ethnic community
	Bank/ financial institutions
	Relative
	Neighbour
	Manager
	Wouldn't ask for help
	Other(specify)

25. Are you involved in any paid voluntary work? (delete inapplicable) Yes/No

a) If yes, please specify the work that you do and the organisation you work for.

26. What can you say about trusting the general British public? (tick the appropriate answer)

	Most people can be trusted
	Most people cannot be trusted
	It depends on people and circumstances
	Don't know

27. Have you maintained links with people back in Zimbabwe? Yes/No

a) If yes, who have you maintained links with?

b) How do you maintain links with people back in Zimbabwe?

28. How often do you visit Zimbabwe? (please tick the appropriate)

	more than once a year
	once a year
	less than once a year
	once every two to three years
	once in a blue moon
	never
	don't know

29. Are you contributing to the improvement of people's lives back in Zimbabwe? Yes/No
a) If yes, how?

30. Have you utilised any opportunities for professional development in the UK? Yes/No
a) If yes, how did you benefit?

31. Have you experienced any professional challenges as a migrant social worker? Yes/No
a) If yes, what challenges have you experienced?

b) Did you overcome the challenges? Please explain how, if you did overcome them.

32. Are you aware of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers? Yes/No
(If No, please go to Question 33)

a) If Yes, has the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers been helpful to you? Yes/No
How has it been helpful?

b) If No, how would you have wanted the network to help people?

33. Have you got any recommendations for improving the preparation of overseas social workers to practise in the UK?

34. Have you got any other comments? (feel free to use additional paper)

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Appendix B: Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment

Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment

Principles of the Social Care Code of Practice for International Recruitment

Principle 1: International recruitment is a sound and legitimate contribution to the development of the registered and unregistered social care workforce.

Principle 2: International recruitment campaigns will only be conducted in countries where social care staff are in plentiful supply.

Principle 3: Employers will respect the rights of individual applicants from other countries to improve their work and career prospects and not discriminate on the grounds of race, nationality or ethnic origin.

Principle 4: International social care staff will demonstrate a level of English language proficiency consistent with safe and skilled communication with clients, carers and colleagues

Principle 5: International social care staff will have a level of knowledge and proficiency equivalent to that expected of an individual trained and recruited in the UK by the end of their induction period.

Principle 6: International social care staff will be made aware of and demonstrate a commitment to the standards and principles of social care as set down in the General Social Care Council's Code of Practice for social care workers.

Principle 7: International social care staff legally recruited from abroad to work in the UK , are protected by relevant UK employment law in the same way as other employees and will be made aware of their rights.

Principle 8: International social care staff will have the same support and access to relevant education and training and continuing professional development as all other employees.

Principle 9: International social care staff will undergo and satisfy the employer's occupational health assessment prior to leaving their country of origin and commencing employment.

Principle 10: International social care staff will undergo the most comprehensive criminal record checks in their country of origin, as that country is able to provide

