

Citizenship and Belonging: An Analysis of the Zimbabwean Diaspora

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

Immigrant societies are in the midst of heated debates about citizenship and what it means to belong to their nation-states. The main purpose of this study is to conduct exploratory and descriptive research into the concept of belonging to a host country, in order to advance an understanding of this under-conceptualised, yet topical issue. The project was based on an extensive review of literature from the fields of psychology, sociology and political science, as well as on the responses from an empirical, quantitative survey of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The findings reveal that Zimbabwean respondents are frustrated with perceived attempts to exclude them from becoming full and equal members of host societies. Zimbabweans who feel that they will never truly belong or be fully accepted by host countries have subsequently developed a heightened sense of attachment to Zimbabwe, as a way of differentiating themselves from the dominant population. The main conclusion that can be drawn is that belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country is a complex process that involves three separate stakeholders namely the host country, members of the dominant group, and the immigrants themselves. This research thus argues that the problem of immigrant integration should be viewed through multiple lenses, by including the influence of various stakeholders. Doing so would lead to a more nuanced understanding of the forces influencing belonging, and could potentially lead to the formulation of more comprehensive and more targeted policies.

Opsomming

Immigrant samelewings is in die midde van hewige debatte oor burgerskap en wat dit beteken om te behoort tot hul nasie-state. Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie is om in verkennende en beskrywende ondersoek van die konsep “gasheer land intergrasie”, ten einde 'n begrip van hierdie vooraf onder-gekonseptualiseerde maar tog hedendaags belangrike konsep, te formuleer. Die projek is op 'n omvattende oorsig van die literatuur gebaseer uit die gebied van sielkunde, sosiologie en politieke wetenskap, sowel as op die antwoorde van 'n empiriese, kwantitatiewe opname van Zimbabwiërs wat in Suid-Afrika, die Verenigde Koninkryk en die Verenigde State van Amerika gehuisves is. Die bevinding van die studie toon dat die Zimbabwiese proefpersone gefrustreerd is met die waargenome pogings van uitsluiting deur lede van die gasheer lande ten opsigte van volle gelykstelling met bogenoemde lede. Zimbabwiërs wat voel dat hulle sal nooit werklik behoort, of nie ten volle aanvaar sal word in gasheer-lande nie, het 'n verhoogde gevoel van verbinding ontwikkel met hul tuisland Zimbabwe, as 'n manier van onderskeiding tussen hulself en die dominante bevolking. Die belangrikste gevolgtrekking wat gemaak kan word, is dat groep behoorting, insluiting en identifikasie met 'n gasheer land 'n komplekse proses is wat drie afsonderlike belanghebbendes naamlik die gasheer land, die lede van die dominante groep en die immigrante hulself behels. Hierdie navorsing argumenteer dus dat die probleem van die immigrant integrasie uit verskeie perspektiewe geanaliseer moet word, deur die betrekking van die invloed van verskeie belanghebbendes. Dit sou lei tot 'n meer genuanseerde begrip van die kragte wat 'n uitwerking het op intergrasie, en kan moontlik lei tot die formulering van meer omvattende en geringe beleide.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This research project explores the concept of belonging to a country. In particular, it focuses on the factors that influence feelings of belonging for Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. The introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the proposed research, and highlights the contentious nature of citizenship and belonging for immigrants. The first section presents preliminary background information, describes the research problem, and highlights the complexities associated with belonging to a host country. Section 2 outlines the rationale or importance of this research, by examining the ways in which it will contribute to existing scholarship on belonging. The research questions and objectives, which guide and delineate the study, are introduced in Section 3. Section 4 highlights the research methods that are used to achieve these objectives, and also presents the concepts that are central to a study of citizenship and belonging. The introductory chapter concludes with section 5, which presents the structure of the other four chapters in this project.

1. Research Problem

The idea that immigrants should transfer their sense of belonging from their country of origin to their host country is contentious. The argument is based on traditional notions of citizenship, which assume that all members in the community share a common identity and nationality. Debates about immigration and citizenship thus centre on nationhood, or questions about what it means to belong to the nation-state (Migdal, 200:15).

Immigrants are located at the centre of these debates because immigrant groups from the South in particular, are perceived to be more likely to resist challenges to their identity and culture. This perception arose partly because in spite of acquiring the legal status of citizen, some recent immigrants from the South have maintained cultural identities that are inextricably linked to their countries of origin. They have therefore revealed that there is a significant gulf between being a citizen with full and equal

membership in a polity, and feeling like a national who belongs to the country linguistically, socially, culturally and politically (Tenue, 1990:39).

Accordingly, belonging to a state has both a formal or instrumental attachment, as well as an informal or emotional component, in that it consists of both status and identity. Status is who an individual is to others and where he stands within the group, whilst identity refers to who he believes himself to be and, who other members of the group believe he is. With respect to political communities, status refers to the individual as a citizen whilst identity refers to his sense of belonging to a nation-state (Baumeister and Leary, 1995:511; Migdal, 2004:16).

Naturalised citizens, who are deemed to be too 'different' from the dominant group, may suffer from a lack of authenticity, because natural born citizens (who are nationals) may not believe that they truly belong to the country. Acceptance by the dominant community is therefore an important tenet of belonging to a host country. Studies by Richardson and Taft, (1968) and Hammond, (1954) reveal that dominant communities actually exhibit a hierarchy of acceptance. Their analysis of Anglo-Australians established that acceptability was largely determined by an immigrant group's similarity to Australian life-style, their share of English Stock, and their perceived ability to assimilate. Europeans were deemed to be the most acceptable immigrants, whilst Jews, Chinese and Africans were deemed to be the least acceptable (Callan, 1983:127).

Although country of origin quotas have subsequently been abolished and more favourable attitudes prevail around the world, current immigration policies indicate that there is still a hierarchy of acceptability, with policies aiming to attract highly skilled migrants and strictly manage migration by low-skilled and poorer labourers (Hercog, 2008).

Minorities from the South have concurrently, failed to make the transition from immigrant, to member of an ethnic community, and then to national (Berking, 2004:107). Unlike white ethnic communities, they have found it particularly difficult to close the gap

between citizen and national¹; many have also failed to transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from their country of origin to the host country. In other words they have failed to 'develop a primary sense of belonging to one society and loyalty to just one nation-state.' They have instead formed Diasporic communities that maintain continuous ties, attachments and identification with their countries of origin. This tendency to occupy a trans-national space may impede inclusion in, and feelings of belonging to the host state (Gustafson, 2005:7; Castles, 2000: 114-5).

This study grapples with the problem of belonging for Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. More specifically, it investigates how Zimbabweans are negotiating feelings of belonging, given their marginal membership (citizenship) and lack of authenticity in host states, as well as their strategic need to maintain ties with and support families back home. It explores the different perceptions of Zimbabwean men and women living in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, in order to critically evaluate where they are located with respect to belonging and allegiance; and whether their citizenship experience is gendered.

2. Rationale

There are three main gaps in the existing research, with respect to addressing the problem of belonging for Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. Firstly, the concept of belonging remains under-conceptualised in political science, particularly for immigrants from the South who are also members of racialised minority groups. Although sociological research on international migration has been extensive, theoretical models mostly focus on the social and economic incorporation of immigrants into host societies. A study of citizenship and belonging can therefore add depth to current ways of thinking about nationhood and immigrant incorporation.

Secondly, there has been no attempt to study where Zimbabweans in the Diaspora feel they belong, and how they see themselves with respect to the dominant community. Current studies focus on the political economy and the social impact of Zimbabwean

¹ Theories of assimilation posit that there are racial and ethnic characteristics that shape whether particular groups will assimilate upwards to dominant community or downwards towards marginalised populations in inner cities (Portes, 1995, Zhou, 1997).

emigration. This study aims to make a significant contribution towards an important principle of return migration, namely whether immigrants have transferred their allegiance from their country of origin, to their host countries. Investigating belonging is therefore an important step towards understanding the desire to return home, and the willingness to invest in homeland developmental initiatives.

And thirdly, there has to my knowledge been no quantitative study of belonging to a country. Although qualitative case studies by Stasiulis and Amery, (2009); Magat, (1999) and Gustafson, (2005) have revealed significant insights into the concept of belonging; it is difficult to make inferences about the applicability of their conclusions for other Diasporic groups. This quantitative study of Zimbabweans can make a substantive contribution to the existing literature by developing a sense of belonging instrument that is relevant to Zimbabweans; by examining the factors that influence feelings of belonging; and by identifying patterns that can be generalised to the experience of other immigrant groups.

Additionally, the study makes a further contribution to belonging, due to the fact that the literature review is interdisciplinary and extends into the fields of identity formation, migration and Diasporas. The review in Chapter 2 thus provides a coherent perspective on a subject that has received varying degrees of attention in several fields. This is because the main focus of the review is on identifying the underlying factors within each field, that influence an immigrant's ability to negotiate citizenship and belonging in host countries, thereby producing a deeper understanding of the process of belonging.

In closing, it is important to mention that belonging fulfils a basic human need for group membership and that feelings of alienation are likely to be associated with a higher incidence of psychological disorders such as anxiety and depression (Osterman, 2000: 327; Baumeister and Leary, 1995:508). Successful immigrant incorporation policies should necessarily facilitate an immigrant's identification with, and sense of belonging to a host country. Examining the factors that have shaped the Zimbabwean Diaspora and their sense of belonging could therefore influence policy making with respect to two significant policy problems namely: the poor integration rates for immigrants from the

South; and the factors contributing to feelings of belonging, alienation and exclusion for immigrants. These issues are particularly salient for developed countries that are experiencing population decline. Immigration will have a political, economic and social impact on these countries, whilst the trans-national ties maintained by their Diasporic communities, may challenge the nation's identity and collective psyche.

3. Research Question

The central question asked is where do Zimbabweans in the Diaspora feel they belong? More specifically, do feelings of belonging differ according to location? In other words, do Zimbabweans in countries that have a culture of immigrant acceptance, tolerance and diversity such as America, experience belonging differently from Zimbabweans living in South Africa, where there has been an institutionalisation of xenophobia and a demonization of African immigration? In addition, is there a relationship between belonging and variables that are seen to have an influence on belonging, such as citizenship, gender and race?

These research questions are more readily answered because the study focuses on immigrants from one source country namely Zimbabwe. By eliminating much of the social and cultural variation associated with international migration, the study is able to highlight the way in which different attributes influence feelings of belonging to a host country (Lewin-Epstein et al, 2003:392).

3.1 Research Objectives

There are four inter-related objectives with respect to answering the central questions in this study. The first is to identify the forces influencing belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country. The second objective builds on the first, by exploring previous empirical studies that are relevant to an analysis of belonging for Diasporic communities. The third objective is to gather and critically evaluate empirical data on perceptions of belonging, amongst members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora. The information gathered in the first three phases will be used to formulate recommendations for further study, thereby reaching the fourth and final objective.

The first two objectives form the core of the literature review. Relevant literature from different sub-disciplines is synthesised, in order to provide an overview of the complex process of belonging to a nation-state. These objectives therefore focus on providing a coherent overview of the factors that influence belonging for immigrants. The third objective focuses on the empirical study and provides an opportunity to gain insight into the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants living in three different countries. A questionnaire was designed to capture data, and a sense of belonging instrument was developed to measure perceptions quantitatively. The third objective thus forms the crux of this study, as it focuses on gathering empirical evidence and analysing the findings with reference to the literature review. The next section provides a brief overview of the research methods that are used to gather this empirical data.

4. Research Methods and Conceptual Definitions

The driving force behind this study is to produce a scientific study of how Zimbabweans in the Diaspora are negotiating feelings of belonging. The research strategy chosen can be summarised according to the four dimensions of social research that is, the purpose, use, time, and research techniques. The purpose of the research is to conduct an exploratory, descriptive study of belonging, and to determine which variables have an influence on feelings of belonging to a host country. Such a study can be used to advance fundamental knowledge about belonging, contribute to basic theoretical knowledge about the concept of belonging to a host country, and to stimulate new ways about thinking about the problem of poor integration rates for immigrants from the South.

The research was designed as an empirical, quantitative survey of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, the U.K. and the U.S.A. A cross-sectional research design best meets the overall aims and objectives of such a cross-national study. The unit of analysis is the individual, as individual responses are analysed to provide a collective picture of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. Data was collected from these individuals by e-mailing a questionnaire to one hundred and twelve Zimbabwean students at Stellenbosch University, and asking them to forward the questionnaire to their friends and family living in South Africa, the U.K. and the U.S.A. A snowball sampling technique was therefore

used to gain access to a sample population that is difficult to locate. Results from the questionnaires were analysed using a statistical software package called SPSS.

Two concepts are central to this study, namely belonging and citizenship. These will be defined briefly for the purpose of this chapter. Detailed conceptual and operational definitions are provided in Chapter 4.

This study introduces a new conceptual definition of the sense of belonging to a host country². Belonging to a host country is conceptualised as the experience of personal involvement in a country, so that immigrants feel that they are an integral part of that country. This feeling of belonging consists of four dimensions: a psychological sense of belonging, antecedents to belonging, ties to Zimbabwe and social networks in the host country.

The psychological dimension is defined as a person's sense of being valued, needed and accepted by members of the dominant community, as well as the psychosomatic sense of fit in relationships. The latter refers to a perceived (in) compatibility between an immigrant's identity and cultural values, with the values and expectations of the dominant group. Antecedents to belonging are conceptualised as factors that must be present for an immigrant to feel that they belong, such as the opportunity to live with dignity and claim basic rights, irrespective of immigration status.

The third dimension, ties to Zimbabwe, is defined as the level of continuous attachments to the country of origin, and the number of meaningful relationships left behind. These ties may impede an immigrant's inclusion in and identification with the host country. The final dimension, social networks, is defined as the number of

² The conceptual definition of belonging used in this study is based on Hagerty et al's (1992:173) definition of belonging as the 'experience of personal involvement in a system or environment, so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment'. Hagerty et al, (1995:10) identify two dimensions of belonging namely a psychological sense of belonging and antecedents to belonging. The conceptual and operational definitions of both dimensions are modified to answer the central questions in this study. This study adds two dimensions to reflect the complex process of belonging to a host country, namely ties to Zimbabwe and social networks

voluntary memberships in a host country's society. Being connected to and accepted by other people who share common ideas, beliefs and visions, increases self-esteem, improves mental health, reduces feelings of isolation and fosters a sense of belonging to a community.

The conceptual definition of citizenship is based on the theoretical definitions provided in the literature review. Citizenship is defined as both a status that grants a set of rights to all who possess the status, and an obligation to participate in the political, economic and social spheres of society. Status refers to immigration status, which determines the rights that an immigrant is entitled to claim. Agency is defined broadly and includes participation in both the formal and informal realm of politics where women are more likely to be active, such as local community projects (Lister, 1997:33; Marshall, 1950:28; Castles and Davidson, 2000:26; Lister, 1997:13; Gouws, 2009:3; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:355). The final section of the introductory chapter provides a brief outline of each chapter in the thesis.

5. Thesis Outline

This chapter provided an overview of background information on belonging for minority immigrants from the South. The rationale and focus of the research are discussed, and the overall research question and objectives guiding this study are identified. The chapter also presents a brief outline of the research design, and the conceptual definitions of belonging that are central to this study.

The main focus of the second chapter is on identifying the underlying factors that influence an immigrant's ability to negotiate feelings of belonging to a host country. Chapter 2 thus conducts an extensive literature review of the current scholarship on citizenship and belonging. Previous empirical studies are also explored in order to present a synopsis of results that are relevant to this study. The main finding is that the emotions attached to state membership are complex and dependent on a variety of factors such as place of birth, age, gender and length of residence in the home and host countries.

Chapter 3 focuses on the research methods that will be used to gather empirical data. It discusses the research strategy and data collection techniques, and analyses the potential problems and limitations of the chosen strategy. Reliability, validity and ethical considerations are also examined in this chapter. The main finding here is that this research will have higher reliability and lower validity. An effort will however be made to balance the two, by focusing on achieving high construct validity.

The quantitative sense of belonging instrument is presented in chapter 4, where detailed conceptual and operational definitions for each dimension of belonging and citizenship, are also introduced. In addition, Chapter 4 presents the data analysis results, and synthesizes the empirical findings with the findings from the literature review. The foremost outcome from this process is that there is empirical support for expanded and trans-national perspectives of citizenship and belonging.

The final chapter revisits the aims and objectives of the thesis, in order to ensure that they have been met. The findings from the previous chapter are summarised according to each research objective. Conclusions are reached and recommendations made based on these findings. The thesis concludes with a summary of the main contribution of the research project, and a note on whether the main aims of the study were achieved.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

A review of the literature on citizenship and belonging is interdisciplinary and extends into the fields of identity formation, migration and Diasporas. The focus of this review is on identifying the underlying factors within each field, that influence an immigrant's ability to negotiate citizenship and belonging in host countries. The review thus aims to provide a coherent synopsis of the concept of belonging to a host country. The literature is divided into three sections: citizenship theory, belonging and migration. The first section provides a summary of citizenship theory, exposes the ambiguities associated with the concept of citizenship, and concludes with an analysis of the way immigrants experience citizenship in host countries. The section on belonging examines the concept of belonging, analyses how immigrants experience belonging in host countries and ends with a brief overview of how Britain, the U.S.A and South Africa regulate citizenship and belonging for immigrant communities. The third and final section examines trends in international migration and Diasporic communities around the world, and concludes with a brief overview of the Zimbabwean emigration experience.

1. Citizenship Theory

Citizenship describes the complex relationship between an individual, the state and society. Arriving at a comprehensive, universal definition of citizenship is therefore complicated by the myriad different forms of states, societies and cultures. As a result, citizenship is a highly contested concept that means different things to different people. Classic definitions of citizenship have thus prevailed by default, and two main conceptions of citizenship have continued to dominate the academic literature namely: the Orthodox or Liberal school of thought that views citizenship as a right, and the Republican or New Right School that views citizenship as an obligation.

According to the Orthodox definition, citizenship is a status that is automatically granted to full members of a political community. Members who possess this status are all entitled to a set of rights, which ensure that they are able to participate in society as full and equal members. Although an emphasis is placed on achieving and protecting citizenship rights, the Orthodox School also believes that citizenship carries inherent

responsibilities and duties, such as obeying the law and voting (Lister, 1997:33; Marshall, 1950:28).

The Republican or New Right School however, argues that citizenship is an obligation. All citizens must participate in public life in order to empower themselves against the environment in which they are born. The essence of citizenship is seen to be the active participation of citizens in the political, economic and social spheres of society. Full and equal membership in a polity is thus expressed in terms of agency rather than the passive acceptance of rights (Castles and Davidson, 2000:26; Lister, 1997:13; Gouws, 2009:3; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:355). The main debate between the Orthodox and New Right School is centred on the optimal balance between rights and obligations, and the nature of each.

The classic definitions of citizenship outlined above are heavily influenced by Marshall (1950:28; 1965:78), who focuses on three types of citizenship rights: civil, political and social rights. Castles and Davidson (2000:107) define civil rights as those that guarantee freedom from certain types of transgression by the state, as outlined in state Constitutions, Bills of Rights and laws. These include: freedom and inviolability of the person, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, prohibition of discrimination on any grounds and equality before the law. Advanced democratic countries such as Britain and the U.S.A theoretically protect the civil rights of all residents within their borders, regardless of immigration status.

Political rights refer to the rights required to participate actively in democratic government processes without fear of persecution or marginalisation. These include: the right to vote and stand for political office, freedom of assembly and association and freedom of information. Formal possession of political rights is usually restricted to citizens (Castles and Davidson, 2000:108).

Social rights allow members to maintain a minimum standard of living whether they are able to make an economic contribution or not. The difficulty of determining the appropriate minimum standard was acknowledged by Marshall (1965:78) who states that there is no universalistic method of determining what these should be. Social rights

are thus continually contested, particularly in capitalistic societies where income inequality is seen to be an acceptable trade off for economic efficiency. Social rights include the right to work, to have an education, to have access to health care as well as to have equal opportunities in society (Castles and Davidson, 2000:110).

Proponents of the orthodoxy such as Doyal and Gough (1991:54) and Macedo (1990:39) emphasise that social rights are particularly important, because conferring these rights to disadvantaged communities encourages poor people to exercise their civil and political rights. Withholding or violating any of these rights marginalises individuals, and prevents them from participating in society as full and equal members (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:354; Lister, 1997:30). Post-war rebuilding efforts were heavily influenced by this Orthodox definition of citizenship resulting in liberal, democratic welfare (Nanny) states, where all members of society were entitled to civil, political and social rights by virtue of their birth.

The move towards increased welfare benefits was heavily criticised by the New Right, which argues that the very act of depending on a state for one's livelihood is as much of an obstacle to citizenship as the withholding of rights. Studies indicating that welfare programs had not led to more active citizenship were cited, Nanny States were reformed, welfare benefits were reduced and citizenship was re-conceptualised to emphasise obligations (Barry 1990:43-53). For example, the poor were encouraged to exercise their obligation to support themselves through work to welfare programmes, thereby facilitating their integration and acceptance into society as full and equal members (Dietz, 1987; Leisink and Coenen, 1993; Young, 1989).

The concurrent implementation of neo-liberal economic policies led to increases in poverty, creating an underclass of disenfranchised citizens. New Right reforms were therefore seen to exacerbate marginalisation rather than facilitate the transition to full and equal membership, amongst poor households. Orthodox and New Right reforms were thus both criticised for failing to live up to their respective definitions of citizenship. In other words creating welfare states did not lead to more active citizenship, and

emphasising the obligation to work did not lead to full membership amongst poorer (mostly minority) households.

Critics point to two main flaws in an effort to explain the failures of these theories of citizenship. Firstly traditional theories focus on the British experience and membership of a British common culture. They are therefore not applicable to developing countries that face different challenges, particularly with regards to providing social rights. For instance, capitalism, globalisation and structural adjustment programs act as constraints on income redistribution in the developing world (Turner, 1992:36; Castles and Davidson, 2000:105).

