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Zimbabwean parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK

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Zimbabwean Parents' Experiences of Bearing and Raising Children in the UK

Ruvimbo Machaka

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2021

Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

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2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.
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4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy.
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Acknowledgements

I owe special thanks to my supervisors Laura Serrant, Ruth Barley, Margaret Dunham and Penny Furness for all their advice, support and encouragement in this research journey which gave me the confidence to keep going.

I owe grateful thanks to the ten Zimbabwean parents in the UK who shared their experiences with me in pursuit of this study. It was a pleasure and a privilege to listen to your personal experiences.

I would also like to thank the Chestnut court office "Unicorns" for their support and friendship during my study. To my friends, particularly Chiedza and Golden, thank you for listening to my ideas even before I sent out the proposal for this study. This has been our journey and I could not have done it without you.

I would also like to thank my mother, Christian for instilling in me the desire to learn, being my first teacher and financially supporting me to pursue this study, this is for you. Thanks are also due to my brother, Simbarashe and sisters Tendai and Christine for their endless support.

Abstract

Zimbabweans represent a growing population in the UK, yet little is known about their experiences of parenting once settled in the UK. Zimbabweans in the UK are currently a 'silent subset' of the broader migrant population, marginalised and relatively unheard, warranting further investigation into their parenting experiences.

This study explored Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives on how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing. The Silences Framework (TSF) offers a lens through which the Zimbabwean parents' experiences are made visible in this study. Hermeneutic phenomenology was employed as a research methodology from van Manen's perspective and data was collected through individual in-depth interviews with five fathers and five mothers settled in South Yorkshire, UK. The analysis approach integrates the four phases of TSF cyclic analysis and thematic analysis process by van Manen.

Findings from this study show that parenting experiences in the UK are largely influenced by cultural background, religious beliefs and how the parents were raised. Parenting in a new culture requires parents to rely on an interdependent system of support which can include spouses, extended family, other migrant families, children's schools and health professionals. In Zimbabwe, raising children is a collective effort of community networks and kinship structures. There is concern about the children's sense of belonging in the UK, which is defined as multi-layered. Research findings may help to increase knowledge on the Zimbabwean diaspora, add insight in the everyday life of migrant families and therefore influence policies, practices and future research. While some findings are specific to the Zimbabwean diaspora, others are concerns that migrant families have irrespective of place of origin.

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Published Work and Conferences

Published Work – First author (Peer-reviewed)

Machaka, R., Barley, R., Serrant, L., Furness, P., & Dunham, M. (2021). Parenting among Settled Migrants from Southern Africa: A Qualitative Evidence Synthesis. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 30(9), 2264–2275.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-02013-2>

Contribution to Conferences – Talks (Peer-reviewed)

Machaka, R. September 2020. Screams of Zimbabwean Parents' in the UK. Paper presented at The Migration Conference at South East European University, Tetovo, North Macedonia.

Machaka, R. June 2019. Zimbabwean Parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK. Paper presented at The Migration Conference at University of Bari, Italy.

Machaka, R. June 2019. Settled Southern-African migrants parenting experience in destination countries: A Qualitative Synthesis. Paper presented at The Migration Conference at University of Bari, Italy.

Contribution to Tutoring Materials for Key Stage 5 Sociology

Machaka, R. 2019. Sociological Perspectives on Migrant Parents' Experience. <https://www.access-ed.ngo/sociological-perspectives-on-migrant-parents-experience>

Ranga's Poem¹

I was quite young myself

I would depend

I would rely

I think priorities will change

I had to learn

I will not always be around

My shift pattern was just so erratic

I wanted to get more

You are conditioned

We were like one culture

If I was in Africa

You have to keep up

I still call Zimbabwe home

Would I drag kids away?

I would like my mom to speak to her

We don't have common

I think teachers do help

I felt like there isn't much support

I didn't have enough money

We benefited a lot coming here

Culture that we picked up

I had to change nappies.

I became closer

I felt like, I'm being emasculated

I think, we were so ignorant

I think there was a lack of awareness

I think, we are all forced to learn

My profession helped

We felt like

You become part of

You learn to then also teach

I felt like it's a bit relaxed

You can't discipline

I had to learn to negotiate

You had to learn

What we probably hang on to

I think boundaries -instilling boundaries

You redefine

You stop being effective

You like walk on eggshells

¹ I have presented participants' poems before presenting each chapter to honour the participants' voice. Section 0.3 introduces the poems which are based on the listening guide (Gilligan et al., 2006) and in the thesis I clarify how they were developed (Page 129) and reflect on the value of including these poems (Page 228). I have offered my thoughts following presentation of each poem.

Ranga²

Ranga's poem starts out with a reflective voice as he accompanies his first person pronouns with past tense, for example *'I would rely'*. He also used a determined voice, where he talked about his desires *'I wanted to get more'*. He mostly used *'You'*, a second person pronoun to signify internal dialogues which he portrayed his experiences as a natural process or shared experience with other parents; for instance, in the last line *'You learn to walk on eggshells'*. Here, it implies that he was in a way acknowledging these experiences as his own, but also wanted to voice for others. Ranga also had internal dialogues where he posed rhetorical questions, *'Would I drag kids away?'*, that also came out as an unsure voice. Some aspects of his journey were definitely shared with other Zimbabweans or partner; as expressed by use of phrases like *'We felt like'*, *'Culture that we picked up'*. The collective sense of identity was visible in his voice and prefaces the way voice can hide and reveal identities and meaning as explored in this thesis.

The multiple ways he identifies himself intrigued me. Through this poem, I observe how some experiences are shared with others.

² Ranga is a father of two

Introduction Chapter

This chapter introduces the study and provides an overview of the thesis structure. In seeking to contextualise the study, a brief background on the parenting experiences of Zimbabweans settled in the UK is provided. The aims of the study and research questions are introduced to the reader. The theoretical framework, The Silences Framework (TSF), which guided the research process and provided structure for the thesis chapters, will be introduced.

0.1 Background and Context of the Study

In the year ending 2015, 13.3% of the usual resident population of the UK were born abroad (Office for National Statistics, 2017). A total of 5% of migrants granted settlement in the UK in 2015 were Zimbabweans (Migration Observatory, 2017). With most of the migrants being of reproductive ages, many children are born to migrant parents in the UK everyday (United Nations Population Fund, 2017). Parenting experiences is thus a concerning theme in migration studies. It is possible that some parents view the UK as a country that values children's health and life chances through its actions in investing in free education, healthcare, quality housing systems and childcare arrangements (Condon & McClean, 2016). There are several notable waves of migration from Zimbabwe, driven by push factors such as political instability, low wages and high unemployment rates (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002); and pull factors such as the need for workforce in some sectors in the UK (Moriarty et al., 2008). The migration of the Zimbabwean population may suggest the intention to capitalise on the supportive systems for family welfare in the UK.

Child-rearing for Black families in the UK exists in a framework that encompasses British heritage and own cultural background; and this involves parents operating between two often contradicting cultures (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). The UK is increasingly diverse and this presents a varied context of experiences and different constructions of service systems which can lead to misunderstandings of appropriate actions to sustain children's health and wellbeing. A rise in children from Black families in the social care system has been noted which might indicate how the families are disempowered in navigating the socio-political environment (Ochieng &

Hylton, 2010). It is also possible that some Black families are likely to make assumptions about how the system facilitates integration of children into the British society based on misconceptions about the system (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). A great deal of literature characterises migrant parents as less involved in regard to their children's education (Hamilton, 2013; Miano, 2011). As a result, this may impact on the establishment of meaningful links with various systems including the children's schools. Furthermore, institutional barriers and stereotypical assumptions are some of the factors inhibiting establishment of meaningful connections and consequently impacting on children's life chances (Hamilton, 2013; Bubikova-Moan, 2017). This is understood from the approach to social phenomena by Giddens in the structuration theory which argues that human's agency and social structure are closely related (Stones, 2005). This raises a question about how individual autonomy is influenced by the structures they exist in (Stones, 2005). The negotiations and reflections that they have while adapting to different systems are not widely documented in the literature for common Global North destination countries.

Several studies suggest that migrants' health deteriorates over time from their point of entry into the UK (Jayaweera, 2014). It is still unclear whether the deterioration is due to acculturation (adoption of norms, values, and lifestyles prevalent in the UK) or structural barriers to good health (socio-economic deprivation and poor access to health services) (Condon & Mcclean, 2016). Some of the common lifestyle changes include lower breastfeeding levels, smoking and physical inactivity. Children are known to mould their parents' health behaviours as a foundation for their lifelong health path (Condon & Mcclean, 2016). Deteriorating health behaviours among migrant parents predisposes both adults and children to 'lifestyle related' diseases (Condon & Mcclean, 2016). This indicates a need to understand the foundations for promoting children's health from the parents' lived experiences, as the second generation of migrants represents a diverse and growing group in the UK.

It is important to ask whether identity influences or causes behaviour. Attaching identity to actions and behaviours has caused many stirs in the past and continues to be problematic (Jenkins, 2014).

The then UK foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, has used some strong language as quoted in the Guardian (Frances Perraudin, 10 Aug 2015) where he claimed that "millions of marauding African migrants pose a threat to the EU's standard of living and social structure". Such comments which serve to heighten the anti-immigration rhetoric have fed into the wider negative social discourses on immigrants, their identity and belonging. This dehumanising and stereotyping language pattern propagates prejudice and hostility about Africans in the UK. Feminist author, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, warns that if we hear a single story about Africa there is a risk for misunderstanding. She popularly called it, "The Danger of a Single Story". Stereotypes created by single stories are building blocks to which African cultural identities are reconstructed and theorised in the Global North (Hall, 1997; Kanneh 1998). Identification which recognises the shared characteristics with other groups and natural allegiance is however a more preferred way to understand identity (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Identification is shown as an ongoing construction process such that cultural identity accepts that identities are not stagnant but evolve across different or intersecting practices, discourses and positions (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). There is a need to situate this argument about identity within the Zimbabwean diaspora parents in the UK.

0.2 The Study

This study focuses on Zimbabwean migrants who are settled in the UK (have been in the UK for at least five years) while bearing and raising their children. It is assumed that five years offers some opportunity for integration into the UK society, therefore my definition of settled is based on this understanding. The year 2000 was the peak of migration from Zimbabwe to the UK likely because of the political and economic disturbance in Zimbabwe at the time. This heightened the pursuit of better opportunities to sustain families by Zimbabweans (McGregor, 2009). Zimbabwe is still categorised as hyper-inflated, politically unstable and of high unemployment (Tinarwo, 2015), further driving intentions to settle in the UK. Settlement is commonly linked to negotiation of social capital means, such as employment, often surrounded by perceived racism and discrimination, cultural adaptation, and integration factors

(Green, Mellor, Swinburn, & Renzaho, 2011). The differences and subjectivity in the context of migrant parents' experiences may have an impact on their parenting journey or how they ensure that their children have the best possible health outcomes as deduced from consultation with the literature (see extensive literature review in chapter 2). These indications which make the research gap transparent have helped to refine the research aim and questions. Therefore, this study explores the subjective experiences of parenting by allowing Zimbabwean migrant parents in the UK to focus in detail on their individual thoughts, feelings, and interpretations of their experiences. The aims and questions of this study have directed me throughout the research journey.

0.3 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to explore the Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives of how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing. Ethical clearance to undertake this study was obtained from Sheffield Hallam University (Appendix A) and refined where appropriate along the research journey.

The specific questions of the thesis are:

1. What is Zimbabwean migrant parents' experience of bearing and raising children in the UK?
2. How do Zimbabwean parents sustain their children's health and wellbeing?

To answer these questions, I employed "The Silences framework" (TSF) (Serrant-Green, 2011) as the theoretical underpinning to guide this study. This will be introduced later in this chapter (section 0.6). To reveal the core of the silences embedded in the migrant parenting discourse, I utilised the phenomenological approach by Max van Manen (1990) to explore the meaning of Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences. It is systematic and rigorous; and it uncovers the phenomena, of things or events, in the everyday world from the viewpoint of the Zimbabwean born parents (Becker, 1992). Given that the phenomenon under study (migrant

parenting) is usually confined in epidemiological studies, it was more important to adopt this approach which enables ('silences') voices embedded in subjective experiences to be visible.

The poem that you have encountered at the beginning of this chapter as well as at the beginning of all the remaining chapters in this thesis was intentionally placed to allow the reader to give precedence to the participants' voice (See footnote¹). Chapter four includes an explanation on how these voice poems were created and their representation as research findings. Within the context of this study, seeking to give power to the participants' voices is essential in order to honour the requirements of TSF. I decided to utilise voice poems based on the listening guide (Gilligan et al., 2006), which is grounded in feminist views that provide space for the previously silenced voices to be heard (Woodcock, 2015). Voice poems serve as a way to listen to a participant's first-person voice and observe distinct patterns; it also gives us the opportunity to hear how participants speak about themselves and gives us an idea of their relationship with the self and others (Woodcock, 2010). I encourage readers of this thesis to reflect on the depth in the participants' voices and stories to understand each of the participant's world by reading these voice poems. I will evaluate the impact of including the voice poems in Chapter nine.

0.4 Study Contribution to Knowledge

Most of the existing research on migrants in the UK has focused on the health and wellbeing of children left behind by migrants in their home countries (Madziva & Zontini, 2012), specific health conditions such as mental health, obesity and certain infectious diseases (Condon & McClean, 2016). Having an understanding of existing knowledge, this study intends to make an original contribution to knowledge by providing a focus that extends beyond specific health issues to how migrant parents sustain their children's overall health & wellbeing once settled in the UK from their own perspective. This is significant because it provides a new opportunity to gain an understanding of parents' efficacy in promoting their children's health and wellbeing, and provides evidence for supporting policies in ensuring that foundational inequalities do not affect the children's life chances. Although this is not

generalisable, it shows effort to uphold human rights by allowing the parents to be involved in telling their own stories. This will become more transparent as the thesis progresses and the centrality of the parents' voice becomes more visible.

The existing literature is more weighted towards professional interests and not to priority areas for the Black community (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). In focusing on the migrant's experiences, this study represents an approach that can focus on participants' needs and consequently add more to the discourse from the point of view of participants. Furthermore, other research has not explained differences in experiences or on improving service provision to Black families according to ethnicities as most ethnic minorities are viewed as one homogenous block (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). This research study attempts to reduce the marginalised representation of Black people in research by focusing on one growing population in the UK, Zimbabweans.

Although I have not yet introduced 'The Silences framework' which is guiding this study, this is the first time that it has been adopted to parenting studies in the migrant population. This is evidence for its suitability to guide research in this research area is a useful contribution and I urge other researchers to apply and develop this relatively new approach.

0.5 Research Journey

Although this research is motivated by an academic rationale, my personal interest should be understood as part of reflexivity through this research journey. I am a Zimbabwean adult woman who is also considering the possibility of settling in the UK. I relocated to the UK in the year 2015 and I consider myself as an academic migrant. Since 2015, I have established a few relationships with some Zimbabwean born parents that started their families in the UK and I have assumed the role of sister or aunty. This relationship establishment is common amongst Zimbabweans. Although I have no lived experience as a parent, personal stories that have been shared in these relationships have brought out a desire in me to find out more about the shared experiences and raised curiosities to what the future will be like for me as a parent.

My research journey began in 2017 when I responded to a call out for applications for a PhD studentship on topics relating to life chances, health disparities and the needs of marginalised or 'seldom heard' communities. This is where I was introduced to and intrigued by 'The Silences Framework' (Serrant-Green, 2011) which is a relatively new framework designed for conducting research with marginalised or under-researched groups. I planned to explore migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising their children in the UK and how these experiences affect their children's health, life chances and wellbeing; and how they can be empowered to improve their experiences. I initially intended to take a comparative view of the diverse types of immigrants: asylum seekers, refugees, Non-European or European migrants that bear and raise their children in the UK.

On embarking upon this PhD study, I quickly learnt that a broad comparative approach would not be feasible within the timelines of a PhD programme. This final product (thesis) has evolved in so many ways since the first study proposal. Fundamental changes introduced were the focus on one migrant group, Zimbabweans, and adopting an approach which prioritises hearing the parent's voices without assuming that they are not empowered to maintain their children's health and wellbeing. It was important for me not to further silence them and to reveal the often hidden experiences. Most importantly, as a personal process, I learnt not to silence my voice in the process of writing this thesis. Undertaking this study has refined my understanding of research as a reflexive process which is usually portrayed as linear in research textbooks. Embedded through the thesis are acknowledgements and reflections of my role and positionality on the development of the research process, findings and interpretations.

0.6 Introduction to The Silences Framework (TSF)

The Silences Framework (TSF) offers a lens through which the truth is made visible in this study. This study is structured in a way that mirrors the stages of TSF which will be discussed in this section. An understanding of the guiding framework is important at this stage as it justifies how I have organised this thesis. The framework

is intended to guide the research process from formulation of the research question to the outputs, following through five stages (Serrant-Green, 2011). It was birthed from a study within the sexual health and ethnicity context (Serrant-Green, 2011). The concept of 'Screaming Silences' from which TSF was derived was developed to reflect what was left unsaid (missing theme) by study participants from this study exploring ethnicity and sexual health decision-making (Serrant-Green, 2004). 'Screaming Silences' are constructed by a listener (experiencing person in a community or researcher) regarding their experiences and encompasses the personal and social context where the experience occurs. The 'Screaming' feature reflects the impact an experience has on the listener (screams out) while the 'silences' aspect refers to how these 'screams' which appear obvious to the experiencing person are not often widely shared in the society, thus they affect them in silence.

The framework's usefulness continues to be proved and enhanced in other contexts as exemplified by completed studies on; beliefs and perceptions in the construction of HIV stigma and sexual health seeking behaviour among Black sub-Saharan African communities (Nyashanu, 2017); nurse-led interventions for released ex-offenders (Eshareturi, Serrant, Galbraith, & Glynn, 2015); politically sensitive and problematic issues related to why AIDS and tuberculosis (TB) continues to affect so many people in Brazil (Rossetto et. al, 2017); and hip fracture in younger people (Janes, Sque, & Serrant, 2018). This is the first time that it has been adopted to parenting studies in the migrant population. "The Screaming Silences" conceptual approach, which informs TSF is underpinned by aspects of feminism, criticalist and ethnicity based approaches. These approaches are based on anti-essentialist viewpoints which accept that human beings in a particular context at a particular time point construct their reality in a social world (Gray, 2018; Serrant-Green, 2011). The framework recognises the central importance of individual or group interpretations of experiences in the construction knowledge (Serrant-Green, 2011). Such an approach enables ('silences') voices embedded in subjective experiences which are distanced from dominant discourses, under researched or actively silenced to be brought to light (Serrant-Green, 2011). This highlights the potential of the framework to be adapted in different research contexts with a focus on under researched issues

which are silent from popular discourse as it emphasises the value of individual interpretation of experiences (Davies, 2015).

This study aims to bring to light the issues pertinent to the migrants, which may be silent in the majority population by maximising on subjective experiences and contexts of research participants. This is based on the phenomenological understanding of human nature as active subjects who are the experiencing centres in charge of their own lives (Becker, 1992). The overall focus of the research is to explore the subjective experiences of parenting by allowing Zimbabwean migrant parents in the UK to dwell on their individual thoughts, feelings, and interpretations of their experiences. Migrants are often marginalised, and their position is often clouded by the dominant population in many sectors (Ahn, Miller, Wang, & Laszloffy, 2014). The current parenting discourse in the UK does not feature discussions of specific minoritised populations, thus there is marginalised representation of Black people in research which mostly focuses on them as a homogenous group. The criticalist viewpoints maintained in TSF resonates with this study as they centralise personal experiences as critical strategies in freeing research from rigid adherence to traditional or dominant discourses. Hence, the decision to also integrate voice poems within this study was taken to strengthen the participants' voices. This is certainly desirable in the case of Black migrant related studies where vast research has been confined to epidemiological discourses which fail to explain differences in experiences (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). This framework's theoretical underpinnings allow for the voice of participants to inform this study and thus represent a logical next step in the construction of knowledge on migrant parenting and sustaining children's health.

The framework comprises five stages and four of the stages were applied to support the completion of this study, with the aim of revealing and working with the 'silences' inherent in participant experiences in migrant parenting. Stage five of the framework (Planning for silences) is not applicable for this research as it is valued in studies with outputs that are essential for establishing an action plan for services (Serrant-Green, 2011). Following this introductory chapter; this thesis has been structured to follow through stages one up to four of TSF (Figure 1):

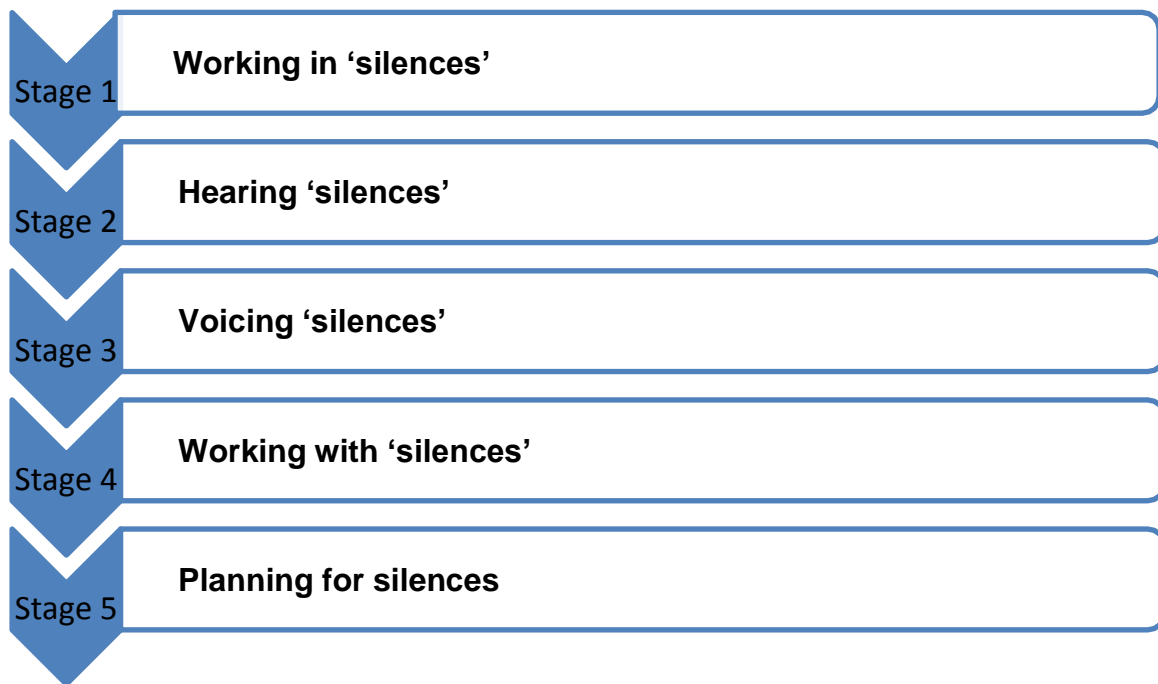


Figure 1: Stages of The Silences Framework. Adapted from (Serrant-Green, 2011)

0.6.1 Stage One: Working in 'Silences'

This stage of the framework aligns with chapters one and two in the thesis; both with an aim to reveal the research context. Chapter one begins with a situated presentation of contextualised exploration of the research subject and the characteristics of the location in which the research takes place. As such, in this chapter, I will discuss the Zimbabwean context leading to migration waves to the UK, health and public health in Zimbabwe, the visibility of Zimbabweans in the UK, and existing research on Zimbabweans in the UK. Chapter two will then set the context for the research through a critical qualitative synthesis that identifies existing research subject knowledge.

0.6.2 Stage Two: Hearing 'Silences'

This stage is presented as chapter three of this thesis which begins by identifying 'silences' integral to conducting this research study at this time by the researcher. I will reflect on the interdependent relationship between my identity (as the researcher), the research subject itself and the nature of the research participants as

set out in the research context clarified in stage one. This understanding feeds to the research methods and procedures employed in this study, also presented in chapter three. This chapter will also highlight ethical issues derived from identifying silences and the plan set out to act on that and to promote the integrity of research (Israel, 2016).

0.6.3 Stage Three: Voicing 'Silences'

This stage seeks to explore the identified 'silences' in context from stage two. It incorporates the active data collection and analysis process phase of the research from the perspectives of migrant parents and collective voices to uncover the parenting experiences. Locating and hearing various personal experiences embedded in 'silent voices' is an important aspect of TSF (Serrant-Green, 2011). This stage will be presented as chapters four, five, six, seven and eight in this thesis. In chapter four, which is my first leg of stage three of TSF (voicing 'silences') I will clarify the choice of methods as influenced by the process of hearing silences acknowledged in Stage two of TSF. A key part of this stage which will also be presented in chapter four is my application of a reflective lens to the active research process. This chapter also introduces the four phases of TSF cyclic analysis process (Serrant-Green, 2011), voice poems and thematic analysis process by van Manen (1990) which have been integrated as the analysis tools to address the research aims. In chapters five to eight, which represent the second leg to stage three of TSF, I present the study findings as thematic analysis from the participants' data. Each of the four chapters will discuss one theme and sub-themes to understand the essence of the participant's experiences. The themes presented respectively are; *Shared Worlds*, *Parenting in the UK System*, *The Parenting Journey* and *This is our home now*. I will keep literature out of these chapters in order to accentuate those silenced voices, which is also in keeping with aspects of TSF and phenomenology. I will therefore include previously discussed literature in chapter nine.