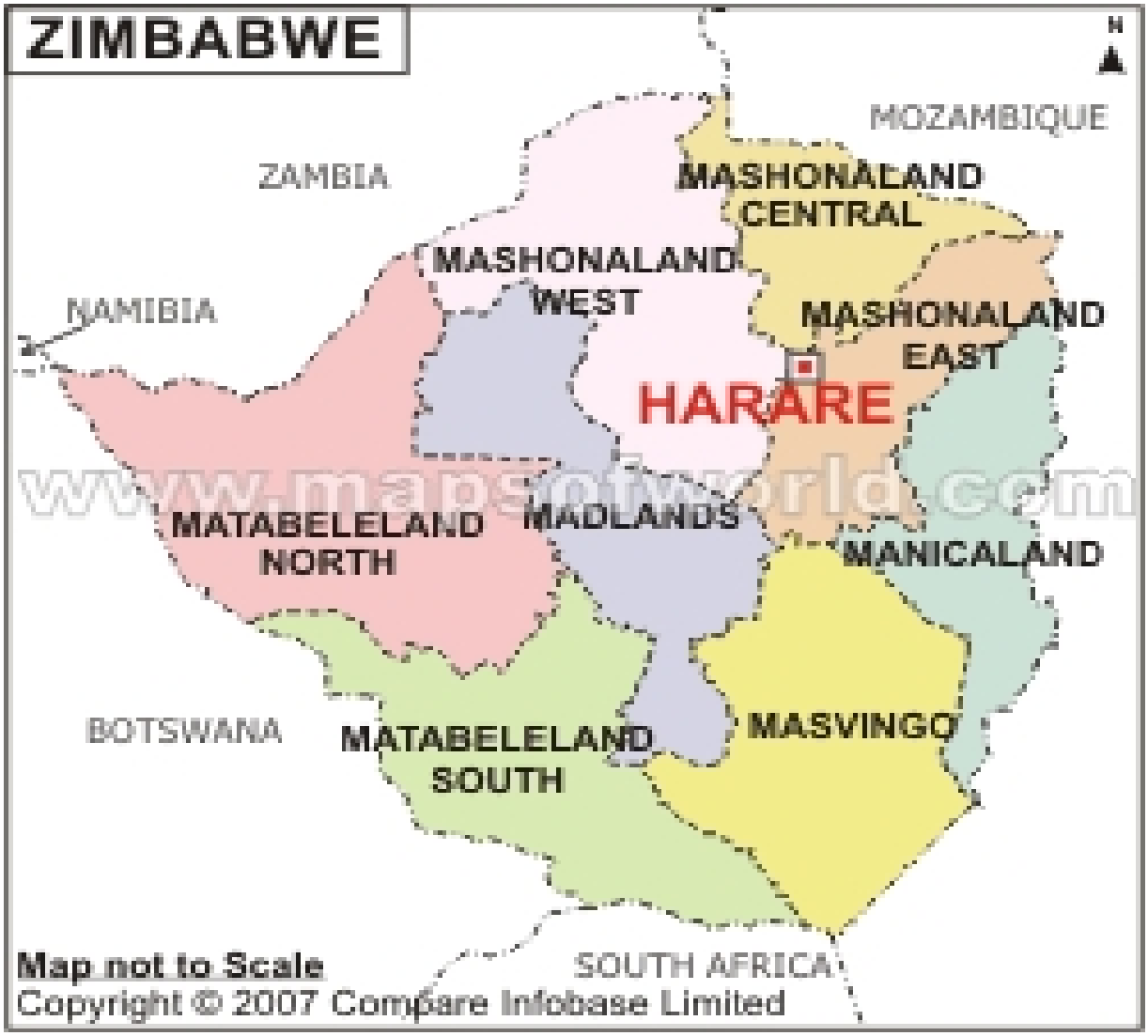
before departure. In the UK they will comply with any checks required by UK legislation and regulation as with any other employees.

Principle 11: All international social care staff will supply evidence of their right to work in the UK or have a valid work permit before entry to the UK .

Principle 12: International social care staff will receive appropriate information, support and induction to enable them to settle in and operate effectively in the role to which they have been recruited.

Source: www.sccir.co.uk/principles

Appendix C: Zimbabwe Map



Source: http://www.mapsofworld.com/zimbabwe/

Appendix D: Ethical Approval Forms

Amendments to Durham University Ethics Application

Name : Moreblessing Sithole

Department: School of Applied Social Sciences
University of Durham

Project Title: A Case Study Exploring the Experiences of Zimbabwean Social Workers in the UK: Challenges and Opportunities

Project Summary

This research project is in the form of a case study of Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council (LCC) since 2000. The general objective of the research is to explore the migration experience of Zimbabwean social workers with regards to how they settled in the UK, integrated into existing teams and the wider society and progressed as overseas social workers and how they utilised social networks in achieving these goals. It also aims to look at the social workers' contribution to the development of communities back in Zimbabwe. There are two target groups for the project, Zimbabwean social workers employed by Large City Council and Large Operations Managers in the Children, Young People & Families and the Adults & Communities Directorates. I have already completed the first phase of the research project, which involved either interviewing or distributing questionnaires to Zimbabwean social workers through the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers, an association based in Large. The social workers raised a number of issues that I wish to follow up with managers, therefore, the need to amend my original ethics application.

The amendments apply to interviewing Large City Council managers.

In the original application it was stated that Large City Council managers invited to participate in the study would be purposively selected, based on having been involved in the recruitment, induction or supervision of Zimbabwean social workers. E-mail invitations would be sent to the managers through Large City Council and the first 3 managers to respond would be interviewed. The interviews were also supposed to take place between January and April 2008.

The following changes are being proposed:

I now propose to focus on all Large Operations Managers for the Adults and Communities and the Children, Young People and Families services in post which have been reported to be 39 Operations Managers in total. I have decided to focus on Operations Managers because they are middle managers so are likely to be in a better position to know what happens on the front-line, where day-to-day social work practice happens and at the top of the hierarchy where policies are implemented and decisions made. I have also decided to include all Operations Managers regardless of whether they have worked with Zimbabwean social workers or not, the reason being that some of these managers might have worked with overseas social workers from other countries which will allow for a comparative analytical dimension. In this case working with Zimbabwean social workers refers to having dealt with them on a professional basis including their recruitment, induction and training, supervision, day-to-day management, acting as advisors or in implementation of policies relevant to them.