Secondly, the concept of citizenship was initially created by white men, evolving organically without the participation of other groups such as women, people of colour and religious minorities. Previously excluded groups who have since gained civil, political and social rights, still find themselves excluded from full membership, due to their 'difference'. Citizenship is thus accused of containing inherent structural barriers and constraints that make it difficult for 'different' groups to participate fully (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:370; Young, 1989:258).

There has been an effort to rethink and expand the concept of citizenship to account for these two deficiencies in traditional theories of citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:357). Although there is a growing body of work, two main types of theories will be examined namely, Feminists and Cultural Pluralists. These theories are the most relevant for studying the (gendered) citizenship experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants.

Feminist theories advocate balancing rights that should be provided by the state with responsibilities that have to be borne by the individual (Mouffe 1992:4; Nelson 1984). Lister (1997:147) also argues for a broader definition of political participation to include the realm of informal politics where women are more likely to be active, such as local community projects and parent teacher associations. Recognising the agency of women thus means moving beyond the masculine sphere of formal politics, to include the more feminine sphere of informal political participation. Woman's agency as citizens is

however shaped by impediments that are found in the private sphere, where subordination and violence create unequal relationships with men. Equalising relationships between men and women in the domestic sphere is therefore only possible once the public private divide is reconfigured (Gouws, 2009:3; Young, 1989:250; Lister, 1997:196).

Feminists such as Gilligan (1982: 19), King (1987:47) and Okin, (1989:128), focus on eliminating structural barriers that prevent women from becoming full and equal citizens. In spite of universal suffrage they argue that women still work in worse jobs, are paid lower wages and are still seen to be the primary caregivers. They argue that social rights should be expanded by including reproductive rights and rearranging work and career expectations to allow men and women to exercise public and private responsibilities equally (Okin, 1989:175). Doing so would help alleviate structural constraints to women's full membership, such as the unequal distribution of domestic responsibilities and dependency within the family.

Classical theories of citizenship have also been accused of ignoring the oppression and exclusion experienced by immigrants and minorities. Although liberal theory separates the universalism of the political sphere from the multiculturalism of the private sphere, the reality is that minorities and immigrants have historically been forced to assimilate with the majority culture in order to obtain full citizenship rights. A distinction has been made between the formal possession of citizenship rights and substantive citizenship, where the latter refers to actual rights that can be claimed (Castles and Davidson, 2000:123; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:370).

The concept of differentiated citizenship is an effort to integrate groups that are excluded from the common culture of citizenship by virtue of their difference from the majority culture. Cultural pluralists such as Young (1989) argue that the only way to include marginalised groups is to provide institutional guidelines to grant oppressed groups special representations that is, to move away from the concept of universalism in the public sphere. In today's multi-cultural societies the concept of cultural rights is gaining traction as a fourth citizenship right. Cultural rights include full access to the

majority language and culture, the right to maintain minority languages and cultures, and the right to different customs and lifestyles within the law (Castles and Davidson, 2000:123; Young, 1989: 257).

Criticisms of traditional notions of citizenship focus on the main contradiction inherent in the concept namely, the inclusion and exclusion of certain groups. The next section analyses the ambiguities of citizenship in more detail.

1.1. Contested Nature of Citizenship

The overview of citizenship theory in section 1 touches on two of the three main ambiguities in the concept namely, the relationship between rights and obligations and the fact that citizenship implies both inclusion and exclusion. The third contradiction concerns the relationship between citizenship and nationality. This section analyses these ambiguities in greater detail in order to highlight the challenges facing immigrants who are trying to negotiate citizenship rights in host countries.

The problematic relationship between rights and obligations arises from the fact that the two concepts have theoretical foundations in different political traditions namely liberalism and civic republicanism. Marshall's model stresses the interdependence of the three rights; a certain standard of social rights are needed to achieve full civil and political rights. Interdependence however, means that social rights could also lead to political rights (Castles and Davidson, 2000:105; Lister, 2001:3). There is therefore an implied ideological divide between citizenship as a status and as a practice that makes it difficult to determine a society's appropriate minimum standards along bi-partisan lines.

The second ambiguity of citizenship results from the fact that citizenship implies both inclusion and exclusion inside the borders of a state. This is because modern states restrict membership to nationals who are either are born in, or acquire citizenship of that state. Citizenship thus combines elements of both universalism and particularism, as full inclusion is attributed to all individuals equally, but only if they belong to a particular nation state. In other words, the citizenship of certain types of people implies the non-citizenship of others (Lister, 2001:1; Castles and Davidson, 2000:11).

The problem of formal exclusion from citizenship applies above all to immigrants who are often allowed to participate in the economic and social spheres but are denied full political participation. Furthermore, their ability to access full social rights is often limited by their immigration status. For instance, although illegal immigrants may be able to work without the correct documentation, they are often unable to attend institutions of higher learning or finish schooling without study permits. In addition, there is the de facto exclusion of minority groups who may face barriers to achieving full and equal citizenship due to limited numbers, and socio- economic or cultural exclusion (Castles and Davidson, 2000:11).

The third problem with the concept of citizenship arises from the relationship between citizenship and nationality that is, the relationship between a citizen as an individual and a citizen as a member of a nation. In liberal theory all citizens are free and equal people who can be separated from any cultural characteristics such as membership of a minority, ethnic or religious group. In the public or political sphere of universalism, all citizens are seen to be homogenous with equal rights, obligations and opportunities. In reality, the fact that the political sphere is controlled by a state with a national community means that a citizen is also a member of a community with common cultural values. The contradiction is that the universalism of citizenship exists within the context of cultural specificity, inherent in nation-states (Castles, 2000:12).

There are two main challenges for immigrants with respect to the relationship between citizenship and nationality. Firstly, formal access to the host country is often granted subject to conditions that show that they belong or can assimilate into the host country. Immigrants are generally expected to conform to the dominant culture, language and tradition, or 'naturalise' over a period of five to twelve years. This process implies that foreigners must become 'natural' or normal to the host country, thereby contradicting the idea of citizenship as a culturally neutral concept. Secondly, obtaining formal access to citizenship rights does not imply that immigrants acquire a new 'nationality.' This is due to the fact that nationality is often defined as a common history, unified culture and shared historical consciousness (Castles and Davidson, 2000:15; Safran,

1997:328). Immigrants who often do not share this common history may suffer from a lack of authenticity in host states, in spite of possessing formal citizenship rights.

1.2. Citizenship of Immigrants

Traditional citizenship theory focuses on the inclusion and exclusion of individuals within the nation-state. Marshall was essentially concerned about the integration of working classes, who were excluded from British common culture (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:369). However, in today's globalised world, debates about citizenship and national identity have focused on the increasingly multi-layered systems of citizenship. Different groups enjoy different degrees of citizenship so that membership in a particular political community can be expressed as a hierarchy or continuum, ranging from citizens to illegal immigrants. Different categories have been created in order to express the different relationships between non-citizens and the state: Denizens or quasi-citizens are legally resident foreigners who have long term or permanent residency; marginals are foreigners who do not have secure status in the host country such as temporary workers and illegal immigrants (Lister, 1997:43; Nagel and Staeheli, 2004:4; Castles and Davidson, 2000:96).

Denizens and marginals often find themselves in citizenship limbo, as they are often excluded from acquiring full citizenship rights by virtue of their foreign birth. Their needs and priorities often rank below those of natural-born citizens, resulting in feelings of alienation and marginalisation (Carens, 2000:52-87). In addition, immigration, adaptation and the process of acquiring citizenship rights in a new country leads to physical and psychological alienation from the home country (Tastsoglou, 2006:255). Immigrants therefore experience a form of marginalisation that extends beyond discrimination and relative political and socio-economic deprivation. According to Park (1950:51) marginalisation is seen as the condition of a person who lives in two worlds but is not quite at home in either.

Some theorists, however, argue that immigrants develop multicultural citizenship when they enter host countries and create their own communities so as not to be assimilated into the culture of the host country. As Kymlicka (1996:10) points out there are many

ways in which minorities become incorporated into political communities such as through conquest and colonization as well as voluntary immigration of families and individuals. When immigrants form national minorities they may demand some form of autonomy, others who may enter as individuals may want to be assimilated. The big issue for multi-cultural societies is how to accept the cultural pluralism and how to protect the rights of minorities.

Kymlicka (1996: 14) points out that the “meltingpot” idea used in the United States of assimilating migrants is not the most acceptable model anymore but rather policies that allow and may even encourage immigrants to maintain certain aspects of their common heritage, such as customs regarding food, dress, religion and to associate with each other and maintain these practices. When this model is used immigrants may distinguish themselves through family lives and voluntary associations but they may still participate in public institutions of the dominant culture and learn the dominant language, such as English in the USA, Canada or the UK. So they live their particularity within the dominant culture. Kymlicka’s main argument is that immigrants should be protected through minority rights within the boundaries of multi-cultural societies.

A state is multi-cultural if its members either belong to different nations or have emigrated from different nations and this fact forms an important aspect of personal identity and political life (Kymlicka, 1996: 19).

Kastoryano (2007: 163) argues that transnational communities seek self-affirmation across national borders around constructed identities of immigration, dispersion and minority. She argues that a form of nationalism is developed out of mobilization of these migrant identities across borders. Transnational nationalism is a unified nationalist sentiment that is bigger than that of the host as well as the country of origin. As she puts it (2007: 166)

The unity of the transnational community is sustained by the desire to belong to a “people” through a process of nominal appropriation of its actions and discourses, a sense of participation in its “destiny”. This desire gives birth to new subjectivities that accompany the imagined geography of the “transnational” nation. Its territorial frontiers

are not disputed. ... borders follow a web of networks- formal and /or informal – that transcend the boundaries of state and national territories...

Drawing on the theories of multi-culturalism as explained above it becomes clear that people have fluid, multiple and overlapping identities which may not necessarily prevent them from holding consistent views or pursuing self-defined interests as argued by Mostov (2007: 138). Yet, how they live these multiple identities may largely depend on the manner of their integration into host countries - whether they are assimilated in situations where there is pressure to give up their culture identities or whether they experience integration into cultural communities that have a greater a freedom to maintain the links with their culture of origin. The new identity formation maybe painful, leading to a loss of a sense of belonging or may indeed foster a multi-cultural sense of belonging where immigrants may develop belonging to both the host country as well as the country of origin.

The focus in literature on multi-culturalism is on minority rights as instruments of immigrant protection rather than on the emotional aspect of a sense of belonging that may not disappear as immigrants develop transnational identities but may become more compounded, as they have feelings of belonging in more than one country. Identity formation cannot be separated from a sense of belonging (even if it may be in an imagined community as Katoryano (2007:166) argues about a diasporic consciousness).

Furthermore, the literature review of citizenship shows that there is a difference between the formal possession of citizenship and being a national of a country. Although references have been made to the concept of belonging in mainstream political theory, it remains largely under-conceptualised. The next section examines literature from the fields of psychology, sociology and political science in order to shed more light on the dimensions of belonging to a political community.

2. Belonging

Maslow's (1968) hierarchy of needs ranks 'love and belongingness needs' after basic needs such as food, hunger and safety, but before higher order needs such as esteem

and self-actualisation. The need for belonging has also been identified as a basic human motivation that is found in all human cultures, with 'cultural and individual variations in how people express and satisfy the need' (Baumeister and Leary, 1995:511).

Systematic studies of belonging show that being accepted, included and welcomed leads to positive emotions such as happiness, elation, contentment and calm; whilst being rejected, excluded or ignored leads to intense negative psychopathology such as anxiety, depression, grief and loneliness (Osterman, 2000: 327; Baumeister and Leary, 1995:508). The weight of evidence indicates that a lack of belonging is associated with a wide range of psychological and behavioural problems ranging from traffic accidents to criminality and suicide. A higher sense of belonging is therefore seen to promote better psychological and social functioning (Baumeister and Leary, 1995: 497-527; Hagerty et al, 1996).

Belonging is defined by Hagerty et al, (1992:173) as 'the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment.' Belonging is a key mental health concept that is unique from related concepts that influence mental health such as social support and loneliness. Marshall (1965:102) alludes to belonging when he argues that citizenship is more than just a status awarding rights and responsibilities, but also a shared identity that is an expression of membership in the community.

Communities exist when members belong to, relate to and identify with the community. Community members often have shared emotional connections with the group and feel that the group is important to them, and that they are important to the group (Osterman, 2000:324). The sense of security provided by community membership often leads members to impose restrictions on who belongs or does not belong to the group. This means that belonging has both a formal or instrumental attachment, as well as an informal or emotional component. Belonging thus consists of both status and identity (Baumeister and Leary, 1995:511; Migdal, 2004:16).

Status is who group members are to others and where they stand within the group, whilst identity refers to who they believe themselves to be and who other members of the group believe they are. With respect to political communities, the status refers to the individual as a citizen whilst the identity refers to a sense of belonging to the nation. States that try to strengthen a citizen's loyalty to the state try to merge status (citizen) and identity (national), thereby creating a perception that state and society are indistinguishable from each other.

Debates about citizenship can also be expressed as debates about nationhood or what it means to belong to the nation-state (Migdal, 2004:15). Immigrants face a significant gulf between acquiring the legal status of citizen and self-identifying as a national of the host country. This is because nationals belong to their countries or feel that they are at home, amongst their own people, who welcome and accept them as important members of the community.

Marshall's dual nature of citizenship as both a status and identity is reflected in two different models of national citizenship namely the procedural and the communitarian model. The former describes an instrumental attachment to the host country, where there is an exchange of state services for citizenship duties. The latter model assumes that there is an emotional commitment between citizen and state, where members are motivated to be good citizens by their attachment and loyalty to the state. There is an assumption that immigrants experience procedural or instrumental orientations with respect to acquired or secondary citizenship, and communitarian or emotional orientations with respect to their countries of origin (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009:25; Gustafson, 2005:16).

Although academic studies have traditionally focused on instrumental citizenship, there is a growing body of work that incorporates emotional citizenship into studies of citizenship and trans-national belonging. For example, Magat's study of citizenship and belonging for Jewish and Japanese immigrants in Canada (Magat, 1999); Gustafson's study of the identity and belonging of Swedish immigrants (Gustafson, 2005); and

Stasiulis and Amery's study of the emotional cartography of citizenship among Lebanese-Australians and Lebanese-Canadians (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009).

These studies show that emotional citizenship is more intense with respect to countries of origin, whilst citizenship in the host country is viewed largely in practical or instrumental terms, for example with respect to economic opportunities, security and standard of living. Magat's (1999) study shows that different cultures (Jews and Japanese) attach different meanings to the concept of home. In spite of these cultural differences, Magat identifies an emotional set of a given national identity that is primordial, non-negotiable and immune to change across all cultures (Magat, 1999:137).

Gustafson's study of the identity and belonging of Swedish immigrants support Magat's findings. Immigrants in Sweden divided their identities into emotional and practical identities. Their emotional identities were inextricably linked to their countries of origin, which were seen to be where they belonged culturally. The host country on the other hand, was more likely to be associated with citizenship rights such as economic and political participation. Belonging in the home country was therefore seen to be 'less emotional and more instrumental' (Gustafson, 2005:16).

Although Stasiulis and Amery (2009:25) find evidence to support the divide between instrumental and emotional citizenship amongst immigrants, their exclusive focus on Lebanese citizens with dual citizenship reveals a more complex pattern of attachments. 'The emotions attached to state memberships varied considerably and were dependent on factors such as place of birth, length of residence in the two countries, age, gender, familial status and the experience of past Lebanese wars' (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009:9).

The ability of immigrants to negotiate citizenship and belonging is tied to the process of identity formation. The vast amount of literature on identity theory will not be explored here due to lack of space (see Gertz, 1963; Anderson, 1983; Borjas, 1990 Wallman, 1986; Tehranian, 1992 and Tehranian, 2004). The next section will instead focus on the nexus between identity formation and belonging with reference to immigrants.

2.1. Identity and Belonging for Immigrants

An identity is formed through the process of self-categorization or identification that is, the process whereby an individual names or classifies himself, in relation to other social categories or classifications. Hall (1995) emphasises the importance of discursive histories and historical identities that are defined, reinforced and transformed in the public sphere through laws, popular culture and ideologies. Discursive histories are seen to influence identification by requiring individuals to purposefully adopt pre-defined identities as a means to achieve an end, namely full citizenship rights.

On the other hand, scholars such as Ewing (2004:122) emphasise the influence of personal histories on the process of identity formation. An individual's experiences and self-representations are seen to be important determinants of whether labels and identities in the public sphere are fully inhabited. A label is thus seen to become an identity when an individual looks back self-reflexively and attaches the label to himself.

Identity theory places an emphasis on this act of self-reflexivity and self-categorization; or on the process whereby the role assigned to an individual by the dominant group and the meanings and expectations that are associated with that role, are incorporated by the individual. Failure to conform or respond appropriately on the immigrant's part may lead to exclusion.

The distinction between assigned and adopted roles is particularly important when studying immigrants, due to the fact that identities and roles in the home and host countries often diverge. For example, an immigrant who experiences exclusion and discrimination in the host countries may improve their status and influence in their local communities at home by sending remittances. The status in the home and host countries may thus clash, which may impede the immigrant's sense of identity and belonging in the host country (Ewing, 2004: 120; Berking, 2004: 111; Stets and Burke, 2000:225). Immigrant identities are therefore complex and may be characterised by multiplicity, inconsistency and changeability.

Additionally, there is an assumption by the dominant community that immigrants must transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from their country of origin to their new

home country. Although this nationalist view of immigration is more likely to be associated with assimilationist policies, it can also be seen in multicultural policies of immigrant incorporation, where immigrants and their children are expected to develop 'a primary sense belonging to one society and a loyalty to just one nation-state' (Gustafson, 2005:7; Castles, 2000: 114-5). In reality, citizens who are members of more than one state have created a separate multi-nationalised citizenship class that is located between exclusive and denationalised citizenship (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009:2).

This suggests that immigrants may experience belonging differently from dominant groups, where the majority of individuals have never experienced membership of more than one country. Traditional theories of citizenship have been superseded by trans-national perspectives of migration that account for these differences. According to these perspectives, there are three possible outcomes of identity negotiation: firstly an immigrant may regard national belonging to be unique and pledge their allegiance to either the home or the host country; secondly they may feel that they belong in more than one country but experience belonging in each country differently; and thirdly an immigrant may feel that they belong in both countries fully and equally (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994: 9; Gustafson, 2005:16). Nagel and Staehehli (2004:7) add a fourth category of disjunctive citizenship where migrants who feel that they will never be accepted into their host communities, develop a long distance nationalism or heightened sense of attachment to their countries of origin, as a way of differentiating themselves from the dominant population. Formal and substantive citizenship is therefore separate from identification with the host country.

Immigrants who are women and those who are members of minority groups may also experience identification and belonging differently from other immigrants. Gender plays an important role in the experience of identity and belonging because of women's roles as caregivers for families in both the host and source country. Tastsoglou (1996:206) argues that these gender based roles increase the likelihood that women will experience stronger ties locally, nationally and trans-nationally through their interaction with local communities, school boards and social service providers, as well as through their continued interaction with their families overseas. On the other hand, their

increased chance of being underemployed means that they are more likely to be professionally and economically marginalised, which may lead to feelings of alienation and marginalisation.

Visible minorities in particular, experience economic marginalisation in developed countries around the world. Unlike white ethnic communities such as Irish and Swedish immigrants to the U.S.A, visible minorities have not been fully integrated into the mainstream, and often live in urban ethnic ghettos. They have therefore failed to make the transition from immigrant, to member of an ethnic community and then to national (Berking, 2004:107).

Being an immigrant from the South who is also a member of a visible minority or ethnic group, is often perceived as a negative identity by the dominant group. Such an immigrant may experience xenophobia or exclusion, due to the discursive histories in the public sphere. Negotiating identity, belonging, difference and the right to full citizenship may therefore be a life-long process for racialised minority groups (Ewing, 2004: 119; Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994:8).

Host country perceptions of immigration may have an influence on the ability to negotiate citizenship, identity and belonging. These will be briefly analysed in the next section in order to contextualise the public perceptions that have to be crossed by immigrants, in an effort to belong in host countries

2.2. Host Country Perceptions

It is important to note that the concept of belonging implies that immigrants must be accepted, included and welcomed as valuable members of society by the host country. Host country perceptions of immigration may thus influence how an immigrant experiences belonging in the host country. This study focuses on the perceptions of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, the United Kingdom (U.K.) and the United States of America (U.S.A). The sections below provide brief overviews of how these countries view citizenship and belonging for non-citizens, in order to develop a general picture of discursive immigration histories in each public sphere.

2.2.1. Britain

Belonging in the United Kingdom is articulated in terms of lineage and descent; only descendants of people born in the U.K. are seen to truly belong in Britain. As a result, anyone born in the U.K. (after 1983) is not automatically granted citizenship, unless they have at least one parent who was born in, or permanently settled in the U.K. The differentiation between citizens who belong and those who do not belong was institutionalised in the 1960s, in an effort to stem the tide of colonial immigrants from the new commonwealth (developing countries).

Although colonial immigrants were Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies (C.U.K.C) and held the same citizenship rights as indigenous Britons, they were viewed as citizens who do not belong to Britain. This distinction based on belonging allowed the British government to implement a racialised immigration policy that effectively excluded all groups who were not 'indigenous' to the U.K. The weight of evidence suggests that the policy was designed to restrict the entry of minorities from developing countries, without jeopardising ties with old commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Hampshire, 2005:16; Safran, 1997:323-325).

This nationalistic understanding of belonging still prevails, in spite of the government's attempts to renegotiate the idea of belonging to incorporate European Union citizens, and reflect the multiculturalism of British society. The government published several White Papers to this end, such as the 1998 White Paper 'Fairer, Firmer, Faster' and the 2002 White Paper 'Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain'. These papers attempt to define Britain's common community in terms of multiculturalism and civic values rather than Marshallian notions of cultural uniformity and assimilation (Hampshire, 2005: 183). The government may however face significant hurdles as almost half of polled respondents indicated that national identity is the most important part of belonging to Britain (Marsh et al, 2007:19).