0.6.4 Stage Four: Working with 'Silences'

This fourth stage of TSF makes up the final study discussion presented as chapter

nine in the thesis. This stage will primarily focus on clearly considering the set out study aims by reflecting on the question; what has changed as a result of this study? It, therefore, outlines the gains from the research outputs. Applying TSF, the study will progress towards clarifying on the 'so what' question presented by the framework. It allows me to consider options and opportunities after acting on pre-existing silences. I will recognise likely risks to arise from acting on the identified silences. The study will draw on contributions from the 'silence' dialogue and collective voices included in stage three analysis approach; to expose silences that are changed, exposed or newly created as a result of carrying out this study. In the conclusions, I will highlight how far the study has travelled and how it can shape future research and also further application of TSF in migration or parenting research.

0.6.5 Stage Five: Planning for Silences

This final stage of the framework is about the translation of research outputs to an action plan for service delivery or community action. However, it is not applicable to the present study as the aim is not to come up with an action plan. Hence, there is no discussion on planning for silences in this thesis.

0.7 Summary of Chapter

This introductory chapter has presented a brief overview of the study which explores Zimbabwean migrants parenting experiences in the UK. It has presented the research aim:

'To explore the Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives of how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing.'

TSF which has guided this study from initial stages has been discussed in this chapter to provide a map of the structure of the thesis. In the chapters that follow, I will discuss in detail the research processes. In the next chapter, I present the contextual information in which this study is rooted.

Tsitsi's Poem

I could say it was difficult
You still have got to
I still remember
I didn't even have time

I was living in
I'm at work, he's at work
I didn't have anyone
I had to move

You don't have proper citizenship
I managed to
I had another one
I always look at people who were born
here
You're far away

I love being a mum
They want us to work
I'm alone
I'm starting school

I'm so lucky
You just have to
They mainly eat well
I've got a small garden
I had to get private medical insurance
You want the best

I want him to have good grades
I was like in a dilemma

You don't have time for yourself
You have to
I've got to be on the window all the
time watching them.

I always try and teach them Shona
I was like hoping
We don't have time, always working
I try

I could say church
I've had so much support
I know he's not drinking
If I was driving
You just feel at home

Have you noticed?
You would think they were born in
Pakistan
I will do it
We also have a Zimbabwean
community

Tsitsi³

In this poem, Tsitsi starts off with a sombre voice as she describes a somewhat difficult parenting journey, for example, from the line, *'I didn't even have time'*. Despite the difficulties, Tsitsi concurrently uses a happy voice to highlight her positive experience *'I love being a mum'*. This reflects her nuanced experience of being a mother. In her voicing of 'You' statements; sometimes it was employed interchangeably with 'I' statements and the other times she used it to distance herself from her statement. For instance *'You don't have proper citizenship'*. Although she was referring to her experience, there are visible silences around discussing immigration status. She also employed a hopeful voice as she discussed her wishes and dreams; for example, *'I will do it'*.

Her use of 'You' to describe her own experience stood out to me. Having an insider understanding in the use of language in Zimbabwe I can see a sense of generalising the experiences to be universal.

³ Tsitsi is a mother of two

Chapter 1: Stage 1 Working in Silences- Part 1 (Contextualisation)

The intent of this chapter is to present the backdrop in which this thesis is rooted. Stage one of TSF, working in silences, has the overall aim to reveal the research context which was used to frame this chapter. As this thesis seeks to understand the experiences of Zimbabwean parents in the UK, this chapter discusses and highlights characteristics of Zimbabwe before and after independence, it also discusses the notions of culture, identity & belonging in a Zimbabwean context, their visibility in their present location and the research knowledge about them in the UK. Exploration of these is important because silences which influence experiences are better understood when the wider social and individual contexts in which reality is lived are considered (Serrant-Green, 2011). This chapter proceeds as follows:

1.1 Context of the home country (Zimbabwe)

1.2 Conceptualising Culture, Identity & belonging in a Zimbabwean Context

1.3 The Zimbabwe Crisis and Migration to the UK

- 1.3.1 *Land Reform*
- 1.3.2 *Political Environment*
- 1.3.3 *Economic environment*
- 1.3.4 *Push and pull factors of migration from Zimbabwe to the UK*

1.4 Health, Health Care and Public Health in Zimbabwe

1.5 Racialised Climate in the United Kingdom

1.6 Overview of migrants in the UK

1.7 Visibility of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK

1.8 Research on Zimbabweans in the UK

This chapter concludes by partly addressing the question; ‘Why research this topic at this particular time?’ Thus, exposing the real world in which this study is being conducted is critical in determining the need for this study at this time.

1.1 Context of the Home Country (Zimbabwe)

The 1890s saw British businessman Cecil John Rhodes demarcate present-day Zimbabwe, then known as Southern Rhodesia. The colonial rule was restrictive to the Black Zimbabweans as they could not seek skilled employment, exercise a right to vote or access some public areas (Chikuhwa, 2004). The British White minority in the country held political powers for a long time until the Guerrilla War of 1966-1979 which led to the independence of the country. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) nationalist movements, now merged as Zimbabwe National African Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), were the liberation parties which drove the country to its independence from Britain by signing a peace agreement in April 1980. This move saw Robert Mugabe become the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and then President until November 2017 when an in-party conflict led to his forced resignation. To date, the ZANU-PF party holds the majority of the political powers in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country located in the Southern region of Africa, bordered by South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Black Zimbabweans who are the focus of this thesis form 98% of the population (Zvobgo, 2009). This comprises various ethnic groups including Shangaan, Suthu, Kalanga, Shona, Nambya, Venda, Tonga and Ndebele (Zvobgo, 2009). Accordingly, Zimbabwe does not have a homogenous culture, instead, it has an amalgamation of diverse ethnic groups and languages that were brought together by the colonisers (Mlambo, 2014). The ethnic groups are identified by a multi-layered criterion, including, geographical areas they reside, totems⁴, shared language dialects and rural areas of origin. These are some of the aspects that some of the participants in this study used to identify themselves. The majority (80%) are Shona speaking and about 15% are Ndebele speaking in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2010). As such, throughout this thesis, the term 'Zimbabweans', will be used to refer to Shona-speaking and Ndebele-speaking Black Zimbabweans. English appears to be the unifying language also adopted as the official language in Zimbabwe. Fluency in the language was mostly supported by Zimbabwe's robust education policies in the 1980s and 1990s which Ndlovu (2010) argues that it mirrors

⁴ Totems are used on Shona groupings, by identifying the different clans linked to their ancient heritage. Those who share the same totem would regard themselves as related.

mental colonisation by the British. Both Shona and Ndebele groups broadly define home as their originating home geographical provinces or particular villages in those provinces (Ndlovu, 2010). There are usually more positive associations to home as especially viewed as a secure, embracing and nurturing environment than the negative. In the case of Zimbabwe, home has also been seen as a place that has constrictions, endangers citizens and in extreme cases kills. The uncertainty adds to the different views of Zimbabwe as a home and presents itself as a "push" factor for migration from Zimbabwe.

1.2 Conceptualising Culture, Identity & Belonging in a Zimbabwean Context

The colonisation of Zimbabwe created racial segregation and industrialisation whereby clear control was put in place to control movements of Black Africans with the creation of rural areas, suburbs and 'locations' (Mlambo, 2010). Family configurations were also altered as men worked and lived in the urban areas leaving families in their rural areas or 'reserves' with dry and unproductive land which were allocated to some families (Essof, 2013; West, 2002). This family setup was difficult to challenge at the time because State laws restricted cohabitation by offering working men accommodation only suitable for single men (Moyo and Kawewe, 2002; Mlambo, 2014). These new family configurations and resulting positions of women within the family and public life still exist in Zimbabwe today. Thus, the notion of men being the breadwinner is still prevalent in a majority of some families today.

Barnes (1992) and West (2002) echo the class divisions between educated Zimbabweans, menial labourers and those who lived in the rural areas which were created by the racial policies and capitalism. Post-Independent Zimbabwe features transformed family institutions that are more nuclear such that the elite can employ a domestic helper, thus building new social and cultural scripts which reflect class differences (Gaidzanwa, 2003). It is clear in this study that the family institution is a key site for negotiating and renegotiating cultural and social practices. In this study, a recollection of the participants' lives in Zimbabwe showed that family support and domestic helpers were central to how some of the participants' balanced work, and their cultural gendered expectations.

In the Southern African context⁵, notions of identity are understood within communal relationships which is divergent to the Global North individualised identity concept (Ndubuisi, 2013; Souleymane et. al, 2001). Mama (2001) argues that the notion of identity cannot capture the complexity and multiplicity of identities in African cultures. In his influential work on cultural identity and the diaspora, Hall (1997) argues that there are multiple ways of defining cultural identity. Firstly, he highlights that it is defined within a shared culture where individuals share cultural scripts. Cultural identities are shaped by common rules and behaviour standards. These are also passed on to different generations as part of heritage when children are socialised into the culture. It is clear in this study that the way the parents were socialised into a specific culture being raised in Zimbabwe filters into the way they experience and view parenting in the UK. Secondly, Hall defines cultural identity as a social construct which is a process that is continuously negotiated and constructed within differences as it is moulded by the past and present. As such, it is important for this study and as suggested by some African scholars to consider the implications of colonialism, slavery and racialisation on African people's sense of identity and belonging (Okpewho, Boyce Davis and Mazrui, 2001; Wane, 2011).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) concurs with Bhabha's (1994) views on cultural hybridity to argue that colonialism resulted in hybridised cultures in Zimbabwe. However, some scholars have argued against the adoption of this term on the basis that it is rooted in scientific racism and supremacist ideologies (Bhabha, 2015; Papastergiadis, 2015). Bhabha (2015) points out that hybridity help to reveal and understand spaces that are created by cultural differences; and how individuals negotiate and renegotiate their cultural identities. This study found that encounters with other cultures in the UK challenged the parents' ascribed cultural identities and in some ways, the parents went through the process of renegotiating their cultural identities. Language, food, beliefs and values are some key elements of culture that were discussed by the participants in this study. It is also important to note that in an African context, culture is often associated with nationhood and this perpetuated the view of culture as fixed and homogeneous (Wilson -Tagoe, 2003). This self-

⁵ It is important to note that the African continent is too diverse and my use of a broad term should be regarded with caution

identification of Africa as a homogenous group also came up in some of the parents' narratives.

In this study, discussions on belonging embody elements of the participants' social location and positioning within various spaces and how they negotiate these spaces (Anthias, 2012). It also includes culture and identity as influenced by Zimbabwean history. Anthias (2001) highlights that one's sense of belonging encompasses the subjective meaning that an individual has about a group. Belonging is also argued to include an individual's emotional attachments, feeling at 'home' and the mechanisms of inclusions and exclusion that are produced in the different spaces (Anthias, 2001; Davis et al., 2018). Davis, Kannabiran and Vietan (2006) concur that belonging and (un) belonging are not straightforward processes as they are challenged as borders of belonging shift and situations change. Migrants in this study and in general have to negotiate different sets of social relations and cultural expectations (Hall and De Gay, 1996; Anthias, 2009). Belonging is always negotiated, and the Zimbabwean parents in this study narrated their different experiences related to issues of belonging and (un)belonging.

1.3 The Zimbabwe Crisis and Migration to the UK

A series of events led to the rapid decline of Zimbabwe's social, economic and political conditions post 2000 which became the peak of emigration from the country.

1.3.1 Land Reform

From February 2000, the ZANU-PF party and its allies led fast-track land invasions on white-owned land which violently disrupted the agricultural sector and contributed to the collapse of some of the country's social and economic sectors (Manase, 2013). Under British colonial rule, fertile land was owned by white people; placing Black people in 'reserves' with dry and unproductive land. Land invasions led to the redistribution of land to Black Zimbabweans (Alexander, 2006). Allegiance to the ZANU PF political party was a key part of the criterion to occupy the fertile land. This process disregarded the skills and capacity of the individuals to be productive with

the land (Chikuhwa, 2004). The 'controversial' land reform programme was meant to be a progressive move towards the decolonisation of Zimbabwe and a means to hold onto political power by ZANU-PF (Bloch, Sigona, & Zetter, 2011; Groves, 2012; Idemudia, Williams, & Wyatt, 2013; Manase, 2013; Musanga, 2017). However, this fast track process resulted in very low exports and higher levels of unemployment in the country which contributed to economic collapse (Chikuhwa, 2006).

1.3.2 Political Environment

ZANU PF, holding political power since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 felt threatened with the emergence of a powerful opposition political force (popularly linked to British ambitions), Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 (Ranga, 2015). Thus, after the year 2000 parliamentary elections and subsequent elections, there was a lot of political violence and intimidation of opposition political party supporters. The 2007-2009 era also marked a peak for the economic crisis after disputes regarding the parliamentary election results as MDC gained significant support. The intimidation of MDC supporters continues to be documented at this present time. The toxic political climate further added to the dimensions of migratory pressure which pushed more Zimbabweans in their 'productive ages' to flee from the country. At this point, the inflation rate was estimated to have reached a staggering 231 million per cent making living in Zimbabwe unbearable (Chikanda, 2011; Ndlovu & Tigere, 2018).

1.3.3 Economic environment

Declining economic conditions have been mainly cited as the leading driver of migration over the last 2 decades (Bloch, 2006; Chaumba, 2016; McGregor, 2008). Economic problems post-independence surfaced in 1991 after the introduction of the IMF/World Bank-led Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Chikanda, 2011). This was characterised with mismanagement of funds and basic flaws in the policy which subsequently led to the economic freefall and heightened inflation as it collided with systemic election-related violence. For instance, the policy sustained

existing industries but limited their growth to participate internationally. More recent reports by Chingono (2019), World Food Programme (2019) and in the Financial Times by Pilling (2019) reveal that the Zimbabwean president, Emmerson Mnangagwa in his presidential reign since the 2017 coup; has failed to control hyperinflation and stabilise the economy which was often blamed on Zimbabwe's former ruler Robert Mugabe. Pilling (2019) reported that as of July 2019 the inflation was 175 per cent; the Zimbabwe government has since suspended publishing the latest inflation figures as inflation looms. The World Food Programme (2019) has enhanced support for half the population who are at immediate risk of hunger. This has been fuelled by years of drought and hiking of basic commodities costs. It has been reported that a lot of Zimbabweans view leaving the country as the only way to escape the current wave of crisis and migration affords them an opportunity to support their families. However, systematic delays in issuing passports have left many stranded in the country with limited options for meeting their needs (Chingono, 2019).

1.3.4 Push and pull factors of migration from Zimbabwe to the UK

It was estimated that out of the thirteen million Zimbabwean population, about three to four hundred thousand were residing outside the country, across one hundred nations (Crush, Chikanda, & Tawodzera, 2015; Pasura, 2012). South Africa and the UK are the 2 common destinations for Zimbabwean migrants (Bloch, 2006; Forrest, Johnston, & Poulsen, 2013). Historically, international migration has gravitated towards European countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) because of colonial and linguistic links (Chaumba, 2016; Ndlovu, 2010). The Commonwealth agreement which allowed Zimbabweans to travel to the UK without a visa up to 2002 facilitated a lot of voluntary economic migrants to move and made migrating to the UK an easier choice (Bloch et al., 2011; Manase, 2013; Pasura, 2012). The introduction of visa restrictions resulted in some acquiring passports from countries like Malawi and South Africa which had no visa restrictions to travel to the UK (Pasura, 2012). Consequently, such irregularities make it hard to quantify the number of Zimbabweans living in the UK (Bloch, 2006). Generally, Zimbabweans entered the UK in a regularised way as students, tourists or visitors (Bloch et al., 2011). Not withholding the aforementioned issues, pull motivations for migration to the UK are

diverse for the Zimbabwean population. The main factor cited for the post-2000 influx of Zimbabweans to the UK was attractive economic opportunities (Manase, 2013). Employment prospects drew Zimbabwean skilled workers especially from the health, education, finance, engineering and other highly specialised skill areas (Bloch, 2006; Chikanda, 2005b; Chikanda, 2011; Manase, 2013; Ndlovu, 2010; Pasura, 2012). Pre-independence migration patterns in and out of Zimbabwe have also involved voluntary movements usually to pursue work (Zinyama, 1990). Work visas and family reunions were also a key route to the ongoing migration of Zimbabweans to the UK (Pasura, 2012). However, the financial related pursuits have not only pulled migrants but personal ambition to advance themselves (Ndlovu, 2010). The skills range of those migrating for work was also diverse, with the unskilled or less educated ones migrating as well as skilled workers (Manase, 2013; Ndlovu, 2010). Their aim to migrate is to be able to sustain households, even those remaining in Zimbabwe. In the Zimbabwean context, migration is a survival strategy usually decided by larger family units (Bloch, 2006; Chikanda & Crush, 2018; Ndlovu & Tigere, 2018). The extended family is also an important part in the Zimbabwean context which features responsibilities for those within it, such as ensuring family security. As such, most Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and the UK maintained strong transnational links which are characterised by sending remittances to support family; although migrant status affected frequency or volume of remittances (Bloch, 2006). This is not unusual in an African context, where historically men (heads of households) would migrate to the cities to secure jobs which enabled them to bear the burdens of supporting the extended family remaining in the rural areas (Tinarwo, 2011). Zimbabwe's economic collapse is estimated to have left over half of the population dependent on remittances (Styan, 2007). UK based studies have also concurred that Zimbabweans in the UK send significant remittances back to family for basic needs such as food, clothes, education as access to such resources has become scarce in Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008; Tinarwo, 2011). The Zimbabwe crisis represents the push factors for Zimbabweans to move to this day and has diversified the patterns or forms of migration (Bloch, 2006; Crush et al., 2015).

Post-2000 migration patterns also featured asylum and refugee routes as Zimbabweans sought human rights protection from an abusive political system and brutal social scenario (Ndlovu, 2010; Pasura, 2012). More specifically, the educated

citizens were alienated and persecuted by the ZANU PF government for allegedly supporting the opposition party MDC, with British ambitions (Ndlovu, 2010). The number of Zimbabwean applications for refugee status also peaked since the year 2000, coinciding with the heightened political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe (Humphris, 2010). The UK has granted refugee status to a substantial number of Zimbabweans (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2012b) after successful demonstration of how they satisfy the terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2007). Zimbabwe is part of the top ten asylum applicants in the UK (Together with Pakistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Libya, Nigeria, China, Eritrea and Sudan) as well as in Ireland and New Zealand (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2012a). There are tense relations between the UK and Zimbabwe especially because of the ZANU PF government's portrayal of opposition political party supporters as agents of British colonialism and rooting their hostility towards them on this (Mcgregor, 2007).

More recently Pilling (2019) in the Financial Times highlighted the future potential of Zimbabwe as it is one of the most educated in the African continent, with a qualified population who are exiled abroad and are awaiting the demise of ZANU-PF so that they can return. It has been suggested that there is a strong possibility that if the economy and political situation stabilises, Zimbabweans with irregular migration status or with informal jobs will go back to Zimbabwe (McGregor, 2008). Dustmann and Weiss (2007) suggest that if they get greater benefits of the human capital at home, migrants are more likely to return. As Henry and Mohan (2003) argue, if the aforementioned conditions are not satisfied and the migrant resources are not powerful in the home country, then the decision to return can be problematic. A broader perspective has been adopted by Vasta and Kandilige (2010) who argue that Ghanaians working in London who have experienced extremes of discrimination, stigmatisation and racism will return to regain their self-esteem. They also argue that individuals across all professional levels have the potential to level up financially once in the UK despite their previous social statuses. Therefore, they will have all gained human capital in the form of new skills to feedback in Ghana. There is a social construction of migrants as successful by Zimbabweans who remained in Zimbabwe, thus they have a lot of expectations from those who migrate (Nzima & Moyo, 2017). These expectations are normally shared by the families and

communities, hence some migrants resent returning without meeting the expectations. This is captured by Nzima and Moyo (2017) as part of the 'diaspora trap' which considers all dimensions of return migration. 'Diasporans' and their families in Zimbabwe have been associated with socioeconomic success. Thus, they are expected to return wealthy and in possession of assets. Furthermore, as more Zimbabweans in South Africa formed strong diaspora family ties, a decision to return would disadvantage spouses and children (Nzima & Moyo, 2017). The decision to return is always framed on the success or failure of meeting migration objectives. The 'myth of return' is a common feature in migration narratives by Zimbabweans (McGregor, 2008; Tinarwo, 2011) and also migrants from the Caribbean (Chamberlain, 2006; Reynolds, 2008; Williams, 2007). The ongoing Zimbabwe crisis is still fuelling migration from the country at this point, advancing the myth of return as decisions on settling are largely dependent on the country's circumstances.

1.4 Health, Health Care and Public Health in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe crisis negatively impacted the country's public health which was once a beacon of hope for the African continent soon after independence (Todd et. al, 2010). The healthcare system has been near collapse for the past 2 decades; with under-funded hospitals and health worker shortages nationwide (Green, 2018). Existing health workers are underpaid, hence, they are usually on work strikes for better wages and better working conditions. Health professionals also suffered political violence as they were directed on which cases to attend, restricting their autonomy and duty of care to protect public health (The Lancet, 2002). These factors were not usually cited as reasons to flee the country, but securing education and a career for their children was the priority (Truscott, 2009). The government also makes no effort or priority to retain their skilled health workers or increase training programs since the country's independence (Green, 2018).

Zimbabwe is said to have a quadruple burden of disease with a high prevalence of HIV, malaria, tuberculosis; and rising cases of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes and neglected tropical diseases (Green, 2018). Zimbabweans continue to die in numbers due to these preventable conditions. Zimbabwe also suffered a

cholera epidemic between August 2008 and July 2009 which had very high fatality rates (Todd et al., 2010; Wakabi, 2009). Although this was fuelled by poor public health conditions, no significant funding has been available to improve water and sanitation systems (Green, 2018).

Inadequate funding continues to erode the healthcare system. Public health financing in Zimbabwe creates inequalities and inequities as larger hospitals which are usually located in urban areas (with richer populations) have more resources allocated to them (Shamu, January, & Rusakaniko, 2017). Poor funding, financial barriers for paying customers or changes in health-seeking behaviour have resulted in only 17% utilisation of public health services (Shamu et al., 2017). Wakabi (2009) highlighted that the high costs required to access public hospitals can be a limitation for most of the population.

Notably, there has been a decline in maternal health-seeking behaviour which has been linked to the high under-five mortality rate in Zimbabwe (Chadoka-Mutanda & Odimegwu, 2017). Kanchense (2006) points out that the patriarchal values in family structure and some aspects of the Zimbabwean culture restricts women from accessing resources despite them being primary caregivers of children, infants and the infirm. It has commonly been assumed that the “*Mapanduka*⁶ Syndrome” which characterises the hostile attitudes displayed by men against women's empowerment has been a barrier to actioning by women (Kanchense, 2006). Religious beliefs are also an important feature shaping health-seeking behaviour. A growing group of the apostolic churches in Zimbabwe encourages its adherents to believe in prophetic healing, undermining the use of western modern medicine (Ha, Salama, Gwavuya, & Kanjala, 2014). Efforts to overturn this doctrine are still not yet successful. More generally, Zimbabwe's sick public health system is fuelling diseases and lowering the utilisation of preventative or health care services.

The conceptualisation of mental health in Zimbabwe is limited by issues of stigma, controversy over the nature of mental illness and the limited visibility of the burden of disease (Mlambo et al., 2004; Saraceno et al., 2007; Tomlinson & Lund, 2012). More commonly, spiritual and social causes were identified as causes of mental illness

⁶ Mapanduka is used to refer to women becoming rebellious as they move towards gender equality

(Mandizadza, & Chidarikire, 2016; Booysen et al., 2016). As such, reliance on spirituality, religiousness and traditional medicines is an important holistic dimension to the mental and physical well-being of people (Mandizadza & Chidarikire, 2016; Mangezi & Chibanda, 2010). Biomedical approaches were still perceived to be effective by some, although access was limited (Booyesen et. al, 2016). However, the collaboration between the formal and informal sectors remains poor and ineffective in dealing with mental health issues as reliance on traditional approaches is more prevalent (Mangezi & Chibanda, 2010). This demonstrates a concern in courses for maintaining children's health and wellbeing and how this influences health-seeking behaviours.

The understanding of health and wellbeing emerges differently in divergent cultural-historic settings (Dekker & van Dijk, Eds., 2010). Throughout this thesis, the term 'health and wellbeing' will be used to refer to a holistic concept which considers the extent to which the person has adapted to thrive in their environment (Adler and Seligman, 2016). A holistic view of health and wellbeing considers the multiple dimensions of an individual in the provision of support or interventions. Although the Shona culture is increasingly being influenced by other cultures there are still indications that they function within a communal system whereas the Western cultures tends to function within an individualist one (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017). This fundamental cultural difference is replicated in the ways in which topics on health and wellbeing are communicated to children by migrant parents. For instance, while Australian culture expects discussions about sexual health and wellbeing to be generated from one's parents, the Shona culture removes this potentially uncomfortable scenario by assigning it to others in the family or community (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017). Kanengoni (2020) established that the health and wellbeing concerns of young African migrants are often influenced by their culture, religion, tradition, system of practice, norms, and collective knowledge systems. Without an understanding of how various migrant groups construct, understand and communicate about health and wellbeing; existing policies or interventions may prove irrelevant to the thriving of people from some migrant backgrounds. Therefore, it is increasingly important to hear the voices of Zimbabwean parents in the UK through this study, as the experts to their health and wellbeing.