An e-mail questionnaire will be sent through Large City Council's communication team to all the Adults and Communities' and Children, Young People and Families' Operations Managers in June 2009. Managers will be asked to indicate on the questionnaire if they wish to participate in follow-up interviews that will be carried out to explore responses given to the questionnaires. These interviews will either be by telephone or face-to-face, depending on their preference and will be recorded with permission from the participant. The data collected will be anonymised once it is transcribed.

Attached to the questionnaire will be an information sheet which will contain information on what the research is about, its intended outcomes, potential risks involved, participants' rights to privacy and confidentiality, participants' rights to withdraw at anytime without penalty and how obtained data will be stored. Contents of the questionnaires and follow-up interviews are not likely to cause emotional distress or any other risk to Large City Council Operations Managers. Participants will be asked to return the e-mail questionnaire to the researcher as an attachment so that it will be downloaded and stored without e-mail addresses showing. If there are postal questionnaires with addresses or telephone numbers, these will be removed and the questionnaires will then be stored in a locked cupboard. Anonymised data will be stored in a password-protected database. Fictitious names for participants and a fictitious name for the local authority will be used when writing up. A summary of the research findings will be sent to all participants on submission of the thesis and a copy of the thesis will also be sent to the Adults and Communities Directorate, the Children, Young People and Families Directorate and the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers in Large. Questionnaires and interview transcripts will be destroyed one year after a successful completion of the PhD and will only be used for purposes of the PhD thesis, related presentations and publications.

The following documents attached to the original application remain the same:

- Flyer
- Information sheet for participants
- Informed consent form
- Letter of invitation to Zimbabwean social workers
- Interview questions for Zimbabwean social workers
- Questionnaire for Zimbabwean social workers
- Fieldwork risk assessment form
- Fieldwork health declaration form
- Written confirmation from the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers

Please find attached the following modified or additional documents:

- Letter of invitation to Large Operations Managers,
- Information sheet for Large Operations Managers,
- Questionnaire for Large Operations Managers,
- Follow-up interview guide for Large Operations Managers,
- Large City Council Ethics Application Form, and
- A Copy of the University Cover Liability details.

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RESEARCH ETHICS AND RISK ASSESSMENT FORM A

All research projects must be assessed for ethical issues and risks to the researcher(s)[1]. Form A starts this process and must be submitted by the principal investigator[2] for *all* projects that staff or students of the School intend to undertake. The form must be approved before any data collection begins. It is your responsibility to follow an appropriate code of ethical practice, such as those of the British Sociological Association or Social Research Association[3], and to acquaint yourself with safety issues by consulting an appropriate reference such as *Social Research Update*: Safety in Social Research[4]. Data should be handled in a manner compliant with the Data Protection Act. Researchers undertaking studies in an NHS or social services setting must abide by the *Research Governance Framework for Health and Social Care*[5].

Section I Project outline

Name of investigator: Moreblessing Sithole

Dissertation/project title: Exploring the Experiences of Zimbabwean Social Workers in the UK: Challenges and Opportunities

Degree and year (students only): PhD Second Year

Estimated start date: October 2006 *Estimated end date:* September 2009

Summary (up to 250 words describing main research questions, methods and brief details of any participants)
This research project is in the form of a case study of Large City Council (LCC) focusing on Zimbabwean social workers currently or previously recruited by LCC since 2000. The general objective of the research is to explore the migration experience of these social workers in relation to their utilisation of different forms of social networks. The study aims to identify if any sources of support were available to the social workers, if they were available who provided them and how? It also aims at looking at the support, if any, the social workers are offering to people in the UK and back in Zimbabwe. Letters of invitation will be sent to Large managers and all Zimbabwean social workers employed by LCC from the year 2000 onwards inviting them to participate in the study. Large City Council managers invited to participate in the study will be purposively selected, based on having been involved in the recruitment, induction or supervision of Zimbabwean social workers. To complement the interviews, questionnaires will be distributed by post and e-mail to all Zimbabwean social workers who are members of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers in Large City Council. LCC policy documents that deal with recruitment of overseas social workers and LCC employee records will also be analysed to obtain information on recruitment and induction procedures, employee characteristics, the proportion of Zimbabwean social workers and employee retention.