2.2.2. The United States

The dominant rhetoric describes the United States as a 'melting pot' nation of immigrants, which has successfully integrated large numbers of diverse ethnic

communities. To be American is defined in terms of a commitment to democracy, equality, and other values that are emphasised in the Constitution. American national identity is thus formulated around shared principles and a belief in the superiority of the American community. Equal citizenship and tolerance of differences are seen to be the keys to America's successful model of integration (Safran, 2003:320; Castles and Davidson, 2000:160; Karst, 1989:181).

In truth, American citizenship has been partially defined through exclusion (national origin quotas) and subordination of 'different' groups. People who truly belong to America are second and third generation Americans who have been assimilated into the dominant culture. For instance, although Russian, Polish, Irish and Italian immigrants were discriminated against, their children were encouraged to assimilate in order to achieve the American dream of upward mobility. Members of visible minority groups however, continue to be 'hyphenated' according to their ethnic background such as Chinese-Americans and Arab-Americans. In contrast, American born children of white immigrants such as Germans are simply Americans (Castles and Davidson, 2000:160; Castles and Davidson, 2000:164; Safran, 2003:320).

So, although America has been re-conceptualised as a multi-cultural society, there is still a disjunction between nationality and citizenship where minority groups do not fully belong to the community. The rhetoric suggests that although hyphenated Americans may identify with the political and civic values that make Americans American, they are believed to have emotional identifications that may not be truly American (Castles and Davidson, 2000:160; Castles and Davidson, 2000:164; Safran, 2003:320).

Moreover, in spite of the ideal of equal citizenship, the American government has failed to eliminate racial and socio-economic inequalities within society. There is therefore a significant difference between full citizenship and de facto or substantive citizenship, for minorities and immigrants.

2.2.3. South Africa

The post-apartheid government has adopted a highly Marshallian concept of citizenship, in an effort to redress the imbalances of the past. The Constitution thus emphasises

equal access to civil, political and a wide range of social rights such as education and socio-economic opportunities. The language of citizenship in South Africa is heavily influenced by rights, partly because it is the first time that the majority of the population has been able to claim citizenship and make demands on the state (Enslin, 2003:73-76; Amisi and Ballard, 2005:1).

African immigrants in particular are seen to threaten the citizenship rights of South Africans. This attitude is largely the result of a collective definition of African immigrants that is inherited from the apartheid era. African immigrants are seen to be destitute, undocumented and undesirable people, who spread diseases, engage in criminal activities, take away South African jobs and use up scarce resources. The majority of South Africans are therefore hostile to immigrants. An analysis of surveys conducted by the Southern African Migration Project shows a hardening of attitudes, with the proportion of people wanting strict limitations or a prohibition on immigration increasing from 65 percent in 1995 to 75 percent in 2006 (Crush, 2007:1; Amisi and Ballard, 2005:17).

Immigrants are therefore unwelcome and face significant hurdles with respect to belonging and integration. The practice of excluding other Africans indicates that belonging in South Africa may be formulated around a sense of shared history and entitlement. Even Black South Africans who did not grow up in South Africa during apartheid, are not considered 'real South Africans', because they do not share the common history of oppression. The case study of South Africa is used to compare the experience of Zimbabwean migrants in developing and developed countries.

There is a vast amount of literature on migration and Diasporas that will not be explored here. Section 3 rather provides a brief overview of migration and Diasporic communities in order to analyse the underlying forces behind the international and regional movement of people. The section concludes with a brief overview of the Zimbabwean emigration experience

3. Migration

International migration has become one of the structural features of most industrialised countries (Massey et al, 1993:431). Uneven development and the global inequality between countries has created a situation where even marginal membership in democratic, stable, developed countries can be preferable to full citizenship in poor conflict ridden states. The differences in standards of living together with better wages and career opportunities in wealthy countries, attracts both skilled and unskilled immigrants to move from the Global North to the Global South. Although globalisation and neo-liberal economic policies facilitate the free movement of highly skilled workers, unskilled labourers find it more difficult to cross borders and obtain citizenship in developed countries (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009:3; Gouws, 2009:2).

Unskilled labourers from Africa, Latin America and Asia were initially recruited to help in post-war rebuilding efforts in Europe. These countries soon found it difficult to control guest-worker programs and prevent undocumented migration, in the face of labour shortages brought about by subsequent economic booms. As a result even culturally 'homogenous' countries such as Ireland, Italy and Spain have been gradually transformed into multicultural societies, with growing numbers of non-European Union citizens who cannot be easily repatriated, due to regional and international human rights obligations (Massey et al, 1993:431).

The global movement of 'undesirable' people has created a backlash against migration in the North and led to the tightening of laws in order to restrict cross-border movements and facilitate deportations. Asylum seekers have also been demonised in an effort to discourage the movement of destitute people from the South, for example, through the use of draconian measures such as detention centres and restricting the rights of applicants (Hampshire, 2005:184).

South to South migration has increased in the face of tighter international borders. Most migrants in the South move regionally, between countries in order to flee political instability, repression and economic collapse. Refugees, undocumented migrants and migrant workers make up the bulk of Africa's intra-regional migrants. The majority of

these migrants are confined to refugee camps and urban slums, where they cannot make citizenship claims on the host state. In spite of these challenges, migration in Africa is largely used as a family survival strategy, with migrants sending remittances to support families back home. Although traditionally a male dominated activity, recent trends show that migration in Africa is becoming increasingly feminised, with independent female migration directed towards obtaining economic independence and supporting families back home (Gouws, 2009:2; Adepju, 2000:385).

Migrants in both developed and developing countries often find themselves marginalised and denied full citizenship rights. In the face of xenophobia, exclusion and hostility, immigrants often converge and may form self-sufficient ethnic or Diasporic communities.

3.1. Diasporas

The word Diaspora is commonly used to describe large groups of immigrants living outside their countries of origin. Conceptualising the Diaspora is complicated by the fact that a Diasporic community is seen to be an ideal type that consists of several defining features namely: dispersion from an original homeland; continuous attachment, identification with and support of the homeland; a common experience of exclusion and discrimination in different host countries; as well as a sense of community and collective identity that extends beyond territorial borders (Berking, 2004: 108).

It is important to note that Diasporas create and use trans-national networks to organise their citizenship across different nation states. These continued ties to the home country may be seen to impede an immigrant's inclusion and identification with the host country. Diasporic subjects are thus seen to occupy a trans-national space that is characterised by complex multiple identities as well as by legal, political, social and cultural hybridism (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994: 9; Berking, 2004: 104; Braziel, and Mannur, 2003:5).

3.2. Zimbabwean Diaspora

It is difficult to quantify and profile the Zimbabwean Diasporic communities or generalise their experiences. The estimates of the number of Zimbabweans living outside the country range from five hundred thousand to over three million people, or up to one

quarter of the population. South Africa is widely believed to host the largest number of Zimbabwean immigrants, whilst the U.K. (36.8%) and Botswana (34.5%) attract the largest number of skilled emigrants who enter the host country legally. The United States and Canada host 6.9% and 3.4% respectively (Bloch, 2005:10).

It is important to note that an estimated 70 to 90 percent of all Zimbabwean graduates work outside the country (Bloch, 2005:37). This has important implications for citizenship and return migration, because immigrants who are professionally integrated and participate as full citizens in the economic, political, civil and social spheres of their host countries, are more likely to have made long term financial and emotional commitments to these countries, and are therefore less likely to return home.

There have been three waves of emigration from Zimbabwe since the country gained independence in 1980. The first wave consisted of white Zimbabweans who left the country after Independence; the second wave consisted of ethnic Ndebele who left the country in the mid 1980s, after the state-ordered massacres of ethnic Ndebele during Operation Gukuruhundi; the final wave of emigration started during the economic and political crisis of the late 1990's (Zinyama, 2002). The economic crisis and availability of 'feminised' employment opportunities such as nursing and domestic work overseas quickly attracted women to migration, a traditionally male dominated activity (Bloch, 2005:12).

The fact that Zimbabweans are viewed to be economic, not political refugees has led to a series of legal battles and campaigns based on human rights rhetoric for example the U.K. was forced to suspend its policy of deporting failed Zimbabwean asylum seekers in July 2005, in the face of hunger strikes and law suits filed by Zimbabweans. For Zimbabweans in the Diaspora, "citizenship rights have not been bestowed or permanent, they have been actively claimed, contested and fought over, locally, internationally and nationally" (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou, 1996:7; Deffee, 2005).

4. Conclusion

A review of the literature shows that traditional theories of citizenship are inadequate for analysing citizenship and belonging for Zimbabweans living in South Africa, the U.K.

and the U.S.A. This is mostly because the narrow focus on individuals with full and equal membership in a political community ignores the multi-layered forms of citizenship found in today's globalised world. The fact that there have been three waves of Zimbabwean emigration since 1979 means that the emotions attached to state membership vary considerably, and may reveal a complex pattern of attachments. This study therefore incorporates expanded theories as well as trans-national perspectives of immigration, in order to better understand the perspectives of Zimbabweans with respect to citizenship and belonging. Empirical data was collected and compared to these theoretical models. The next chapter provides a detailed outline of the research strategies and techniques that were used to gather this empirical data.

Chapter 3 Research Methods

One of the central objectives of this study is to gather and critically evaluate empirical data on perceptions of belonging, for Zimbabweans living in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This chapter provides an outline of the research strategies and techniques that were used to gather this data. It therefore focuses on the four dimensions of social research namely, the purpose of the study, its intended use, how the study treats time and the research techniques used. Section 1 reiterates the problem statement, rationale and research questions; these were detailed in Chapter 1 and are simply restated here. The purpose, use and time are discussed in section 2 (Research Strategy), whilst Section 3 (Research Techniques) examines the sampling and survey methods chosen. The two sections also consider alternative approaches, in an effort to choose strategies and techniques that are best suited for achieving the aims and objectives of this study. The chapter concludes with section 4, which discusses the limitations, biases and potential problems inherent in the chosen research methods.

1. Problem Statement

Traditional, nationalistic views of citizenship and belonging expect immigrants to transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from their country of origin to the host country, in other words to 'develop a primary sense of belonging to one society and loyalty to one nation-state' (Gustafson, 2005:7; Castles, 2000:114-5). Immigrants however find that there is a significant gulf between acquiring the legal status of citizen and self-identifying as a national of the host country. This is because a national feels that they belong to the country linguistically, socially, culturally and politically. More specifically, they feel at home, amongst people who welcome and accept them as important members of the community (Tenue, 1990:39).

Immigrants from the South in particular, have found it difficult to close the gap between citizen and national. Unlike white ethnic communities, they have failed to make the

transition from immigrant, to member of an ethnic community and then to national (Berking, 2004:107). They have instead formed Diasporic communities that maintain continuous ties, attachments and identification with their countries of origin. This tendency to occupy a trans-national space impedes inclusion in the host state, and may also explain why Diasporic communities have failed to develop a primary sense of belonging to one society, and loyalty to just one nation-state (Gustafson, 2005:7; Castles, 2000: 114-5). This study grapples with the problem of how Zimbabweans are negotiating these feelings of belonging, given their common history of exclusion and xenophobia in host countries and their strategic need to maintain ties with and support families back home.

1.1. Rationale

The review of the literature in chapter 2 reveals that there are three main gaps in the existing research, with respect to addressing this problem. Firstly, the concept of belonging remains under-conceptualised in political science, particularly for immigrants from the South who are also members of racialised minority groups. Secondly, there has been no attempt to study who Zimbabweans in the Diaspora are, what they feel, how they see themselves with respect to the dominant community, and where they feel they belong. And thirdly, there has to my knowledge been no quantitative study of belonging to a country.

This quantitative study of Zimbabweans aims to make a substantive contribution to the existing literature by: developing a sense of belonging instrument that is relevant to Zimbabweans; examining the factors that influence feelings of belonging; and by identifying patterns that can be generalised to the experience of other immigrant groups. The main purpose of this study is thus to provide a useful starting point for further research into the concept of belonging in political science.

1.2. Research Question

The central question asked is where do Zimbabweans in the Diaspora feel they belong? More specifically, do feelings of belonging differ according to location? In other words, do Zimbabweans in more immigrant friendly countries such as America, experience

belonging differently from Zimbabweans living in more hostile countries such as South Africa? And, is there a relationship between belonging and variables that are seen to have an influence on belonging, such as citizenship, gender and race?

1.3. Research Objectives

There are four inter-related objectives. The first is to identify the forces influencing belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country. The second objective builds on the first by exploring previous empirical studies that are relevant to an analysis of belonging for Diasporic communities. The third objective is to gather and critically analyse empirical data on perceptions of belonging amongst members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora, in order to compare empirical findings to theoretical models. The information gathered in the first three phases will be used to formulate recommendations for further study, thereby reaching the fourth and final objective.

The first two objectives were addressed in the literature review chapter, where relevant literature from different sub-disciplines was synthesised to provide an overview of the complex process of belonging to a nation-state. The third objective is the main focus of this and the next chapter, whilst the fourth objective is addressed in chapter 5, where recommendations for further study are made.

The following sections discuss the framework used to gather empirical data. Section 2 reviews the purpose, use and time of the study, whilst the research techniques are considered in section 3.

2. Research Strategy

There are three main purposes of social research: explanatory, descriptive and exploratory. Explanatory research aims to explain why social phenomena or behaviour occurs, descriptive studies aim to describe observations in a scientific way, and exploratory studies aim to provide basic familiarity with a topic. Section 1 discloses that the overall aim of this empirical study is to advance an understanding of an under-conceptualised concept, by developing a quantitative measure that will explicate the

central constructs. This main purpose of this study is thus to conduct exploratory and descriptive research into the concept of belonging to a host country.

The quantitative belonging instrument is used to determine whether there is a relationship between belonging and variables that are seen to have an influence on belonging such as country of residence, citizenship, race and gender. There are two main strategies for finding out how variables are related to each other. The first is an experimental method, where the researcher 'manipulates one or more variables in order to study the effects on other variables'. The second is a non-experimental method, where the researcher 'uses naturally occurring variation in variables to study the relationship between them' (Punch, 2003:12; Bless and Higson, 1995:45).

The major aim of an experimental study is to determine whether a cause-effect relationship exists between the variables. For example, a causal study on belonging would attempt to explain differences in the sense of belonging, by looking at different causal variables such as citizenship. This would require the researcher to control and manipulate variables, in order to determine whether a change in citizenship is a necessary and sufficient condition to cause a change in feelings of belonging. Proving the existence of a cause-effect relationship between belonging and citizenship, necessitates demonstrating that individuals will never feel that they belong to a country unless they are granted full citizenship rights; and that individuals will always feel that they belong to a country, whenever they are granted full citizenship.

Belonging for an immigrant is however a complex phenomenon that is related to other mental health concepts such as depression, loneliness and social support, as well as external factors such as reasons for emigrating, and cultural meanings attached to home (Stasilius and Amery, 2009, Gustafson, 2005; Magat, 1999; Punch, 2003:13 and Hagerty et al, 1972:173). A non-experimental method or correlational study is better suited for studying such a complex concept quantitatively, at the exploratory phase. This is because correlational studies can determine whether relationships exist between variables, allow for an estimation of the strength of the relationship and show whether

the relationship is positive or negative, even when one variable is influenced by many others (Bless and Higson, 1995:47).

A correlational study can therefore be used as a basic research strategy to advance fundamental knowledge about belonging, contribute to basic theoretical knowledge about the concept of belonging to a host country, and to stimulate new ways about thinking about the problem of poor integration rates for immigrants from the South (Neuman, 2000:21). The information gathered in the study will be analysed in a quantitative way. The implications of using a quantitative paradigm to study belonging will be discussed in the following section.

2.1. Quantitative Paradigm

There are two main types of methodological approaches that are used to conduct social research, namely qualitative and quantitative studies. A qualitative study is a method of social inquiry that aims to study human behaviour in a natural setting, in order to build a complex, holistic picture of human or social problems. Qualitative approaches are linked to interpretivist meta-theories of social science (Cresswell, 1994; Babbie and Mouton, 1998:53; Black 1993:3). Quantitative research on the other-hand can be defined as a systematic, scientific method of investigating numerical relationships between properties, in an effort to reach unbiased conclusions. Quantitative studies are often equated with the positivist methodology of studying social phenomena (Bryman, 1984:77; Babbie and Mouton, 1998:53; Black, 1993:2).

Positivist methodologies are often deemed to be 'more scientific' due to their emphasis on the methods of natural science. It is however possible to apply rigorous scientific methods to both quantitative and qualitative studies (Bryman, 1984:77; Babbie and Mouton, 1998:72; Bless and Higson, 1995:100). The main difference between qualitative and quantitative paradigms can be summarised as a difference in the goals and aims of each approach. A qualitative study usually aims to describe and understand, whilst a quantitative study often aims to explain and predict human behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 1998:49-53; Black, 1993:2).

This study adopts a predominantly quantitative paradigm. This involves the use of quantitative methods and techniques as well as the use of deductive reasoning, a commitment to empirical verification and an emphasis on the distinction between theory and observation (Lloyd, 1993 cited in Smith, 1996:15).

There are three main reasons why a quantitative approach is better suited for fulfilling the aims and objectives of this study. Firstly, a quantitative study is a strategic response to the questions asked. For instance, one of the central questions is: does country of residence have an influence on feelings of belonging to the host country? Quantifying responses allows for greater flexibility in analysing data, by facilitating comparisons between different subsets within and across countries, and by determining whether statistically significant relationships exist between and across countries.

Secondly, the use of deductive reasoning in quantitative studies allows the researcher to make inferences about the population (Babbie and Mouton, 1998:25). A quantitative study for example, may show that there is a strong positive relationship between being a woman, and feelings of belonging. One can infer that Zimbabwean women living in the Diaspora will score higher on belonging measures than Zimbabwean men. A quantitative study is thus the preferred methodology for studies such as this one, where the goal is to make generalisations and identify patterns about the population.

Finally, a quantitative study enables the researcher to identify errors and biases more readily, by calculating statistical measures of reliability and validity. The identification of bias and errors is an important exercise when using primary data, particularly if the research is conducted in order to provide a useful starting point for future research.

It is important to note that there are some shortcomings with respect to using a quantitative approach in political science, where important concepts such as citizenship, obligation and legitimacy are more philosophical than empirical. The quantitative obsession with controlling for statistical and experimental errors has been criticised for being inappropriate for such studies. This is because the stringent adherence to controls may lead to results that have limited applicability to the real world. Furthermore, few hypotheses can be comprehensively proven given the complexity of

human behaviour and interaction. Quantitative studies therefore have a more limited scope, can be more time-consuming and more expensive than qualitative studies, particularly when hypotheses need to be refined and retested.

In spite of these shortcomings, a predominantly quantitative methodology is better able to fulfil the aims and objectives of this study. The research was thus designed as a correlational, quantitative, empirical study of the Zimbabwean Diaspora. Section 2.2 briefly analyses how the concept of time will be dealt with in this project.

2.2. Cross Sectional Study

The third dimension of social research is time that is, whether the researcher collects data at one particular point in time or over a long time period. Research conducted more than once, over long time periods is designed as a longitudinal study, whilst data collected at one point in time is designed as a cross-sectional study (Bless and Higson, 1995:66; Babbie, 1998:56-57). This study asks questions about current perceptions of belonging. It is therefore designed as a cross-sectional study.

There are two main reasons why a cross-sectional research design is better suited for collecting this information. Firstly, one of the central questions is to investigate whether there is a relationship between belonging and independent variables that are seen to have an influence on belonging, such as citizenship, country of residence, race and gender. Cross-sectional research is particularly suited for such studies, because it allows for the collection of a large number of variables, from many different respondents, over shorter time periods (Bless and Higson, 1995:66; Babbie and Mouton, 1998:92).

Secondly, cross-sectional studies are more cost-efficient relative to the number of variables captured, because of the immediate nature of the results. A cross-sectional design is therefore the more suitable research method, given the time, space and financial constraints within which this study must occur.

The unit of analysis is a fundamental component of the research design, and refers to the person from whom data will be collected, or the object of the study (Bless and

Higson, 1995:64; Babbie, 1998:53). This research aims to find out information about the collective experience of individuals who are members of a particular social group namely, Zimbabweans living in the Diaspora. The unit of analysis is therefore the individual.

Three qualifiers will be added for this research: firstly, only individuals who are eighteen years or older are eligible to participate. This is because the study focuses on individuals who have the legal capacity to participate as full and equal members of society. Secondly, respondents must consider themselves to be living in South Africa, the U.K. or the U.S.A; and finally, they must have completed at least five years of schooling in Zimbabwe. The addition of an educational qualifier is essential to this research, because an important part of being Zimbabwean is pride in an education system that was once rated as the best in Africa.

The fact that information was collected from a cross-section of individuals living in three different countries means that this study is also designed as a cross-national study. The challenges and implications of conducting an international study will be briefly explored below.

2.3. Cross-national study

Cross-national research studies social phenomena in different countries, in order to find patterns and relationships across countries (Oyen, 1990:3). There are four kinds of cross national research. Firstly, countries can be the object of study when the researcher's interest lies primarily in the countries being studied. Secondly, countries can be the context of study, where the primary interest is comparing the phenomena and the applicability of results across several countries. Countries can also be the macro-level unit of analysis, when the characteristics of countries are of primary concern. Finally, countries can be treated as components of a larger international system in trans-national studies (Oyen, 1990:6).

This study collects information from Zimbabweans in South Africa, the U.K and the U.S.A, in order to determine whether there are differences in how these individuals experience belonging in these countries. The three countries were chosen for four main

reasons: they have relatively vibrant Zimbabwean communities³; they have different methods of immigrant incorporation; the researcher has familiarity with all three countries and can draw on personal experience if necessary; and the interconnectedness of Zimbabweans in those countries allows the researcher to access the population, through the use of a snowball sampling technique. Cross-national research conducted under these circumstances can be a particularly useful method for 'the further development of theories' of belonging, as well as for 'establishing the generality of findings and validity of interpretations derived from studies of single nations' (Kohn, 1989:77 cited in Oyen, 1990:3). The main disadvantage of conducting cross-national research in this study is that a certain depth of analysis may be lost in order to facilitate comparisons of perceptions in different countries.