1.5 Overview of migrants in the UK

The UK has experienced a prolonged period of net migration since the mid-1980s (Nygaard, 2011). Although the migration flow is a much debated issue, the UK's economy continues to benefit from the large flows of migrants (Office for National Statistics, 2017). It is estimated that in 2018, 14 per cent of the UK population were born outside the UK. About 39 per cent of these are from the European Union (EU) countries. The foreign-born population in the UK has increased in size from 5.3 million in 2004 to 9.3 million in 2018. Interestingly, although the number of EU migrants has increased more rapidly over the past decade, the non-EU foreign-born population remain the majority of the foreign-born population (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2019).

The foreign-born population remains higher than the non-citizen share of the population as many migrants get to naturalise to be UK citizens (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2019). Traditionally EU migrants were less likely to naturalise as British citizens. This pattern will likely change since finalisation of the Brexit deal (withdrawal of the UK from the EU) which restricts free movement rights within the EU region. Most of the migrating population are of reproductive ages, hence, many children are born to migrant parents in the UK every day (United Nations Population Fund, 2019).

As of 2018, majority of the foreign-born population were residing in London (38%) or the South East (14%); and only a minority in Northern Ireland (7.5%), Wales (6.3%) and the North East (6.2%). On the other hand, the UK born population is more evenly distributed across the country (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2019). Reasons for migrating to the UK varied for EU and non-EU migrants. In 2018, 49% of non-EU born migrants cited family as the reason to move followed by work (20%). A higher portion of non-EU family migrants suggests that those on family visas are likely to settle in comparison to those who move for work or studies. In contrast, work was cited by 45% of EU migrants as the reason to move (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2019). Table 1 below illustrates the main reasons for migration cited by the two broad migrant groups.

Table 1: Main Reason for moving to the UK, among the migrant population in 2018

EU Origin	Work 45% Family 35% Other 8% Study 11%
Non EU Origin	Work 20% Family 49% Other 16% Study 15%

Adapted from: (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2019)

In 2018, 361,000 people (0.6% of the population) living in the UK came to the UK to seek asylum. Most of them were dispersed from London and the South East (0.01%), with a lot residing in North East (0.19%) and Yorkshire and Humber (0.11%) (Walsh, 2019).

1.6 Racialised Climate in the United Kingdom

Recent social movements, notably the 'Black lives Matter' (BLM) movement have put a spotlight on racial injustices globally. Black Lives Matter was birthed In the United States of America (USA) in response to the 2013 murder of an unarmed Black teenager, Trayvon Martin, in Florida in 2013 and the subsequent acquittal of the neighbourhood watch responsible for this murder, George Zimmerman (Osborne & Cooke 2020). This was just an example of the bigger problem against anti-racism and anti-blackness in the society structures. When the horrific death of George Floyd at the hands of police brutality in the USA went viral, the BLM gained even more traction in June 2020 with some protests staged in most UK cities. Despite being a

diverse and multicultural society, the UK also suffers racism in different guises (Sharma, 2020). The debates leading up to Brexit has legitimated popular racisms and xenophobia towards migrants and racial minorities. The Covid-19 pandemic has also created further racism, in a context where some preliminary evidence suggests that racial minorities were disproportionately impacted by the Covid-19 virus (Sharma, 2020). The BLM has been met with media controversy and some sort of ambivalence from the government (Osborne & Cooke, 2020). Unlike the NHS Race and Health Observatory who conducted research in the NHS and concluded that systemic racism exists in public establishments including the health and care system (Lacobucci, 2021), a recent and controversial government-commissioned review found no evidence of systemic racism in the UK (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021). Systemic racism (also known as structural racism) refers to the wider political and social inequalities that regard Black people as of an unequal status to others (Kelly et. al, 2020). Structural racism has been documented in major social systems including education, justice and health; as such, it shapes wellbeing and life chances for Black people. NHS and medical leaders argued that the conclusions of the report did not match the experiences of healthcare staff, acknowledging the link between systemic racism and health inequalities (Lacobucci, 2021). Some form of indirect discrimination is woven into the education system as well, especially the negative stereotyping of Black boys in relation to drugs, gang and gun-related crime which influences their self-image and expectations of educators (Maylor, 2009). The Commission argues that complex factors such as culture, family life, socioeconomic background (SES), religion and where people live determined life chances (Lacobucci, 2021). In the United Kingdom, there is suggestive evidence that the broader range of family background variables and the variation of these resources by race or ethnicity in the United Kingdom means that families may matter more in explaining differences (Zilanawala, Becares & Benner, 2019).

For foreign born parents, raising children in a racialised climate raises questions about whether the children have integrated into the social, cultural and economic spaces or whether they will remain marginalised (Kesler & Schwartzman, 2015). The activism displayed by the younger generation who were more active during the BLM movement somewhat represents a positive aspect of integration with indications that they want more towards racial anti-discrimination. The Commission on Race and

Ethnic Disparities (2021) was not conclusive on the role of family on the life chances of children or the reasons behind the success of minority groups who are increasingly visible in the middle and elite classes. They concluded that there continues to be a need for more explicit public policy promotion of parental and family support. There is evidently a need to understand the reality of racism in Black families to meaningfully engage with them. Nevertheless, using racial and ethnic categories alone may give researchers misleading information on immigrant incorporation processes, because many social factors, including SES, have been shown to affect categorisation based on race and ethnicity. For participants in this study, issues of racism were concerning as they contributed to feelings of (un)belonging in different spaces and marginalisation for them and their children.

1.7 Visibility of Zimbabwean Migrants in the UK

The irregularities in the routes of migration make it difficult to quantify and map the population of Zimbabweans in the UK (Bloch, 2006). However, community leaders have estimated the population to be between two hundred thousand and five hundred thousand with thirty thousand estimated to live in the Yorkshire and Humber region where the study population resides (Waite & Cook, 2011). Sheffield which is in the South Yorkshire region became the first city to engage with the social movement of welcoming asylum seekers and refugees making Sheffield the City of Sanctuary. The City of Sanctuary UK is an umbrella organisation that supports the development of groups across the country with an intention to welcome migrants seeking sanctuary and are committed to helping build a unified voice in advocating for people seeking sanctuary (City of Sanctuary UK, 2020). This movement started influencing policy-makers and the attitudes of the public throughout the UK in promoting a protective and welcoming culture (Darling, 2010). This might contribute to why a substantial number reside in the region. The National Asylum Support Service's (NASS) clustering and dispersal system in the UK dispersed asylum seekers from areas of high concentration (London and the South East) to other areas such as Yorkshire and Humberside. They clustered the asylum seekers or refugees according to language or ethnicity which added a sizeable Zimbabwean population in the Yorkshire and Humber area an already growing health care professional population working in the region (Lewis, 2008).

A substantial number of health professionals are visible in the NHS as the UK was a favoured destination. More generally, at some point, a quarter of new overseas-trained physicians recruited into the NHS had come from sub-Saharan Africa (Styan, 2007). For instance, Zimbabwean nurses in the UK make up the top ten of nurses' nationalities in the UK. Nurses with an African nationality make up 2.3%, while 2448 were Zimbabwean from March 2019 records. It is also possible that this may not be the perfect indication of migrants because some Zimbabwean nurses who migrated earlier have since become Britain Citizens (Baker, 2019). Overall, the indication is that Zimbabwean health professionals are highly visible in the NHS across different levels and more generally a growing population in the UK (see Table 2 below).

Table 2: Most Common Nationalities of NHS staff; March 2019

UK/British	1,021,257	Spanish	5,899
Indian	21, 207	Romanian	4,451
Filipino	18,584	Zimbabwe	4,049
Irish	13,320	Pakistani	3,975
Polish	9,272	Greek	3,194
Portuguese	7,178	Ghanaian	2,570
Nigerian	6,770	German	2,427
Italian	6,396	Malaysian	2,298

Source: (Baker, 2019)

Many nurses cited the following as reasons for migration to the UK: better earnings, opportunity to save quickly for later use back home, no foresight of Zimbabwe's future, fear of violence, the need to secure their children's future, the demanding nature of work in Zimbabwe, a lack of opportunities for professional advancement,

and a fear of contracting AIDS at work, due to poor resourcing in their Zimbabwean workplaces (Chikanda, 2005a). Similar reasons are also echoed by social workers who migrated to the UK (Chogugudza, 2018; Tinarwo, 2011).

It has been established that Zimbabwean medical doctors who received a high standard of "British-Inspired" training from Zimbabwean institutions built a good reputation in the UK and South Africa, possibly contributing to their access to move to the UK and consequent visibility in the UK health sector (Chikanda, 2011). The UK education system is held to higher esteem in Zimbabwe possibly due to structural links built during the colonial era (Chogugudza, 2018). Colonialism ushered in cultural globalisation which resulted in some similarities between the Zimbabwean and UK education systems. This was a likely contributing factor in the assumed similarities of the education systems between Zimbabwe and the UK, which partly helped to facilitate the migration of overseas Zimbabwean social workers (including other skilled professionals) to seek work in England (Chogugudza, 2018).

Some Zimbabweans have been highly visible in the low ends of the labour market despite their academic qualifications pre or post-migration and good command of English (Ndlovu, 2010). They were mostly employed as health care assistants, popularly dubbed as "British Bottom Cleaners" (Bloch, 2006; Chaumba, 2016; McGregor, 2008; Ndlovu, 2010). Previous research has established that the obvious phenotypical difference of Zimbabweans to the majority of the white population makes them easy targets of discrimination, marginalisation and denigration (Bloch, 2006; Groves, 2012; Ndlovu, 2010). Such marginal experiences are where marginalisation in the migrant parenting discourse is located; therefore it is important to understand the experiences driving inequality (Serrant-Green, 2011). Another de-skilled group in the UK are asylum seekers who do not have rights to work, thus excluding this category of migrants' means they are not seen in the regulated labour market (Bloch, 2006; Groves, 2012). On the contrary, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in South Africa can enter the labour market illegally (Bloch, 2006). However, patterns of racism and xenophobia have affected access to the informal sector and labour market by some Zimbabweans in South Africa (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, & Tevera, 2017). As Vasta and Kandilige (2010) argue in a study with Ghanaian immigrants in London, racism is a major barrier to migrants

feeling a sense of belonging. This creates challenges for the migrants and their families as they settle in these largest migrant receiving countries.

While struggling to new destination area setups, Zimbabwean migrants have utilised technology and social media to draw closer to fellow migrants in the UK and those at home (Manase, 2013). They initially faced issues such as a sense of isolation and invisibility in their host cities (Manase, 2013; Pasura, 2010). To get rid of anxieties in the UK society and about the situation back home, Zimbabweans formed various news forums such as the SW Radio Africa and Newzimbabwe.com (Manase, 2013). Most recently, with new media, Zimbabweans have created closed Facebook groups to connect on their migrant experiences, seek advice and share ideas. They have also formed burial societies to reinforce the concept of home by facilitating the repatriation of the dead to Zimbabwe. Ndlovu (2010) and; Sibanda and Sibanda (2014) findings suggest that a lot of significance is placed on the place of burial for Black Zimbabweans preferring to be buried at their rural homes where their umbilical cords were buried. The involvement of burial societies is symbolic and adds to the understanding of the multiple dimensions of the concept of home for Zimbabweans.

The mainstream media representation in the UK of Africans in general frames their home countries as dependent on the West and their behaviour as chaotic (Scott, 2009). This adds to a government or media stereotype that Zimbabweans are predominantly asylum seekers or refugees despite the multiple modes of entry to the UK (Pasura, 2013). Connections in the Zimbabwean society were made through the formation of political organisations and humanitarian rights groups mostly to support asylum seekers (Bloch, 2008; Manase, 2013; Pasura, 2010). The Zimbabwe Vigil Coalition is one such group that was established in 2002 as an advocacy group by Zimbabwe migrants (Manase, 2013). Their existence has urged the UK government to protect Zimbabwean asylum seekers rights and become an information source for new or unsettled migrants (Manase, 2013).

The everyday experience of marginalisation of Zimbabweans in the UK has led them to reinforce transnational practices and form solidarity groups such as religious congregations in the UK with roots in Zimbabwe (Pasura, 2013). These Christian

congregations are becoming a popular place to share information on integrating in the UK society, maintaining their uniqueness and an important mark to set apart Zimbabweans from other migrant groups (Pasura, 2013). This was also shared by the participants in this study. Similarly, experiences of racial discrimination, marginalisation, invisibility and prejudices which Zimbabweans in Canadian mainline churches such as United Church of Canada (UCC) and Roman Catholic Church (RCC) made them join African religious and traditional congregations which connected them to Zimbabwe and facilitated integration to society (Machoko, 2013). In the UK for instance, congregants shun local Catholic parishes in favour of the Zimbabwean Catholic congregation where they can connect more deeply as they navigate more similar issues (Pasura, 2013). Christianity is the main religion in Zimbabwe which was introduced by the London Missionary Society (Golby, 1995). The catholic church commands a lot of following, then other protestant sects such as Methodist, Dutch Reformed, Seventh-day Adventist, Anglican and African churches (Owomoyela, 2002). The Christian religion exists alongside the traditional religions and sometimes they do integrate (Machoko, 2013; Moyo, 1988). However, some indigenous Zimbabweans strongly believe in the African tradition which opposes healing through Western medicine in favour of healing through spirit mediums that appear through traditional healers (Nzenza-Shand, 1997).

Religious groups represent a mode of belonging for migrants. Zimbabweans migrants transitioning to settling in South Africa have formed relations with the local Catholic churches, seen as safe spaces that offer assistance including food and shelter (Rutherford, 2011). Another study also revealed that Zimbabweans in South Africa have clung onto religion to break all boundaries in their integration within the destination country (Sibanda & Sibanda, 2014). This was seen as a better way of integrating into the usually hostile South African society. In the same way, religion was seen to equip Zimbabwean migrants in Canada with the tools necessary to navigate the social and economic environment in Canada (Machoko, 2013). In his study, Machoko (2013) reveals that Zimbabweans in Canada have for a multitude of reasons not assimilated into Canadian churches. The dynamics discussed in this section, observed as Zimbabweans thrive to be visible in the UK society, makes Zimbabweans an interesting group to study.

1.8 Summary of Research on Zimbabweans in the UK

The growth of the Zimbabwean population in the UK and globally has also increased scholarship on the group across different disciplines and topics. The majority of scholarship to date has focused on South Africa and the UK which house larger concentrations of migrant Zimbabweans. While some UK research focuses on the Zimbabwean diaspora, still very little is known about Zimbabweans parenting experiences in the UK. Broadly, most attention has been drawn to topics of transnationalism (Bloch, 2008; McGregor, 2009; Miriyoga, 2017; Pasura, 2012; Pasura, 2013; Styan, 2007), health and sexual health with a focus on HIV (Chinouya & O'Keefe, 2006; Hana, 2010), professional life in the health and social care sector (Chogugudza, 2018; Dyson, 2004; Madziva, McGrath, & Thondhlana, 2016; Makoni, 2013; McGregor, 2007; McGregor, 2008; Tinarwo, 2011), cultural and associational life in the UK (Kendrick, 2010; Miller, 2010; Pasura, 2011; Tasosa, 2018), media representation, the power of the internet and technology in connecting Zimbabweans in the UK (Manase, 2013; Mano & Willems, 2008) and defining or redefining gender identities (Chikwira, 2021). What follows is a snapshot of some of the research on Zimbabweans in the UK.

Using a multi-sited ethnographic approach, Pasura (2012), examined how the Zimbabwean diaspora was dispersed, how it is constituted in the UK and how it maintains connections with the homeland. The study demonstrated that multiple factors facilitated the dispersion of Zimbabweans and formation of the Zimbabwean diaspora across different destinations. These include the liberation war, labour recruitment in South African goldmines, the Matabeleland massacre and post-independence economic crisis. While in the UK, they maintain a strong connection with the homeland in different ways such as engaging in transnational diaspora politics, keeping kinship ties and sending remittances. In another study, (Pasura, 2013), examined how the context of reception in the host land shape, alter and influence the development of religious transnationalism among migrants. As this article will argue, Zimbabweans' mode of incorporation into Britain was mediated by a hostile reception from authorities, considerable prejudice and hostility from the host society and a weak pre-existing co-ethnic community. These conditions reinforce migrants' transnational religious ties to the homeland (Pasura, 2013). In an earlier

study, McGregor (2009) also highlighted the importance of Zimbabwean church fellowships and involvement in diaspora politics as a way to voice their silences.

Chinouya and O'Keefe (2006) explored the meanings of Ubuntu–Hunhu and the applicability of this concept in human rights discourses among a group of Zimbabweans in London diagnosed with HIV. Ubuntu-Hunhu originates from the Ndebele and Shona languages used to signify one's humanness. Applying the Ubuntu-Hunhu framework in this study, confidentiality in HIV emerged as crucially important for the individual and those connected to the person living with HIV. The study revealed that Zimbabwean migrants in London had complicated needs in respect of confidentiality regarding their own positive HIV diagnosis. Hana (2010) draws our attention to the development and implementation of UK policy concerning access to HIV-related services by Zimbabwean HIV-positive women with insecure immigration status and considers how these policies influence women's healthcare. The findings show a disconnection between policy on entitlement and clinical practice, which reflects a conflict between clinicians' duty of care and the UK policy. Zimbabwean women's HIV and migrant status positions them in a periphery, limiting the resources available to them that could alleviate some of the barriers they encounter.

In his PhD thesis, Chogugudza (2018) explored the experiences of Zimbabwean social workers in the UK, analysed knowledge and skills transfer from Zimbabwe and analysed the impact of globalisation on recruitment, knowledge, practice and integration of overseas social workers from Zimbabwe into the wider UK society. Findings from the study reveal that social workers can transfer basic knowledge and skills from Zimbabwe to England with relevant adjustments and they add a new dimension to the diversity and skills matrix of children's social care system. However, the study found the existence of perceived barriers in transferring social work knowledge, values and skills fundamentally rooted in the social, cultural, political and legislative differences between Zimbabwe and England. McGregor (2007) emphasises the level of deskilling most Zimbabwean care workers have experienced, including the strain of working in strongly feminised and racialised workplaces, and the insecurities and abuse produced by informal labour exploitation. Bloch's (2008) work further demonstrates the deskilling of Zimbabwean migrants in

the UK and how it negatively impacts different forms of transnational activities such as remittances. McGregor (2007) points out that although working in the care sector exposes Zimbabweans to exploitation, it still affords them opportunities to meet their transnational obligations and ambitions.

Tasosa (2018) investigated the factors associated with increased alcohol consumption amongst the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK. He explored attitudes, perceptions and beliefs related to alcohol use, based on the experiential and lived realities of Zimbabwean migrants. The findings describe the role of social identity and culture in shaping drinking patterns. Zimbabwean drinking places were safe places for people who perceived the hosts as hostile and unwelcoming. Pasura (2011) utilised some of these social spaces to conduct a multi-sited ethnographic study that explored the diverse ways in which diasporic identities are performed, expressed, and contested in Britain. The study identified that diasporic identity was mostly developed within the homeland frame, challenging the idea of hyphenated identities which suggests that identities are fixed to places. The study concluded that diasporic identities are likely forms of resistance of institutionally ascribed refugee identity, perceptions of blocked social mobility, racism, and discrimination in the host country.

Manase (2013) discussed how some Zimbabweans in the UK adopted the new media between the years 2002 and 2007, by establishing social and economic networks as a means of survival. In his review of some of the key websites such as Newzimbabwe.com, Zimvigil.co.uk, Manase (2013) determined the role that they played in ensuring the social and economic survival of the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK and the survival of those back home. Mano and Willems (2008) analyse debates amongst the Zimbabwean diaspora in internet chatrooms about the participation of a Zimbabwean nurse in the British Big Brother series television broadcast in 2005 and concludes with how diasporic Zimbabweans negotiated their individual and collective identities in the chatrooms.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided the context within which we can comprehend the silences

surrounding the experiences of Zimbabwean parents in the UK. The migration of skilled and unskilled Zimbabweans is diverse in the UK and abroad, mirroring different forms of globalisation. Zimbabweans in the UK continue to maintain ties with their homeland in a variety of ways including remittances and political activism. Intentions to return are also common as a strategy to escape the marginalisation in the host country, but the decision is mostly dependent on the homeland's political, social and economic situation.

The process of them thriving to be visible in the host society makes them an interesting group to study. Despite the emerging body of research on Zimbabweans in the UK, no study to date has focused on Zimbabwean migrants' experiences of parenting in the UK and understood an important aspect of health and wellbeing which is how they maintain their children's overall health and wellbeing. It is critical for this thesis to draw on the backdrop provided in this chapter to shape the research process. The information presented in this chapter helps to clarify why it is important to study this now:

- A growing population of Zimbabweans in the UK, whose plight as they integrate is multifaceted and usually silenced. Knowledge generated by studying this population now can have meaningful practical implications.
- It produces incremental knowledge on the Zimbabwean diaspora discourse

As indicated earlier (Section 0.6), it is equally important to explore the current subject knowledge as set out in Stage 1 of TSF, to identify where the gaps in knowledge exist. The next chapter presents a qualitative synthesis of the literature on settled Southern-African migrants' experiences of bearing and raising children in Global North destination countries.

Paul's Poem

I get to see him

I love him

I would love to

I've got a friend

I can't do it here

I have to follow

I'm failing as a parent

I failed to get him

I have got the right

I'm a parent

I try

I want him to

I love my son

I used to

I realised that

I went straightaway to the teacher

I'm no longer

She never tells me

I will find a time

I have to work

You have to pay big money

I don't get

I should be able to

I've established a network

I love kids anyway

I've got Zimbabweans

I've got other friends

You're a father in the UK changing nappies

I used to

We don't normally

I realise that

You get to spend time

You get to know

You're stressed

I was at university

I'm too busy

You do not have families

I am with him

My responsibility

You can't do that kind of thing

We are capable

We are all equal

I have learned

I have encouraged her

I always ask

I think, I succeeded

Paul⁷

Paul's voice of the pleasure of being a parent is visible at the beginning of the poem. He challenges/critiques himself in his reflective narration of his experiences, for example the transition from the lines, *'I used to'* to *'I realised that'*. At the same time, he re-affirms his position as a parent "I'm a good parent" as he draws lessons from his experiences. His silence voice is also present in his use of 'You' statements, it appears he was conveying shared experiences with other fathers, Zimbabwean fathers, migrants and the wider array of parents. For instance, *'You are stressed'*, referring to the silences of pressures.

Paul's multi-layered narratives stood out for me. I could see that his parenting journey is not linear.

⁷ Paul is a father of one

Chapter 2: Working in Silences (TSF STAGE 1) Part 2 -Qualitative Synthesis

In this chapter, I lay out the foundation for this study by exploring the current knowledge to highlight the gaps in knowledge. This stage of TSF further reveals the wider context of migrant parenting experiences as seen in the popular Global North destination countries. The 'screaming silences' around migrant parenting and how they maintain their children's health and wellbeing are explored and discussed according to themes which I identified by analysing available qualitative literature. This exploration supports my rationale for focusing on Zimbabwean migrant parents as research participants for this study and to add to the subject knowledge which informs the need for this study.

2.1 Settled Southern-African Migrants Parenting Experience in Destination Countries: A Qualitative Synthesis

Since 1970, the world has seen increasingly large flows of migrants from the Global South to the Global North for better living conditions (Adserà & Tienda, 2012). The phrase Global South is broadly used to refer to regions of Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia, including the Middle East. The phrase Global North encompasses regions of North America, Western Europe, and developed parts of East Asia (Confraria et al., 2017). The term 'migrant' is defined by the United Nations (2019, n.p.) as "someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status". Thus, they represent a highly heterogeneous population. The focus of this qualitative synthesis is on migrants from Southern Africa, who moved to a Global North destination country.

2.2 Aims of the Qualitative Synthesis

This qualitative synthesis aims to:

- I. Gather contemporary qualitative evidence on settled Southern-African migrants' experiences of bearing and raising children in Global North destination countries, and
- II. Collate qualitative evidence on how they conceptualise sustaining children's health and wellbeing in these destination countries.

No reviews synthesising qualitative research on this body of literature were identified. This body of literature has now been published from this qualitative synthesis (Machaka et al., 2021).

Settled migrants were taken to define movers who have a lengthy stay (at least five years) and have no limitations to be economically active in the destination countries. The phrase 'bearing and raising children' was taken to represent parenthood activities of caring for their children which prioritise their wellbeing and promotes children's development until adulthood (Helseth & Ulfsæt, 2005).

2.3 Developing the Qualitative Synthesis

A qualitative synthesis which Grant and Booth (2009) defined as an approach that integrates or compares findings from qualitative studies was deemed appropriate because it generates knowledge which leads to an interpretive translation. This review adopted an approach to synthesising qualitative research as guided by Tong et. al (2012). The steps followed involved identifying the review purpose, setting a search strategy, article selection, data extraction, critical appraisal of qualitative studies and analysis of selected studies using thematic synthesis. This approach utilised an ENTREQ Statement protocol (attached as appendix B) as a planning and reporting guideline for the review which allows for transparency in all stages of the review, this is an important basic requirement of all qualitative research in creating the best practice (Tuval-Mashiach, 2017).

2.4 Search Strategy

I started the search journey in MEDLINE where I piloted the search strategy. Thereafter, other databases were searched (CINAHL, Scopus, Sociological Abstracts, ASSIA and ProQuest Dissertations). These databases were selected because they contain relevant journals in the field and Scopus for its multidisciplinary research base. Reference lists were also scanned to identify any potentially eligible studies not identified in the initial search. Grey literature was sought from the Migration Observatory website, contact with experts, generic web searches through google scholar which has the capacity to contain multidisciplinary research and review of book chapters to identify any relevant studies and unpublished reports.