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[1] See University of Durham School of Applied Social Sciences *Research Ethics and Risk Assessment Policy and Procedures*, March 2005
[2] In the case of student research, the principal investigator is always the student.
[3] http://www.britsoc.co.uk/new_site/index.php?area=equality&id=63; http://www.the-sra.org.uk/Ethicals.htm;
[4] http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU29.html
[5] http://www.dh.gov.uk/assetRoot/04/01/47/57/04014757.pdf

Section 2 Ethics checklist *(please answer each question by ticking as appropriate)*

	Yes	No
1. Does the study involve participants who are vulnerable or unable to give informed consent (e.g. children under 16, people with learning disabilities)?	☐	☒
2. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent (e.g. covert observation of people in *non-public* places)?	☐	☒
3. Could the study cause harm, discomfort, stress, anxiety or any other negative consequence beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	☒	☐
4. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	☐	☒
5. Will the project involve the participation of patients, users or staff through the NHS or a social services department?	☒	☐
6. Are appropriate steps being taken to protect anonymity and confidentiality? (in accordance with an appropriate Statement of Ethical Practice).	☒	☐

If you have answered **'yes' to any of questions 1-5**, you must complete Form B and attach Form A as a cover sheet. Both Form A and Form B must be submitted for approval (see Section 5). Now go to Section 3.

Section 3 Risk assessment checklist

	Yes	No
1. Does the study involve practical work such as interviewing that requires the researcher(s) to travel to and from locations outside the University?	☒	☐
2. Does the study involve accessing non-public sites that require permission to enter?	☒	☐
3. Are there any identifiable hazards involved in carrying out the study, such as lone working in isolated settings?	☒	☐

If you have answered **'yes' to any of questions 1-3**, you must consult the University's Health and Safety Manual Section F1 at: http://www.dur.ac.uk/healthandsafety/F1-Fieldwork3.htm#App2
You must complete two forms available in appendices 2 and 3 at this web site: *Fieldwork – risk assessment* and *Fieldwork health declaration*. These forms must be submitted with Form A.

Section 4 Signature

For taught and research students Form A must be approved and signed off by your supervisor. For staff, the principal investigator must sign the form.

Signature: Lena Dominelli Date: 12/12/07

Section 5 Next steps

1. If *only* Form A is required, students must submit the completed form with their project/dissertation and staff must file the completed form in the School Office ethics file. Nothing further is required.
2. If the Fieldwork forms are required, attach and submit these with Form A for approval.
3. If Form B is required, attach Form A as a cover sheet and follow the instructions on Form B.

Forms must be submitted for review and approval as follows:

- Students on Social Work programmes — Secretary of the Social Work Ethics Committee
- All other students on taught courses — Your supervisor
- Research students — Director of Graduate Studies
- Staff — Chair of Research Committee

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RESEARCH ETHICS AND RISK ASSESSMENT FORM B

Form A must be attached to this form as a cover sheet. *Form B* must be completed if you have answered 'Yes' to any of questions 1 to 5 in Section 2 of Form A. If your project requires approval from an NHS or Social Services ethics committee, you must first obtain this approval. Once approval has been granted, including meeting any conditions, you must submit the approved form together with evidence of this approval with Form B. If you are submitting an NHS or Social Services ethics form, you only need to complete Sections 1, 2 and 5 of Form B. This form must be approved before data collection begins.

Section 1

1. Name of Principal Investigator: MOREBLESSING T. SITHOLE

2. Does the research require ethical approval from the NHS or a Social Services Authority?

   Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Might the proposed research meet the definition of a clinical trial? It may do so if it involves studying the effects on participants of drugs, devices, diets, behavioural strategies such as exercise or counseling, or other 'clinical' procedures.

   Yes ☐ No ☒

***If 'Yes'*, a copy of this form must be sent to the Insurance Officer**, Treasurer's Department. Tel: 0191 334 6968. Insurance approval will be necessary before the project can start and evidence of approval must be attached with this form.

Section 2 Checklist of attachments

For all applicants tick the documents you are attaching with this form:

Form A ..... ☒
An approved NHS or Social Services Ethics Form (if applicable) ..... ☒
Evidence that your NHS or Social Services Ethics Form has been approved (if applicable) ..... ☐
Information sheet for participants (if individual consent is to be obtained) ..... ☒
Consent form (if individual consent is to be obtained) ..... ☒
Fieldwork Risk Assessment (if applicable) ..... ☒
Fieldwork Health Declartion (if applicable) ..... ☒
Confirmation of insurance cover (if applicable; see question 11) ..... ☒

For students only:

Letter of invitation to participants ..... ☒
Letter of invitation to leaders/managers ..... ☒
Leaflet/Flyer for all relevant parties attached ..... ☒
Consent form ..... ☒
Questionnaire ..... ☒
Interview guide ..... ☒
Written confirmation from all agencies involved in the study that they agree to participate ..... ☐

I have attached an e-mail from the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers in which States that they are prepared to participate in the study.