Section 2 above discussed the first three dimensions of social research, namely the purpose of the study, its intended use and how the study treats time. Section 3 explores the final dimension of social research, the research techniques used.

3. Research Techniques

There are no secondary databases that can be used to achieve the objectives of this empirical study. Primary data was therefore being collected, in order to analyse the perceptions of Zimbabweans in different countries. This section discusses the logistics of the research design namely, the research techniques that were used for identifying the sample, collecting data and interpreting the results. Sampling techniques are discussed in Section 3.1, questionnaires in Section 3.2 and data analysis in Section 3.3.

3.1. Sampling

Sampling is the process of selecting observations so that certainty is abandoned in favour of probability (Bless and Higson, 1995:86; Babbie, 1998:164). There are two main types of sampling methods namely probability and non-probability sampling. The main difference between the two is that a probability sampling technique is designed to ensure that the sample is representative of the entire population. All members of the

³ Houston, Texas in the U.S.A, London and Luton in the U.K. and Johannesburg in South Africa, have large, relatively vibrant Zimbabwean communities that organise regular activities and events.

population have an equal chance of being selected, in a probability sampling technique (Babbie and Mouton, 1998:166; Bless and Higson, 1995:89).

A probability sample is seen to be superior to a non-probability sample because more accurate inferences about the characteristics of a population can be made from a representative sample. Social research is however, often conducted in situations where it is not possible to use probability sampling techniques (Bless and Higson, 1995:166). Regarding Zimbabweans in the Diaspora, the fact that there is no reliable information about the size, profile and demographic characteristics of Zimbabwean Diasporic communities, effectively eliminates the possibility of conducting a probability sample.

A non-probability sampling technique called snowballing was used in the study. Snowballing refers to the process of accumulation, where each respondent refers the researcher to other respondents that they know and who may fit the research objectives (Babbie and Mouton, 1998:167). Snowballing is particularly suitable for sampling populations that are hidden or difficult to locate, such as Zimbabweans living abroad. Furthermore, based on prior intimate knowledge of the population, the researcher believes that Zimbabweans are more likely to participate, if initial contact is established through a friend or family member.

The initial group of contacts were one hundred and twelve Zimbabwean students studying at the University of Stellenbosch. The list and contact details of these students were obtained from the University's International office. These students were asked to refer the researcher to their Zimbabwean friends and family living in South Africa, the U.K. and the U.S.A. Although completed questionnaires from Zimbabwean students were included in the study, secondary and subsequent recipients were the target sample.

Snowballing is less likely to lead to a representative sample, when compared to random probability sampling techniques. An argument can however be made that precise representativeness is not necessary in this study (see Babbie, 1998:96). The fact that there is no demographic profile of the population means that representativeness can be limited to characteristics that are essential to the substantive questions in the research

(Babbie, 1998:70). For instance, a central question in the study is whether gender and race influence feelings of belonging. An effort was therefore made to obtain data from a number of men and women, as well as a number of white and non-white respondents. There is therefore a focus on variability, as the researcher ensures that the variables being studied have the maximum chance to vary (Punch, 2003:38).

There is however a tension between representativeness, variability and sample size, which is exacerbated in small-scale surveys. The greater the desire for representativeness and the greater the number of independent variables being studied, the larger the sample size needs to be (Punch, 2003:40; Biggam, 2008:91; Bless and Higson, 1995:96).

The optimal sample size for a study of four independent variables and a population of approximately four million Zimbabweans in the Diaspora is three hundred and eighty-four people.⁴ This sample size is calculated with a confidence level of 95% and confidence interval of 5%. This means that there would be a 95% chance that the results of this sample would be representative of the population. This sample size is however beyond the scope of this research project.

The chosen sample size of sixty questionnaires, twenty from each country, more accurately meets the purpose of this exploratory study, which aims to serve as a starting point for future quantitative studies of citizenship and belonging. Due weight is therefore given to the limitations or biases inherent in the small sample size and the researcher also keeps the question of generalisability in mind. The next section discusses the implications of using a questionnaire to collect data.

3.2. Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a set of questions with fixed wording, a fixed sequence of presentation and precise indicators of how to answer each question (Bless and Higson, 1995:107). Questionnaires are seen as the preferred instrument for quantitative

⁴ See sample size calculator on the social research site www.surveysystems.com

methodology because questionnaire items can be operationalised and because objectivity can be maintained by distancing the researcher from the respondent (Bryman, 1984:77).

The particular choice of a questionnaire instead of a case study or interview was influenced by the need for quantitative data, as well as the need to collect data that is comparable across different sub-sets of the population (see section 2.1. above). In addition, the information needed was highly specific and familiar to the respondents. The majority of questions are thus closed-ended, which provides greater depth when analysing responses. The researcher was careful to use prior knowledge and personal experience as a member of the Zimbabwean Diaspora, in an effort to construct a comprehensive and relevant range of questions (Bryman, 1984:81). The variables being studied and the conceptual and operational definitions that were used as a guide to develop the questionnaire will be presented in chapter 4, along with the data findings and results.

The questionnaire was pilot tested in order to test the feasibility of the study. The pretest group comprised of Zimbabweans living in Germany and Australia. Several modifications were made, mostly with respect to question clarity. A socio-economic question that all respondents failed to answer was also operationalised in a different way. The pilot study was executed in the same way that the formal survey was conducted i.e. it was e-mailed to respondents so that they could complete it and e-mail it back to the researcher. A copy of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix 1.

There are two main advantages of using self-administered, e-mailed questionnaires. Firstly, they are extremely cost-effective as questionnaires can be completed and returned with relatively little effort, time or cost on either side. Secondly, questionnaires can be completed in the privacy of respondents' homes, at their convenience. Answers may therefore be more objective and more reliable, compared to instances where participants respond to unconscious cues from interviewers.

The main challenge with respect to self-administered, e-mailed questionnaires is that they can only reach respondents who have access to computers and have sufficient levels of literacy. Furthermore, there is no interviewer to clarify questions that the respondent does not understand. Self-administered questionnaires thus have very low response rates, and result in large numbers of incomplete or incorrectly completed questionnaires. Section 3.3 below will briefly discuss the methods that were used to analyse the data collected.

3.3. Framework for Data Analysis

The data collected from the questionnaires was analysed using a statistical software package called SPSS. The software operates by reading quantified data and performing statistical analyses of numerical values awarded to the different responses. The responses to both open and close ended questions were coded in line with SPSS coding requirements. Once data was collected, responses were manually typed into SPSS, to create a data entry file. This file was 'cleaned' in order to eliminate human errors such as the incorrect coding of variables. Computed results were interpreted in light of the limitations and problems inherent in the chosen research strategies and design. These will be analysed in section 4 below.

4. Limitations and Potential Problems

The previous sections describe the methods used in great detail, particularly the reasoning behind and implications of the various methods chosen. The fact that the study relies on primary data increases the importance of such an exercise, as it allows for the identification of possible errors and biases. This section briefly discusses these issues: section 4.1 examines possible errors and biases, section 4.2 validity problems, section 4.3 discusses possible reliability issues and section 4.4 ethical issues.

4.1 Possible errors and biases

There are two potential sources of errors and bias inherent in the research design, namely a selection bias and a non-response error. The selection bias may arise due to the fact that the questionnaire will be distributed via e-mail. This will exclude poorer, rural, and older respondents who may not have access to e-mail at home. The

exclusion of poorer voters in South Africa is of particular concern, due to the fact that poor marginalised Zimbabweans living in South African informal settlements, are the most likely to experience xenophobia and hostility. Consequently, the use of internet may constitute a significant bias towards younger, more educated and relatively more affluent Zimbabwean respondents.

A non-response error refers to a sampling error that may occur when a particular segment of the population does not wish to complete or return the questionnaire (Bless and Higson, 1995:97). The questionnaire includes a few 'personal' questions that may be regarded as intrusive by Zimbabweans. For instance, the questions asking about immigration status may be a source of discomfort to irregular migrants, who may choose to not participate in the study. There is therefore a possibility that a non-response error will occur.

4.2. Validity

Validity aims to measure the objectivity of the study in order to ascertain what the results actually mean. This is done by asking questions about the measurement instrument, the conceptualisation and the operationalisation of variables. For example, construct validity asks whether the measurement technique is closely linked to known theory; internal validity asks whether observed changes in the dependent variable actually relate to changes in the independent variable that is, whether all other possible causes of the dependent variable have been excluded; and external validity asks whether the results of the sample apply to the entire population or, in other words, whether the sample is representative (Bless and Higson, 1995:135-139; Babbie and Mouton, 1998:124).

Although the questionnaire design is heavily influenced by theory and previous research (high construct validity), the topic being measured is extremely complex, and influenced by other psychological concepts such as depression and loneliness. It is therefore difficult to achieve high internal validity. Furthermore, the small sample size may invite questions about the external validity. The main challenge with respect to constructing a valid measure of belonging is that the measurement instrument needs to incorporate all

the different components of the concept. When one or more components are neglected, the researcher cannot claim to be measuring what she is really interested in (Bless and Higson, 1995:136).

Finally, the fact that social scientists cannot agree on the definition of concepts that are central to this study namely citizenship and belonging, also means that there is no suitable criterion that can be administered concurrently, to test (criterion related) validity. There are therefore significant challenges with respect to validity.

4.3. Reliability

Reliability is concerned with the consistency of the research, namely whether the questionnaire will yield the same result every time it is applied. A measurement instrument that produces different results every time it is used to measure the same phenomenon has low reliability, and is less accurate than one that produces similar results (Bless and Higson, 1995:130). Questionnaires are frequently described as positivist because the research can be replicated by applying the same questionnaire to a different context. As a result, questionnaires have high reliability (Bryman, 1984:77).

It is however, important to note that results from a cross-sectional study describe a particular point in time. There are therefore two issues that may affect reliability namely history and maturation. These two issues do not affect studies such as these, where data is only collected at one point in time. Accordingly, history and maturation will not be explained here (see Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995:80).

There is a trade-off between reliability and validity that cannot be fully resolved, even by the best research designs (Babbie 1998:135). In light of the discussion above, this research will have higher reliability and lower validity. Nonetheless, an effort was made to balance the two by focusing on achieving high construct validity.

4.4. Ethical Considerations

An individual's right to privacy demands that direct consent must be obtained from adults and that this consent must be informed (Bless and Higson, 1998:102).

'Informed consent involves: a brief description of the purpose and procedure of the research, a statement of risks, a guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality, a statement that participation is voluntary and can be terminated at any time without penalty, and the identification of the researcher and information about the subject's rights' (Neuman, 2000:96; Bless and Higson, 1998:102)

The main ethical consideration raised is with respect to the last requirement for informed consent, namely full disclosure of the researcher's identity. This is seen to help protect respondents, particularly in high-risk studies where there is a risk of potential harm. A decision was made to use a pseudonym for the empirical study, and send the questionnaires using a dummy e-mail address that is not linked to the researcher's name. This is because the questionnaire requires sensitive information such as immigration status and income. Relying on snowballing means that respondents who know the researcher or recognise her surname, may answer differently, thereby affecting the reliability of the study. The researcher thus faces an ethical dilemma with respect to full disclosure, but believes that revealing her name may lead to a significant sampling error, due to the inter-connected nature of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora.

5. Conclusion

The driving force behind this study is to produce a scientific study of how Zimbabweans in the Diaspora are negotiating feelings of belonging. The research strategy chosen can be summarised according to the four dimensions of social research that is, purpose, use, time and research techniques. The most suitable strategy for conducting this exploratory and descriptive study of belonging is a quantitative, e-mail survey. A cross-sectional research design best meets the overall aims and objectives of such a cross-national analysis. The most suitable technique is to use snowball sampling to connect with the sample population, and to collect data using a questionnaire. The results from these questionnaires are analysed using a statistical software package called SPSS. The next chapter presents the conceptual and operational definitions used, introduces preliminary data analysis results, and discusses the findings with reference to the literature review.

Chapter 4 Data Analysis Results and Findings

This chapter reveals the results of the empirical survey described in the Research Methods chapter (Chapter 3). The focus is on determining whether there is empirical support for traditional, expanded or trans-national perspectives of citizenship and belonging, amongst Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. Section 1 introduces the conceptual and operational definitions that are central to this study, and provides detailed explanations of how the different indices were constructed. The second section presents the propositions that were tested. Section 3 describes and analyses the preliminary data on the dependent variable belonging. The emphasis is on highlighting respondent perceptions that were used to interpret the proposition findings. Section 4 also presents preliminary data, but focuses on the independent variables, and the results of the statistical tests. The discussion in section 5 synthesises the findings in sections 3 and 4, and evaluates them with reference to the literature review findings. The chapter concludes with section 6, which places the empirical findings in the context of existing theoretical and empirical studies.

1. Conceptual and Operational definitions

This section introduces a new conceptual definition of belonging to a host country. A sense of belonging index is constructed based on this definition and is used to gain insight into the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa, the U.K and the U.S.A. The section makes references to the questionnaire, which is attached in Appendix 1. A total of 72 completed questionnaires were received. Data was collected, and coded responses were manually typed into SPSS, to create a data entry file. The file was then 'cleaned' to check for human errors and missing values. 'Don't know' and 'not applicable' responses were marked as such on the variable view of the SPSS data set. All computations were therefore performed on data where definite answers were provided.

1.1 Belonging

Belonging to a host country is conceptualised as the experience of personal involvement in a country, so that immigrants feel that they are an integral part of that country. This feeling of belonging consists of four dimensions: a psychological sense of belonging, antecedents to belonging, ties to Zimbabwe and social networks in the host country (Hagerty et al, 1992:173; Hagerty et al, 1995:10).

The psychological dimension is defined as a person's sense of being valued, needed and accepted by members of the dominant community, as well as the psychosomatic sense of fit in relationships. The latter refers to a perceived (in) compatibility between an immigrant's identity and cultural values, with the values and expectations of the dominant group. Antecedents to belonging are conceptualised as factors that must be present for an immigrant to feel that they belong, such as the opportunity to live with dignity and claim basic rights, irrespective of immigration status.

The third dimension, ties to Zimbabwe, is defined as the level of continuous attachments to the country of origin and the number of meaningful relationships left behind. These ties may impede an immigrant's inclusion in and identification with the host country. The final dimension, social networks, is defined as the number of voluntary memberships in a host country's society. Being connected to and accepted by other people who share common ideas, beliefs and visions, increases self-esteem, improves mental health, reduces feelings of isolation and fosters a sense of belonging to a community.

The four dimensions of belonging are operationalised by asking a set of questions that indicate whether each dimension is present or not. This resulted in four different indices, one for each dimension. A composite sense of belonging index (SOBI) was calculated by adding all four dimensions together. The next section explains the construction of each dimension in more detail and presents the indicators that were used to construct the SOBI.

1.1.1 Psychological dimension of belonging

The first dimension of belonging is the psychological sense of belonging, defined as a person's sense of being valued and sense of fit in relationships. Table 1 displays the original fifteen indicators in the psychological sense of belonging. A factor analysis⁵ was performed on all fifteen indicators, in order to isolate clusters of attitudes amongst respondents. Table 1 shows that this dimension consists of four factors or multi-item indices, which account for 61.18% of the total variance⁶ in the psychological scale.

A fairly high factor loading of 0.6 was used as a cut-off point, and all items with lower loadings were excluded from the index construction. Eleven indicators had factor loadings that were greater than 0.6, and were therefore used to build the psychological index. The Cronbach's Alpha⁷ value for this index is 0.653, which indicates that the index is 65.3% reliable, with respect to measuring the psychological concept of belonging.

Each of the indicators in the index are measured using a five point Likert scale, with response values ranging from 1 ('strongly disagree' or 'almost never') to 5 ('strongly agree' or 'most of the time'). The fact that there are 11 questions means that a respondent can score a minimum score is 11 and a maximum score of 55. The psychological index was thus recoded into five categories, so that the respondents' scores could be categorised as very weak (scores in the range of 11-19), weak (20-28),

⁵ A factor analysis is a measure of association which reveals clusters of attitudes amongst respondents. Every cluster contains items that serve as indicators of a shared underlying dimension created by a common determinant. These factors indicate response patterns among all respondents, not the attitudes of a particular set of respondents. A principle component extraction with varimax rotation was used (Kotze and Steenekamp, 2009:61)

⁶ The percentage of variance for each factor represents the percentage of explained variance within each index. The four factors account or explain 61.18% of the psychological index

⁷ Cronbach's alpha coefficient gauges the reliability of summated scales by measuring the internal consistency or average correlation of the indicators in those scales. The coefficient ranges from 0 to 1, with a higher the score indicating a more reliable generated index (George and Mallory, 2003:223; Cronbach, 1951). Although an acceptable reliability coefficient is 0.7, lower thresholds are sometimes used in the literature (Nunnaly, 1978).

moderate (29-37), strong (38-45) and very strong (46-55), with respect to the psychological sense of belonging.

Table 1: Psychological Dimension of Belonging

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
I am overqualified for my job*	0.766			
I experience xenophobia*	0.753			
I have been a victim of racism in this country*	0.694			
I would earn more money if I had been born here*	0.641			
I have to abandon my culture in order to truly fit in	0.597			
I am discriminated against	0.551			
I feel more at home in Zimbabwe than I do here*		0.731		
I feel like an outsider*		0.723		
Culturally, I belong in Zimbabwe*		0.620		
I would have a better job in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe		0.462		
Zimbabwean qualifications are not recognised*			0.823	
People here assume I am not educated*			0.636	
I speak my home language				0.798
I 'hang out' with Zimbabweans*				0.608
I tell people I am Zimbabwean				0.341

It is important to note that some questions were reverse coded to maintain uniformity throughout the index. A star (*) placed next to an indicator signifies that the question was reverse coded, to ensure that all responses run in the same direction. In other words, the lowest response value for each question always indicates a weak sense of

belonging to the host country, whilst the highest positive response value always indicates a strong sense of belonging to the host country. For example, in Table 1, the statement 'Culturally I belong in Zimbabwe' was initially coded as a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 'strongly disagree' to 5 'strongly agree.' A response of 'strongly agree' in this instance however, indicates an emotional identity that is strongly attached to Zimbabwe, not the host country. The question was therefore reverse coded so that the highest response value 5 indicates a strong sense of belonging to the host country.

1.1.2. Antecedents to belonging

The second dimension is antecedents to belonging, defined as factors that must be present for an immigrant to feel that they belong. Table 2 shows that this dimension can be divided into five factors, and that there are twelve indicators with factor loadings greater than 0.6. However, the fifth factor falls away because it only consists of one indicator, and an index cannot be constructed using one indicator (Kotze and Steenekamp, 2009:74). Eleven indicators are therefore used to construct the antecedent dimension of belonging. Antecedents to belonging thus consists of four factors or multi-item indices which together account for 59.73% of the total variation in the antecedent index. The Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.704 shows that this index is 70.4% reliable.

Indicators in the antecedent dimension use both four and five point Likert scales. A respondent who marks 'strongly agree' on a five point scale (value of five) and 'very important' on a four point scale (value of four) scores a maximum of nine points, instead of the ten points scored in the case of two five point scales. This means that with respect to antecedents to belonging, the minimum score is 11 and the maximum score is 49. The index was recoded into five categories showing a very weak (11-18), weak (19-26), moderate (27-33), strong (34-41) and very strong (42-49) antecedents to belonging.

Table 2: Antecedent Dimension of Belonging

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
To what extent can Zimbabweans defend their rights in a court of law	0.886				
To what extent can Zimbabwean immigrants trust the police	0.839				
To what extent can Zimbabweans protest against unequal treatment	0.800				
African immigrants are welcome here		0.733			
My life here is better than my life was in Zimbabwe		0.730			
I like more things about this country than I dislike		0.680			
I would rather live here than in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe		0.615			
To what extent can Zimbabweans qualify for government assistance			0.795		
To what extent can Zimbabweans access educational opportunities			0.739		
How often do you go out with natural born citizens			0.569		
How often do you keep in touch with Zimbabweans via internet, email			0.516		
My neighbourhood has more minorities than an average middle class neighbourhood				0.773	
To what extent can Zimbabwean immigrants obtain executive level jobs				0.622	
I will teach my children about this culture only				0.575	
How often do you go out with blood relatives who do not live with you				0.560	
How often do you attend religious services					0.896

1.1.3. Ties to Zimbabwe

Ties to Zimbabwe are the third dimension of belonging, and are defined as the level of continuous attachments to Zimbabwe and the number of meaningful relationships left behind. Table 3 presents the seven indicators that are used to build this index. These seven indicators can be divided into two factors that account for 61.67% of the total variance. A Cronbach's alpha score of 0.820 shows that the ties to Zimbabwe index is 82% reliable.

A respondent can score a minimum score of 7 and a maximum score of 28 with respect to this dimension. The index was recoded into five categories showing very weak (7-11), weak (12-16), moderate (17-20), strong (21-24) and very strong (25-28) ties to Zimbabwe.

Table 3: Ties to Zimbabwe Dimension of Belonging

	Factor 1	Factor 2
How often do you send money to relatives	0.862	
How often do you talk on the phone to someone in Zimbabwe	0.748	
How important are each of the following categories to you: buying a house for yourself in Zimbabwe	0.735	
How often do you send food or care packages to Zimbabwe	0.647	
How important are each of the following categories to you : buying a house for your parents (or relatives) in Zimbabwe	0.635	
Do you own a house or a stand in Zimbabwe	0.408	
How important are each of the following categories to you : joining organisations for Zimbabweans		0.899
How important are each of the following categories to you: keeping in touch with other Zimbabweans		0.884

1.1.4. Social networks

The fourth dimension of belonging is social networks. These are defined as the number of voluntary memberships in local community groups or organisations. Table 4 reveals

that there are nine indicators with factor loadings that are greater than 0.6. The fifth factor however, comprises of only one indicator, and cannot be used, due to the fact that an index cannot be constructed using one indicator (Kotze and Steenekamp, 2009:74). Eight indicators are therefore used to measure this dimension of belonging.