The search terms were derived from concepts of migration, parenting and source country; reflected from the review aims. Keywords relating to migration include "foreign born", migrant*, immigrant*, settler* and "naturalised citizen*". Keywords relating to parenting include parent*, mother*, father*, child* N3 rais* and childbearing. Keywords relating to source country includes all Southern African countries individually, Southern Africa and Africa. An illustration of the exhaustive list of search terms relating to the review components as used in MEDLINE is shown in table 3. Search terms were only searched in abstract or title with adjustments made in some databases by identifying controlled subject headings or MESH terms from the year 2000 to date. Searches across concepts were combined with Boolean operators; wildcards and truncations were used to ensure a broader search. All searches were then exported onto RefWorks, a citation management software.

Table 3: Search Terms

Migration	"ethnic minority" , "Minority Groups" , foreigner*, "foreign born", migrant*, immigrant*, settler*, "naturalised citizen*", (MH "Emigrants and Immigrants")(MH "Minority Groups")
Parenting	child*, daughter*, son*, "child development*", "developmental milestones", parent* , mother*, father*, child* N3 rais*, child* N3 rear*, childbearing, family OR families, (MH "Fathers") OR (MH "Mothers") OR (MH "Parents")
Southern African	namibia*, zambia*, zimbabwe*, swazi* "Southern Africa*", africa*, "South Africa*", angola*, botswana, batswana, lesotho, malawi*, mozambiqu*

* (asterisk) at the end of a word denotes finding variants of that word retrieving both the singular and the plural forms of a word in the same search.

N3 between words denotes finding the second word within 3 words from the first

MH denotes Mesh terms suggested by the database

2.5 Article Selection

I screened research titles and abstracts which focused on settled Southern African migrants' experiences by hand before reviewing the full text. A second reviewer double screened 10% of selected studies and there was no disagreement between reviewers. Studies were included for review if they met the inclusion criteria. Studies were limited to peer-reviewed articles published in the English language, from the year 2000 to December 2019. This period was selected as the peak time of qualitative studies on migration from Southern Africa. Qualitative syntheses rely on rich qualitative data primarily generated through qualitative studies. However, mixed methods studies with a rich qualitative output were considered. The inclusion and exclusion criteria are summarised in table 4 below.

Table 4: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Category	Inclusion	Exclusion
Study design	Primary qualitative studies that use qualitative analysis and mixed methods studies with a qualitative part that can be extracted.	Studies that only provide numerical data and statistical analysis will be excluded.
Population of interest	Settled Southern- African migrant parents or one Southern African parent in a bi-national family	African migrants with asylum seeker status, immigrants residing within Africa, parents living in different countries with their children with no experiences of bearing or raising any children in the UK, sole migrant parents from other continents, Those that identify as Southern-Africans but are not immigrants from those Southern African countries
Topic	parents voices or perspectives on child bearing ,rearing and their children’s health and wellbeing	Articles with all child/-ren born outside of the destination countries, Articles focusing on children with long term health conditions
Publication Year	From 2000 to December 2019	
Language	Written in the English language	

The search journey is documented in Appendix C, the Prisma diagram which demonstrates how the results were filtered from the initial search of databases to the included studies. Fourteen studies were included, which were conducted in six Global North countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States of America, United Kingdom). Some authors were contacted at this stage to clarify the population of interest as some used the category "African" in their studies, representing the study population as a homogenous group. Authors for four papers were contacted and three of them responded with clarifications.

2.6 Data charting and Critical Appraisal of Studies

I extracted and tabulated study reference information, purpose of article, theoretical framework, methodology, data collection, sample, source country, destination country and main results for each of the studies included in this review (See Appendix D). The quality of the study was assessed using the NICE quality appraisal checklist – qualitative studies. I found this checklist to be appropriate for use by an early career researcher (myself) with a working knowledge of qualitative research methodology; and also for its rooting in broadly accepted principles of qualitative research. The tool has a fourteen-item checklist which generally evaluates qualitative evidence based on the theoretical approach, study design, data collection, trustworthiness, analysis and ethics. Upon reading and re-reading each article, I evaluated the assessment scale for each criterion and included some comments in the comment box (See example, Appendix E). 10% of the appraisal was cross-checked by a reviewer. No paper was excluded on the basis of the quality appraisal as none of the studies proved to be too weak in terms of methodological rigour to merit exclusion in the synthesis.

2.7 Data Analysis Using Thematic Synthesis

Due to the complexity of approaches, reference is given to the original authors of the thematic synthesis approach, Thomas and Harden (2008). Thematic analysis refers to a process that is used with most qualitative methods to formalise the identification

and development of themes (Thomas & Harden, 2008). The 14 included studies were added to an analysis software, NVIVO, where their study findings sections were coded verbatim line by line as the first step. Then descriptive themes were developed. The codes were created inductively as meaning-making progressed with line by line reading of each primary study. Free codes were developed, without any hierarchical structure. Line by line coding enabled the translation of concepts which is key in qualitative synthesis. As coding for each new study progressed, codes were added to the existing bank of codes and new ones developed as appropriate. All the text which had been assigned codes was examined to see the consistency of interpretation across the synthesis and to see if codes had to be rearranged or added. This process created a total of 158 codes (see example attached as Appendix F). These were then grouped into hierarchies by condensing the initial codes to new codes which captured meanings of the initial codes. This process resulted in a tree structure with 12 descriptive themes. The final step was identifying analytical themes by posing the review questions again, to generate new interpretive constructs and explanations; necessary changes were made to ensure all new themes were sufficiently abstract to describe all the initial descriptive themes. This process resulted in eight analytical themes which addressed directly the concerns of this review. In my research supervision sessions we frequently and critically discussed the data analysis process at all the different stages of the analysis. This ensured the appropriateness of the analysis process and confirmed that the results were derived from the data.

2.8 Study and Participant Characteristics

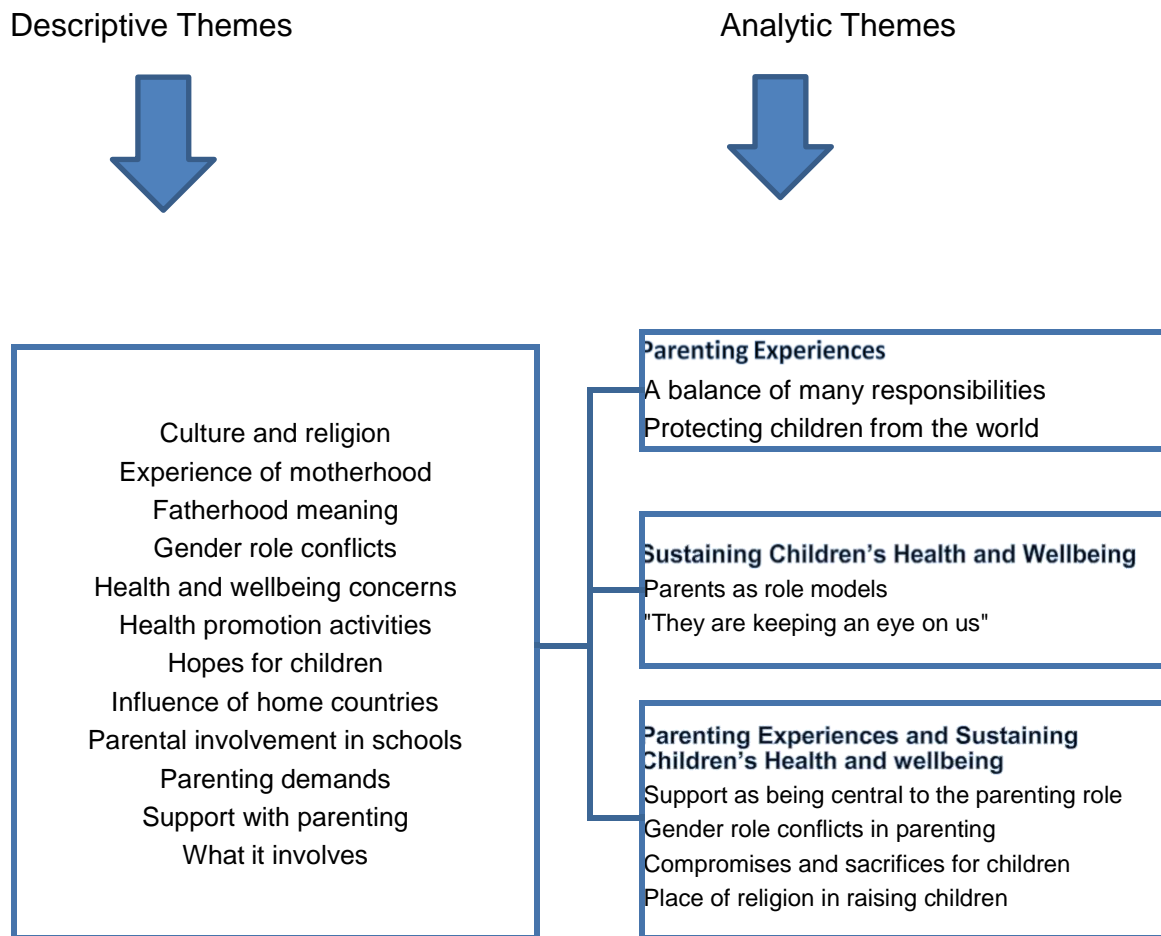
The 14 qualitative studies selected were carried out in six Global North destination countries; Australia (n=2), Canada (n=1), New Zealand (n=1), United States of America (n=4), United Kingdom (n=6). Migrant parents' home countries included Zimbabwe (n=12), Zambia (n=3) and South Africa (n=1); these were within a pool of other countries which did not represent the inclusion criteria (Southern African) in the primary studies. These were published between years 2008 and 2018. Thirteen of the studies included were qualitative, Cook and Waite, (2016) utilised a mixed method approach. Six of the studies employed individual interviews for data

collection; two studies used focus group discussion; one study used group interviews; the rest of the studies used a combination of methods. Two of the studies used a combination of photo elicitation techniques (visual methods) and individual interviews; one combined focus groups and individual interviews; one study included participant observation, in-depth interviews, review of documents (school administered surveys, standardised test scores, school newsletters); the mixed methods study utilised standardised questionnaires and semi-structured individual interviews. Three of the studies did not specify which parent (either mother or father) participated (Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Stuart et al., 2010; McGregor, 2008). Only mothers participated in five of the studies (Agbemenu et al., 2018a; Agbemenu et al., 2018b; Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Nyemba & Chitiyo 2018) and exclusively fathers participated in two of the studies (Williams et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2013). Of the remaining four studies both parents were represented; equally across two studies (Makoni, 2013, Mupandawana & Cross, 2016) and the other two had majority mothers (n= 56) compared to 36 fathers. Two of the studies also included children (Cook & Waite, 2016; Stuart et al., 2010); and one included resident teachers, school administrators and community leaders (Dryden-Peterson, 2018).

2.9 Results

I identified eight analytic themes from analysing the 14 articles selected for this synthesis. The findings were categorised under three areas of interest; *“parenting experiences”*, *“sustaining children’s health and wellbeing”* as well as their intersection *“parenting experiences and sustaining children’s health and wellbeing”*. In Figure 2, I provide an overview of the thematic synthesis. Each of the areas of interest will be discussed in turn, focusing on the analytic themes with supporting participant quotes.

Figure 2: Overview of the thematic synthesis



2.9.1 Parenting Experiences

Parenting in the destination countries was described by some as a highly demanding role, where settled parents have to operate within new cultural norms and they have a strong desire to protect their children within their parenting practices. I identified two themes which I will discuss in this section; a balance of many responsibilities and protecting children from the Western world.

2.9.1.1 A balance of many responsibilities (n=7)

Some parents across seven of the papers reviewed characterised their parenting experience as a lot of pressure to tackle many responsibilities (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Dryden-Peterson, 2018; McGregor, 2008; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2013). Balancing children's needs both at home and school which they deemed to demand a lot of their involvement was cited as a source of pressure (Dryden-Peterson, 2018; McGregor, 2008; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015). For others, their pressure stemmed from balancing paid work commitments and raising children; such that they compensate children with technological gadgets (Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2013). As one participant in fathers only group interview in the UK recounted:

"I think, truth be told, here people are always under constant pressure. Working, working, working. People don't have time for their kids. So what do they do? They compensate by buying them a Playstation. Because when they come home, father's tired ... but the kid can go and play on Playstation." (Williams et al., 2013, p. 94).

However, some parents described their efforts to tackle the associated roles and responsibilities (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; McGregor, 2008; Williams et al., 2012). Several parents reported that they would be less overwhelmed with their parenting responsibility in their home countries where it is cheaper to raise children and the school cultures do not demand a lot of their involvement (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015), as stated here by a Zimbabwean mother in the United States:

"When I was being raised in Zimbabwe, the only time my parents came to school was for parent-teacher conferences and prize-giving day."(Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018, p. 129)

2.9.1.2 Protecting children from the Western world (n=9)

This theme came up in discussions of parenting practices in the destination countries in which parents across nine studies emphasised on protecting their children from factors that can potentially affect their health, integration in society, education outcomes and cultural values (Agbemenu, Hannan, Kitutu, Terry, & Doswell, 2018; Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mcgregor, 2008; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2012). Some mothers and fathers across the UK, Australia and USA talked about ensuring their children are well socialised and succeed by providing them with moral and educational guidance which serves to protect them now and secure their future (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Williams et al., 2012). As illustrated by one participant in Australia;

"As a mother, you are there to provide guidance..... You have to discipline your kids. I have to ask myself when I look at my son that what type of a man do I want to raise into the world in the future. I like to see my children achieve what they wished for" (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017, p. 76)

Racial abuse was a concern for parents, especially when their children experience it in the destination countries. Parents revealed how they openly communicated with their children about issues of race, to ensure they are protected from any abuse as they assimilate in an environment with existing racial tensions (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015). A few papers revealed that parents have gendered concerns in protecting their children; where they protect girls from sex which they cited was common in the youth culture in their destination country; and boys from macho and anti-work cultures (Agbemenu et al., 2018; Mcgregor, 2008). Some parents in studies focusing on sexual health education were more protective in guarding against health interventions or vaccines offered because of historical mistrust of the health system and Western interventions to Black populations (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). One South African mother

while expressing her attitude towards the HPV vaccine being offered as part of the childhood immunization programme stated:

“Remember this is a white man’s vaccine. The white man brought us AIDS to kill us off because we were too many; now, they might want to make our daughters sterile”. (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016, p. 7).

Nonetheless, parents across the seven papers showed awareness and concern for children’s health and wellbeing in their parenting practices; this was perceived to be society’s measure of how good they were in protecting their child (Agbemenu et al., 2018; Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stuart et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2012). Some parents alluded that their traditional culture protected their children against risky behaviour and thus it was important for them to maintain their culture and cultural practices (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Stuart et al., 2010). As one Zimbabwean father stated:

“..... Our ancestors protect us. The fact that we are in this white man’s land does not mean we lose our roots or that our ancestors forsake us.” (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016, p. 10).

2.9.2 Sustaining children’s health and wellbeing

Parents have a number of ideas and ways of thinking about sustaining their children’s health and wellbeing within their new 'home', destination country. The parents thought of themselves as role models as described in the theme, parents as role models. They also believed that the systems and institutions in their destination countries were monitoring them closely; as represented in the theme “they are keeping an eye on us”.

2.9.2.1 Parents as role models (n=7)

Parents across seven papers discussed their positioning to influence their children's health and wellbeing pathway (Agbemenu et al., 2018a ; Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Cook & Waite, 2016; McGregor, 2008; Stuart et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2013). When thinking about sustaining their children's health and wellbeing, some parents revealed that they attempt to model good practices (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Stuart et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2012). Accordingly, unhealthy behaviours such as smoking and drinking are not displayed by the parents as they practice self-discipline (Stuart et al., 2010). However, it proved difficult for some parents to be role models as they engaged in unhealthy or unsocial activities (Williams et al., 2012). This discussion of modelling of acceptable behaviour by parents was also linked to respect of religion and cultural practices from their home countries (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Stuart et al., 2010). A number of parents transmit some cultural practices to their children out of emulation of how their own parents raised them within their home country's cultural context (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; McGregor, 2008; Williams et al., 2013), as illustrated by a mother in Australia:

"You know I take it as my role as the mother to teach our children about our cultural practices as I was taught by my mother. I still have to continue teaching my kids even though we are in Australia. And I still need to pass that on and I also encourage my children to pass it on and so forth." (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017, p. 75)

As such, some parents believed teaching their children their home language would facilitate their children's identification with their parents' ethnic culture (Stuart et al., 2010). Thus, they would develop integrated identities by also adopting aspects of their destination country's culture. However, some mothers critiqued aspects of their culture which made it a taboo for their mothers to teach them about reproductive health (Agbemenu et al., 2018), and bringing up girls and boys the same (Cook & Waite, 2016). Hence, they actively chose to model their practices differently from

their own parents as a way of sustaining their children's health and wellbeing. As recounted below by one mother:

"Boys and girls in Zimbabwe are brought up differently. Boys don't go in the kitchen or anything like that. But I think I'm more free with them....." (Cook & Waite, 2016, p. 1396).

2.9.2.2 "There are keeping an eye on us" (n=4)

General fear that there was a lot of surveillance of some sort was not particularly prominent in the included studies. However, some parents across four papers revealed that they felt the strict Social Services in their destination countries restricted them from having some control over their children, thus their ideas of maintaining wellbeing were surrounded with anxiety (Cook & Waite, 2016; McGregor, 2008; Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2012). The unacceptability of parenting practices such as physical discipline in the destination countries was seen as a threat to the parents' cultural beliefs and power in controlling their children's behaviour (Cook & Waite, 2016; McGregor, 2008); as described by one participant:

"..... we can't discipline like we would at home, he's very rude. It's not human, they don't allow you to treat kids in a way that makes them nice to be with, they answer back all the time " (McGregor, 2008, p. 608).

In a study on Zimbabwean professionals re-examining their life in the UK, some parents held on to some physical disciplining practices, they were more aware of the distinctions between abuse and discipline within the acceptable boundaries in their destination countries to avoid going against the law (McGregor, 2008). In another study on beliefs about fatherhood, fathers were concerned about the strictness of the safeguarding children function of the health and preventive primary care services; which meant they had to be aware of and attend to their children's vaccinations and health appointments in sustaining their health and wellbeing (Williams et al., 2012).

2.9.3 Parenting experiences and Sustaining children's health and wellbeing

Some aspects relating to parenting experiences intersected with those on sustaining children's health and wellbeing; which contributed to the understanding of parents' experiences and how they conceptualise children's health and wellbeing. The four themes which I identified from analysing the data are; gender role conflicts in parenting, support as being central to the parenting role, compromises and sacrifices for a brighter future for children; and place of religion in raising children.

2.9.3.1 Gender Role conflicts in parenting (n=5)

A common view amongst participants across five papers was that parenting responsibilities and their position in maintaining children's health and wellbeing were met with gender role conflicts (Cook & Waite, 2016; Makoni, 2013; McGregor, 2008; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Williams et al., 2013). Both men and women in a study on gendered identities by dual career Zimbabwean migrants identified gender differentiation in roles as part of Blackness and most were not willing to renegotiate these roles to align with the changing times (Makoni, 2013). This is associated with ascribed cultural gender identity which will be discussed later. As narrated by one father:

"We are black people...we have our ways of doing things. Anything to do with the house is for women. That is what Bob Marley said, you can take the black man out of the ghetto but you cannot take the ghetto out of him. Our black humanity and as black men we do things the black way" (Makoni, 2013, p. 212).

Some fathers who were willing to be actively involved in parenting activities faced resistance from women who lacked confidence in their capability (Makoni, 2013; Williams et al., 2013). Some women did not embrace role reversal as it was taboo from their home country and some strongly believed raising a baby was their birth-right and as such had no expectations from their husbands (Makoni, 2013). This

suggested that women internalised their position as natural nurturers. Other fathers felt that being involved in child raising responsibilities emasculates them and they were concerned about how they would be perceived by the Southern African diaspora (Makoni, 2013). The process of renegotiating gender roles was a likely cause of tensions in Southern African migrant's homes (Mcgregor, 2008; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Williams et al., 2013).

Parents expressed how decision making was mostly discussed by both parents but the final decision was passed by the father, for instance around consenting to vaccinating young girls against cervical cancer (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). Thus, reinforcing the superior position of men in their households. One study investigating settlement and intergenerational relations in the UK revealed that; although there are gender role conflicts among their parents' generation, parents are more aware of the importance of not reinforcing this idea in the way they raise their girls and boys (Cook & Waite, 2016).

2.9.3.2 Support as being central to the parenting role (n=11)

The centrality of support in parenting was a recurrent theme across 11 of the papers reviewed (Agbemenu et al., 2018; Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Cook & Waite, 2016; Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mcgregor, 2008; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2013). As a result of migration, cultural change and renegotiation of gender roles which resulted in fathers increased involvement in raising children, support from husbands was discussed (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Mcgregor, 2008; Williams et al., 2013). While some mothers reported that fathers did not make role adjustments to support their spouses in raising children (Stewart et al., 2015), other fathers valued partnership in child-rearing and they evolved from the assigned gender roles they were raised into (Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2013); as described by one participating father in a group interview:

"I'm in favour of being the breadwinner and being the person who takes care of the family. However, I don't live my life like that because it is about partnership and it is about sharing that responsibility but I guess I've been ... brought up in the old school way of thinking that the man should be the person who takes care of the house..... But in reality, we live in a more liberal society where we have to share that responsibility and I'm happy to because ... it's about your partner being the other half that you're not" (Williams et al., 2013, p. 100)

This realisation illustrates how fatherhood is redefined in the destination countries and how it impacts family dynamics. Some men in the UK talked about how child health services were mainly available for women and not designed for men, which limited their support in maintaining children's health in early childhood (Williams et al., 2012).

Child-care was framed as a struggle even when both parents were working. This was worse for single-parent families who likely faced financial struggles, which strained child-care arrangements, especially in instances where they did not have extended family around to support with child care (Mcgregor, 2008; Stewart et al., 2015). Some mothers suggested that loss of the support from friends and extended family in child-rearing due to migration has resulted in their social isolation in the destination countries (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Mcgregor, 2008). One Australian based mother stated:

"Motherhood is very easy in Zimbabwe because there is usually extended family like aunties or cousins to help with looking after the children." (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017, p. 76).

Fathers also concurred that their home country offered opportunities for extended family to support in child-rearing, which also meant that they had limited involvement (Stewart et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2013). Extended family would also assume the role of sexual health teachers, since some parents indicated that their traditional

culture deems it an uncomfortable topic to be discussed between parents and children (Agbemenu et al., 2018; Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). However, some parents leaned on the church community for support or just stepped in themselves although it was a cultural conflict (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017). As illustrated by the quote below by a Zimbabwean mother based in Australia:

"Even in Zimbabwe there were no Aunts; therefore, Church is the one that was doing... V2: It is not like a community because ours is a multicultural, so it does not matter whether an Australian or an African, as long as they are in that Church community, they are just taught." (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017, p. 25).

Lack of community support in their destination countries localities was highlighted as it limits their access to information about the services available to them as parents (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018). Support from children's schools which was reflected in levels of communication gave them the assurance that their children were well cared for (Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018). However, one study reported that the schools did not offer extra support for the immigrant parents to understand resources available to them within the school and externally (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018). Within their communities, a few parents reported that other migrant parents' perceptions influenced their decision-making processes in parenting (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). One mother stated:

"...talking to other mums, noone wants their 12 year old vaccinated..." (Mupandawana & Cross, 2016, p. 7).

This suggests that social associations with other migrants can address issues of social isolation and be an important site to discuss parenting issues.

2.9.3.3 *Compromises and sacrifices for a brighter future for children (n=8)*

There was a sense of compromises and sacrifices amongst parents in their parenting experience and in sustaining their children's health and wellbeing as identified across eight papers (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Cook & Waite, 2016; Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Mcgregor, 2008; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stuart et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2013). Having children was seen as a loss of self or individual identity by some; and adoption of a 'parent' as the only or important identity was common (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Williams et al., 2012). As one mother of three stated:

"There is nothing that revolves around me, everything that I do, I have to work around my family and see whether it suits the family not me." (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017, p. 76).

Other parents found this neglect of self within the family structure needs problematic (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Williams et al., 2012). As an illustration; some fathers suggested that they neglected their own health to focus on the children's wellbeing (Williams et al., 2012); while some mothers deserted personal interests and dedicated their time to support their children's wellbeing (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017). They were also focused on building a foundation which can secure a successful future for their children by providing them with the best educational opportunities which they may not have had themselves (Dryden-Peterson, 2018; Mcgregor, 2008; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stuart et al., 2010). Thus, reinforcing their reasons to move to the Global North country. Parents had a lot of considerations regarding choice of schools and their level of involvement, with preference for supportive schools which values their children's future and moral guidance (Mcgregor, 2008; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Stuart et al., 2010). One participant stated:

"I always like the beauty of choosing private education. It's expensive but I chose to do that and one of the things that I liked about my

son's Catholic school besides community involvement and going to mass is that it just really helps bring not only the community part but good behaviour and some of those basic principles of everyday life." (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018, p. 130).