Section 3 Project details

1. How many research participants will be involved in the study?
   30 Zimbabwean social workers and managers will be interviewed. Questionnaires will be distributed to about 50 Zimbabwean social workers.

2. How will they be selected? (e.g. age, sex, other selection criteria or sampling procedure)
   E-mail addresses will be obtained from City Council and the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers. E-mails will then be sent to managers and all Zimbabwean social workers employed by City Council from the year 2000 onwards inviting them to participate in the study. Managers that will be invited to participate will be purposively selected, based on having previously been involved in the recruitment, induction or supervision of Zimbabwean social workers. The first 30 Zimbabwean social workers and the first managers to respond will be interviewed. To complement the interviews, questionnaires will be distributed to all members of the Zimbabwean Network of Social Workers previously or currently employed by City Council.

3. Are there any people who will be excluded? If so state the criteria to be used
   Non-Zimbabwean social workers and those Zimbabwean social workers who were recruited by City Council before 2000 will be excluded.

4. Who are the participants? (e.g. social services clients, NHS patients, users of a specific service)
   Zimbabwean social workers previously or currently employed by City Council from the year 2000 and afterwards.

5. Who will explain the investigation to the participant(s)? The Researcher

6. How and where will consent be recorded?
   Before recruiting participants flyers will be distributed and e-mails will then be sent to potential participants with information on what the research is about, its intended outcomes, potential risks

involved, participants' right to withdraw without penalty, length of interviews and how the data will be stored. Before carrying out an interview I will explain what my research is about to each participant and ask them to read the research information sheet which will be attached to the informed consent form. Research participants will then have to fill and sign an informed consent form if they understand what the research is about and still wish to participate. During the interviews I will constantly check with participants if they will be alright to continue.

7. What steps will be taken to safeguard the confidentiality of records and to ensure compliance with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.?

Participants' names and addresses will not appear on interview transripts and questionnaires. Fictitious names will be used when writing up. Transcribed data will be stored in a password-protected database while questionnaires will be kept in a locked cupboard that only the researcher can access. This data will be destroyed one year after completion of the PhD and will only be used for purposes of the PhD thesis, related presentations and publications.

8. Will non-anonymised questionnaires, tapes or video recordings be destroyed at the end of the project?

Yes ☒ Go to qu. 11 No ☐ Go to qu. 9 Not Applicable ☐ Go to qu. 11

9. What further use do you intend to make of the material?

I intend to keep anonymised data for a year after completion of my study to use for further publications and presentations in seminars and conferences. I will be requesting consent for this future use of data at the same time that I request consent for the PhD thesis.

10. Will consent be requested for this future use? Yes ☒ No ☐ Not Applicable ☐

Section 4: Risk or discomfort to participants

11. What discomfort, danger or interference with normal activities could be experienced by participants? State probability, seriousness, and precautions to minimise each risk.

Risk/Discomfort	Probability	Seriousness	Precautions
Emotional distress	low	not serious	debriefing arrangements

Section 4: Risk or discomfort to participants

11. What discomfort, danger or interference with normal activities could be experienced by participants? State probability, seriousness, and precautions to minimise each risk.

Risk/Discomfort	Probability	Seriousness	Precautions
Emotional distress	low	not serious	debriefing arrangements

Section 5 Signatures

Principal Investigator: ..... Date: 22/11/07

Supervisor/tutor (students only): ..... Date: 12/12/07

Next steps

This form with all attachments and Form A at the front should be submitted for approval as follows:

- Students on Social Work programmes: Secretary of the Social Work Programme Ethics Committee
- All other students on taught courses: Your supervisor
- Research students: Director of Graduate Studies
- All Staff: Chair of Research Committee

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

SECTION 6: OUTCOME OF APPLICATION

a) The proposal is satisfactory and should be accepted as it stands.	YES / NO
b) The proposal should be accepted subject to the conditions noted below.	YES / NO
c) The applicant should submit a new proposal in the light of the comments noted below.	YES / NO

Comments *(for forwarding to the applicant)*

Signed _____ Date 7th Jan 09

Name (block capitals) ..PROF S. BANICS.....

A COPY OF THE APPROVED FORM MUST BE KEPT ON FILE.
STUDENTS MUST SUBMIT A COPY OF THE APPROVED FORM WITH THEIR PROJECT/DISSERTATION.