The social networks index can be divided into four multi-item indices, which account for 50.687% of the total variance in the index. The low Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.093 shows that this index is only 9% reliable. One of the possible reasons for the low alpha coefficient is the fact that the social networks dimension captures a diverse range of community group memberships such as youth organisations, libraries and sports clubs. The average correlation or internal consistency of these diverse measures is therefore low.

Table 4: Social Networks Dimension of Belonging

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Public or local library	0.639				
Other (specify)	0.630				
Gym	0.513				
Ethnic or cultural club for Zimbabweans	0.482				
A religious group	0.457				
Historical or heritage society		0.767			
Cultural group (dance club, film, art, theatre etc)		0.724			
Hobby group (book club, garden club)			0.771		
Ethnic or immigrant association			0.650		
Sports club or sports team				0.791	
Youth organisation (girls guides)				0.618	
NGO (Amnesty International)					0.798

It is important to note that the social networks index comprises solely of dichotomous questions. These questions were treated separately and not combined with Likert scales when constructing the dimension indices. With respect to dichotomous questions, the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate which host country organisations they volunteered or participated in, within the last twelve months. A positive response (yes) indicates that the respondent belongs to the particular group, and was given a value of one. A negative response on the other hand was given a value of zero.

With respect to social networks, the minimum score is 0 and the maximum score is 8. The index was recoded into five categories showing a weak (0), moderate (1), strong (2) and very strong (3 or more) social networks.

1.1.5. Sense of belonging index

The psychological, antecedent, ties to Zimbabwe and social networks indices were combined to compute a composite sense of belonging index. This SOBI consists of thirty-seven indicators and has a Cronbach's alpha score of 0.608 or 60.8%. Although the coefficient score increases to 0.703 when the social networks dimension is dropped from the index, a decision was made to keep all four indices. This is because excluding the social networks index causes the instrument to lose some of its 'explanatory power.'

With respect to sense of belonging, the minimum score is 4 and the maximum score is 18. The index was recoded into three categories showing a weak (4-8), moderate (9-13) and strong (14-18) sense of belonging to a host country.

1.2. Citizenship

The conceptual definition of citizenship is based on the theoretical definitions provided in the literature review. Citizenship is defined as both a status that grants a set of rights to all who possess the status, and an obligation to participate in the political, economic and social spheres of society. Status refers to immigration status, which determines the rights that an immigrant is entitled to claim. Agency is defined broadly and includes participation in both the formal and informal realms of politics; women are more likely to be active in the informal realm such as in local community projects and parent teacher

associations (Lister, 1997:33; Marshall, 1950:28; Castles and Davidson, 2000:26; Lister, 1997:13; Gouws, 2009:3; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994:355). Two dimensions of citizenship are relevant to the study of immigrants and will be measured in this study namely rights in section 2.1 and agency in section 2.2

1.2.1. Citizenship rights

Immigration status is used as a proxy to measure the citizenship rights that respondents are entitled to. This variable can take one of three values; respondents are categorised as citizens, denizens or margizens. Citizens are immigrants who have acquired the status of citizen in the U.K, South Africa and the U.S.A. They are granted formal possession of full citizenship rights and have the same civil, political, social and economic rights that natural born citizens are entitled to.

Denizens or quasi-citizens are legally resident foreigners who are permanent residents of South Africa, have permanent leave to stay in the U.K, or have an American Green Card. This group of immigrants is granted access to economic, social and civil rights but have restricted access to political rights. For instance, permanent residents are not allowed to vote in federal elections in any of the three countries being studied.

Margizens are all other categories of respondents such as students, asylum seekers and individuals with work permits. These immigrants are expected to return home once their permits expire, or once there is political change in Zimbabwe. Margizens thus have an insecure status in the host country and often face difficulties claiming social, civil or political rights. They may also face barriers with respect to accessing employment opportunities, irrespective of whether they have the correct documentation or not.

Although immigrants who have work permits should theoretically be classified as denizens, the reality for most Zimbabwean immigrants is that possessing a work permit does not lead to permanent residency in the countries being studied. Unlike countries such as the Netherlands and Canada where there is a natural progression from possession of a work permit to residency, South Africa, the U.K and the U.S.A have institutional and administrative barriers that ensure that only a select number of

immigrants can become permanent residents⁸. Zimbabweans on work permits in these countries thus have an insecure relationship with the host state and can be more accurately classified as margizens than denizens.

Immigration status (rights) is operationalised by asking what visa the respondent entered on. There are nine categories of responses that can be expressed as a continuum ranging from Zimbabweans entering host countries as returning citizens, to those entering by other means (illegal immigrants). A decision was made to measure the mode of initial entry, as this question is less sensitive than asking what visa they are currently on. The fact that there are institutional barriers preventing Zimbabweans from moving from margizen to citizen, means that this question is a relatively accurate measure of immigration status, as the percentage of Zimbabweans who can legally change their relationship to the state is low.

1.2.2. Agency

The second dimension of citizenship is agency. Agency is defined as the level of and energy for involvement in the country's socio-political landscape such as voting behaviour and membership in political parties. The main difficulty with respect to measuring agency arises because the majority of respondents are not eligible to vote in the countries they live in. As a result, an expanded definition of political participation is used, in order to account for both the formal and informal realm of politics. The agency index aims to capture the frequency or level of agency, instead of clusters of responses. All eight indicators in Table 5 were therefore used to construct the agency index. The results of the factor analysis are shown for illustration purposes only. A Cronbach's alpha score of 0.750 shows that this index is 75% reliable.

With respect to agency, the minimum score is 0 and the maximum score is 8. The index was recoded into three categories showing a low (0 - 2), moderate (3 - 5) and strong (6 - 8) involvement in the country's socio-political landscape.

⁸ For example, there is a backlog of applications in the U.S.A, the South African department of Home Affairs has been accused of not assessing Zimbabwean applications on a case by case basis, and the U.K decided to introduce a points based immigration system favouring immigrants earning more than £40,000 per annum.

Table 5: Agency Dimension of Citizenship

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Did you vote in the last federal elections	0.995			
Did you vote in the last provincial elections	0.995			
Did you vote in the last local elections	0.995			
Children’s school group (PTA)		0.816		
Job related		0.732		
Charitable organisation			0.892	
Community organisation				0.906
Political or citizen’s group				0.486

2. Propositions

The propositions used in this study are informed mainly by findings from earlier research conducted by Stasiulis and Amery (2009:9), who investigated the emotional cartography of Lebanese-Australians and Lebanese-Canadians. These studies found that the emotions attached to state memberships varied considerably and were dependent on factors such as place of birth, age, gender and length of residence in the home and host countries.

This study focuses on four independent variables namely citizenship, country of residence, race and gender. The relationship between the dependent variable sense of belonging and these four independent variables was tested using four propositions.

P1 Citizenship has an impact on sense of belonging to a host country

The conceptual and operational definitions for citizenship and belonging were introduced in section 1 and will not be repeated here. The relationship between these two variables will be tested in order to determine whether citizenship rights and agency have an impact on feelings of belonging to the host country.

I expect to find that margizens score lower than denizens on a sense of belonging index. That is, immigrants who have less citizenship rights score lower than those who can claim more citizenship rights. Respondents with weak agency are also expected to score lower than those who are more active citizens of host countries.

P2 Country of residence has an influence on feelings of belonging

Country of residence is defined as the country that respondents are currently living in and is operationalised by asking respondent's to select that country. Country of residence can take one of three values namely South Africa, the U.K or the U.S.A.

I expect to find that Zimbabweans in the U.S.A exhibit a stronger sense of belonging to the host country, relative to respondents living in the U.K and South Africa.

P3 Race has an impact on feelings of belonging

Race is defined as the racial grouping that participants belong to, and reflects the social definitions of race that are used in Zimbabwe. Race can take one of five values. White refers to Zimbabweans who self-identify as white due to the fact that they originate from Europe. Black Zimbabweans originate from Zimbabwe or other African countries namely Zambia and Malawi. Indian Zimbabweans originate from South Asia, mostly India and Pakistan. Mixed race Zimbabweans are a self-contained racial group also known as Coloureds, who originate from more than one racial group. The fifth group is used to capture Zimbabweans who do not self-identify as a member of one of the four main groups in the country. Race is operationalised by asking respondents to indicate what racial grouping they belong to.

I expect to find that being a member of a racialised minority group has an impact on belonging in all three countries, with black Zimbabweans exhibiting a weaker sense of belonging than Indian, Mixed race and White Zimbabweans.

P4 Gender has an influence on sense of belonging

This study uses the limited cultural definition of gender as sex. Gender thus refers to the condition of being male or female. Gender is operationalised by asking respondents to indicate whether they are male or female.

I expect to find that Zimbabwean women report a stronger sense of belonging than Zimbabwean men, due to their participation in the informal realm of politics in host countries, and the more equal gender roles enjoyed in the U.K and U.S.A relative to Zimbabwe.

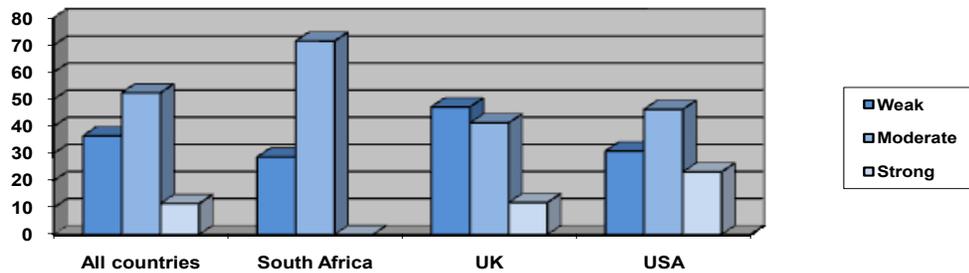
3. Presenting the Sense of Belonging Index

The sense of belonging index is a composite measure of four dimensions of belonging, namely: a psychological sense of being valued and sense of fit in relationships; antecedent factors that must be present for a sense of belonging to occur; continuous attachments or ties to the home country; and voluntary membership in local community groups. This section describes and analyses preliminary findings for the sense of belonging index, and the different dimensions of belonging. The emphasis is on highlighting respondent perceptions that were used to interpret the proposition findings in section 4.

3.1 Sense of Belonging Index

An analysis of the sense of belonging index in the different countries reveals significant variation in the distribution of scores. There are two main issues that will emerge as patterns throughout this study. Firstly, Figure 1 shows that no Zimbabweans exhibit a strong sense of belonging to South Africa. The U.K on the other-hand has two and the U.S.A has three respondents who exhibit a strong sense of belonging to those countries (12% and 23% of respondents in those countries respectively). The U.S.A thus has the greatest number and the greatest percentage of Zimbabweans who exhibit a strong sense of belonging to a host country.

Figure 1: Sense of Belonging by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Weak	16	36.4	4	28.6	8	47.1	4	30.8
Moderate	23	52.3	10	71.4	7	41.2	6	46.2
Strong	5	11.4	0	0	2	11.8	3	23.1
Total	44	100%	14	100%	17	100%	13	100%

Table 6: Sense of Belonging by Country

Secondly, Table 6 shows that almost half of Zimbabweans living in the U.K exhibit a weak sense of belonging to that country (47%). This figure is alarming when compared to the percentages for South Africa (29%) and the U.S.A (31%). The possible reasons for these results will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3, which tests the impact of country of residence on feelings of belonging.

The respondents were also asked an open-ended question about belonging:

Being Zimbabwean is often associated with having an ancestral home in Zimbabwe. Do you feel that you truly belong to the country you live in? Why / Why not?

This question was asked in order to gauge perceptions about belonging and barriers to belonging. Comparing the results of this question to SOBI scores, suggests that SOBI is a valid measure of perceptions. There is a valid and significant relationship between the answer to this question and the score on SOBI.⁹ For example, none of the seven

⁹ Pearson Chi-Square = 9.409, p value = 0.009, Cramer's V value = 0.491.

The Pearson's Chi-Square is a statistical test of independence that compares the actual or observed figures to the expected figures, in order to determine whether the null hypothesis assumption that there is no relationship between the variables is true. A Chi-

respondents who feel that they belong to their host countries exhibit a weak sense of belonging. They all display either a moderate (57%) or strong sense of belonging to the host country (43%). The results of this question are presented in Table 7.

Respondents who answered 'No' provided a variety of reasons for feeling alienated from the host country. The three most common reasons are illustrated in Table 8 and can be categorised under the psychological dimension of belonging. The main reason given was 'I do not fit in here.' Variations of this statement were used to describe a psychological sense of being disconnected from the host country in some way.

Table 7: Sense of Belonging Measure and Do you Belong Question

Do you belong			Score on Sense of Belonging Index					
			Weak		Moderate		Strong	
Response	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
No	32	82	15	100	15	78.9	2	40
Yes	7	18	0	0	4	21.1	3	60
Total	39	100%	15	100%	19	100%	5	100%

The second most common reason was 'different culture or values'. This can more accurately be stated as a perceived incompatibility between a respondent's cultural values and those in the host country. Respondents were thus expressing a psychological sense of being different from citizens who belong to the host country.

Square value that is greater than zero means that there is a difference between the observed and expected counts, which means that the null hypothesis is rejected.

A p value measures the likelihood that a particular finding is valid and significant. A value of less than 0.05 indicates that the findings are valid and that there is a less than 5% chance that the relationship occurred by chance.

Cramer's V is a measure of association that determines the strength of the relationship between two variables. A value less than 0.10 indicates a weak association; a value between 0.10 and 0.29 indicates a moderate association; and a Cramer's V value of 0.30 or higher indicates a strong association between two variables.

Xenophobia was the third most common reason provided for not belonging, and refers to discursive immigrant histories in the public sphere, such as a lack of tolerance for and general dislike of immigration.

Table 8: Top 3 Reasons by Country

All countries	South Africa	U.K	U.S.A
Do not fit in	Xenophobia	Don't fit in	Different values
Different culture or values	Different values	Different culture	Don't fit in
Xenophobia	Don't fit in	Host country reception	

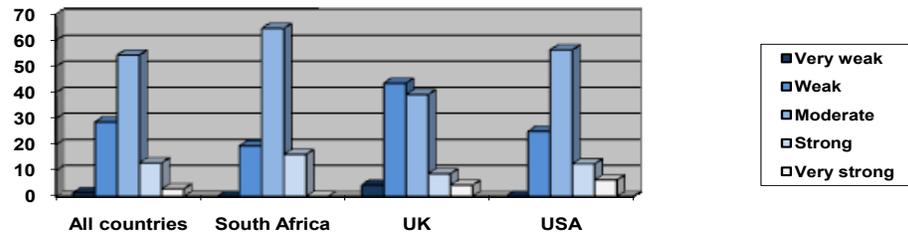
The table above indicates that respondents in the U.K perceive ‘host country reception’ to be one of the main barriers to belonging. This term is used to refer to the antecedent sense of feeling unwelcome, and not being accepted by people in the host country. In the words of one Zimbabwean *‘British people do not really think that I am British even when they find out I was born here. I feel like a foreigner because I am treated like a foreigner.’* These and other such responses reveal that there is a specific idea of who is British, probably developed around nationalistic lines. In the words of another respondent who is now a naturalised citizen of the U.K *‘I think this is a difficult country to live in. You always feel that you are different and not wholly accepted. You are always an outsider.’*

The results of Table 8 demonstrate that respondents mostly associate belonging with the psychological and antecedent dimensions. Each of the four dimensions will be briefly analysed below.

3.2 Psychological Dimension

The majority of respondents score in the moderate range (54%), on the psychological sense of belonging index. Figure 2 reveals the two main issues that emerged during the analysis of the SOBI. Firstly, that no Zimbabwean respondents in South Africa experience a very strong psychological sense of belonging to the country. And secondly, a relatively high number of respondents in the U.K, exhibit a weak or very weak psychological sense of belonging to that country. The figure of 48% is approximately double the figures in South Africa (19%) and the United States (25%).

Figure 2: Psychological Dimension by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	1	1.4	0	0	1	4.3	0	0
Weak	20	28.6	6	19.4	10	43.5	4	25
Moderate	38	54.3	20	64.5	9	39.1	9	56.3
Strong	9	12.9	5	16.1	2	8.7	2	12.5
Very Strong	2	2.9	0	0	1	4.3	1	6.3
Total	70	100%	31	100%	23	100%	16	100%

Table 9: Psychological Dimension by Country

Emotional identities are an important determinant of an immigrant’s psychological sense of belonging. Magat identifies an emotional set of a given national identity that is primordial, non-negotiable and immune to change across all cultures (Magat, 1999:137). Question 7 asks for a response to the following question:

‘Culturally, I belong in Zimbabwe.’

This question is one of the indicators of the psychological dimension and was used to gain insight about the emotional identities of Zimbabwean respondents in different countries. Table 10 shows that the majority of respondents agree or strongly agree that their emotional identities are inextricably linked to their countries of origin (84%).

Country of residence has an impact on emotional identities¹⁰. Only 19% of respondents in the U.S.A strongly agreed with the statement *‘Culturally, I belong to Zimbabwe.’* The percentage who strongly agreed to this statement is 70% in South Africa, and 48% in the U.K. Although the combined percentage for the U.S.A is still high at 63%, the fact

¹⁰ Pearson Chi-Square = 16.027, p value = 0.014, Cramer’s V value = 0.334

that 37% of respondents are neutral or disagree with this statement is an interesting finding, and suggests that emotional identities for Zimbabweans in the U.S.A are more fluid and negotiable, relative to respondents in other countries.

Table 10: Emotional Identities by Country

	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Strongly agree	37	51.4	23	69.7	11	47.8	3	18.8
Agree	24	33.3	7	21.2	10	43.5	7	43.8
Neutral	8	11.4	2	6.1	1	4.3	5	31.3
Disagree	3	4.2	1	3	1	4.3	1	6.3
Strong disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	72	100%	33	100%	23	100%	16	100%

3.3 Antecedents Dimension

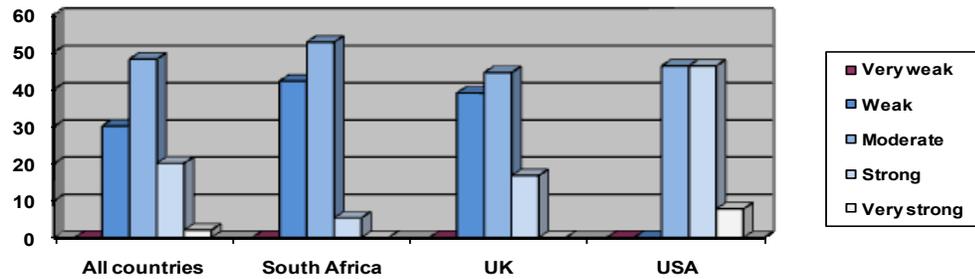
Figure 3 and Table 11 demonstrate that there is a clear polarisation between Zimbabwean respondents living in the U.S.A, and those who are living in South Africa and the U.K. The former are heavily skewed towards moderate to very strong antecedents to belonging, due to the fact that all respondents score in the moderate to very strong range for this dimension.

The figures for the other countries are in stark contrast to those of the U.S.A; 42% of respondents in South Africa and 39% of those in the U.K exhibit a weak antecedent sense of belonging to their host countries. An analysis of the other indicators of the antecedents dimension, illustrates that respondents living in the U.S.A are generally more positive about their immigration experience relative to those living in South Africa and the U.K. Two examples of this finding are provided below.

Firstly, half the respondents in the U.S.A would rather live there than in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe (50%). 17% would rather live in the U.K than in Zimbabwe, and only 9% would rather live in South Africa than in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe. Secondly, there is a substantial difference between respondents' perceptions in the three countries, as shown in table 12. Question 30 states:

'African immigrants are welcome here.'

Figure 3: Antecedent Dimension by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weak	15	30	8	42.1	7	38.9	0	0
Moderate	24	48	10	52.6	8	44.4	6	46.2
Strong	10	20	1	5.3	3	16.7	6	46.2
Very Strong	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	7.7
Total	50	100%	19	100%	18	100%	13	100%

Table 11: Antecedent Dimension by Country

Country of residence has a significant influence on perceptions about host country reception¹¹. 94% of respondents in the U.S.A agree or strongly agree that African immigrants are welcome. The percentages who agree or strongly agree in South Africa are 9% and only 4% in the U.K.

Table 12: Host country reception

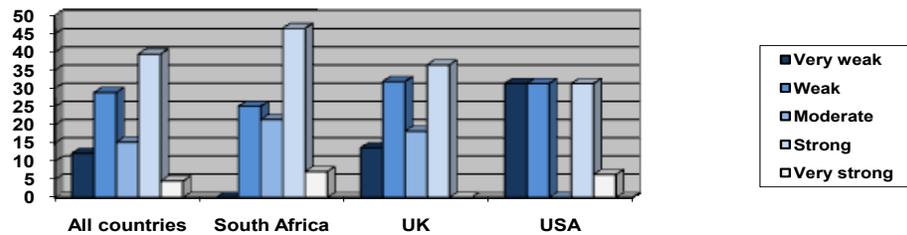
	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Strongly agree	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	1	6.3
Agree	18	25	3	9.1	1	4.3	14	87.5
Neutral	16	22	10	30.3	6	26.1	0	0
Disagree	25	34.7	10	30.3	14	60.9	1	6.3
Strong disagree	12	16.7	10	30.3	2	8.7	0	0
Total	72	100%	33	100%	23	100%	16	100%

¹¹Pearson Chi-Square = 20.689, p value = 0.008, Cramer's V value = 0.379

3.4 Ties to Zimbabwe Dimension

Zimbabweans living in South Africa exhibit the strongest ties to Zimbabwe, with more than half (54%) maintaining regular contact with Zimbabweans at home, in the host country, and abroad. This figure is in direct contrast with that of the U.S.A, where 63% of respondents exhibit either weak or very weak ties to Zimbabwe (see Figure 4 and Table 13). It is important to note that maintaining continuous attachments to the country of origin is seen to impede full inclusion and identification with the host country. Stronger ties to Zimbabwe are thus used to indicate weaker ties to the host country.