Some parents felt that they had to renegotiate their disciplining practices, with children also assuming a higher level of independence compared to their home countries (Cook & Waite, 2016; Mcgregor, 2008; Stuart et al., 2010). Communication was adopted as a tool to instil discipline, although seen as a contradictory practice to how they were socialised (Stuart et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2013); as revealed by one participant:

"There were so many boundaries at home, and we would not discuss all the issues, but now we are closer and we discuss openly. I never used to listen to my children at home, but I have learned to listen here." (Stuart et al., 2010, p. 122).

Such cultural disparities raised concerns amongst other parents; with some considering the option of sending children to be raised by extended family in their home countries, so they can also be raised with the same cultural scripts as their parents (Mcgregor, 2008). However, Cook and Waite (2016) revealed that some parents were embracing new parenting approaches in the destination country to enable them to live transnationally across two cultures. In some cases, being confronted by conflict such as this was a positive feature of their integration into the two worlds, their home country and destination country (Stuart et al., 2010).

2.9.3.4 Place of religion in raising children (n=4)

Religion and its place in raising children were discussed across four of the papers. The parenting role was characterised as the ability to provide religious protection and reinforcing its principles and boundaries in raising children (Dune & Mapedzahama,

2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016; Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018; Williams et al., 2012). In a study on parental involvement in the United States, some of the participating mothers suggested that their choice of sending children to Catholic schools enabled maintenance of moral guidance and nurtured good behaviour in children (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018). One mother stated:

".....one of the things that I liked about my son's Catholic school besides community involvement and going to mass is that it just really helps bring not only the community part but good behaviour and some of those basic principles of everyday life." (Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018, p. 130)

As such, some parents believed that religion reduced their children's risk of sexual diseases as it masks risky sexual behaviours (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). Some parents believed that combining religious faith with education and individual priorities would reduce their children's risk to unhealthy or immoral behaviours (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017; Mupandawana & Cross, 2016). The church, which accounts for the home country cultural identity was preferred as a guide to sexual education because otherwise their children exist in a space with information from a multitude of sources. This extract below illustrates some of the ideas:

"Myself, I think it is important that they have sex education because when they are taught by someone from our Church instead of getting this information from somebody else, because definitely the team will educate them, but in a way they know better than us. Of course, they see all that on TV, but if they hear from someone of our own telling them, it is better than getting it because the information will always come." (Dune & Mapedzahama, 2017, p. 24).

2.10 Discussion

An extensive amount of qualitative research exists on migrants' parenting experiences, this is the first review, however, to synthesise and identify analytic themes from this body of literature. All included papers were focused on the perspective of the parent who shared their lived experience of parenting that can feed into understanding the reality of migrants parenting experiences in destination countries. The approach that I adopted to this review captured a broad range of parenting experiences from diverse migrant populations living in a few popular Global North destination countries. The analysis integrated a varied range of parenting aspects to reflect this. Some of the studies had methodological strongpoints by utilising visual methods to elicit responses and support parents to give voice to their responses (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017; Makoni, 2013). This approach enabled them to collect rich detailed information into how parents make sense of their world.

Although several efforts were put to enhance the rigour of the synthesis, these results should be interpreted with consideration of several limitations of the qualitative synthesis. Firstly, although a specific broad migrant group (Southern African) was studied, I synthesised primary studies where home countries for participants included were diverse, including a few of the Southern African countries amongst other migrant groups from other African countries. Evidence suggests that most research has not explained differences in experiences of Black families according to ethnicities as most ethnic minorities are viewed as a block (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). This homogenous view of Black families is not able to account for how specific contexts can shape experiences. Evidently, this review indicates that experiences are shaped by multiple factors. Hence future research should study migrants as distinct groups to better apply a transnational lens to further understand these experiences in their home countries. It is also worth noting that, the systematic search strategy and objective selection led to the inclusion of dominantly Zimbabwean migrant groups (twelve studies) and Zambian migrants (three studies) although the objective was to have a diverse data set with several Southern African countries represented. Consequently, the interpretation of this synthesis might be most relevant to these two Southern African migrant groups. Furthermore, in line

with the nature of qualitative research, the primary studies included small samples that at times have unique characteristics which limit the confidence with which generalisations can be made. These findings are still useful as they add to the migrant parenting discourse and reveal some silences which warrant further research and actioning. Precisely, as most of the participants represented in the included primary studies are mothers, future research might direct its focus on the experience of both parents and also consider the experience of extended family in parenting. I suggest that men are also involved in parenting, hence, their voice should be present in parenting research.

This synthesis shows that migrant parents' might find parenting as an isolating experience because their migration resulted in the loss of support from the extended family. Salami et al. (2017) in a qualitative synthesis on African practices also revealed that kinship is lost post-migration. Within their diversity, most African families as an institution are not only made up of biological connections but also include non-biological relations, extended family and kinship networks; who function within a collective cultural space in supporting each other to raise and nurture children (Mugadza et al., 2019; Oheneba-Sakyi and Takyi, 2006). This synthesis shows that extended family play a role in childcare, maintaining cultural practices such as imparting sex education to children and teaching them cultural values and norms. Due to the loss of this support and social bonds of amity that African families thrive on, parenthood in the destination countries involves emotional, physical, and cultural changes that impinge on their ability to parent their children (Mugadza et al., 2019). This synthesis shows that migrant parents' experience loss of support from children's schools and the local community. These results were also supported by Woodgate et al. (2017) who indicated that recent immigrants feel disconnected from the destination society and the services it offers, this increases their risk of physical and mental health conditions. Connor, Ayallo and Elliot (2017) support the role that schools play in supporting migrant families by facilitating connections with the wider community.

While there is no single model of gender norms in Southern Africa, in the African culture and traditional life there is a general understanding that men assume dominant roles of being the breadwinners and key decision makers while women

are expected to be subordinate homemakers dealing with child-rearing and household upkeep (Davis et al., 2006; Ngubane, 2010). This is reflected in this synthesis, reflecting how fathers make the final decision regarding children's vaccination; thus, reinforcing gender inequality in the destination countries.

The positioning of men in a way that contradicts their ascribed social gender norms in the diaspora is apparent in the synthesis, such as their involvement in child-rearing which some likened to their loss of power. Although there are several parallels between the findings, a large number indicated they were comfortable with renegotiating roles within their households, especially given the involvement of women in the workforce. The social constructionist theory helps us to understand this renegotiation as it recognises that role allocation varies widely based on norms for masculinity and femininity that are subscribed to (Benza & Liamputtong, 2017). Gender roles are often mutually agreed upon; hence both parents go through the process of challenging their ascribed cultural gendered identities in raising the children in a new environment.

The findings also revealed how religion is central to the parents' identities and how they engage in the destination countries. Religion and spirituality are central to African identities and sense of being in the world (Adogame and Spickard, 2010; Mbiti, 1991; Munroe et al., 2016). As such, they incorporate religion into most aspects of their parenting including school choices, teachings on acceptable behaviour, source of protection, and consequently sustaining one's health and well-being. These results are also in agreement with those obtained by Munroe et al. (2016) on African immigrant mothers with an autistic child/ren in the UK who value religion in all activities. Furthermore, religion is also a protective feature in many Global North families' accounts of challenges in raising their children (Marshall & Long, 2010). This study confirms that parents' religiosity can influence what behaviours and beliefs are modelled for children (Petro et al., 2018). It is noteworthy that other factors such as culture, parenting styles and faith community structures affect how religion is incorporated in raising children.

The British Education Research Association (2021) cited race and ethnicity as major features influencing educational experiences across all levels; including achievement levels, parental involvement and social interactions. Involvement in

children's education was portrayed as an important part of parenting practices in this synthesis. However, other parents identified pressures that limit their engagement. These results seem to be consistent with other research which found that migrant parents are less involved in their children's education (Bergset, 2017; Free, Križ, & Konecnik, 2014; Hamilton, 2013). This has an impact on the establishment of meaningful links with schools. Other studies found that institutional barriers and stereotypical assumptions are some of the factors inhibiting the establishment of meaningful connections and consequently impact on children's life chances (Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Hamilton, 2013). Collins and Solomons (2010) argue that agency exists within structures of dominance in specific contexts and constraints. Some of the papers reviewed revealed that some parents exercise their agency even in the presence of multiple constraints by investing in their children's education and future success. Therefore, it is also crucial for institutions to understand migrant families within the context of the layers of influence that shape them and not perpetuate deficit views.

There was a general fear of Social Services and law enforcement concerning disciplining and choosing not to have their children vaccinated; which left parents feeling disempowered. Tettey and Puplampu (2005) note that African modes of discipline can be criminalised by law enforcement and interrogated by Social Services, which may result in families being unduly targeted. Raffaeta (2016) in a systematic review on migration and parenting in the USA argued that the labelling of African ways of discipline may also be a result of employing western conceptions of parenting as a standard for good parenting practices, further marginalising African diaspora families. A recent review by Mugadza et al. (2019) based on Australian studies also noted a rise in notifications to child protection services regarding suspected abuse and neglect by families from migrant backgrounds. This might indicate how the families are disempowered in navigating the socio-political environment. For most immigrants from African countries, government involvement in family life is foreign to them and the significance of corporal punishment is shared by many disciplinary actors. Their view of government involvement is largely suspicious (Rasmussen et al., 2012). This also accords with earlier findings, which showed that children are informed by the schools and government agencies of their rights and freedoms which was deemed interference by Somali parents (Degni et al.,

2006). In contrast, Ochieng and Hylton (2010) noted a rise in children from Black families in the social care system. It is also possible that foreign-born parents make a lot of assumptions about how the system facilitates the integration of children into the destination society based on misconceptions about the system (Degni et al., 2006; Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). The family space becomes a site for negotiation between the parent's role and the state's place. Understanding their perceptions of public authority is important to determine their willingness to engage with public institutions which are critical in maintaining a healthy family life.

This synthesis demonstrates that communication has been adopted as a tool to strengthen parent-child relationships and to better understand children's needs. The results seem to be consistent with other research which found that parents from collective cultures now living in individualistic cultures which are dominant in the Global North move towards allowing their children to have the autonomy, individual responsibility and establish firm individual boundaries (Renzaho et al., 2017). This study supports evidence from previous observations of a hierarchy system that operates in most African families which only gives voice to the parents (Bukuluki, 2013). This means parents move from the authoritarian parent style they were raised on to a more power balanced style where communication is open which likely raises difficulties in renegotiating cultures (Andre et al., 2017; Degni et al., 2006; Londhe, 2014). Cultural differences that cause tensions in the parent-child relationship are therefore renegotiated.

The desire to send children to be raised in home countries to reinforce their ethnic identity, ethnic language and cultural practices was represented in the findings. This was intended to address tensions within families when faced with cultural differences. "Culture is to society what memory is to individuals" (Diener & Suh, 2000, p.13). Therefore, it is possible that in their effort to build their children's identities, immigrant parents send their children to their home countries to uphold practices and values they were raised in (Londhe, 2014). This is reflective of how culture influences belonging and definitions of identity. Experiences of racism and discrimination echoed in this synthesis where parents have to shield children can alter their attitudes to the destination country's parenting practices. I suggest that

such experiences of racism can further marginalise the migrant families and contribute to their feelings of (un)belonging.

2.11 Conclusion

The issues highlighted in this synthesis show the need to understand the wider contextual information which shapes and affects experiences. The results of this review indicate that migrant parents' experiences and conceptualisation of sustaining their children's health are largely rooted in the way they were raised in their home countries. It is important to situate participants in their historical, social, political, cultural and economic context pre and post-migration. Some experiences were common across the heterogeneous populations across the reviewed papers, such as, religion's influence in parenting, gender role conflicts and loss of support. Shared values, social policies and systems which influence family life across the Southern African and Global North destination countries can likely influence these commonalities. However, these shared experiences should not mask the need to understand the experiences of specific groups and move away from homogenising Black or African experiences.

By synthesising this body of literature that enables these voices to be heard, the study has the potential to contribute to silences research. Conducting this study could help address the current gap in knowledge regarding Zimbabwean migrant parenting experiences in the UK, whose voices are seldom heard within their context. The present study provides an opportunity to test a relatively new research framework, the silences framework (Serrant-Green, 2011) in a migrant parenting context. This is a setting in which this framework has not previously been applied. Zimbabwean migrant parents raising children in the UK are, therefore, currently a 'silent subset' of the broader migrant population, inadvertently marginalised and whose parenting experiences are relatively unheard, warranting further investigation. This study is important in ensuring that migrant families are not further marginalised in policy and everyday experiences in the UK. In the next chapter, I will identify the silences contained in the research, to inform the methodology adopted to further explore these silences.

Ayanda's Poem

You're trying to have your child
grounded

You're like in a constant battle

You are an immigrant

You want the best

My brother used to live

We would go to church

I think that was

I was very strict

I don't believe

You know where your kids are

I don't know

I never had any issues

You don't have to

I think it's just a comfort

I used to be

My income's a bit better

My culture is not about birthday
parties.

We never used to

We were lucky

I had these Filipino people

I've been blessed

I kept active with his grades

I was at home

I was raised

My own mistakes

I think it scared me

I don't believe

My brothers have moved

I think we just manage

Me going back?

My son likes it here

You hear all these horror stories

They were so busy

They forgot

I think it's the area you live in

Ayanda⁸

Ayanda started off with an unsure voice where she mostly used 'You', 'I think' to distant herself from owning her experience. In a way, she appeared to be struggling to get herself heard. She became confident at some point when she talked about aspects that made her experience positive. For instance in her '*I kept active with his grades*'. Also, her use of 'me' and 'my' statements revealed her firmness in owning those aspects of her experience. What also comes across is her partnership with her brother, Filipino people and her son in shaping up her experience. Towards the end of the poem she had such an awakened voice where she considered other parents' experiences, for instance in her use of '*They were so busy*'.

Ayanda's responsibilities to balance priorities while meeting her son's needs and her needs are visible to me through this poem.

⁸ Ayanda is a mother of 1

Chapter 3: Stage 2 - Hearing Silences

The previous chapter has shown a concerning need for support in sustaining children's health and wellbeing by parents settled in Global North destination countries. It also revealed that parenting experiences are largely influenced by how they were raised, the underpinning cultural and religious beliefs. Further work is needed to fully understand the experiences of migrant parents in the UK, and how migrant parents perceive maintaining children's health and wellbeing. This study, therefore, represents an opportunity to 'give voice' to these under-represented and under-researched migrant parents' experiences. What follows is an account of 'silences' integral to conducting this research study with the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK at this time by the researcher, where the Zimbabwean parents are the medium through which the silences are heard, identified and prioritised.

This chapter considers the anti-essentialist perspective which underpins the study and justifies adopting TSF which provides guidelines for undertaking this study. The anti-essentialist viewpoints consider that a person's strands of identity at a particular time point collectively construct their reality in a social world (Gray, 2018; Serrant-Green, 2011). As such, it is important to not overlook voices at the margin of research discourses that represent different strands of identity. I will reflect on the interdependent relationship between aspects of my researcher identity, the research topic and the nature of the research participants as set out in the research context discussed in Stage 1. In this chapter, I also clarify how these three aspects inform the decision processes through which the 'silences' addressed were located and revealed; therefore, prioritising the precise capturing of the silences heard by the 'listeners' (Zimbabwean migrant parents). The process of reflecting on my researcher identity, the research subject and the research participants, guided the methodology choice. The methodology is reliable and effective in identifying the silences and parenting experiences to be explored as set out in the research aim. I will also highlight ethical issues derived from identifying silences and the plan set out to act on that and promote the integrity of research conduct. As described earlier, this study is guided by TSF. The section below puts the framework in context and further clarifies its suitability for guiding this study.

3.1 The Silences Framework Within the Context of this Study

The silences framework was birthed from a study on sexual health-related silences and decisions amongst Black Caribbean men in England (Serrant-Green, 2011). TSF is intended to guide research on sensitive issues, issues that remain under-researched or silenced and reveal how these silences or experiences of usually marginalised populations affect their chances of health and life. This framework represents the scaffolding upon which this thesis is built. “The Screaming Silences” conceptual approach, which informs TSF is underpinned by aspects of feminism, criticalist and ethnicity based approaches. These approaches are based on anti-essentialist viewpoints which challenge the essentialist ideas that reality is fixed, unchanging and objective based on a single category. Consequently, an anti-essentialist lens allows me to explore the marginalised and invisible in revealing a broader interpretation of the migrant parents' social reality. The 'migrant' identity often makes the parents invisible as revealed in stage 1 of TSF. Furthermore, the silences around the racially or ethnically minoritised populations' parenting experiences remain under-researched. Their experiences seem to be influenced by various other factors despite their migrant status. These multiple factors still need to be revealed, in broadening understanding of the reality for minoritised populations.

The criticalist approaches which TSF aligns with provide a basis for the methodological strategies employed in this study. The criticalist perceptive recommends an action-oriented approach to research, which Lincoln and Guba (2000) suggest could take the form of restoring power imbalances in the research process to give voice to those previously marginalised. In the same vein, criticalist approaches also value the interests of all individuals in exploring a subject rather than a few dominating ones (Dant, 2003). Screaming silences⁹ can also be viewed as a way in which power can be used to determine a subjective norm in society

⁹ The 'Screaming' feature reflects the impact an experience has on the listener (screams out) while the 'silences' aspect refers to how these 'screams' which appear obvious to the experiencing person are not often widely shared in the society, thus they affect them in silence.

(Serrant-Green, 2011). This perspective of what can be considered socially or morally acceptable in society affects the interpretation of research and directs issues to be researched or funded to align with the norms and values at a particular time (Tarozzi, 2013). This results in research gaps, in relation to approaches and experiences on sensitive issues (Mason, 2002). Evidently, from stage one of the framework, gaps of knowledge exist in this topic of study, which is where 'screaming silences' are located. In this context, this process of re-addressing power imbalances entails challenging the popular notions driven by professionals or the media on migrant parenting experiences by hearing from the listeners (Zimbabwean parents). These approaches align with my own beliefs that 'truth' about experience is best known by the experiencing individual or group. Action-oriented focus coupled with consideration of multiple realities aligns with the aims of this study in understanding the parenting experiences of a currently silenced subgroup, Zimbabwean parents in the UK. Giving voice to the parents empowers them and represents an effort to emancipate them in breaking the traditional or dominant discourses through sharing their experiences.

In light of this discussion, it is these critical aspects of TSF which facilitate the exposing of hidden issues that are under-researched and sensitive in communities that has attracted me to use this framework for my study (Zimbabwean parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK). TSF at this stage, with its focus on the researcher as part of the study, will address my researcher identity, the nature of the research subject and the study participants to enable the reader to 'hear' the silences inherent in the social field of migrant parenting.

3.2 Researcher Identity

Application of TSF at this stage is driven by centralising the researcher as:

"..... the primary vehicle through which 'silences' are heard, identified and prioritised as a focus any research study" (Serrant-Green, 2011, p. 354).

Therefore, the researcher significantly influences the identification of silences to be heard in this study. Researchers are warned against presuppositions that stifle the discovery of meaning. As such, I embrace a suggestion by Mills and Birks (2014) to clarify how the study sits in the context of existing disciplinary knowledge to avoid building the study on a faulty foundation. I have fulfilled this by completing Stage 1 of TSF, which made the research gap more explicit. I suspended my pre-understandings of the phenomenon by writing and reflecting on personal lived experiences of the phenomenon throughout the research (Becker, 1992).

Constructivism which this study draws from points out that subjective perception creates knowledge, thus knowledge is not a fixed entity (Jafar, 2018). To retain the meaning of research output, it is vital to contextualise the researcher (Jafar, 2018). The researcher has to consider their other role of being an individual in relation to the topic and how these different roles might influence the critical stages of the research process. As noted by Burr (2003), by developing self-awareness, the researcher concurrently reflects efforts to avoid 'positioning' others in particular ways. Positionality can broadly be defined as the declaration of one's position in a piece of work which defines the confines through which knowledge is produced (Jafar, 2018). It allows the researcher to demonstrate reflexivity as a way of addressing questions of the researcher's biographical relationship to the topic, values, the multiple voices in the text and actions (Gray, 2008; Jafar, 2018; Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). Many migration scholars hold the view that reflexivity should be an integral part of research, especially to challenge the nation and ethnicity-based epistemology that drives most of the migration research field (Borkert & De Tona, 2006; Dahinden, 2016). This universal discourse of migration needs to be challenged, hence the importance of reflexivity at this time. It is also emphasised that researchers have to be reflexive; allowing space to scrutinise their activities (Israel, 2016). Revealing my positionality represents immersion into the research process as a medium through which a participant's narrative unfolds (Borkert & De Tona, 2006; Broom, Hand, & Tovey, 2009; Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). From this lens, I will reveal the multiple identities I bring to the research process.

The concept of positionality is situated within the insider-outsider perspective debate which is utilised to describe the researcher identity and also encompasses discussions of power and privilege (Muhammad et al., 2015). The ability to identify either of the perspectives is held by researchers as they develop a level of familiarity to identify similarities and differences with the specific participants and the research setting (Bott, 2010). The representation of research positionality as either insider or outsider only is not adequate to account for the diverse and complex experiences of researchers who don't fit totally in either of the categories in relation to the participating population (Wiederhold, 2015). Borkert and De Tona (2006) have also challenged this view because identity is ever-shifting. Thus, there is a danger in assuming a neutral stance. The insider-outsider terminology is methodologically useful in framing the researchers' orientation to their site, subject, and/or participants (Wiederhold, 2015). Although I am a Zimbabwean migrant in the UK, I subscribe to the idea that:

"Holding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 60).

Therefore, I will relate my identity to both the insider and outsider perspectives and reflect on any positionality shifts with the evolving of research throughout the thesis.

3.2.1 Insider identity

Placing myself in the research as an insider orients me to the reality of the field's challenges and opportunities by questioning my familiarity and making presumptions transparent in this context-specific research (Wiederhold, 2015). As an insider in this research, I am a Black female Zimbabwean adult. I migrated to the UK in 2015 and therefore I am also part of the ethnic minority in the UK. I was raised in Zimbabwe where both my parents were working class. Being raised in Zimbabwe, I was not only my parent's child. I was raised by the church community, extended family, neighbours, school teachers and a live-in domestic helper. I learnt at an early age (before I was legally an adult) to support my parents with child-rearing needs for my

younger siblings. My experiences with that involved caring for my siblings in the absence of my parents, preparing meals and ensuring we were all fed. My elder siblings did the same as well. This was the norm in most Zimbabwean households. These experiences are most likely to be shared by the parents who were also raised in Zimbabwe. This may then create some silences or pauses in their narratives because they may assume that I already know their experiences. I belong to the Shona ethnic group/tribe, which is the largest tribe in Zimbabwe. I was raised within the confines of this tribe's culture and mostly communicated in the Shona language. I have familial relations with the study population through shared cultural background. This identity likely made contact with the Shona, Zimbabwean parents easier as I knew some of the mannerisms they expect when meeting someone for the first time to establish a respectful relationship.

My identification as an insider within this study enables me to have access to the research participants and have a level of trust and openness which could have been harder for the outsiders based on those identity markers. However, the insider status may limit the richness of data if participants assume I understand all their experiences (Levy, 2013). For instance, referring back to a line in Ayanda's poem, *'Me going back?'*, my sense was that she was assuming at that moment that I was aware of the multitude of reasons why she, similar to other migrants would not be returning to Zimbabwe. Had I not had the insider status, Ayanda may have moved on to explain those reasons without my having to ask. Critics have also argued that inside researchers may not be effective in uncovering the silences if they rely on assumptions based on their personal experiences (Levy, 2013; Muhammad et al., 2015). In my interaction with Ayanda at that moment, I switched from my personal self (who knew) to my researcher self (Who did not want to make assumptions). Therefore, I asked her to clarify on the reasons why she did not envision herself returning to Zimbabwe.

3.2.2 Outsider identity

Reflecting on the ways in which we are outsiders in our research territory orients us to the challenges we face gaining access, establishing rapport, building trust and to

the benefits we enjoy by virtue of our distance and unfamiliarity (Wiederhold, 2015). I am a single female with no real lived experience of the parenting phenomenon. Most of my current knowledge of parenting experiences was obtained from the existing literature and how I was raised in Zimbabwe. I have established relationships with a few Zimbabwean families in the UK. In the Zimbabwean culture, an adult known to the family usually assumes the role of sister or aunty to their families, even without a biological relationship. This is the role I have assumed in the two families that I am familiar with and therefore spend time with them and their children. Personal stories that have been shared by a few migrant families with whom I established relationships brought out a desire in me to find out more about their experiences. These stories also raised my curiosity about what the future will be like for me as a parent. Although I have been in the UK since the year 2015 to study for a Masters degree, I still consider myself as having relatively limited experience of being a migrant in the UK in comparison to the study participants who had been resident in the UK for at least 14 years at point of data collection. I belong to the Shona tribe, however, the Zimbabwean population in the UK also consists of another relatively large tribe of the Ndebele people. I understand that some Ndebele or other Zimbabwean ethnic groups' participants may view me as an outsider based on the specific cultural identity.

This was the first time I introduced myself to the Zimbabwean community as an academic researcher. I had no previous research links with the community. My status as a researcher and academic migrant represents a position of power and privilege in the research community and within the process of uncovering of silences (Muhammad et al., 2015). Positions of power and privilege can potentially drive inequality and disadvantage the participating community (Muhammad et al., 2015). This is why application of TSF is critical in this study, as it uses collective voices in 'Voicing silences' (Stage 3) to explore the identified silences. The advantage of involving more than one person at this stage of the analysis process is that it can bring in different perspectives (INVOLVE, 2012). TSF allows for the involvement of different people at different stages of the research process. Another perspective from a critical friend of the research was sought at design of the research, analysis of data and dissemination stages. Such instances of power sharing are an effective sign of cultural humility and give participants power (Muhammad et al., 2015). Finally, I am

an early career researcher in the subject area. The doctoral journey has nurtured in me the rigour and discipline needed for academic research. Most of the learning has been done through critically reflecting on readings, active research processes, writing and re-writing.

Confronting this controversial insider and outsider argument allowed me, from the outsider position to be cautious in the designing of the study and to be attentive to issues of power, positionality, and representation while giving voice to the Zimbabwean migrant participants (Levy, 2013). In the field, as a migration researcher, my insider and outsider identities can function as a vital site for negotiating the reality in the research relationship (Borkert & De Tona, 2006); as illustrated in figure 3.

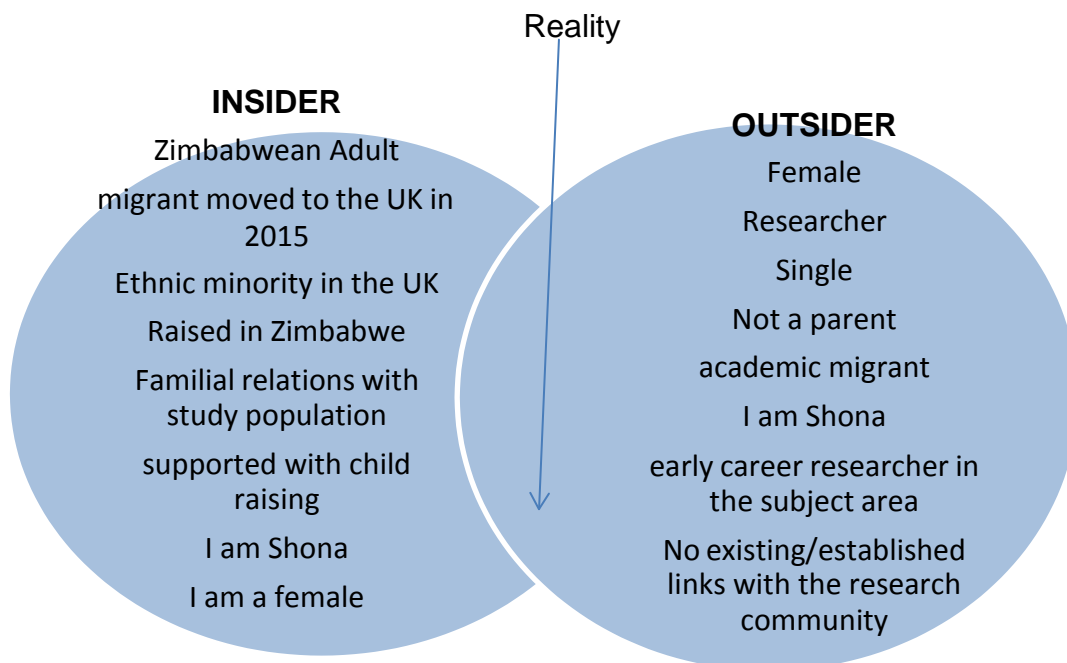


Figure 3: Insider-Outsider identities

I also kept a reflexive diary making transparent my positionality as well as the research context throughout the research as part of a reflexive approach. This

included comments on the social encounters during interviews, the interview experience and experiences of other aspects of the research process. I made my thoughts, fears, feelings and desires clear in my reflections.

3.3 Research Topic/Subject

This aspect of TSF is concerned with analysing the nature of the subject and it is relevant where some facets of the study context make it sensitive, marginalised and under-researched at a specific point in time within the society. It is also possible that exploration of the topic can make it sensitive especially when innovative approaches are used (Serrant-Green, 2011). As established in Stage 1 of TSF, a gap exists in the literature of migrant parenting experiences. It was revealed that experiences of parenting are different across different sending countries and destination countries contexts. The differences and subjectivity in the context of migrant parents' experiences may have an impact on their parenting journey or how they ensure that their children have the best possible health outcomes. Hence, there could be parenting differences between Zimbabwe and the UK. Previous migrant-related research has considered Black families as a homogeneous group not explaining differences in experiences of Black families according to ethnicities (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). It is possible that the literature is more skewed towards professional interests and not to priority areas for the Black community. Silences are embedded in multiple factors hence this study uses this lens to understand Zimbabwean migrants experiences in the UK. Focusing on the migrant's experiences represents an approach that can focus on participants needs and consequently add more to the discourse from the point of view of participants.

Discussions on the subject of migrant parenting experiences mostly focus on the health and wellbeing of children left behind by migrants in their home countries (Madziva & Zontini, 2012), specific health conditions such as mental health, obesity and certain infectious diseases (Condon & Mcclean, 2016). Having an understanding of existing knowledge, this study will make an original contribution to knowledge by providing a focus not just on specific health issues but on how migrant parents sustain their children's overall health & wellbeing once settled in the UK from their

own perspective. The lack of wider research on the subject confers marginalisation of the subject and the Zimbabwean diaspora. This study is significant because it provides a new opportunity to gain an understanding of parents' efficacy or understanding of promoting their children's health and provides evidence for adjusting policies in ensuring all parents have room to develop their social capital. Such indications which make the research gap transparent have helped to understand the 'silences' embedded in this research subject. Therefore, the overall focus of the research is to explore the subjective experiences of parenting by allowing Zimbabwean migrant parents in the UK to dwell on their individual thoughts, feelings, and interpretations of their experiences.

Policy attention on parenting in the UK comprises some level of universal support in the form of access to digital information at the different children's developmental stages (Social Mobility Commission, 2017). South Yorkshire councils and local authorities also offer some parenting programs which aim to support parents and guardians in developing knowledge, confidence and skills that will facilitate the creation of strong family life and keep children safe, happy and successful. There is a distinct lack of specific policy focusing on migrant parenting. Thus, despite these localised efforts, there is still limited policy attention on migrant parents as an excluded group.

As illustrated in the working in silences chapters (chapters one and two), the way that society views and treats children is of concern for most parents. Society may have a lot of resistance for migrant populations some of which are widely expressed in media. Such views which result in marginalisation or racism against the participants affect their feelings of belonging or (un)belonging. However, there is some evidence that individuals are affected differently based on various factors such as legal status or economic resources in the destination country (Powell, Rishbeth, & Powell, 2012). What society thinks about the migration process and migrants in their communities also contributes to the silences inherent in the study. The relevance of exploring the subject of migrant parenting among Zimbabwean migrants in the UK is clearly supported by the current exploration which reveals this as an under-explored topic.

3.4 Research Participants

As established earlier (Chapter 2), the current parenting discourse in the UK does not feature discussions of specific minoritised populations. Preferred participants for this study were Black Zimbabwean parents who are also excluded from the parenting discourse in the UK. This section involves explicitly identifying missing evidence, by detecting the 'silences' resulting from the missing or marginalised voices of the study participants. The nature of the study participants and their parenting experiences, where the 'silences' are housed, is of concern here.

A growing number of migrants are considered to be in marginalised situations, such as economic migrants in low paid jobs, refugees or asylum seekers (O'donnell et al., 2016). This signals that migrants are marginalised because of their migration routes and their economic status. As illustrated in the 'working in silences' chapter, migrants struggle to find a work-life balance in raising their children (section 2.9.1.1). This may limit their ability to be economically active, although this has not been explicitly revealed in the literature. Furthermore, race visibility, particularly Blackness is consistently marked as an unwanted outsider and those identified as Black are likely to be placed at the lower levels of social hierarchies (Sawyer & Paschel, 2007). They would, therefore, seem to be a definite need for migrant Zimbabweans to be represented in a way that does not further marginalise them in writing. The 'silences' inherent in Zimbabwean migrant parents are fuelled by the wide portrayal of different migrants' groups in destination countries. Not much has been reported on the Zimbabwean population in the UK (See Section 1.8 - Summary of Research on Zimbabweans in the UK), therefore, focusing on this group and holistically understanding their parenting experiences can possibly give a voice for them to reveal their silences and consequently empower them.

The working in silences stage (Section 2.10) also revealed that men are underrepresented on issues relating to parenting. Discourses on Black men are limited around socialisation of children but more prevalent around music, sports and urban culture (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). Although the media and popular belief normally portray Black fathers as inactive in child-rearing, they are deemed to be equal players in child-rearing decisions from within or outside the household (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). Under-representation of men calls for heterogeneity so

that a social group cannot be understood by reference to a single category, such as one gender category. It is important to focus widely on the different categories that may impact on their parenting experiences.

Being a small subset of the UK population, the target study population of Zimbabwean migrants in South Yorkshire, UK, is not easily identifiable or highly visible in society. Rather than stay in the shadows, migrants need a fair chance to sustain their health and wellbeing as they integrate and settle in their new society. Migrants bring with them diverse knowledge and cultural practices relating to health. It is crucial to understand how they conceptualise health, in order to give their children a good start in life as they are consistently reported to have poorer health outcomes or poor education performance. Zimbabwean migrant parents raising children in the UK are therefore currently a 'silent subset' of the broader migrant population, inadvertently marginalised and relatively unheard, warranting further investigation. This directs future research beyond the broad geographical focus which would otherwise categorise them as Africans. This research study, therefore, attempts to reduce the marginalised representation of Black people in research, by focusing on one growing population in the UK, Zimbabweans.

3.5 Study Aims

The differences and subjectivity in the context of migrant parents' experiences may have an impact on their parenting journey or how they ensure that their children have the best possible health outcomes. The two 'working in silences' chapters' considerations were instrumental in setting the context for the study aim and questions established in the introductory chapter. The research questions allow for the voice of participants to inform this inquiry and thus represent a logical next step in the development of knowledge in migrant parenting and sustaining children's health. The aim and questions for this study were:

- To explore the Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives on how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing.

The following key questions helped tackle the research aim:

1. What is Zimbabwean migrant parents' experience of bearing and raising children in the UK?
2. How do Zimbabwean parents sustain their children's health and wellbeing?

It was expected that research outcomes from this study would map out an understanding of parents' experiences in promoting their children's health and wellbeing. Furthermore, it was expected that results from this study will contribute to an understanding of the Zimbabwean diaspora, African diaspora, families, migration and parenting scholarship.

3.6 Research Design

Koro-Ljungberg & Hayes (2010) propose that the research question promotes methodological congruence and provides direction for the use of research methods and strategies within a methodological framework. The UK research environment has been dominated by quantitative studies on minoritised populations, which fail to explain differences of experiences across critical factors such as ethnicity or gender (Gunaratnam, 2003; Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). Quantitative research is hypothesis testing and uses statistical and analytical measurement to explain phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). However, the feminist theoretical perspectives informing this study advocate for methods which give participants opportunities to use their own voice in talking about their experiences (Oakley, 1998, Serrant-Green, 2011). Quantifying the silences cannot help in understanding meanings and interpretations of the participants' parenting experience, which makes quantitative approaches irrelevant for this study. This fuels the need for challenging such a research paradigm in understanding the experiences of a marginalised migrant population in the UK.

This research adopts a qualitative research approach which is suited to focus on migrant parents in their natural settings and to emphasise their experiences, views and meanings of bearing and raising children in the UK (Pope & Mays, 2006).

Reflecting on the research aim, a participatory approach was key to understanding phenomena that impact the lived reality among Zimbabwean migrants. Qualitative research can make visible and untangle the patterns which link particular variables, by looking at the explanations, or accounts, provided by those involved (Barbour, 2014). It represents an appropriate research paradigm in comparison to quantitative research which can mostly make inferences in exploring parenting experiences among migrants and understanding of maintaining children's health. The research findings will be useful to other researchers by focusing on various participants' experiences and clarifying raised issues. Moving from the generic qualitative research, a finely textured methodological school of thought, a phenomenological approach was adopted to produce a higher quality research outcome.

3.7 A Phenomenological Approach

The current literature and research available on migrant parenting concentrates on details of migrant parents' experiences from the observer's perspective and usually provides empirical pointers. Dwelling on an observer's perspective or empirical indicators does not reveal the core of the silences embedded in the migrant parenting discourse. The phenomenological approach was chosen to explore the Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences because it is more systematic and rigorous; and it studies phenomena, of experiences or events, in the everyday world from the viewpoint of experiencing person (Becker, 1992). Phenomenology as a philosophical discipline is associated with the writings of Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Sarte, Arendt, Levinas, Derrida and Merleau-Ponty amongst others (Moran, 2000). Phenomenology enables ('silences') voices embedded in subjective experiences which are distanced from dominant discourses, under-researched or actively silenced to be brought to light. This aligns with the aims of TSF. Phenomenology allows for the centralisation of user-focused research in understanding constructions that were previously confined to epidemiological studies on Black communities (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010).

Migrants are often marginalised, and their position is often clouded by the dominant population in many sectors (Ahn, Miller, Wang, & Laszloffy, 2014). Methodological

approaches such as this seek to tap into racial/ethnic attributes or meanings that are seen to be rising from the racialised subjectivity and experiences of minoritised research participants (Gunaratnam, 2003). Therefore, this represents a powerful space to capitalise on raw experiences and bring to light the issues pertinent to the Zimbabwean migrants which are under-researched. For example, more recently, Chikwira (2021) employed a phenomenological approach to explore how Zimbabwean women in the UK redefine their cultural identities and renegotiate their relationships within religious, social, and family spaces. This approach allowed her to honour women as active agents who have voices in the production or reproduction of gendered scripts.

A consideration of the nature of several other qualitative paradigms also reinforces the appropriateness of a phenomenological choice. For example, ethnography in which the researcher immerses him/herself within the research setting for an extended period of time to observe behaviour, to listen to what is being said in conversations and ask questions (Bryman, 2016); or the grounded theory which seeks to generate a theory from a substantial amount of research data (Saks & Allsop, 2007). Case study intensively focuses on one or just a few cases regarding an issue (Creswell, 2007). Narrative research is focused on collecting and interpreting participants' narrative accounts of their experiences in order to determine meanings, commonalities, and patterns within the accounts shared. Participatory action research is an approach to action research that overtly seeks societal change as a research outcome by crossing boundaries between research and activism (Creswell, 2007). Following considerations, the above approaches do not explicitly focus on individuals' lived experiences of the phenomena, which is the focus of this study. This endorses my choice of adopting a phenomenological paradigm. However, any research methods have inherent advantages and limitations depending on suitability for the research topic or aims, participant characteristics, associated costs, time, researcher skills and possible research impact.

Another significant aspect of a phenomenological approach is how the interest of the study arose from a place of wonder on seemingly ordinary experiences for the parents who may not perceive their experiences to be research-worthy; which is a basis for a good phenomenological study (van Manen, 2014). In the following

section, I will discuss how van Manen's approach to hermeneutics phenomenology was adopted to provide a broad structural framework for this study.

3.8 Rationales for choosing van Manen Approach- Hermeneutic phenomenology

Traditionally, there are two distinct ideologies of phenomenology stemming from Husserl (descriptive) and Heidegger (interpretative or hermeneutic) (Kafle, 2011; Laverty, 2003; McConnell-Henry, Chapman, & Francis, 2009). A wave of philosophical movements birthed a number of schools of phenomenology. Various phenomenologists view the process in different ways. Considered in light of the number of schools of phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology employed as a research methodology from Max van Manen's perspective has been deemed the best fit for understanding migrant parenting experiences. In the methodology context, van Manen (1990, p. 28) defines hermeneutic phenomenology as a certain theoretical philosophical framework in the "pursuit of knowledge". This methodology is based on the philosophical belief that;

"The essence of the phenomenon is uncovered by gathering text from those living it and then interpreting this text" (van Manen, 1990, p. 7).

Hence, this study explores the parents' experiences in the UK as migrants and its impact on their experiences from the Zimbabwean parents experiencing it. Therefore, the relations between myself, as the researcher and those experiencing the phenomenon will facilitate addressing the research aims as emphasised by TSF. Van Manen has applied this methodology to pedagogy (unequal relationships) and parenting; and the approach has relevance in areas of education, health and nursing (van Manen, 2014). Hence, applying it to this research represents an appropriate fit. This particular approach was chosen over others because the methods it employs do not break the experiences into smaller parts but emphasise the holistic nature of the phenomenon by giving rich descriptions and interpretations (Becker, 1992). This also acknowledges the silences inherent in the research subject about the limited nature of the literature. It is compatible with TSF which aims to locate missing evidence to

give a full picture relating to marginalised perspectives of the study participants. The research aim is to gain a '*pathic understanding*' (situated understanding) of the parenting experiences. Therefore, developing an understanding of the phenomena as a whole is vital (Rodriguez & Smith, 2018). Furthermore, the approach offers flexibility in data collection, with emphasis on the facilitation of participants to freely share their views and the production of meaning between the researcher and the researched in comparison to other phenomenological approaches. The Silences Framework also encourages a great deal of flexibility in the pursuit of new knowledge due to its non-prescriptive nature. Given the nature of the phenomena under study (See Section 3.3) and research participants (See Section 3.4), it was important to approach this research in a non-coercive way as it was deemed sensitive and marginalised in the current society.

3.9 How Hermeneutic Phenomenology Relates to the Researcher's Epistemological and Ontological Positions

To enhance the credibility of research, it is vital to select a phenomenological research method that is congruent with the underlying philosophical tenets of hermeneutic phenomenology and Researchers' philosophical beliefs. As noted by (Greenbank, 2003, p.792):

"When researchers are deciding what research methods to adopt they will inevitably be influenced by their underlying ontological and epistemological position."

Ontology helps us answer "What is reality?" (Guba, 1990). It is important to make the researcher's ontological position transparent because assumptions made about the reality affect how this research is approached. Applied to hermeneutic phenomenology, realities are multiple depending on different situations (Laverty, 2003). Similarly, I subscribe to relativist ontology and claims that the individual parents are the only ones to know the experience of parenting (Guba, 1990). The aim of this research is to explore the Zimbabwean migrant parenting experiences from the lived experience of those who live it. Only a Zimbabwean parent can share their 'truth' as they live it. The assumption is also that realities of everyday life are intersubjective, they are shared and construed among socialising human agents (Pernecky, 2016). This position also solidifies that many interpretations of reality

exist. Anti-essentialist perspectives underpinning this study also accept that there are several realities that can be projected from a single society depending on the interaction dynamics taking place (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Therefore, my ontological position supports the need to gather details of experiences to understand the different angles of reality for the parents.

A researcher's epistemology is concerned with 'how do we know what we know. It provides the background of how can we know that something is true knowledge. Hermeneutic phenomenology is grounded on the belief that knowledge is constructed through subjective experience and insights (Laverly, 2003). Likewise, I believe that constructivism is an appropriate epistemology for understanding and explaining what is known about migrant parenting experiences and maintaining children's health as it situates truth to be created by the subjects' interaction with the world. This view supports that truth is constructed and subjects can construct their own meanings around the same phenomenon in varied ways (Gray, 2018).

Recognising the presence of multiple and diverse perspectives of the individual experiences and the culturally and historically situated interpretations of migrant parenting highlights the relevance of adopting TSF which is based on anti-essentialist viewpoints (Gray, 2018; Serrant-Green, 2011). Furthermore, hermeneutics views social reality as socially constructed and emphasises that interpretation must be valued more instead of mere descriptions (Gray, 2018). Particularly within this research focusing on a specific race and ethnicity, it was important to focus on how the texts represent the social world and how meanings were produced. Overall, the individuals' description of truth is socially constructed and informed by their lived experiences; and the methodological stance is rooted in the researcher's and the hermeneutic phenomenology philosophical standpoints. Finally, my ontological and epistemological position acknowledging the existence of multiple 'truths' and the social construction of knowledge fitted very well with TSF which guided this study.

3.10 Data Collection

The purpose of the data collection is to generate the lived world experiences of Zimbabwean migrant parents. The phenomenological type chosen to be used will dictate how the data are approached (Langdrige, 2007). Although van Manen does not provide a set of procedures for doing research, he suggests that multiple tools can be utilised to collect data. His approach follows Gadamer's philosophy that language reveals being and provides the means of data (Lavery, 2003); such as the language of individual interviews when gathering their reflective recollections. Hermeneutic phenomenology allows flexibility in data collection to allow free sharing of experiences in the co-construction of knowledge. Hence, an appropriate tool(s) can be applied.

This study used:

- 10 In-depth interviews (including a visual element and field notes as part of the process)

3.11 Description of Method Used

Although there are several interview techniques available, this study used in-depth interviews to situate the participants' experiences and understand the essence of the phenomena. In-depth interviews were selected because they give an opportunity for participants to control the narrative of their 'lived experiences' and hopefully they portray their realities in relation to the phenomena (Becker, 1992). Employing other qualitative techniques such as semi-structured interviews would not accurately achieve the research aim within this under-researched topic amongst the marginalised Zimbabwean migrant population. Such methods would give the researcher power to control narratives, as such missing the important elements of the phenomena under study. TSF guiding this study seeks to re-address power imbalances by recognising that, for silences to come out, power within the context of this study lies in the hands of the study participants (Serrant-Green, 2011). The viewpoint of hermeneutic phenomenology accepts the importance of subjective consciousness, it being active and meaning-bestowing (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). These beliefs support a gain of direct knowledge through reflective interviews

with the experiencing beings. Furthermore, 'silences' based research values maintaining personal experience and its ability to free research from rigid adherence to dominant discourses (Serrant-Green, 2011).

Gunaratnam (2003) cautions that the interview conversation is framed as a potential source of bias, error, misunderstanding or misdirection; a persistent set of problems to be controlled. Recommended steps to correct is by framing the right questions, in the right order and avoiding saying things that can spoil or bias the data. Broad interview questions were set out to support the study aims and questions set out in this report. My central research aim was to explore the Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives of how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing. Becker (1992) cautions that the researcher must allow the data to naturally emerge within phenomenology. This understanding guided me in formulating the following two broad, open-ended interview questions:

- i. Can you tell me as much as you can about your experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK,
- ii. Could you describe as much as you can about how you sustain your children's health and wellbeing?

This open line of questioning, according to Geertz (1993) allows for an enhanced lived understanding of the phenomenon without participants simulating what they thought they experienced. The responses from the two general interview questions above directed additional questions and prompts for each participant. Probing allows for phenomena to be described adequately in an effort to develop a rich data set. This is in line with phenomenology's objective to gain a full structure of a lived experience and what it means for those who lived through it. My role was to nudge participants to dwell on their experiences by, for example, assuring interviewees that whatever comes to their mind will be useful (Becker, 1992). I had critical friends to the research who took interest in my work and were sounding boards at different stages of the research. They also helped shape up the interview questions.

The interview interaction is based on a relationship created through the assurance of

safety and established trust. Marcel (1971, p. 24-26) says:

'When I say that a being is granted to me as a presence... this means that I am unable to treat him as if he were merely placed in front of me;between him and me there arises a relationship which surpasses my awareness of him; he is not only before me, he is also with me'

Establishing respectful engagement from the outset to the end of the project provides room for participants to share their experiences as the primary listeners¹⁰. This is particularly critical in this study which taps into sensitive, marginalised and under-researched subjects.

The UK research environment has for a long time used ethnic matching in studies to accommodate for cultural and linguistic matching (Gunaratnam, 2003). The interviews were all conducted by me, and I share the same ethnic background as the study participants. Gunaratnam (2003) adds that racial differences between the interviewer and participants may affect the accuracy of responses, especially on racial topics. Thus, this is a step that likely promoted accuracy of responses whilst also building trust between myself and the participants in this study. My insider positionality was critical in this relationship with participants. It was expected that each interview would vary in ways information was obtained, through questioning, listening to life stories or agreeing with someone. All interactions were intended to gather rich descriptions.

Interviews were audio-taped with the participants' consent and transcribed verbatim. To facilitate this, the interview environment was private to avoid interruptions and maximise on making the interviewee comfortable and consequently maximises on the descriptive task. Venues for interviews included interviewees' residences, university rooms or less interrupted public venues. The interview process exists within the context of a relationship that promotes safety and trust (Laverty, 2003). Hence, the participants chose a physical location suitable for them as a venue for the interviews. The duration of the interview is dependent on the researcher's purpose, time constraints, the topic, quality of the data, interviewee's emotional and physical availability (Becker, 1992). Other studies in the field have run for up to one hour, therefore the information sheet estimated the duration of the interview to an hour.

The actual duration of the interviews varied from 40 minutes and 90 minutes.

Participants were asked to spend time applying their creative way by physically drawing or gathering image/s which reflect their parenting experience prior to their interviews and then speak about their meanings in the in-depth interview session. Participants were reminded that their drawing skills were not of concern but to put their picture in context. The drawing exercise was applied to give participants more time and a little less constraint in developing nuanced thoughts about their parenting experience in the UK (Johnson & Weller, 2002). It was assumed that giving participants in this present study reflective time can help in constructing knowledge and stimulate a better conversation in the subsequent interview session. The visuals in this study operated to stimulate my main data through words in the interviews. The particular subject matter, parenting, is more personally meaningful and immediate for the participants; individual attention is crucial in the production of knowledge. Adler and Adler (2005) highlighted that some participants may be resistant to open up about their experiences and such strategies can help in overcoming this. Benza and Liamputtong, (2017); and Makoni (2013) who added to the qualitative synthesis presented in stage one had methodological strong points because of the use of visual methods to elicit responses and support parents to give voice to their responses. Thus, suggesting the potential of visual methods in reaching the 'silences'.