Figure 4: Ties to Zimbabwe by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	8	12.1	0	0	3	13.6	5	31.3
Weak	19	28.8	7	25	7	31.8	5	31.3
Moderate	10	15.2	6	21.4	4	18.2	0	0
Strong	26	39.4	13	46.4	8	36.4	5	31.3
Very Strong	3	4.5	2	7.1	0	0	1	6.3
Total	66	100%	28	100%	22	100%	16	100%

Table 13: Ties to Zimbabwe by Country

South Africa's proximity to Zimbabwe, together with the greater number of Zimbabweans living in the country, is a possible explanation for the fact that respondents there exhibit the strongest ties to Zimbabwe. For example, 77% of respondents in South Africa send food and care packages to Zimbabwe on a regular basis, compared to 52% of Zimbabwean respondents living in the U.K and 50 % of those living in the U.S.A. In addition, Zimbabweans in South Africa are more likely to

'hang out' with other Zimbabweans, compared to other respondents. For instance, one third of respondents in South Africa hang out with Zimbabweans most of the time, compared to 22% of respondents in the U.K and only 6% in the U.S.A.

Although length of residence does not have a statistically significant effect on ties to Zimbabwe in this study, respondents who have been living in the host country for longer periods of time are less likely to have strong or very strong ties to Zimbabwe, compared to those who have been living in the host country for shorter periods of time (see Table 7A in Appendix 2). For example, 24 of the 29 respondents who exhibit either strong or very strong ties to Zimbabwe have been living in the host country for less than ten years (83%).

Furthermore, the majority of respondents who have been living in the host country for less than two years exhibit either strong or very strong ties to Zimbabwe (69%). This percentage falls to 53% for respondents living in the host country for three to five years; to 33% for those living there for six to nine years; and to only 28%, for respondents who have been living in the host country for more than ten years.

It is also interesting to note that respondents in the USA have been living in the host country for the longest average period of time. The mean length of residence is thirteen years for the U.S.A, eight years for the U.K. and four years for South Africa. Although length of residence does not have an impact on feelings of belonging in this study, these figures mean that the average respondent in the U.S.A emigrated in 1996, before compulsory land redistribution was announced. The average respondent in the U.K. has been living there since 2001, the year when the economic meltdown started. The average respondent in South Africa however, has been living there since 2005, suggesting that they left Zimbabwe at the height of the social and economic crisis.

3.5 Social Networks Dimension

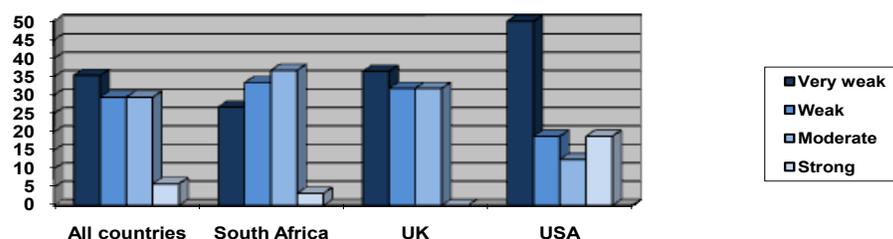
Figure 5 and Table 14 illustrate that the social networks dimension for all countries is distributed fairly evenly, compared to other dimensions, where the majority of respondents cluster around moderate feelings of belonging. An analysis of social networks by country shows a similar pattern for South Africa and the U.K. The pattern

for the U.S.A shows some polarisation, with half the respondents there demonstrating very weak social networks.

The fact that 50% of respondents in the U.S.A are not involved in any community organisations included in the social networks index is perhaps a reflection that Zimbabweans there have adopted the American work ethic, which emphasises work related rather than community related activities.

With respect to the social networks index, Zimbabwean respondents are mostly involved in the public library (38%), sports clubs (26%) and ethnic or immigrants associations (13%). Table 1A in Appendix 2 provides a summary of the top three social networks by country, for all types of social groups.

Figure 5: Social Networks Dimension by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	24	35.3	8	26.7	8	36.4	8	50
Weak	20	29.4	10	33.3	7	31.8	3	18.8
Moderate	20	29.4	11	36.7	7	31.8	2	12.5
Strong	4	5.9	1	3.3	0	0	3	18.8
Total	68	100%	30	100%	22	100%	16	100%

Table 14: Social Networks by Country

4. Data and Findings

Section 1 introduced the conceptual and operational definitions that are used in this study, and provided a comprehensive overview of how the different indices were

constructed. Section 2 outlined the propositions that are being used to guide this quantitative study, and section 3 presented the preliminary data on the dependent variable (belonging) that will be used to interpret the findings. This section introduces the preliminary data for the independent variables and tests the propositions that are guiding this quantitative study. Section 4.1 focuses on the first dimension of citizenship, immigration rights, and the second dimension agency is the focus of section 4.2. The influence of country of residence, race and gender are analysed in sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 respectively.

4.1 Immigration Rights

Sixty-five Zimbabweans entered the host country as margizens (90%), four entered as denizens (6%) and 3 entered as returning (dual) citizens of their host countries. Table 10 shows the top three entry modes for all respondents and for each country.

The most common entry mode for Zimbabweans in this study is a student visa, particularly for respondents in South Africa where 61% of respondents entered on a study permit. The figure for South Africa is slightly inflated by the inclusion of some University students. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are several indications in this study that studying is used as an economic strategy for educated Zimbabweans, probably given the difficulties in obtaining South African work permits legally.

For instance, almost half of student participants are PhD candidates (47%). In addition the mean income reported by all students in South Africa is in the R15 000 to R30 000 range, whilst the median income is in the R30 000 to R65 000 range¹². The fact that the mean is lower than the median income indicates that student incomes are negatively skewed, with 71% of students earning in the median income range or higher.

Moreover, a greater percentage of students in South Africa, send food packages home on a regular basis compared to the full sample; 70% of students compared to 64% of all

¹² The mean is the average value of the distribution whereas the median represents the middle value or mid-point of the distribution of values.

respondents. Additionally, 74% of students send money to Zimbabwe regularly, a percentage that is in line with the percentage for the sample as a whole (73%).

The fact that 90% of the respondents entered as margizens, suggests that the majority of Zimbabweans have an insecure relationship with their host states. This is because margizens are usually expected to return home once their permits expire, and often face barriers trying to renew visas or negotiate their citizenship from inside host countries. For example, almost half of the respondents report that their original permits have expired at least once (49%), yet only 62% of those whose permits expired, indicate that they renewed their permits.

Table 15: Main Modes of Entry by Country

	Number	%
All countries		
Student visa	28	38.9
Visitor's visa	17	23.6
Asylum	7	9.7
Total	52	72.2%
South Africa		
Student visa	20	60.6
Visitor's visa	8	24.2
Asylum	1	3
Total	29	87.8
United Kingdom		
Asylum	6	26.1
Work permit	4	17.4
Visitor's visa	3	13
Total	13	56.5
U.S.A		
Visitor's visa	6	37.5
Student visa	5	31.3
Guest worker	2	12.5
Total	13	81.3

4.1.1 Immigration Status and Belonging

The first proposition tests whether immigration status has an impact on feelings of belonging to a host country. The statistical tests reveal that there is a valid and

significant association between the two variables¹³. A p value of 0.018, indicates that there is less than 2% chance that the results occurred by accident. Furthermore a Cramer's V value of 0.368 is greater than 0.3, suggesting that there is a strong association between immigration status and feelings of belonging. A Lambda value of 0.038 shows that there is a weak correlation between the two variables.

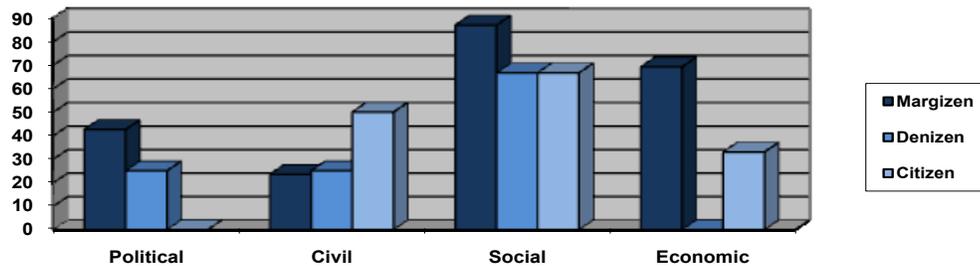
Additionally, there is an association between immigration status and perceptions about the types of rights that Zimbabweans can claim in the host country. Questions 48 to 53 asked respondents to indicate to what extent they believe that Zimbabwean immigrants can protest against unequal treatment (proxy measure for political rights), defend their rights in a court of law (proxy for civil rights), qualify for government assistance (proxy for social rights) and obtain executive level jobs (proxy for economic rights). The responses to these questions are shown in Table 16.

Figure 6 reveals respondent perceptions by highlighting the percentage of respondents who believe that Zimbabwean immigrants have little or no access to different types of rights. It is clear that margizens feel excluded from political, social and economic opportunities in host countries, relative to denizens and citizens. It is interesting to note that the majority of margizens feel that Zimbabweans cannot qualify for government assistance (88%). This figure is almost double the percentage who believes that Zimbabweans have little political power in host countries (45%), and more than thrice the percentage that believe Zimbabweans have little or no civil rights in host countries (26%).

Table 16 shows that 74% of respondents believe that Zimbabweans can claim civil rights in host countries. This high percentage may be a reflection of Zimbabwe's poor record with respect to civil liberties. Margizens may thus feel that they have more of an opportunity to defend themselves against certain types of transgression by the state, in host countries relative to Zimbabwe.

¹³ Pearson Chi-Square = 11.900, p value = 0.018, Cramer's V value = 0.368, Lambda = 0.038

Figure 6: Immigration Status and Citizenship Rights



	Margizen		Denizen		Citizen	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<u>Protest against unequal treatment</u>						
Not at all ¹⁴	25	44.6	1	25	0	0
A great deal	31	55.4	3	75	3	100
	56	100	4	100	3	100
<u>Defend their rights in a court</u>						
Not at all	14	26.4	1	25	0	0
A great deal	39	73.6	3	75	2	100
	53	100	4	100	2	100
<u>Qualify for government assistance</u>						
Not at all	49	87.5	2	66.7	2	66.7
A great deal	7	12.5	1	33.3	1	33.3
	56	100	3	100	3	100
<u>Obtain executive level jobs</u>						
Not at all	38	70.4	0	0	1	33.3
A great deal	16	29.6	4	100	2	66.7
	54	100	4	100	3	100

Table 16: Respondent Perceptions about Citizenship Rights

The results for denizens and citizens must be interpreted with care for two main reasons. Firstly, the small sample size means that there are only four denizens and three citizens in this analysis. Secondly, citizens and denizens were more likely to respond that they did not know the answer to the question, and were therefore excluded from the calculations at a greater rate. Furthermore, the fact that an average of 11

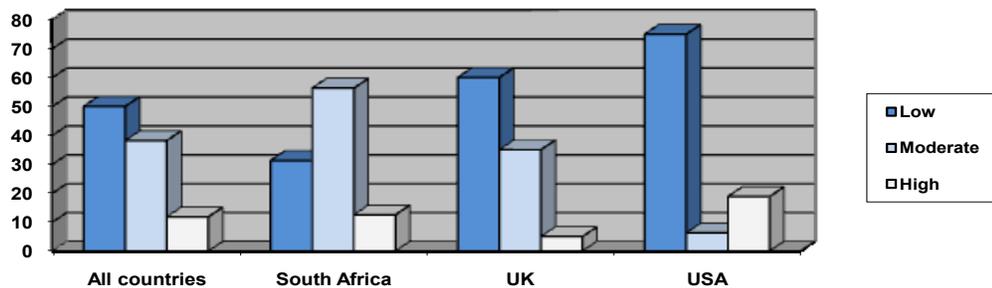
¹⁴ Responses for these questions were originally designed as a four point likert scale. These categories are therefore collapsed. 'Not at all' = 'Not very much' + 'Not at all' and 'A great deal' = 'Quite a lot' + 'A great deal'. See questions 47 to 52 of the Questionnaire, which is attached in Appendix 1.

respondents answered 'do not know' to each of these questions suggests that 15% of the sample is either not engaged, or not well informed about the types of rights that immigrants can claim in host countries.

4.2 Agency

Figure 7 and Table 17 illustrate that half the respondents have low levels of agency. This finding is in line with expectations, given the fact that the majority of respondents are not eligible to vote in their host countries. The U.S.A has the largest percentage of respondents exhibiting low levels of agency (75%). This figure is in stark contrast to the one in South Africa, where more than two thirds of respondents exhibit moderate and strong levels of agency (69%). It is important to note that these relatively high agency figures have not been inflated by the inclusion of students. The median agency score is 2 (moderate) for students as well as the other respondents in South Africa.

Figure 7: Level of Agency by Country



	All countries		South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Low	34	50	10	31.3	12	60	12	75
Moderate	26	38.2	18	56.3	7	35	1	6.3
High	8	11.8	4	12.5	1	5	3	18.8
Total	68	100%	22	100%	20	100	16	100%

Table 17: Level of Agency by Country

Table 18 provides a breakdown of the top three activities by country. It is interesting to note that respondents are active in different activities across the three countries. For

instance, those in South Africa are more active in the community relative to respondents in the U.K. and the U.S.A.

Table 18: Informal Realm of Politics by Country

All countries	South Africa	U.K	U.S.A
Job related association 22.5%	Job related 24.2%	Political 34.8%	Parent teacher 31.3%
Charitable organisation 20.8%	Community related 24.2%	Charitable 26.1%	Political 18.8%
Political or citizens group 19.4%	Charitable 24.2%	Job related 22.7%	Job related 18.8%

With respect to the formal realm of politics, eight Zimbabweans indicated that they voted in the last host country elections: three in South Africa; two in the United Kingdom; and three in the United States. The questionnaire deliberately avoided asking respondents direct questions about current immigration status and eligibility to vote, as these questions may have been perceived as intrusive. However question 46 asks:

Would you still consider yourself to be a Zimbabwean, if you became a citizen of another country? Why / why not? (If you are a citizen of another country, do you still consider yourself to be Zimbabwean? Why / why not)

Thirteen Zimbabweans indicated that they were citizens and one indicated that they had an American Green Card. This number is in line with the number of respondents who indicate that they are married to natural born citizens (fourteen). Citizens are distributed as follows: four in South Africa, five in the U.K and four in the U.S.A. Comparing the number who voted to these estimates, reveals that 62% of eligible voters voted. Three out of four voted in South Africa (75%), two out of five voted in the U.K (33%) and three out of four voted in the U.S.A (75%).

Comparing the number who indicate that they are now citizens and resident (fourteen) to the number who entered as returning citizens or permanent residents (seven), suggests that seven Zimbabweans have subsequently changed their status from margizen to either citizen or denizen (10% of the sample).

4.2.1 Agency and Belonging

There is no relationship between sense of belonging and agency. Agency nevertheless has an impact on one of the dimensions of belonging (social networks) ¹⁵. The association between agency and social networks indicates that Zimbabweans who are politically active in the host country may also belong to a greater number of social groups in the local community. A p value of 0.013, indicates that there is less than 2% chance that the results occurred by accident. Additionally, a Cramer's V value of 0.353 is greater than 0.3, suggesting that there is a strong association between social networks and agency. Finally, the Kendall's tau-c value of 0.114 is low, showing that there is a weak positive correlation between the two variables.

4.3 Country of Residence and Belonging

The second proposition tests whether country of residence has an influence on feelings of belonging. A statistical test of this relationship reveals that there is no relationship between country of residence and belonging. There is however an association between country of residence and the antecedent measure of belonging.¹⁶ A p value of 0.021 indicates that this association is valid and significant that is, there is less than 2% chance that the results occurred by chance. A Cramer's V value of 0.338 indicates that there is a strong association between country of residence and antecedents to belonging. The Lambda co-efficient value of 0.105 illustrates that there is a weak correlation between the two variables.

According to the conceptual definition of the antecedent dimension, this finding suggests that countries may have a role to play with respect to factors that must be present for an immigrant to feel they belong. Activities such as educating the public about the rights of immigrants, extending educational opportunities to immigrants, and improving police relationships with immigrant communities, have an influence on immigrant perceptions. These activities help institutionalise human rights awareness, allow immigrants to achieve upward mobility, and ensure police protection for immigrant

¹⁵ Pearson Chi-Square = 16.241, p value = 0.013, Cramer's V value = 0.353, Kendall's tau-c value =0.114

¹⁶ Pearson Chi-Square = 14.899, p value = 0.021, Cramer's V value = 0.386, Lambda =0.105

communities, irrespective of immigration status. With respect to the relationship between the police and immigrants, 93% of respondents in the U.S.A and 81% of respondents in the U.K feel that they can trust the police, compared to only 21% of respondents in South Africa.

The high figures in the U.S.A and U.K. may reflect the fact that immigration policing is a separate department in those countries. The relatively low figure in South Africa reflects the poor image that police have amongst Zimbabwean communities in South Africa, who accuse the police of arbitrarily detaining them, extorting bribes and deporting those who are unable to pay, irrespective of whether they have the legal right to be in South Africa. Table 19 shows that Zimbabweans in South Africa exhibit the lowest mean scores with respect to the antecedents dimension. This suggests that the South African state may not be doing enough with respect to antecedent indicators of belonging.

Table 19: Comparison of Means for Belonging, by Dimension and Country

	SOBI	Psycho	Ante	Ties	Social
All countries					
Mean	1.75	2.87	2.94	3.04	1.05
Median	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
SD	0.651	0.759	0.766	1.16	0.944
South Africa					
Mean	1.71	2.96	2.63	2.64	1.16
Median	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
SD	0.468	0.604	0.597	0.951	0.874
U.K					
Mean	1.64	2.65	2.77	3.22	0.95
Median	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
SD	0.701	0.884	0.732	1.09	0.843
U.S.A					
Mean	1.92	3.00	3.61	3.50	1.00
Median	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	0.50
SD	0.759	0.816	0.650	1.414	1.21

SOBI Key	Dimensions Key	Ties to Zim Key	Social Key
1- weak	1 - very weak	1 – very strong	0 - weak
2 - moderate	2 - weak	2 – strong	1 – moderate
3- strong	3 - moderate	3 – moderate	2 – strong
	4 - strong	4 – weak	3 – very strong
	5 - very strong	5 – very weak	

An analysis of the measures of central tendency and dispersion for each dimension of belonging by country reveals further insights into the perceptions of Zimbabweans living in different countries. Table 19 summarises the mean, median and standard deviation¹⁷ for each country, as well as a key for interpreting what these values mean.

The poor performance of the U.K with respect to the psychological dimension is reflected in the lowest mean score compared to all other countries. The mean score of 2.65 is lower than that of South Africa at 2.96 and the U.S.A at 3.00. This suggests that on average, Zimbabweans in the U.K. do not feel a psychosomatic sense of fit in the country and feel that British culture is incompatible with their own. Respondents in South Africa and the U.S.A were more likely to cite different values rather than a different culture, as a reason for feeling alienated from that country (see Table 8 in Section 3.1).

Finally, it is interesting to note that the median with respect to ties to Zimbabwe is 2.00 for Zimbabweans living in South Africa. This means that the median respondent exhibits strong ties to Zimbabwe. The median respondents in the U.K and the U.S.A exhibit moderate and weak ties to Zimbabwe respectively. This suggests that Zimbabwean respondents living in South Africa are the least likely to transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

4.4. Race and Belonging

The third proposition asks whether race has an impact on feelings of belonging. A Pearson Chi-square value of 20.743 is greater than zero, showing that race has an impact on belonging in this study¹⁸. The p value of 0.002 shows that this result is valid and significant and that there is less than 1% chance that this result occurred by chance. Furthermore a Cramer's V value of 0.486 is greater than 0.3, showing that there is a strong association between the two variables. A Lambda value of 0.100 shows that there is a weak correlation between the two variables.

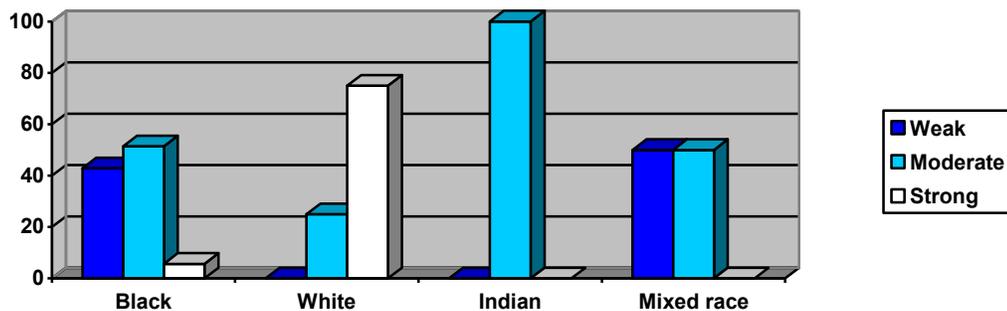
¹⁷ The standard deviation reflects the degree to which the values in a distribution differ from that of the mean.

¹⁸ Pearson Chi-Square = 20.743, p value = 0.002, Cramer's V value = 0.486, Lambda value = 0.100

The results of this proposition must however be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size and the fact that only seven respondents are White (10%), three Indian (4%) and two mixed race (3%).

Figure 8 reveals an interesting pattern. Firstly, almost half of black respondents exhibit a weak sense of belonging (43%). Secondly, Table 20 shows that there is a clear polarisation by race with 75% of white respondents exhibiting strong or very strong sense of belonging compared to only 6% of Black respondents and 0% of Indian and mixed race respondents.