As part of the process, I also wrote field notes to complement the in-depth interviews' digital audio recordings. These documented non-audio cues observed, my experiences or thoughts, the setting context and general reflection of the process. Van Manen (1997) also highlighted the importance of considering the silences (absence of speaking or the unspeakable or of being). Within hermeneutic phenomenology methodology and the guiding theoretical framework (TSF), reflexivity of this sort can possibly assist in interpretations of data and enrich those interpretations (Serrant-Green, 2011; van Manen, 1997). For van Manen (2007), importance is not only placed on the essence; but the observer's introspective reflection. These memos helped to put the interviews in context and also highlighted the active parenting which I observed during the interviews. For example, the choice by participants to schedule the interview in between their seemingly busy schedules

made the everyday experience of managing work and childcare visible to me. This direct observance aided in my analysis and understanding of the parenting experiences. I added these notes to NVIVO software to connect with the interview transcripts and recordings.

3.12 Field Work (Recruitment, Sampling and Sample)

The geographical recruitment area was situated in South Yorkshire, UK, and access to participants targeted Zimbabwean organisations, social events and referrals by other potential participants. Recruitment letters together with face to face interaction were used to invite participation. Recruitment letters were particularly useful in situations where I did not have ample time to discuss the research with participants or where other participants reach out to fellow Zimbabwean parents for possible participation. Face to face interactions were also preferred because they are the initial point of building trust between me and potential participants. Recruitment targeted willing volunteers who fit the criteria set for the study.

3.12.1 Sampling and Inclusion Criteria

In this study, the sample were Zimbabwean settled migrant parents (5 or more years in the UK) that were raised in Zimbabwe and started families of their own in the UK within a specified area, South Yorkshire. Despite uncertainty in defining what a child is, in the present study, a child is defined as someone who has not yet reached their 18th birthday (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children NSPCC, 2019). This also ensured that the parents referred to recent parenting experiences. With the recognition that there is a significant number of inter-ethnic relationships due to increased social assimilation (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010); this study also sampled across various family structures including families where only one active parent was raised in Zimbabwe. This study particularly sampled for all active parents, that is, including fathers who are usually excluded from the parenting discourse (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). Black fathers are deemed to be equal players in child-rearing decisions from within or outside the household (Ochieng & Hylton, 2010). The silence of men as parents was addressed by purposive sampling. Any approach to research should show the heterogeneity, the partiality within categories so that a social group cannot be understood by reference to a single category

(Gunaratnam, 2003). Hence, for this study, I drew participants from a broad pool to incorporate a range of other characteristics or variables.

Purposive sampling was selected because it allowed me to reach the targeted sample faster. However, I was aware that relying on this alone would likely over represent subgroups in the population that are more readily accessible or visible. Hence, an additional strategy, snowball sampling was adopted so that initially identified potential participants would recruit future study participants who fit the criteria amongst their networks. As established that the target population is minoritised, it was assumed they may not be highly visible from recruitment sites. Thus, this additional sampling technique widened the reach of inaccessible populations of Zimbabwean migrants in South Yorkshire, UK. Participants recruited through the purposive sample were then asked to share the recruitment letter to any of their networks that fit the criteria. This, according to Neuman (2011) qualifies the initial participants as gatekeepers as they have access to the required pool of participants. Involving participants is also intended to increase the credibility of the research. However, this approach is susceptible to ethical dilemmas as anonymity will be limited between participants and initial participants may isolate the researcher to their preferred pool of potential participants. This is minimised in the research by anonymising all published materials. The sampling of people who may have been invisible to me but visible to other participants was addressed by snowball sampling.

Purposive and snowball sampling were adopted to locate potential participants with characteristics that match the research question. Purposive sampling selects participants with a purpose in mind for a predefined group (Bryman, 2016). Merriam (1998) encourages the purposive sampling of information-rich cases. In this instance, I sampled for those with the phenomenon clearly present in their lived experience. This is based on the phenomenological understanding of humans as active subjects who are the experiencing centres that are in charge of their lives. Likewise, TSF which guides this study intends to create a power balance concerning 'what' and 'whose' experience matters within a discourse (Serrant-Green, 2011). Its anti-essentialist basis aims to understand social reality by prioritising the meanings attached to experiences by the individuals directly concerned (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013).

Ten participants represent adequate numbers to address the aim and questions for this study. The process of deciding how many interviews would be enough was when I considered several springboards for thinking about the sample size. My priority was placed on the quality of interpretation and getting the most from the data as highlighted by Mason in Baker and Edwards (2012). I employed a rigorous approach to analysis, including collective voices comments on analysed data (see section 4.4) and the use of poems presented throughout the thesis. Thoroughly engaging with the analytic framework of this study allowed me to enhance my representation of the social world of the sample as I was more involved in their social world through the reflexive process. Baker and Edwards (2012) encourage researchers to interrogate the purpose of the research in deciding on the number of participants. From the pilot interview I conducted, the participant's lifeworld was expressed in such a way that the essence of the phenomenon was clear. Goldsmiths in Baker and Edwards (2012) warn that it is not necessary to generate a large corpus of data for research where the essence of the phenomenon could be made visible by a small sample. Bryman in Baker and Edwards (2012) encourages the capturing of some of the heterogeneity of the study population, in view that it will reveal variability in the world view of participants. In this study, it was important for me to also include male representation. Hence, there is intentionally equal representation for both mothers and fathers. Furthermore, it was important for me to scale plans based on the PhD timeline and resources available to me which could allow me to analyse data adequately within the timeframe. I am certain that up to 10 interviews with depth are realistic in this study.

Participants self-reported some aspects of their demographic characteristics soon after each interview in a survey. These characteristics included country of birth, sex, age, marital status, number of children, ages of children, length of stay in the UK, employment status, highest education status and religion. Table 5 provides the demographic profile of 10 Zimbabwean parents settled in the UK who voluntarily participated in this study. Both country of birth and religion have been omitted from the table as all participants were born in Zimbabwe and belong to the Christian religion (either Protestant or Catholic).

Table 5 General Profile of Participants

Cases	Sex	Age	Marital status	Number of children	Ages of children	Length of time in the UK	Employment status	Highest education status
Ranga	Male	47	Married or domestic Partnership	2	17, 4	16	Employed full time	Degree
Tsitsi	Female	36	Married or domestic Partnership	2	14, 5	16	Employed part time	Further Education College
Paul	Male	37	Divorced	1	6	16	Employed full time, Self employed	Degree
Ayanda	Female	38	Single, never married	1	17	16	Employed full time	Degree
Mutsa	Female	48	Married or domestic Partnership	4	27, 23, 9, 9	17	Employed full time	Degree
Tafara	Male	44	Married or domestic Partnership	2	11, 17	14	Employed full time	Degree
Zuva	Female	44	Married or domestic Partnership	3	22, 11, 6	17	A student, Self employed	Masters
Anesu	Male	50	Married or domestic Partnership	3	22, 11, 7	16	Self employed	Degree
Ruva	Female	45	Married or domestic Partnership	4	11, 9, 7, 3	17	Employed part time, a homemaker	Degree
Lucas	Male	47	Married or domestic Partnership	4	11, 9, 7, 3	15	Employed part time, student	Degree

3.13 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues derived from identifying silences inherent in the research subject, research participants and researcher identity will be discussed here (Serrant-Green, 2011); including how the conduct of the research set out to act on the issues whilst promoting integrity. Central to a researcher's role is an effort to behave ethically in protecting individuals or communities and maximising on the potential to do more good in the world. Growth in various disciplines is largely dependent on social researchers' actions that are just and not harmful (Israel, 2016). In this study, I have considered my ethical responsibilities from the project's planning phase, which I will reflect further on in this section.

As part of broader risk management strategies, it is a requirement that individual accountability is met (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). The research plans for this study were submitted for scrutiny and approved by Sheffield Hallam University (Faculty of Health and Wellbeing) ethics committee via Converis system before any recruitment or data collection commenced (Appendix A). Thus, any risks to participants or researcher were deemed minimal.

As a standard, ethical principles and codes, and the overall approach of principlism guided this research. These include respect for persons, beneficence, non-maleficence and justice. To respect a person is synonymous with respecting their choices and provide them with information to be in a position to make a choice (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). Drawing from a utilitarian perspective, I assessed if there would be any risks involved by making clear what participants will be asked to do. Questions about how the researcher will respond to participants, such as their wish to withdraw or refuse to participate have been addressed in the information sheet which was physically availed to participants and discussed face to face. This study does not intend to have any harmful outputs.

As set out in the Belmont report (Beauchamp, 2008), regulating ethics in the conduct of ethical research includes informed consent, containing elements of sufficient information for participants, participant comprehension and voluntariness; assessment of risks and benefits, yielding a favourable risk–benefit assessment; and

selection of subjects by fair procedures and yielding fair outcomes (Israel, 2016). Potential participants for this study were provided with adequate information through information sheets (Appendix G) about the study, through which they comprehend their participation in the study and the researcher's responsibility to them should they wish to be involved (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). To further ensure they were adequately informed, it was imperative that they got all questions about the research addressed (Israel, 2016). This was enhanced through my replies to their questions at any point of the study. This was also intended to neutralise my outsider identity; considering me being new to doing research with this community and intending to build a trusting relationship in revealing silences.

The gold standard of consent which is written consent was adopted for this study, to keep a trail of exactly what was agreed, protecting both participant and researcher should any concerns arise (Bryman, 2016). Participants gave this consent as a voluntary act, without any coercion or pressure. I felt that some potential participants might have felt obliged to participate given my insider positionality; being associates from church or social groups. This would reflect unbalanced power relationships. To this point, I assured potential participants of the freedom to decline participating or withdraw from the study up to the point at which their data is anonymised and amalgamated; without giving any reason and without affecting any relationship (See Information Sheet- Appendix G). The nature of the consent form (Appendix H) is basic and simple highlighting tick boxes of points that participants are agreeing to. The details they agreed to were availed in a separate information sheet which participants were advised to keep with their consent forms for future reference. Participants were guaranteed security and privacy of all personal records held during the research.

Designing this research with an understanding of the subject matter; issues of security, maintaining confidentiality and privacy raised distinctive demands. As aforementioned, an in-depth exploration of this subject matter can be of a sensitive nature. This coupled with how migrants are negatively portrayed in media or by society at large contributes to the silences inherent in the subject. It is likely that many interest groups have an interest with migration-related research, hence maintaining confidentiality about specific parents' experiences was prioritised. In the

Shona culture, gossip often leads to defamation of character and constitutes a bad character, hence it was important for me to maintain one's confidentiality (Chinouya & O'Keefe, 2006). Confidentiality is maintained by not sharing data with anyone other than the supervising team. Original responses were anonymised by assigning pseudonyms and removing any directly identifying information (names, address) in my published doctoral thesis and in any related materials. Directly identifying information was safeguarded and maintained under secure controlled conditions and consent forms will be stored separately in a secure facility at Sheffield Hallam University, from interview recordings, transcripts and notes as set out in the Data management plan (Appendix I) prepared prior to starting fieldwork. When sending these data via email, the email was to be encrypted, and when sending via USB stick, an encrypted USB stick was to be used with the University's policies and guidance on electronic data encryption by encrypting all personal and sensitive data. All active research data was stored securely on the University networked storage system. It is possible that individual participants may be able to recognise their own information. However, as far as possible, this information was anonymised. Foreseen risks in the research journey were outlined in a risk assessment form (Appendix J) prior to fieldwork. These were based off my understanding of the potential of the research subject to be sensitive. For example, I considered how talking about personal experiences might affect the participants and therefore had referral information to a migrant support organisation.

Understanding my positionality in the study aided maintenance of transparency in approaching participants and the research. Overall, safeguards were applied to adhere to the GDPR guidelines 2018, including, conforming with the University IT Policies and Procedures to ensure security of all data collected, the University Research Ethics Policies and Procedures, University Research Ethics Committee approval, data minimisation by only collecting personal data that is essential for this study and pseudonymising identifiable data whenever possible. Ethical considerations were a priority in designing this study and further writings will dwell on how ethics evolved in fieldwork, analysis and dissemination (See Section 4.1).

3.14 Pilot Study

I will present my pilot study here and explain how this shaped the progression to this research study. Prior to the main study, a pilot study was undertaken in the form of one in-depth interview session with one male, father of two aged 47, Ranga. This was deemed necessary to support the agreement from the critical friends to the study that the data collection method and research design was appropriate to elicit sufficient responses to the research question. Schreiber (2008) discusses how pilot studies are the assurance of a sound methodology since they create space to refine actions or sharpen the research problem, while affording novice researchers an opportunity to practice their data collection skills. Thus, this pilot afforded me an opportunity to identify any potential barricades in the research flow. Furthermore, this pilot served as the basis to critique my interviewing skills by replaying the audio and going over the transcript.

The venue for the pilot interview was a university-private room which was the participant's preference. This pilot confirmed the suitability of this proposed venue as a suitable environment option to offer participants for this study. Planning and confirming interview time and the venue did not entirely avert the unavoidable logistics low points. For example, the participant did not turn up for the initial planned interview due to personal circumstances. The participant was encouraged to openly communicate if he wants to change the time agreed or venue for the interview; and that he was free to do so for any reason. The pilot interview also allowed me to confirm the suitability of the audio recording equipment. One audio recorder was used and the quality of the recording was good. However, as the audio recorder was battery powered I was continually nervous and checking if it was still on during the interview. Two audio recorders were used to ensure a level of comfort and security during the main study interviews for both the interviewer and interviewee.

Ethical issues regarding the face to face interview were addressed prior to the interview session (as set out in Section 3.13). The participant in the pilot was made aware of how the provided data will be potentially used in the main study and how the data will be protected, addressing issues of anonymity and maintaining confidentiality. An information sheet was provided and a confidentiality form signed by both the participant and myself. The participant was

briefed on the need to prepare a visual (picture drawing or photo elicitation) that reflects his experiences prior to the interview. The participant was concerned about the quality of the drawing. However, I reminded him of the purpose of the drawing, which is to initiate the thought process of his parenting experience. Going forward, participants were encouraged to freely express themselves in any way they wished; again the visual method aspect was an option to facilitate their preparation for the research interviews. During the interview, I used different probes as led by the flow of the discussion. This pilot was an opportunity to refresh my interviewing skills. I was also actively taking notes during the interview. However, as the interview progressed I got distracted and probably missed some key notes. Thereafter, I maintained note taking throughout the duration of the interview. This interaction took one hour and five minutes and there were no interruptions in the session. This was not very different from the information sheet which estimated the duration of interviews to be about one hour.

The transcribing process was time-consuming as previously recorded (Davidson, 2009; Wilson, 2010). Because of time constraints, a third party was sought to complete most of the transcriptions for the rest of the study. This pilot provided an opportunity to familiarise with such processes and subsequently proper data storage as set out in the data management plan (see Appendix I). The interview data was useful in setting up an NVIVO database and creating necessary folders for the main study. Piloting made me aware of my flaws and strengths in using NVIVO 11, although I had used it for the qualitative synthesis in this study.

The results of this pilot interview provided sufficient depth in responses to address the research aim. This has thus been included in the main study with consent and approval. I am confident that the data collection method and the phenomenological approach are appropriate and align with my ontological positionality which emphasises that multiple realities exist. Following this pilot, I was certain that up to ten interviews with depth were realistic in this study. This pilot also highlighted the importance of bringing together TSF and selected methodologies in locating and hearing parenting experiences embedded in 'silent voices'. Taken together, I maintain that researching migrant parent's experiences falls within this research paradigm.

3.15 Conclusion

This chapter has reflected on the interdependent relationship between my researcher identity, the research topic and the nature of the research participants to reveal 'silences' that are integral to doing this research at this time. Silences were revealed, which informed the way in which silences were precisely captured as heard by the listeners (Zimbabwean migrant parents). My positionality exists within an insider and outsider perspective. This awareness of my positionality in negotiating the reality in the research relationship aided my attentiveness to issues of power, positionality, and representation in designing the study. The focus on parenting experiences of minoritised populations as a research subject is limited, which screams marginalisation of the subject. The subject focuses on migrants as a group, is concerned with specific health issues and appears to be mostly driven by professional interest. The silences inherent to the Zimbabwean diaspora discourse are apparent from the exclusion of Zimbabwean or minoritised parents from the parenting discourse in the UK. Some are considered to be in marginalised situations, depending on their migration routes and prone to stigmatisation because of the race visibility, with Blackness being routinely marked as an outsider.

Men are underrepresented in issues relating to parenting. Their absence from parenting discussions limits evidence to holistically understand the experiences of parenting in the UK. The identified silences strengthen the rationale for this study and reveal the relevance of using TSF to guide the research. Hermeneutic phenomenology employed as a research methodology from Max van Manen's perspective has been deemed the best fit for understanding migrant parenting experiences. In-depth interviews and visual methods were employed to freely give participants an opportunity to give voice to their experiences as they lived through them. This chapter has also highlighted the ethical considerations which were derived from the silences underpinning the study and revealed efforts made to promote the integrity of research conduct. It is important to note that further ethical issues arising in the study will be reflected in other sections. This chapter has also shown a consideration of the logistics of the data collection process and revealed the lessons learnt from the pilot study conducted. The appropriateness of the in-depth interviews has been confirmed for the ability to give voice to the participants. The

next chapter describes the active data collection and analytic strategy adopted to voice the silences.

Mutsa's Poem

I've had two generations

I was also very lucky

I tried

I knew it would help

I failed

I was quite lucky

I didn't

I've got two generations

I'm married

I negotiate

I expect them

I don't have the time

We believe

You have to find a way

I mean business

My language

I'm working on that

I admire

I am trying slowly

I'm a very tough firm mother

We have agreed

I am dreading

I'm not being a judge

The way I'm raised

I have prepared myself

I want them to

I personally feel

I try to teach

I want them to express

I am quite strong

We are Christians

We were lucky

I just try

I eat a lot of

I'm just very sporty

Be like me

We try

You can never be so safe

They are also taught at school

I release kids

They can also depend

We try to go to church

I'm hoping that

I never had quite a problem

I'm a very busy mum

I do not mind

We're just happy

Mutsa¹¹

Throughout most of the poem, Mutsa spoke with a confident voice. Her voice was one of a mother who is hopeful, nurturing (*I want them to*), supportive and reflective (*The way I'm raised*). She portrayed herself as a very active parent who is intentional in her parenting, as reflected in these lines from the poem *'I'm working on that'* and *'I mean business'*. Her collective experiences with her family and partner were also visible in her use of 'We' for example on her use of *'we have agreed'* to indicate a decision they collectively made. Aside from portraying a confident voice, she also has feelings of fear (*I am dreading*) and failure (*I failed*).

Her reflectiveness stood out for me while reading the poem. She evolved as a parent through her experiences.

¹¹ Mutsa is a mother of four

Chapter 4: Stage 3 (Part 1) Voicing Silences (Active Data Collection and Analysis process)

Stages one and two of TSF supported locating the silenced groups, revealed some silences around the subject and identified ways of generating new insights on experiences of Zimbabwean parents in the UK. Stage three of the framework seeks to actively explore the identified 'silences' in context from stage two. It incorporates the reflection on active data collection and the analysis process phase of the research, from the perspectives of migrant parents and collective voices to uncover the parenting experiences. Locating and hearing various personal experiences embedded in 'silent voices' are important aspects of TSF (Serrant-Green, 2011). The choice of methods will be clarified at this stage as influenced by the process of hearing silences acknowledged in Stage two. This will include reflective exercises during the process such as field notes, research diary notes and observations during face to face debriefing encounters. The analysis method is driven by the need to address the research aims. However, there are underpinning aspects of the framework which should be considered in the process. This study has integrated the 4 phases of TSF cyclic analysis process (Serrant-Green, 2011) and the thematic synthesis process by van Manen (1990). During phase one of analysis; In an effort to familiarise with the data and understand the participant's 'way of being' within the participant's own lifeworld, I created voice poems based on the listening guide (Gilligan et al., 2006). This chapter clarifies this process and how rigour was ensured. The chapter proceeds as follows;

4.1 Reflection on data collection process for the main study

4.2 Transcribing

4.3 Data analysis

4.4 Approach to analysis

4.5 Rigour in Analysis

4.6 Creation of Voice Poems

4.1 Reflection on Data collection Process for the Main study (Logistics and process)

The first stages of data collection proved challenging as I personally knew a few Zimbabweans in the recruitment site, only a few showed interest in participating in the interviews. A further lot were not eligible to participate but very keen to participate and some of them expressed interest and decided not to go on with it. Those ineligible to participate had all adult children at the time of recruitment. The early participants often said to me "Does this have to be in English?" or "I don't know how to draw". I assume that this probably made some potential participants uncomfortable and might have silenced them. Participants were reminded that they could express themselves in any way verbally, in which case I would translate. Some of the participants used a few Shona (Zimbabwean main language) phrases. It was important to preserve some of the Shona phrases in the transcripts because their meaning would be lost if directly translated. Participants were also reminded that the visual method exercise was not to test their drawing skills; as a result, most of the participants prepared using mind maps and notes. Although it is not within the scope of this thesis, I have decided to introduce the interview language factor as contributing to silences in conducting this research possibly marginalising the minoritised participants who lack the confidence to converse in English while being recorded.

The recruitment process was also a lesson about the importance of being known by the community in the capacity of a researcher. I attended different church groups and a few social "gochi-gochi" (BBQ) as much as my schedule permitted which afforded me the opportunity to become known amongst Zimbabwean parents. I tried to recruit without pressurising them to participate and I also received some inquiries from a few who had heard about me and the study from their friends or co-workers. As the Zimbabweans I met introduced me to a few friends, family or workmates, it became apparent that social networks were barely interwoven. This is also echoed by Hickman et. al (2016) who identifies growing problems of social desolation, atomisation and work-life imbalance, in many Global North societies. It will be an interesting point of research to understand why the Zimbabwean migrant community in South Yorkshire is less vibrant. Ten people participated at different points since

entering the field. In an attempt to not further silence men's perspective in the parenting discourse, purposive sampling of a balanced sample became important. This would respond to the marginalisation of men from parenting research. The participants were those who voluntarily gave their time after reading the information sheet/invitation letter, I avoided coercion to participate by waiting for them to contact me unless they had given me permission to contact them directly. Scheduling interviews was difficult due to a number of social complexities, including work commitments, childcare and other everyday commitments of Zimbabweans in the UK.

The relational process emphasised by Heidegger of 'being alongside the world' and 'being with others' with the participants encouraged familiarisation and participation (Horrigan-Kelly, Millar, & Dowling, 2016). Participants also asked questions to get to know me before participating. These included my interest in the topic, if I had any children or was married and general curiosity about pursuing a PhD study. This created uncertainty in me on the relationship balance with participants by being open in my responses about my personal life. I was concerned about their perception of me as someone powerful potentially creating a feeling of disempowerment in the researcher-researchee relationship. During the study, I became aware of how the process of migration, legal status, supporting family in Zimbabwe and raising children disadvantaged some of the participants to pursue their academic and life ambitions. My positionality as a PhD student potentially created a fracture in my relations with the migrants whose experiences I was curious about. Some had a lot of admiration of me as a Zimbabwean who despite the challenges back home has come a long way to pursue a PhD; but it is possible that some could have been conspicuously envious of me for the same reason. Especially those who commented on how it was not rational to enter a PhD as one could not create happiness by pursuing further education.

Clearly, standard research methods texts have useful information about techniques and data gathering tools; however, actual encounters in the field present interpersonal dilemmas which I needed to be aware of and be reflexive to build relationships that allowed me to gather meaningful data from the encounters. My experiences with every interview proved that research is an organic process. I was

determined to stay close to the data collection principles which align with hermeneutic phenomenology. Two of the participants stuck to their prepared notes, as such they were reluctant to add to their narratives. I kept the questions open in nature with prompts led by the participant's responses and stirred the discussion towards their lived experience which ultimately fulfils the agenda of answering the main research question. At some points, participants were unsure if they were saying the 'right answer' or 'what I wanted' but I reminded them that my goal was to capture their experiences and wanted them to determine the experiences they could share through reflecting on their parenting journey. Entering the field, I was aware of how power dynamics would play out in subtle ways such as this. I am still concerned that there was a risk of some silences remaining because participants withheld what they thought I did not need to hear about their experiences. TSF which this study is built on emphasises redressing the balance of power, especially empowering the participants. TSF utilised within the phenomenology methodology is committed to letting the voice of participants to be heard especially in this study with a society characterised with discriminations in the wider society. The question raised by this study is on how to be sure that participants have been empowered. Measuring empowerment can be difficult. Davis (2008) highlights important elements for researchers to observe in weighing if the approaches are empowering for participants, these include creating an environment that allows them to speak and encourages their voices to be heard. To that end, I emphasised the broad open-ended questions which the interview was based on:

- iii. Can you tell me as much as you can about your experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK,
- iv. Could you describe as much as you can about how you sustain your children's health and wellbeing?

Active listening, eliciting clarification and reflection became extremely intense in interviews on the topic of migrant parenting. I was actively taking down notes during the interviews and reflecting on the interaction soon after each interview. I also asked participants if there was anything else they wanted to add before concluding each interview to make sure part of their silences were not left unheard at this point and also to remind them of the power they had in the process. Silent questions I had

during the interview as guided by Becker (1992) pushed me closer to detailed descriptions of what the participants experienced. These are:

- i. Have I gotten enough examples and details?
- ii. Can I summarise essential aspects of this phenomenon for this participant?
- iii. Can the participant add more about this aspect of the phenomenon?
- iv. Are there any experiences of the phenomenon that the participant has not mentioned yet?