Figure 8: Race and Belonging



	Black		White		Indian		Mixed	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
SOBI								
Weak	15	42.9	0	0	0	0	1	50
Moderate	18	51.4	1	25	3	100	1	50
Strong	2	5.7	3	75	0	0	0	0
Total	35	100%	4	100%	3	100%	2	100%

Table 20: Race and Belonging

It is however important to note that three of the seven white respondents are married to natural born citizens (43%). This may be a possible reason for their relatively high score, particularly with respect to the antecedent dimension of belonging. Only 18% of black respondents and no Indian or Mixed race respondents are married to natural born citizens. The three white respondents who exhibit a strong sense of belonging live in the USA, and the one who exhibits a moderate sense of belonging lives in South Africa.

Table 9A in Appendix 2 summarises the mean, median and standard deviation for each dimension of belonging, for white and black respondents. White respondents are involved in more social networks and score higher on the psychological and antecedent scale of belonging. With respect to the former, white respondents have a mean score of ‘moderate’ (3.57) whilst black respondents have a mean score of ‘weak’ (2.77).

Furthermore, an analysis of selected indicators of the psychological dimension indicates that being a member of a racialised minority group has an influence on experiences of xenophobia, racism and employment. No white respondents report being victims of either racism or xenophobia, and none feel that they are overqualified for their jobs. 55% of all black respondents however, indicate that they have been victims of racism, 25% of xenophobia and 39% of all black respondents feel that they are overqualified for their jobs.

Table 21: Racism and Xenophobia by Country

I have been a victim of racism in this country						
	South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Strongly agree	3	9	2	8.7	0	0
Agree	11	33.3	14	60.9	5	31.3
Neutral	9	27.3	1	4.3	0	0
Disagree	4	12.1	3	13	8	50
Strongly Disagree	6	18.2	3	13	3	18.8
Total	33	100%	23	100%	16	100%
I experience xenophobia						
	South Africa		U.K		U.S.A	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Most of the time	1	3	0	0	0	0
Often	1	3	1	4.3	0	0
Sometimes	4	12.1	9	39.1	0	0
Rarely	13	39.4	8	34.8	8	50
Almost never	14	42.4	5	21.7	8	50
Total	33	100%	23	100%	16	100%

There is a valid and significant relationship between country of residence and racism¹⁹. Table 21 illustrates the percentage of respondents who believe that they have been victims of racism and xenophobia, by country. Respondents in the U.K clearly report the highest levels of dissatisfaction, with 70% of all respondents reporting that they have been victims of racism and 43% reporting xenophobia.

The poor performance of the U.K. in these two categories is an unexpected finding. The expectation was that Zimbabweans in South Africa would report higher levels of xenophobia and racism. There are two possible reasons for this unexpected finding. Firstly, the sample may be biased towards relatively more affluent Zimbabweans in South Africa, who are not living in townships and were therefore insulated from the xenophobic attacks.

Secondly, an analysis of the responses to question 53 reveals that Zimbabweans in the U.K are describing institutional racism. The question asks:

What do you like the most about living in the country you live in now and what do you like the least?

Almost one third of respondents living in the U.K mentioned institutional racism, in the words of some respondents *'they only want Zimbabweans to clean their toilets and look after the old sick people,'* and *'I don't like my care job and the fact that they won't let you change your visa (to look for another job)'* South Africans on the other-hand are almost unanimous in condemning xenophobia, crime and racism in South Africa. *'I dislike the fact that there is so much hatred, racism, violence and xenophobia in South African hearts. They should open their minds and realise that they can learn a lot from Zimbabweans whilst we are still here.'* The fact that there is an almost universal condemnation of racism and xenophobia in South Africa is a possible outcome of the ongoing xenophobic attacks in the country.

¹⁹ Pearson's Chi-Square = 21.529, p value = 0.007, Cramer's V = 0.383, Lambda = 0.079

4.5. Gender and belonging

The final proposition tests whether gender has an influence on feelings of belonging to a host country. A statistical test reveals that there is no relationship between gender and belonging in this study. There are however slight differences between the perceptions of male and female respondents.

Table 22: Sense of Belonging by Gender

	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Low	8	33.3	8	40
Moderate	13	54.2	10	50
High	3	12.5	2	10
Total	24	100%	20	100%

According to the results in Table 22, 67% of men and 60% of women have moderate to high sense of belonging. There is therefore no substantial difference between male and female respondents, with regards to the composite sense of belonging index. There are however differences between scores for each dimension of belonging. Table 23 compares means by gender and reveals that there are two main differences between men and women. Firstly, men have stronger ties to Zimbabwe (weaker ties to the host country) and secondly women on average scored higher than men on the antecedents to belonging index.

Table 23: Dimensions of Belonging by Gender: Mean, Median and Standard Deviation

	Psychological		Antecedents		Ties to Zimbabwe		Social Networks	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mean	2.83	2.91	2.89	3.00	2.81	3.34	1.16	0.937
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	1.00	1.00
SD	0.736	0.790	0.628	0.925	1.174	1.11	0.940	0.948

Dimensions Key	Ties to Zim Key	Social Key
1 - very weak	1 – very strong	0 - weak
2 - weak	2 – strong	1 – moderate
3 - moderate	3 – moderate	2 – strong
4 - strong	4 – weak	3 – very strong
5 - very strong	5 – very weak	

The finding that men have stronger ties to Zimbabwe flies in the face of existing evidence. Previous studies show that women have closer ties to home and are more likely to send money home (Dodson et al, 2008:1; Tastsoglou, 1996:206). A detailed analysis of the responses to the ties to Zimbabwe dimension reveals the forces driving this result. Tables 2A to 6A in Appendix 2 provide detailed information about the impact of gender with respect to selected indicators of the ties to Zimbabwe dimension.

Two salient differences will be briefly highlighted. Firstly, men are more likely to believe that buying a house for themselves in Zimbabwe is important (68% of men versus 49% of women); and that buying a house for their parents in Zimbabwe is important (71% of men versus 52% of women). Secondly, although men and women are equally likely to send money home regularly, men are more likely than women, to send food and care packages home regularly (74% of men versus 50% of women). Furthermore, five of the seven respondents whose partners live in Zimbabwe are men (71%); and nine of the fourteen respondents who have at least one child at home are men (64%).

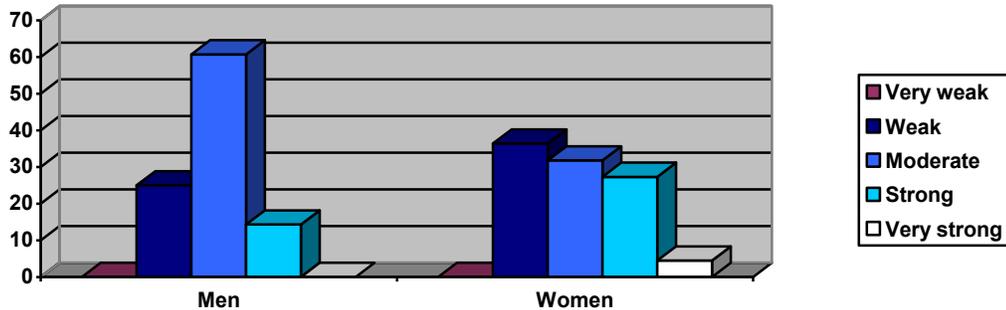
These statistics suggests that male respondents still maintain traditional cultural beliefs about 'manhood,' where the status of Zimbabwean men is inextricably linked to owning a dwelling in the ancestral homeland. In addition, the fact that men send money as well as food suggests that they are the primary breadwinners for their families, sending income, groceries, clothing and other necessities to their families from the Diaspora. Finally, the fact that a greater percentage of men have partners and children back home, suggests that men are more likely to migrate alone, and then send for their families once they are settled.

Table 23 also reveals that women on average scored higher than men on the antecedents to belonging index. Figure 9 and Table 24 illustrate that the majority of men score in the moderate range of the antecedents to belonging dimension (61%). Female respondents are more evenly distributed with 36% scoring in the weak range and 32% in the strong and very strong range. This suggests that women are more likely to have weaker as well as stronger scores relative to men

An analysis of the different indicators of the antecedents dimension illustrates that women are more likely to trust the police than men, and that women are more likely to want to live in the host country than men. Table 7A in Appendix 2 shows that 64% of women believe Zimbabweans can trust the police, compared to only 50% of men. The figure for black female respondents is consistent, with 64% trusting the police. However, only 45% of black male respondents feel that Zimbabweans can trust the police. Additionally, nine of the fifteen respondents who would rather live in the host country, than in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe are women (60%).

The fact that gender does not have a valid and significant relationship with belonging or any of the dimensions of belonging indicates that these differences cannot be generalised to the experience of Zimbabwean respondents as a whole. It would be interesting to determine whether gender has an impact on feelings of belonging for a larger sample.

Figure 9: Antecedent Dimension by Gender



Antecedents to Belonging by Gender				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	0	0	0	0
Weak	7	25	8	36.4
Moderate	17	60.7	7	31.8
Strong	4	14.3	6	27.3
Very Strong	0	0	1	4.5
Total	28	100%	22	100%

Table 24: Antecedent Dimension by Gender

5. Discussion of Results

The data analysis results will be evaluated in this section, with reference to the literature review findings. The section is thus structured in the same way as section 4 that is, the findings will be discussed with respect to citizenship, country of residence, race and gender, in section 5.1. Section 5.2 will evaluate these findings briefly with reference to the overall aim of the research.

5.1. Findings

The classic definitions of citizenship either focus on citizens who are automatically granted full and equal membership of the political community, or on the agency of full and equal members. Classic theories do not account for the myriad relationships that exist between non-citizens and the state. This is a considerable deficiency, particularly given the fact that the global movement of people means that non-citizens are a structural feature of most industrialised countries. This study draws on expanded as well as trans-national definitions of citizenship, to analyse the perceptions of members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora. The majority of respondents are not citizens of their host countries and their relationships with the state can be expressed as a hierarchy of citizenship, or a continuum ranging from citizens to margizens.

Although the majority of respondents are margizens, analysing the experience of citizens provides interesting insights about citizenship as obligation and as a right. For instance, citizenship status has an impact on the level of agency: citizens have a mean agency score of 2.33; denizens have a mean agency of 2.25; and margizens have a mean agency score of 1.54. Respondents who can claim more citizenship rights are therefore more active citizens compared to those who feel excluded from the political, economic and social rights.

In spite of this, citizens and denizens are more likely to be unemployed and on government benefits, compared to margizens. According to the New Right School, members are obligated to work, in order to be accepted as full and equal members of society. This finding suggests that citizens from the South, in this study, are not full and equal members of host countries, in spite of formal possession of citizenship rights.

A common refrain running through the responses of Zimbabwean citizens in the U.K in particular, was that they suffered from a lack of authenticity in host states and were still treated as foreigners, in spite of possessing formal citizenship rights. There is therefore a difference between obtaining formal access to citizenship rights and being accepted as a member of that community. This lack of acceptance may be a possible reason why Zimbabweans who have formal possession of citizenship rights do not necessarily exhibit stronger feelings of belonging to the host country. These findings support the assumption that there is a difference between one's identity as a national and one's status as a citizen (Castles and Davidson, 2000:15; Safran, 1997:328).

The majority of respondents also expressed frustration with perceived attempts by the host country to exclude them from becoming full and equal members. They commented on draconian visa application procedures, severe restrictions upon entry, constant reminders of being foreign such as continuous requests for proof of status, and the perceived demonization of Zimbabweans by members of the dominant community. It is not surprising that the majority of Zimbabweans (54%) described their host countries in instrumental terms whilst only 5% described in emotional terms. The survey results thus support the procedural model of national citizenship.

Zimbabwe was described largely in emotional or communitarian orientations, with most respondents expressing a sense of fit and an attachment to Zimbabwe that they do not feel in the host country. The major exception to this were homosexual respondents, one of whom said *'(I feel I belong here because) unlike Zimbabweans, most Americans I meet do not care that I am gay.'*

The results of the survey also show that country of residence has an impact on the antecedent dimension of belonging. An analysis of the reasons given for feelings of not belonging shows that host country policies of immigrant incorporation may have a large impact on perceptions about host country attitudes towards immigrants. Patterns that emerged in the survey are: the U.S.A model for tolerance, integration and their welcoming nature towards foreigners; South Africa's hostility against African immigrants; and British nationalistic ideas of citizenship.

The fact that Zimbabweans living in the U.K. had the lowest mean score with respect to feelings of belonging was an unexpected finding. This may however be explained by the fact that the method of survey distribution excludes poorer, less educated Zimbabweans living in South African townships, who are most likely to be exposed to xenophobic violence. For example, 88% of respondents in South Africa had a Bachelors degree or higher, compared to 52% in the U.K, and 44% in the U.S.A.

It is important to note that respondents perceive the psychological sense of fit in the host country is one of the biggest hurdles to belonging, particularly with respect to different cultural values and xenophobia. Although real political will can address the problem of xenophobia, the psychological sense of fit is a difficult element to incorporate into policies of immigrant integration. It would be interesting to examine whether the psychological sense of fit is higher, in countries like the Netherlands that have compulsory courses for certain immigrant groups. These courses cover a diverse range of topics such as what to expect in the host country, cultural values and avenues to defend one's rights.

The proposition results also show that race has an influence on feelings of belonging. Experiences of discrimination, racism and xenophobia in host countries were reported largely along racial lines. Black respondents were more likely to report a feeling of being different from the common culture, and more likely to experience a very weak psychological sense of fit in the host country. These feelings of exclusion and marginalisation impede feelings of belonging, and support the theoretical assumption that immigrants from the South are failing to make the transition from immigrant, to member of an ethnic community and then to national (Berking, 2004:107). This finding thus support arguments by cultural pluralists, who advocate moving away from the concept of universalism in the public sphere, by providing institutional guidelines to grant marginalised groups special representation.

It is interesting to note that gender does not have an impact on feelings of belonging in this study. This finding occurred in spite of the fact that the informal realm of politics was included in the measurement of agency. In fact, men had a higher median agency score

of 2 (moderate levels of agency), whilst women had a median agency score of 1.00 (weak agency). When faced with entry barriers in the formal realm, Zimbabwean men moved to the informal realm of politics and were more likely to be involved in local political groups than women. It would be interesting to find out whether this pattern will emerge in a larger sample of Zimbabweans.

Finally, according to trans-national perspectives of migration, there are four possible outcomes of belonging and identity negotiation for immigrants. Firstly an immigrant may regard national belonging to be unique and pledge their allegiance to either the home or the host country; secondly they may feel that they belong in more than one country but experience belonging in each country differently; thirdly an immigrant may feel that they belong in both countries fully and equally; and finally, migrants may feel that they will never be accepted into their host communities and develop a long distance nationalism or heightened sense of attachment to their countries of origin, as a way of differentiating themselves from the dominant population.

The majority of respondents in the U.K and South Africa clearly indicated that they were proud to be Zimbabwean, that they were confident that the Zimbabwean economy would recover and that they were eager to return to rebuild the country once real political change occurred. These responses suggest that Zimbabweans, who feel that they will never truly belong or be fully accepted in South Africa and the U.K, have developed a heightened sense of attachment to Zimbabwe. The opposite may also be true: Zimbabweans, who have a heightened sense of belonging to Zimbabwe, may not develop a sense of belonging to other countries.

Zimbabweans in America however, were more equally distributed amongst the first three outcomes, with the majority expressing an emotional allegiance to Zimbabwe. The overriding sentiment was that they did not really belong in America and that they would always feel Zimbabwean, but also that they were appreciative of their lives in America and focused on building their futures there.

5.2. Evaluation of results

This overall aim of this quantitative study of Zimbabweans was to develop a sense of belonging instrument that is relevant to Zimbabweans; to examine the factors that influence feelings of belonging; and to identify patterns that can be generalised to the experience of other immigrant groups. The first two aims have been met in this study. The thirty-seven indicator SOBI measurement makes a substantive contribution towards understanding how Zimbabweans in the Diaspora are negotiating feelings of citizenship and belonging. Using SOBI has therefore led to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics influencing feelings of belonging.

There is however a challenge with respect to the third aim, namely identifying patterns that can be generalised to the experience of other immigrant groups. The small sample size of only 72 respondents exacerbates the tension between representativeness and variability, as there may not be enough variance to detect patterns. Due weight must therefore be given to the limitations and biases inherent in a small sample size, particularly with respect to the question of generalisability. It would therefore be interesting to investigate whether the same patterns emerge when the questionnaire is applied to a larger sample, or when it is extended to other Diasporic groups from the Global South.

6. Conclusion

The measures of association and statistical significance reveal that there is a strong association between immigration status, race and feelings of belonging to a host country. There is also a strong association between country of residence and the antecedent dimension of belonging, as well as between agency and the social networks dimension in this study. The measures of correlation reveal that there are statistically significant correlations between the variables described above. Comparing these findings with the literature review findings reveals three main points. Firstly, traditional theories of citizenship that focus only on full and equal members in political communities are inadequate for studying the perceptions of respondents. Expanded and trans-national theories of citizenship and belonging are more relevant for this study.

Secondly, there is indeed empirical evidence to support Cultural Pluralists' arguments for moving away from the universalism of the public sphere, in an effort to include marginalised groups such as immigrants and minorities. Thirdly, the fact that country of residence has an impact on the antecedent dimension of belonging suggests that host country policies and attitudes of the dominant community may have an impact on immigrant perceptions about host country reception. The prevailing trend to focus solely on one factor, without accounting for the others, may therefore be too narrow. The next and final chapter in this thesis revisits the aims and objectives of this study, in order to ensure that they have been met.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to conduct exploratory and descriptive research into the concept of belonging to a host country. The concluding chapter revisits the four research objectives outlined in the introduction chapter, and evaluates the findings for each of these four objectives, in order to ensure that each objective has been met. Section 1 summarizes the findings for objectives one to three and reaches key conclusions that capture what the findings reveal about each objective. These three objectives were the main focus of the previous three chapters and are therefore dealt with in one section. The fourth objective is dealt with separately in Section 2, where key conclusions reached in section 1 will be used to formulate recommendations for further study. The research concludes with Section 3, which provides a brief outline of the contribution that this empirical study has made to the study of belonging.

1. Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The research started by identifying four inter-related objectives that would be used to guide the study. These objectives are to identify the forces influencing belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country; to explore previous empirical studies that are relevant to an analysis of belonging for Diasporic communities; to gather and critically evaluate empirical data on perceptions of belonging amongst members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora; and to formulate recommendations for further study. This section summarises the main findings and conclusions reached for each objective.

1.1 Research Objective 1

The first research objective was to identify the forces influencing belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country. This objective was addressed in the literature review, where four main factors that influence belonging for immigrants were identified. These are formal exclusion from citizenship rights, physical and psychological alienation from the home and host country, discursive immigration histories in the public sphere and being a member of previously excluded groups. Each of these factors will be summarised briefly below, with reference to the empirical findings from the study of Zimbabweans living in the U.S.A, South Africa and the U.K.

The problem of formal exclusion from citizenship applies above all to Zimbabwean immigrants who expressed frustration with perceived attempts to exclude them from becoming full and equal members of host societies. Although immigrants are theoretically allowed to participate in the economic and social spheres of host countries, the finding in this study is that immigrants feel marginalised from political, social and economic opportunities, relative to denizens and citizens.

Secondly, the weight of evidence suggests that physical and psychological alienation from both home and host countries, has an important influence on the ability of immigrants to negotiate feelings of belonging. The fact that Zimbabweans in this study expressed their appreciation of the instrumental benefits of physically living in host countries instead of Zimbabwe, combined with the finding that their emotional identities are still inextricably tied to Zimbabwe, suggests that they are living in two worlds, without being quite at home in either. Furthermore the fact that immigrants are expected to conform to the dominant culture and to a set of values that many find incompatible with their own, means that Zimbabwean immigrants face a significant cultural, and psychological barrier in terms of cultural belonging.

Discursive immigration histories in host country public spheres have a significant influence on belonging in this study. Patterns that emerged in the survey are: the U.S.A's model for tolerance, integration and their welcoming nature towards foreigners; South Africa's hostility against African immigrants; and British nationalistic ideas of citizenship. With respect to the latter, Zimbabwean immigrants who are not descendants of British nationals, suffer from a lack of authenticity in the country, irrespective of whether they possess formal citizenship rights or not. Immigrants thus face a significant gulf between acquiring the legal status of citizen, self-identifying as a national of the host country and being accepted as a 'real' member by the dominant community.

Finally, the expanded definitions of citizenship argue that immigrants who are members of minority groups and those who are women may experience belonging differently from other immigrants. The empirical study finds that experiences of discrimination, racism and xenophobia in host countries were reported largely along racial lines. This suggests

that being an immigrant from the South who is also a member of a visible minority ethnic group may be perceived as a negative identity by the dominant group. Although there was not empirical support for the influence of gender in this study, there were slight differences between the perceptions of men and women with respect to ties to Zimbabwe and antecedent dimensions of belonging. Negotiating identity, belonging, difference and the right to full citizenship may therefore be a life-long process for racialised minority groups and women.

The main conclusion that can be drawn with respect to the first objective is that belonging, inclusion and identification with a host country is a complex process that involves three separate stakeholders namely the host country, members of the dominant group and the immigrants themselves. Firstly, host countries have an important role to play with respect to institutional components that are important to immigrants, such as immigration policies and setting the tone in the public sphere. Secondly, acceptance and being valued by members of the dominant community are important tenets of belonging that lend authenticity to the formal status granted by host governments. Lastly, immigrants themselves have to exercise their agency to facilitate the process of belonging, for example by crossing psychological barriers in terms of belonging and by maintaining a healthy, not a heightened sense of attachment to the country of origin.

1.2 Research Objective 2

The second objective builds on the first by exploring empirical studies that are relevant to an analysis of belonging for Diasporic communities. Three main studies were used as a starting point for this empirical study: Magat's study of citizenship and belonging for Jewish and Japanese immigrants in Canada (Magat, 1999); Gustafson's study of the identity and belonging of Swedish immigrants (Gustafson, 2005); and Stasiulis and Amery's study of the emotional cartography of citizenship among Lebanese-Australians and Lebanese-Canadians (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009). These studies were chosen because they incorporate emotional citizenship into studies of citizenship and trans-national belonging. Three of their findings will be discussed below, with reference to the perceptions of the Zimbabweans respondents.

Firstly, all three studies show that emotional citizenship is more intense with respect to countries of origin. Citizenship in the host country is viewed largely in practical or instrumental terms, whilst the country of origin is viewed in emotional terms. The majority of Zimbabweans (54%) described their host countries in instrumental terms and only 5% described it in emotional terms. The survey results thus support the procedural model of national citizenship for host countries. Zimbabwe on the other hand was described largely in emotional or communitarian orientations, with most respondents expressing a sense of fit and an attachment to Zimbabwe that they do not feel in the host country.

Secondly, Stasiulis and Amery (2009:25) reveal a more complex pattern of attachments for Lebanese with dual citizenship in Australia and Canada. They find that 'the emotions attached to state memberships varied considerably and were dependent on factors such as place of birth, length of residence in the two countries, age, gender, familial status and the experience of past Lebanese wars' (Stasiulis and Amery, 2009:9).

This study focuses on four independent variables namely citizenship, country of residence, race and gender, and finds that there are valid and statistically significant relationships between belonging and immigration status, between belonging and race, between country of residence and the antecedent dimension of belonging, and between social networks dimension of belonging and agency dimension of citizenship. Furthermore, the fact that respondents in three different countries exhibit distinct patterns for each of the four dimensions of belonging reveals a complex pattern of attachments for respondents, Belonging for Zimbabweans is therefore negotiable, fluid and changeable, depending on the legal, political, social and cultural context in the host country.

Finally the finding in this study supports trans-national perspectives of migration, with respect to the possible outcomes of identity negotiation for immigrants (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994: 9; Gustafson, 2005:16; Nagel and Staehehli, 2004:7). The fact that the majority of Zimbabweans in South Africa and the UK have developed long distance

nationalism and a heightened sense of attachment to Zimbabwe emphasises once again the important role that members of the dominant community have to play, particularly with respect to accepting culturally diverse immigrants, acknowledging their contribution and allowing them to live with dignity.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the second objective is that various factors in the host country and attitudes by members of the dominant community may have an influence on the willingness of immigrants to transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from their country of origin to the new home country. Traditional perspectives of immigration may therefore need to be expanded to account for the fact that various factors in the host country such as xenophobia or nationalism, may mean that some immigrants simply are not willing to cross psychological barriers to become like members of the dominant group.

1.3 Research Objective 3

The third objective is to gather empirical data on perceptions of belonging amongst members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora, in order to compare empirical findings to theoretical models. The main findings in this empirical study have been discussed in sections 1.1 and 1.2 with reference to the literature review and previous academic studies. This section will therefore focus on discussing the two main difficulties encountered in meeting the third objective.

The first difficulty arose due to the fact that the questionnaire asks for sensitive information. The researcher received several emails asking for assurances of confidentiality. Other emails bluntly stated that they would not participate because they do not even share such sensitive information (about income and immigration status) with close friends. Although this response was expected, there was insufficient time to establish trust by communicating with conservative Zimbabweans over a long period of time, before gathering empirical data on citizenship and belonging.

Secondly, the social networks index proved to be a difficult concept to measure in a reliable way. For instance, the index is only 9.3% reliable when a factor analysis is

performed on the variables. Furthermore, excluding the social networks index from the SOBI calculation increases the Cronbach's alpha co-efficient from 0.608 to 0.703.

The social networks dimension is however an important dimension of belonging, as evidenced by the fact that dropping it from the composite index reduces the SOBI's 'explanatory power.' The researcher thus suggests that social networks be re-conceptualised, perhaps to measure both isolation (amount of interaction with friends and family) as well as the number of voluntary memberships in the community.

The main lesson that can be drawn from an empirical survey of Zimbabweans is that more conservative Zimbabwean respondents were interested in participating but were discouraged by the inclusion of intrusive, personal questions. This attitude may reflect traditional, cultural notions that 'young children' or 'students' should not ask adults personal questions about their immigration status and income. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this is that it is necessary to understand the culture of whatever Diasporic group is being studied, and to incorporate this into the research design.

2. Recommendations

The fourth objective was to use information gathered in the first three phases to formulate recommendations for further study. This objective will be addressed by revisiting the key conclusions reached in sections 1.1 to 1.3 and formulating recommendations based on these conclusions.

Conclusion 1 states that belonging for immigrants is dependent on the actions and policies of the host state, members of the dominant community as well as of immigrants themselves. Previous studies tend to focus only on immigrants, and assume that the influence of the first two groups is negligible. This study however reveals that immigrants experience belonging differently in the three countries being studied. I would therefore recommend viewing the problem of immigrant integration from multiple lenses by including the influence of various stakeholders. Doing so would lead to a more nuanced understanding of the forces influencing belonging, and could potentially lead to the formulation of more comprehensive and more targeted policies.

Conclusion 2 questions whether (economic) migrants are willing to transfer their allegiance from their country of origin to their host country. It would be interesting to study this further, perhaps by determining whether feelings of being forcibly dispersed from the homeland have an influence on an immigrant's willingness to cross the psychological barrier in terms of cultural belonging. Understanding the willingness of immigrants to integrate could have two main benefits. Firstly, it could lead to a more comprehensive understanding of identities and belonging for immigrants from the South. Secondly, further research into the psychological dimension of belonging, would help policy makers study what respondents perceive to be one of the biggest barriers to feelings of belonging.

Finally, the third conclusion states that it is necessary to understand the culture of whatever Diasporic group is being studied. The final recommendation thus focuses on three factors that may offer an improved chance of the quantitative model being adopted successfully. Firstly, the social networks dimension should be re-conceptualised, secondly the SOBI should be modified to fit the particular community being studied, and finally it should be applied to a larger sample to determine whether similar patterns emerge.

3. Contribution to knowledge

This empirical research is unique in three main ways. Firstly, it is the only study of belonging for Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. It captures what they feel, how they see themselves with respect to the dominant community and how they are negotiating feelings of belonging given their common history of exclusion and xenophobia in host countries, and their strategic need to maintain ties with and support families back home.

Secondly, this study uses quantitative studies from the field of psychology as a starting point to develop a quantitative sense of belonging instrument that is relevant to the experience of Zimbabweans. This instrument consists of four dimensions, which all contribute to an understanding of the process of belonging for immigrants. A Cronbach's Alpha co-efficient of 0.608 illustrates that the SOBI index is 60.8% reliable with respect

to measuring belonging. This empirical study thus makes a substantive contribution to the quantitative study of belonging in political science.

Thirdly, this study builds on previous qualitative studies by Stasiulis and Amery, (2009); Magat, (1999) and Gustafson, (2005) by studying the perceptions of a Diasporic community in three countries. Although Stasiulis and Amery, (2009) look at Lebanese nationals with dual citizenship in Australia and Canada, their study stops short of making cross country comparisons. Adding a cross-country component to this empirical study thus leads to a more comprehensive understanding of the different factors influencing belonging.

4. Conclusion

In closing, I would like to mention that the conclusions have to be viewed in terms of a caveat. They are based on an extensive review of related literature and a small scale survey. One cannot generalise that these research conclusions can be automatically applied to all other immigrant groups. The study has however achieved its main objectives. Firstly, it has provided a coherent perspective on the concept of belonging to a host country, a subject that has received varying degrees of attention in several fields. Secondly, it introduces an alternative way of conceptualising and studying belonging to a host country quantitatively. By doing so, it has revealed that the problem of immigrant integration should be viewed from multiple lenses, by including the influence of various stakeholders. Finally, the research has advanced an understanding of an under-conceptualised yet topical issue. It therefore argues that further studies into the concept of belonging can potentially lead to the formulation of more comprehensive and more targeted policies.

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Appendix 1 Questionnaire



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

2 September 2009

To Whom it May Concern

Research Sibusisiwe Nkomo

Sibusisiwe Nkomo is doing an MA thesis under my supervision. She is studying the perceptions of Zimbabweans who form part of the diaspora. This research is very important and I kindly request your co-operation by filling in her questionnaire. All the information will be treated as confidential and anonymous and will not be linked back to any individual respondent.

Your co-operation is highly appreciated. If you want more information please contact me at ag1@sun.ac.za

Yours sincerely

Prof Amanda Gouws

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²⁰ A pseudonym was used in order to eliminate possible response bias from respondents who knew the researcher, members of the researcher's family, or recognised the researcher's surname.

Instructions

Please open the Questionnaire and save it to your computer or disk.

Click on Question 1 and type in the answer in order to start

Press tab to move to the next Question

Use the arrow keys (→↑↓←) to move from one box to another

To select an answer, click on the box that closely represents how you feel

To change your answer, click on your first choice to deselect it, then click on the correct answer

Save the questionnaire when you are finished

Email the questionnaire as an attachment, to the following email address: hhayibo1@gmail.com

If you would like to receive the results of this study in November 2009, please write "results" in the subject line of the email.

All questionnaires must be received before the 27th of September 2009

Thanking you for participating,

Sibusisiwe Nkomo

1. What country were you born in? _____

2. What country do you live in? _____

---Select one---

Statement	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Neutral 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
How do you feel about Zimbabwe?					
3. I feel more at home in Zimbabwe than I do here	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. I loved growing up in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5. Children in Zimbabwe do not grow up with better values	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6. Thinking about the situation in Zimbabwe makes me sad	<input type="checkbox"/>				
7. Culturally, I belong in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
8. I will not go back to live in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
9. I would have a better job, in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
10. I would never have left Zimbabwe, if I had not been forced to	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Statement	Most of the time 5	Often 4	Some times 3	Rarely 2	Almost never 1
11. I tell people that I am Zimbabwean	<input type="checkbox"/>				
12. I think about Zimbabwe a lot	<input type="checkbox"/>				
13. People here assume I am not educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
14. I experience xenophobia	<input type="checkbox"/>				
15. I 'hang out' with Zimbabweans	<input type="checkbox"/>				
16. Zimbabwean qualifications are not recognised	<input type="checkbox"/>				
17. I am discriminated against	<input type="checkbox"/>				
18. I miss Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
19. I feel like an outsider	<input type="checkbox"/>				
20. I speak my home language	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Statement	Once a week or more 4	Once or twice a month 3	A few times a year 2	Almost never 1	Do not know 9
How often do you?					
21. Attend religious services (church, mosque, temple)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Visit or go out with blood relatives who do not live with you (do not include in-laws or spouses)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Keep in touch with Zimbabwean friends and family via internet, email or social networking sites	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Go out with people who are natural born citizens (people who were born in the country you live in)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Being truly Zimbabwean is usually associated with having an ancestral home in Zimbabwe. Do you feel you truly belong to the country you live in? Why / why not?

--

Statement	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Neutral 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
How do you feel about the country you live in now?					
26. I would rather live here than in a peaceful and prosperous Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
27. I like more things about this country than I dislike	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. I have to abandon my culture in order to truly fit in	<input type="checkbox"/>				
29. I will teach my children about this culture, ONLY	<input type="checkbox"/>				
30. African immigrants are welcome here	<input type="checkbox"/>				
31. I would earn more money if I had been born here	<input type="checkbox"/>				
32. I have been a victim of racism in this country	<input type="checkbox"/>				
33. My life here is better than my life was in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>				
34. I am overqualified for my job	<input type="checkbox"/>				
35. My neighbourhood has more minorities (Black, Asian, Hispanic people) than an average middle class neighbourhood	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Statement	Very important 4	Somewhat important 3	Not very important 2	Not at all important 1	Do not know 9
How important are each of the following categories to you?					
36. Keeping in touch with other Zimbabweans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Joining organisations for Zimbabweans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Buying a house for yourself in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Buying a house for your parents (or relatives) in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Making friends who are natural born citizens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Making money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. The job that you are currently working in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Statement	Once a week or more 4	Once or twice a month 3	A few times a year 2	Almost never 1	Do not know 9
How often do you?					
43. Send money to relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. Send food or care packages to Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. Talk on the phone to someone in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**46. Would you still consider yourself to be a Zimbabwean, if you became a citizen of another country?
Why / why not? (If you are a citizen of another country, do you consider yourself to be Zimbabwean, why / why not?)**

Statement	A Great Deal 4	Quite a lot 3	Not very much 2	Not at all 1	Do not know 9
In the country you live in, to what extent can Zimbabwean immigrants					
47. Trust the police	<input type="checkbox"/>				
48. Qualify for government assistance	<input type="checkbox"/>				
49. Access educational opportunities (scholarships etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>				
50. Defend their rights in a court of law	<input type="checkbox"/>				
51. Obtain executive level jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>				
52. Protest against unequal treatment	<input type="checkbox"/>				

53. What do you like most about living in the country you live in now? And what do you like the least?

Did you vote?

	Yes 1	Not eligible to vote 2	No 0
54. In the last federal or government elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
55. In the last provincial or state elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
56. In the last local / municipal elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
57. In the 2008 Zimbabwean Presidential Elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
58. In the 2005 Zimbabwean Parliamentary Elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
59. In the 2000 Zimbabwean Elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do you:

	Yes 1	No 0	Do not Know 9
60. Own the home that you live in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
61. Own a house or stand in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
62. Rent your home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
63. Live with a roommate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In the last 12 months, have you been a member of, or volunteered in any of the following organisations / activities?

	Yes 1	No 0	Do not know 9
64. Gym	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
65. Sports club or sports team	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
66. Religious group (church choir, mosque, temple etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
67. Community organisation (YMCA, community centre)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
68. An ethnic or cultural association / club for Zimbabweans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
69. Charitable organisation (cancer society)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
70. Hobby group (book club, garden club etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
71. Cultural group (dance club, film, art, theatre etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
72. Historical or heritage society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
73. Political or citizen's group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
74. Youth organisation (scouts, girls guides)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
75. Children's school group (Parent/teacher association)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
76. Job related association (labour union, professional association)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
77. Ethnic or immigrant association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
78. NGO (Amnesty International, Habitat for Humanity etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
79. Public or local library	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
80. Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

81. I first entered this country on a:

1. Visitor's visa	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Student Visa	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Casual labourer or guest worker permit	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Fiancé, spousal or family reunification visa	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Work permit	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Asylum application	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Immigration permit	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. As a returning citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please mark with an 'x' in the appropriate box

	Yes 1	No 0	N/A 8
82. My original permit has expired at least once	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
83. My asylum application was denied	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
84. I am in the process of extending my visa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
85. I am married or engaged to a natural born citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
86. I have at least one child who was born in this country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
87. I have at least once child in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
88. I renewed my permit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The following Information is for Statistical Purposes only

89. How many years have you lived in this country? _____

90. What is your Gender? ----Select One----

91. How many cars in your household? ---Select One---

92. What is your date of birth? _____

93. I have lived in the following countries for a period of 6 months or more:

Please mark all countries you have lived in

1. South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Botswana	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. United Kingdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. United States of America	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Canada	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

94. What is the highest level of education completed?

If you are currently in school, please indicate the previous educational level completed

1. No schooling completed	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Did not finish primary school	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Grade 7	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. ZJC (Zimbabwe Junior Certificate)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. O' levels	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. A' levels	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Apprentice, technical school	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Diploma / Associates degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Bachelors degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Master's degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Phd	<input type="checkbox"/>

95. How old were you, when you left Zimbabwe permanently?

0 – 9 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
10 – 19 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
20 – 29 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
30 – 39 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
40 – 49 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
50 years or older	<input type="checkbox"/>

96. Do you live in a:

1. Rural place	Less than 100,000 people	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Town	100,001 – 500,000 people	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. City	500,001 – 2,000,000 people	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Metro	More than 2,000,000 people	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions about your life in Zimbabwe

Question	Answer	N/A
97. What suburb and city did you live in, in Zimbabwe?		<input type="checkbox"/>
98. What is the name of your old high school in Zimbabwe?		<input type="checkbox"/>

In which country did you obtain each of the following certificates?

Qualification	Country	N/A
99. Primary School		<input type="checkbox"/>
100. High School		<input type="checkbox"/>
101. Diploma/ Bachelors degree		<input type="checkbox"/>
102. Post-graduate degree		<input type="checkbox"/>

103. What is your profession?

Please use your main job, if you have more than one job

1. Self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Executive, senior management or senior professional	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Manager	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Academic	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Office worker	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Skilled manual work	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Semi-skilled work	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Farm owner	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Unskilled labourer	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Casual labour	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Student	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

104. What race group do you belong to?

1. Black	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. White	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Mixed race	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

105. What is your ethnicity?

Race	Ethnicity	N/A
1. If you are Black, are you Shona, Ndebele etc		<input type="checkbox"/>
2. If you are White, are you Afrikaans, English etc		<input type="checkbox"/>
3. If you are Indian, are you Bengali, Punjabi etc		<input type="checkbox"/>
4. If you are Mixed race, are you Irish, Shona etc		<input type="checkbox"/>
5. If you are Other, are you Han Chinese etc		<input type="checkbox"/>

106. What is your total annual household income?

Please count all monthly income (wages, salaries, pensions etc) earned by everyone in your household and multiply by 12)

South Africa		United Kingdom		United States of America	
1. 0 – R 15,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. £ 0 - £ 8,500	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. \$ 0 - \$ 12,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. R15,001 – R 30,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. £ 8,5001 - £ 12,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. \$ 12,001 - \$ 28,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. R 30,001 – R 65,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. £ 12,001 - £ 21,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. \$ 28,001 - \$ 45,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. R 65,001 – R180,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. £21,001 - £ 38,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. \$ 45,001 - \$ 80,0000	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. R180,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. £ 38,0001 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. \$ 80,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Do not know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Do not know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Do not know	<input type="checkbox"/>

107. What is your marital status? ---Select One---

108. Information about your partner: Does your Spouse, fiancé, boyfriend or girlfriend :

	Yes 3	No 2	N/A 8
1. Live with you	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Live in a different city (in the same country)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Live in Zimbabwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Live in a different country (other than Zimbabwe)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please save the form and email it to: hhayibo1@gmail.com. If you would like to receive the results of this study in November 2009, please write "results" in the subject line of the email.

Thank you for participating

Appendix 2 Additional Tables

Table 1A: Top three Social Networks by Country

All countries	South Africa	U.K	U.S.A
Religious group 40 (55.6%)	Religious group 24 (72.7%)	Religious 10 (43.5%)	Religious 6 (37.5%)
Public Library 27 (37.5%)	Public library 15 (45.5%)	Public library 8 (34.8%)	Gym 5 (31.3%)
Gym 22 (30.6%)	Ethnic association 11 (33.3%)	Immigrant association 7 (30.4%)	Public library 4 (25%)

Table 2A: Impact of Gender on Ties to Zimbabwe Dimension

Ties to Zimbabwe Dimension				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	4	10.8	4	13.8
Weak	8	21.6	11	37.9
Moderate	4	10.8	6	20.7
Strong	19	51.4	7	24.1
Very Strong	2	5.4	1	3.5

Table 3A: Impact of Gender on Indicator 38

Q38. How important are each of the following categories to you: Buying a house for yourself in Zimbabwe				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Very important	22	57.9	10	30.3
Somewhat important	4	10.5	6	18.2
Not very important	6	15.8	5	15.2
Not at all important	6	15.8	12	36.4
Total	38	100%	33	100%

Table 4A: Impact of Gender on Indicator 39

Q39. How important are each of the following categories to you: buying a house for your parents (or relatives) in Zimbabwe				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Very important	17	44.7	9	27.3
Somewhat important	10	26.3	8	24.2
Not very important	5	13.2	6	18.2
Not at all important	6	15.8	10	30.3
	38	100%	33	100%

Table 5A: Impact of Gender on Indicator 43

Q43. How often do you: send money to relatives				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Once a week or more	1	2.7	0	0
Once or twice a month	14	37.8	14	42.4
A few times a year	13	35.1	9	27.3
Almost never	9	24.3	10	30.3
	37	100%	33	100%

Table 6A: Impact of Gender on Indicator 44

Q44. How often do you: send food or care packages to Zimbabwe				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Once a week or more	0	0	1	3.1
Once or twice a month	3	7.9	1	3.1
A few times a year	25	65.8	15	46.9
Almost never	10	26.3	15	46.9
Total	38	100%	32	100%

Table 7A: Influence of Length of Residence on Ties to Zimbabwe Dimension

Length of residence and Ties to Zimbabwe								
	0 to 2 years		3 to 5 years		6 to 9 years		More than 10 years	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Very weak	0	0	1	5.9	4	22.2	3	16.7
Weak	1	7.7	5	29.4	6	33.3	7	38.9
Moderate	3	23.1	2	11.8	2	11.1	3	16.7
Strong	8	61.5	7	41.2	6	33.3	5	27.8
Very Strong	1	7.7	2	11.8	0	0	0	0
Total	13	19.7	17	25.8	18	27.3	18	27.3

Table 8A: Impact of Gender on Q47

Q47. In the country you live in, to what extent can Zimbabwean immigrants trust the police?				
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Not at all	6	16.7	3	10.7
Not very much	12	33.3	7	25.0
Quite a lot	13	36.1	5	17.9
A great deal	5	13.9	13	46.4
Total	36	100%	28	100%

Table 9A: Comparison of Means for Dimensions of Belonging for White and Black Respondents

	Psychological		Antecedents		Ties to Zim		Social Networks	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Mean	2.77	3.57	2.87	3.75	3.09	2.14	0.89	2.28
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
SD	0.726	0.786	0.74	0.50	1.12	1.214	0.867	0.75

SOBI Key	Dimensions Key	Social Key
1- weak	1 - very weak	0 - weak
2 - moderate	2 - weak	1 - moderate
3- strong	3 - moderate	2 - strong
	4 - strong	3 - very strong
	5 - very strong	