Reflecting on previous interviews helped me prepare some prompts, some of which were useful in subsequent interviews where participants were at a loss of words and needed more guidance. For the most part, participants chronologically described their experiences and it was important for me to see the participants take ownership of their stories. It was important for me to continually recognise the power that participants had by having the lived experience I was seeking to explore in the study. Individual interviews enabled participants to contribute their personal experiences without being repressed or swayed by other participants being present. The broad open-ended key questions allowed participants to share, use their voices and not be limited to set responses. It is often in the recounting of human experience and insight into research studies that 'silences' research makes a unique and original contribution to the evidence base (Serrant-Green, 2011).

In the field, it became apparent that subjectivity is inescapable in research (Given, 2008; Liamputtong, 2007). Although the experience confirmed some advantages of the insider identity, particularly being a Zimbabwean migrant in the UK, my emotional connection with the research population was not questionable. Some elements of their experiences were familiar to me, particularly the different forms of discrimination faced to this day and the ongoing struggles in my home country, Zimbabwe. It was nearly impossible to mask emotions triggered by their experiences and detach myself from this. It is possible that my viewpoints and sentiments could have filtered in my understanding of the shared phenomena with the participants. On the other hand, my subjectivity may have been an important factor in allowing me to have better clarity of their experiences in comparison to an emotionally and socially distant researcher. Considering all of this, it seems that I cannot easily ignore subjectivity in

social research and often times it helps the researcher to relate better to the lived realities of the researched. In addition, it is important to ask if experiences shared would have been different if the researcher belonged to a different race or nationality. It is possible that participants would have revealed some deeper and intimate silences if I were a White British or Asian researcher.

The interviews took between 40 and 90 minutes. Participants had total power to choose their preferred interview venues. Participants' preferred venues were within their own homes (six), public cafés (two) and private university rooms (two). Although there were minor disruptions in the participants' homes, as parenting did not stop because I was conducting the interviews, these were not very disruptive to the encounters. As Attia & Edge (2017) noted, acquiring knowledge in the field is not as neatly packed as learnt in the texts in actuality. My experiences revealed the need to be reflexive and creative in adapting techniques to navigate the complex field. This is of significance in research aligned with Heideggerian phenomenology since the researcher is actively engaged in constructing the reality emerging from the research through data collection and analysis processes.

Prior to the commencement of the study, ethical clearance was obtained from the Faculty of Health and Wellbeing at Sheffield Hallam University. As I further explored the silences inherent in my researcher identity, research topic and research participants a few ethical amendments were sought. For instance, the inclusion of a visual method to prepare participants for the interview in data collection was included as an amendment to the initial ethics application. It was very important for me to explore the burden being placed on participants and any more ethical concerns during the study while protecting the participants in every way possible. This began with informing participants and gaining informed consent through the fieldwork. Participants were continually reminded that they were fully in control of the interview process as some were concerned if they were saying the correct things. Their right to not answer any question, discontinue the interview or withdraw from the study was emphasised. I was therefore fully present in the interview session to observe any behavioural and emotional cues. In one instance, a lone father experiencing challenges with co-parenting was in distress highlighting some of the impacts of that on his parenting. Although he chose to continue with the interview, he was directed

to the migrant support group at the end of the interview as outlined in the risk assessment form. Some participants had questions about the study; a major concern was clarifying how their responses would be anonymised and how confidentiality will be maintained. Confidentiality for Zimbabweans is understood through concepts of their traditions grounded in the Ubuntu–Hunhu values highlighted in Section 1.8. Gossip in the Shona culture, which often leads to defamation of character constitutes a bad character, hence it is important to maintain one's confidentiality (Chinouya & O'Keefe, 2006). This understanding, coupled with the formal understanding of human rights in research enhanced confidentiality. It was explained to the participants that aliases would be assigned or they could choose an alias to protect their privacy, and reassured them that I would not disclose their identifiable information. Where specific individuals' names, educational establishments and specific identifiable information were mentioned, this was removed soon after receiving transcriptions. Again, it was important for me to strictly adhere to the ethics including sharing of findings with participants. In Phase 2 of the analysis strategy, participants were provided with a brief summary of the initial findings to comment on.

4.2 Transcribing

I initially intended to transcribe all the interviews; however, the fieldwork process was prolonged and experience from the pilot revealed how this was a time-consuming process (see section 3.14). Hence the possibility of involving a third-party professional company was utilised for expediency purposes. This practice is advocated by Wilson (2017) for allowing the researcher time to focus on other areas of the research as it is a time-consuming process. Amendment to the initial ethics application was sought after advice from the supervisory team on selecting a third-party with extensive experience transcribing work for the university. Ethics governance team also advised to ensure that the contracted transcribers were GDPR compliant, which I confirmed. Voice recordings were uploaded to the company using an encrypted transfer site. Once transcribed, proofread and checked; a password protected word document was emailed back. The third-party deleted recordings from their system and transcripts were purged from their system once I confirmed receipt of the transcripts.

Each written transcript was read several times while listening to the corresponding audio tape to ensure accuracy of the transcribed tape and to further immerse myself in the data I had not transcribed. The process also allowed me to complete some sections that were expressed in Shona which the contracted transcribers had left as unclear. In line with the ethics for confidentiality, I assigned a pseudonym for each participant and used some pseudonyms suggested by the participants. Other words and identifiable details which could compromise anonymity such as totems were also modified.

4.3 Data Analysis

The approach to the analysis and interpretation was guided by TSF and hermeneutic phenomenology, this was coherent with the research questions posed. In adhering to TSF, this stage starts by restating and acknowledging my identity as a researcher as highlighted in the hearing silences chapter (See section 3.2) and in section 4.1 (Serrant-Green, 2011). As was mentioned in the previous chapter, I developed my personal interest in this research area through shared personal stories by a few migrant families that raised my curiosity. Being a migrant myself, I chose to focus on something that would sustain my interest and fulfil my curiosities of what being a migrant parent entails. My positionality exists within an insider and outsider perspective, and I entered the field being attentive to issues of power, positionality, and representation while striving to give voice to the Zimbabwean migrant parents. The process of reflecting on my identity emphasised in TSF and by van Manen encouraged me to bring my pre-understandings to the data collection and analysis phases of the research.

The process of analysis in TSF occurs as a cycle that follows through 4 phases until the inherent silences are revealed. Consistent with hermeneutic phenomenology, understanding of the parents' experiences occur through a fusion of the pre-understandings of the research process, the interpretive framework and the sources of information (Laverty, 2003). The analysis process in this methodology is underpinned by the hermeneutic circle (figure 4), which represents a cyclic process of reading, reflective writing and interpretation. The hermeneutic circle entails the

process of moving back and forth between the parts and the whole in the process of understanding meaning and the development of a better interpretation (Laverty, 2003).

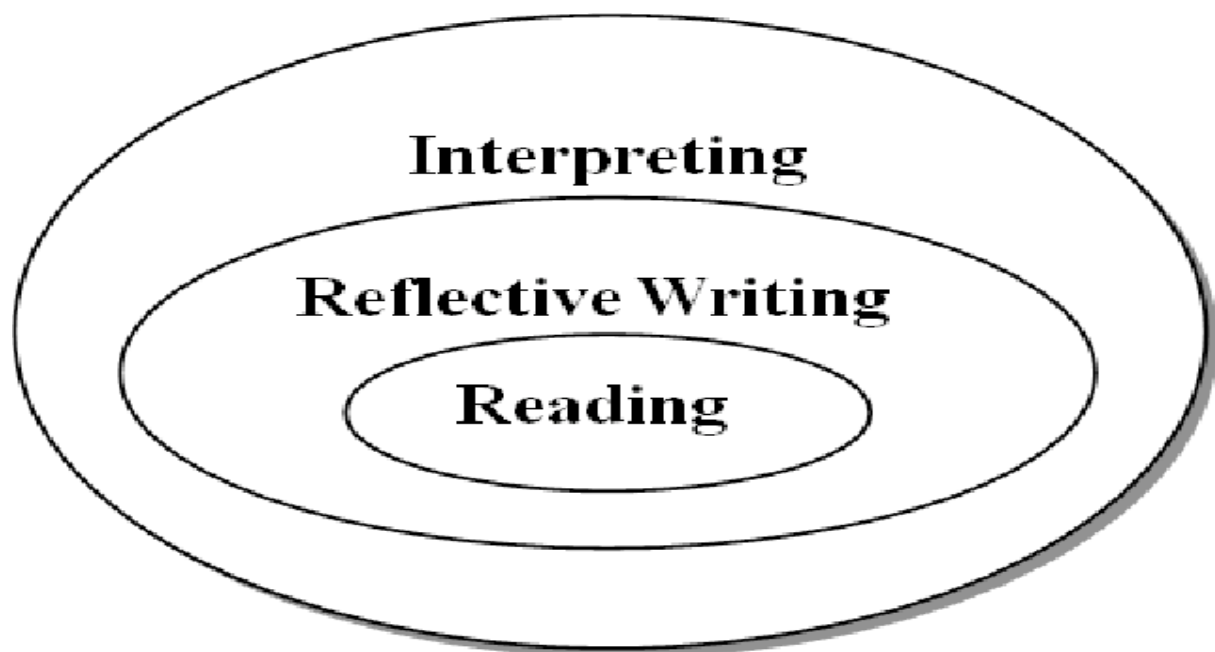


Figure 4: Hermeneutic circle adopted from Kafle (2011)

The basic tenet of this process is that the researcher cannot remove themselves from the process, therefore preconceived ideas are not bracketed (Reiners, 2012). My role, therefore, centred on self-reflection as reflected in stage two of hearing silences presented in chapter three and as emphasised throughout the research process. The co-creativity between me and the participants is also important in the production of descriptions and interpretations of the migrant parent's lived experience (Rodriguez & Smith, 2018). Therefore, drawing on the hermeneutic circle also provided an opportunity for participants to clarify described experiences.

The overall analysis approach adopted integrated the 4 phases of TSF cyclic analysis (Serrant-Green, 2011) and the thematic analysis process by van Manen (Minichiello et. al, 1995). The participants, experts or social networks were also a

part of the ongoing progression of analysis and interpretation by checking thematic summaries and commenting on initial interpretations. This practice further helps to reduce potential power differentials between the researcher and participants (Flewitt, 2005); and upholds the concept of 'screaming silence' which strives to reflect on the missing themes, identifying gaps, silences or what was left unsaid during the study (Serrant-Green, 2011). This practice also follows the idea of the hermeneutic circle as will be reflected in Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the analysis. A combination of these efforts leads to new and improved interpretations.

4.4 Approach to analysis

Integrating the 4 phases of The Silences Framework cyclic analysis (Serrant-Green, 2011) and the thematic analysis process by Van Manen (Minichiello et al., 1995).

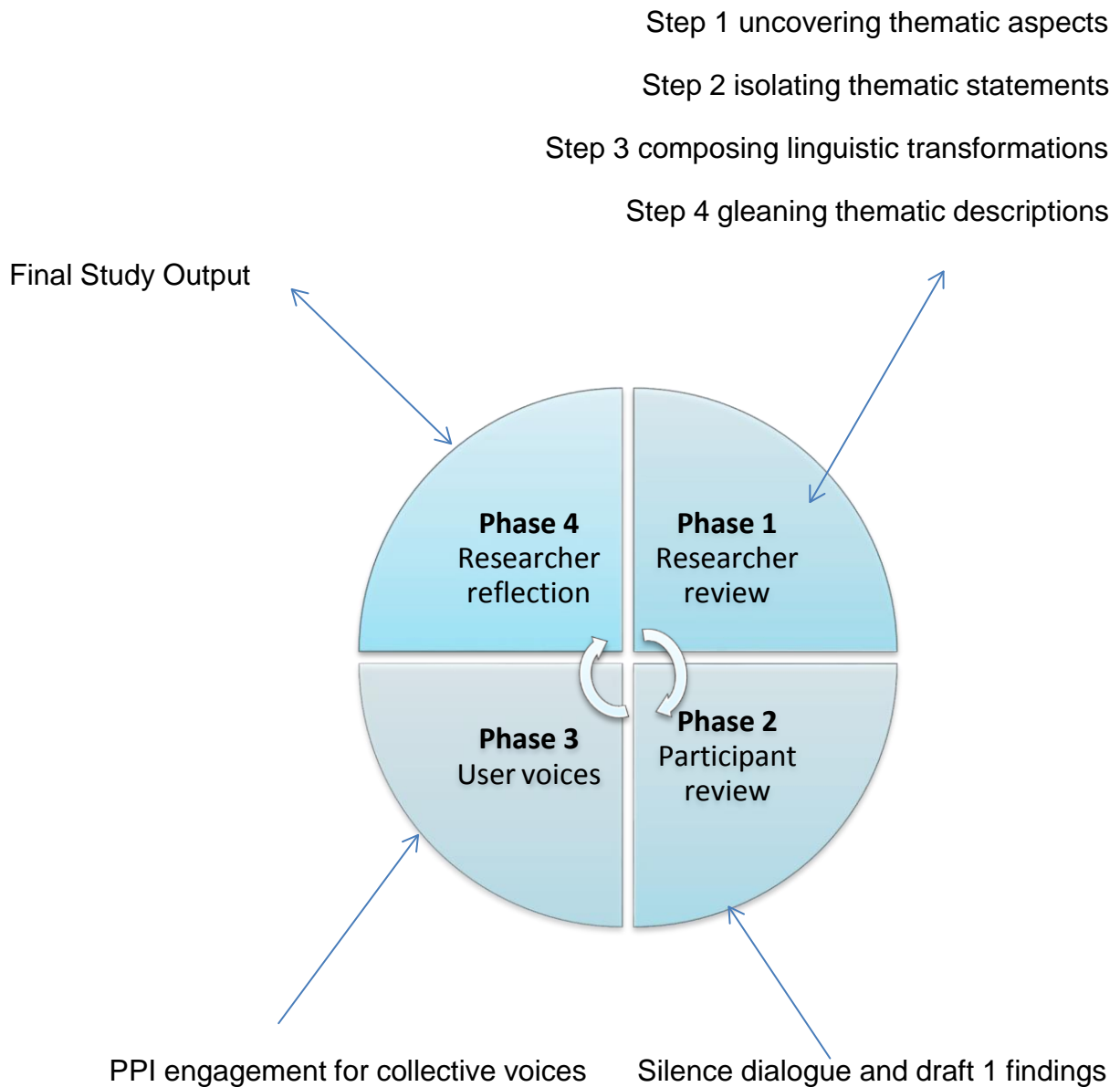


Fig 5 diagrammatic representation of the analytic strategy

4.4.1 Phase 1: Researcher review

Phase 1 represents the initial analysis of the data collected with reference to the research question within the context of the aforementioned limitations. The steps of thematic analysis process by van Manen as in-cooperated in phase 1 of TSF are:

- i. Step 1: uncovering thematic aspects
- ii. Step 2: isolating thematic statements
- iii. Step 3: composing linguistic transformations
- iv. Step 4: gleaning thematic descriptions

The initial findings were further scrutinised in the process of understanding the meaning of the parents' experiences. Most of the integration of the 4 phase analytic cycle and van Manen's approach to thematic analysis will take place at this stage. However, throughout the cycle underpinning aspects of van Manen's approach to analysis such as the hermeneutic circle will also be drawn from. This section presents the four steps which were followed to identify themes in the data.

❖ **Step 1: uncovering thematic aspects**

This process involved listening to the voice recording repeatedly while concurrently checking and ensuring the accuracy of the transcripts. As Hycner (1999) suggests, listening to each interview audio recording helps build familiarity with the words and expressions of the interviewee to facilitate the development of a holistic sense of the parts and whole dimensions of participants' personal experiences. This step also highlighted areas that needed clarification or further exploration. I highlighted some of the issues and they helped me direct future interviews. This step was also crucial as I was not involved in transcribing all the transcripts myself. While long and tedious, the process of transcribing does give a familiarity with the interview material. This first step of analysis also allowed me to familiarise myself with the interview material and fill in gaps from a few statements in the Shona language which the transcribers did not understand.

NVIVO 11, a qualitative data analysis software programme supported the process of analysis. The interview recordings, field notes and transcripts were migrated to the software which also aided the development of an organised filing system that assisted in locating and organising material.

❖ **Step 2: Isolating thematic statements**

The process of repeatedly listening to the recordings and rereading transcripts continued at this stage with a specific goal of reflecting on the text. Reflexivity is often mentioned in hermeneutic phenomenology. This is where the researcher uses empathy or relevant prior experience as an aid to data analysis and/or interpretation of meanings (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). This process was part of the data collection and beyond. Three levels materialise in this thematic analysis:

i. **A holistic approach**

I continued to read the whole text and described it as represented by a phrase with an aim to capture the fundamental meaning of the text as a whole.

The extract below captures this process in determining a representative theme:

"I would say the most important thing that has happened because of that time you spend, you tend to spend more time with the children in England, because you are there, you're looking after them, because you cannot leave them alone without being attended to anybody. So there is that bond that develops between you and your children, which is, not saying that in Zimbabwe you wouldn't have that, but you tend to have more time with the child in England than you do in Zimbabwe. And sometimes in Zimbabwe you can go for a week, you probably see your child maybe in the evenings or not long hours, but just a few hours. But here you tend to stay with them for hours and hours, which I would say is probably one of the advantages of moving to England."

(Tafara, Father of 2)

This participant stated clearly the changes that took place in his experiences with parenting in the UK. He had more contact with children while in the UK in comparison to how much contact he would have had if he was in Zimbabwe which strengthened his bond with his children.

Theme represented: Spending time with children

An exhaustive list of 36 holistic themes which captures the fundamental meaning of larger bodies of texts is attached as Appendix K.

ii. **A highlighting approach**

At this stage, the process of listening to recordings and reading transcripts continues several times. The intention here was to detect and highlight statement(s) or phrase(s) which appear mostly crucial to or revealing about the experience being described. As applied:

"I would say the most important thing that has happened because of that time you spend, you tend to spend more time with the children in England, because you are there, you're looking after them, because you cannot leave them alone without being attended to anybody. So there is that bond that develops between you and your children, which is, not saying that in Zimbabwe you wouldn't have that, but you tend to have more time with the child in England than you do in Zimbabwe. And sometimes in Zimbabwe you can go for a week, you probably see your child maybe in the evenings or not long hours, but just a few hours. But here you tend to stay with them for hours and hours, which I would say is probably one of the advantages of moving to England."

(Tafara, Father of 2)

iii. **Line by line approach:**

The text is read line by line to examine the sentence(s) which reveal the phenomenon of interest.

Van Manen (1984) supports thematic formation as a useful reflective tool in phenomenology. As the themes were identified, I constantly checked against the interview transcripts to ensure that they captured and reflect the essence of the phenomenon of interest. At this stage, themes referring to the phenomenon of interest for the whole group are developed in respect of the whole group; creating an essential theme for the whole group.

The use of NVIVO 11 in this step allowed for easy movement of phrases into different thematic categories. All categories were accurately described to reveal their meaning. All steps are recorded and stored within NVIVO 11. Reflective handwritten notes were added to the software connecting them to each interview. A lot of questions have been raised for using software packages such as NVIVO in the analysis process with regards to aligning to the needs of the research projects (Woods, Paulus, Atkins, & Macklin, 2016). I was actively involved in the process and was cautious with the process of reading and re-reading. The software served as a good organising tool and enhanced the trustworthiness of the study by providing a clear trail of the process for readers (Koch, 1995; Siccama & Penna, 2008).

❖ **Step 3: Composing linguistic transformations**

Thematic statements were built through the ongoing dialogue with research supervisors, writing and re-writing the thematic phrases and checking and re-checking the assigned meaning of the theme against the descriptions associated with it. They were formulated as figures of meaning to help highlight the unique or invariant patterns of meaning which make each phenomenon distinctive as revealed in the language used in parenting experiences (van Manen, 2014).

❖ **Step 4: Gleaning thematic descriptions.**

At this stage, descriptions of the themes were revisited ensuring that the essence of the phenomenon of interest is preserved. This involved reflection on how to group the identified experiences of parenting and sustaining children's health and wellbeing. As noted by van Manen (2017) reflection is a central part of phenomenological research, and it is imperative that the researcher devotes time reflecting on words used to consider their cognitive meaning. It has been suggested that to stay close to the meaning as much as possible, the process of writing and rewriting can yield more meaningful themes (van Manen, Max, 1997a). This reflective approach evidently applied the hermeneutic cycle that encompasses processes of reading, reflective writing and interpretation in a rigorous manner (Laverty, 2003). It was also consistent with Heidegger's hermeneutic emphasis on

interpretation, which maintains that analysis is an iterative process of reading, rereading, and interpreting to identify emerging themes (Kögler, 2011).

4.4.2 Phase 2: Participant review (Silence Dialogue and draft 1 findings)

Based on TSF, phase two of the four-phase data analysis cycle is the review of the initial study findings by the participants drawn from phase 1 of the cycle. This phase was developed with the aim to guarantee active public/user viewpoints in the research process and research output; and to reflect the initial motive for adopting this framework which is not to further silence the marginalised participant's voices by my research activities (Serrant-Green, 2011). Furthermore, better credibility can be achieved by grounding the research results in user experiences (member checking) (Brett et al., 2014). The involvement of the participants at this stage in the analysis will help in creating a dialogue to identify themes or aspects of themes that the researcher might have missed and help in checking the validity of the conclusions from the 'silenced' participants' perspective (Serrant-Green, 2011; Brett et al., 2014). The purpose of the 'silence dialogue' at this stage was to approve, contest or further contextualise the initial study themes. TSF allows flexibility in implementing this phase of analysis depending on the guiding methods and strategies adopted (Serrant-Green, 2011). Participants were engaged at this stage by having them review a short summary of the initial findings in each of the themes (see Appendix L). This has the potential to offer valuable understanding into the participants' realities, significance and impact thus providing valuable insight into the impact, importance and potential realities for participants from doing this research at this time (Serrant-Green, 2011).

Producing the initial findings summary (Appendix L) proved to be a complex process as greater attention needed to be paid to ensure that it was a complete representation of the study findings. Invitations to participants to comment alongside the initial findings summary were sent to all ten participants. These were sent via emails provided at the interview stage and followed through with phone calls. I followed up participants and gave them a feedback deadline to encourage

responses. Several factors could have contributed to the slow turnover in responses from the participants largely influenced by the impacts Covid-19 pandemic. Seven of the participants provided feedback on the initial findings. The feedback from the 'silence dialogue' fed into a more detailed secondary level analysis in producing draft 1 of the study findings (Appendix M) which will be useful for 'collective voices' comments in the next phase. Only a few changes were included and these are underlined in draft 1.

4.4.3 Phase 3: Collective Voices and draft 2 findings

This phase represents an increase in scope of the user voices by including:

"the social networks of participants or others whose cultural, social or professional situation may impact on the research question." (Serrant-Green, 2011, p. 357)

I utilised four individuals who share a cultural background with the participants and have an interest in issues related to the migration of Zimbabweans to the UK. A migrant support group pioneer, mother and migration lawyer was invited to comment. A male medical doctor and father who has supported previous research on Zimbabwe and blogs about health across Zimbabwe and the UK was also invited. A female, children's social worker and mother who steered the formation of a closed online group for Zimbabwean women to openly discuss any issues they have in the UK took part. A social media commentator for the Zimbabwean audiences in the UK and beyond who mirrors most of the participant's social networks was also invited to comment. These were reached out to via their platforms and eventually, communication was through emails and they all had personally experienced raising children in the UK.

The objective of engaging with 'collective' voices is to scrutinise the scope or diversity reflected in draft 1 of the findings gathered from the research participants experiences (Serrant-Green, 2011). The collective voices were asked to reflect on the draft 1 findings themes summary (Appendix M) on the 'silences' they believe still exist or remain unchanged as a result of this study. These reflections will add

insights that can aid revision of draft 1 findings to produce draft 2 findings (Appendix N) which will inform phase 4 of the framework (researcher reflection). In a reflection paper on application of TSF, Janes, Sque, and Serrant (2018) caution that it is vital for researchers using TSF to clarify that the use of collective voices is an analytical feature and not data collection process. Engaging with collective voices is effective in preventing further silencing of the participant and public voice as a result of the research process, by positioning these at the center of the research. This requirement also enabled me to enhance the trustworthiness of the study, rather than having another researcher undertake analysis of the data (Green and Thorogood 2014), an option not feasible for doctoral studies. This practice of moving between different levels of analysis improves the analysis and reflects the hermeneutic circle which entails a process of continually moving between the smaller and larger units of meaning.

4.4.4 Phase 4: Researcher reflection and final study outputs

Phase 4 of the analysis represents my final critical reflection of the phases 1, 2 and 3 described above in preparing the final study outputs. Interpretation of data for this study was through the lens of TSF. Elements of reviewing findings and integrating public perspectives are an essential part of TSF and applying this in 'voicing silences' ensures the study remains aligned with the theoretical and philosophical basis underlying the framework adopted (Serrant-Green, 2011). Involving the public perspective provides a wider, more relevant viewpoint, by providing cultural relevance, highlighting findings that are more relevant to the public (Brett et al., 2014; INVOLVE, 2012). Actively reflecting and reviewing draft 2 findings and the resulting themes led to the final outputs which will be discussed from chapter five to chapter eight. Themes identified as the final study outputs include *shared worlds*, *parenting in the UK system*, *the parenting journey* and *this is our home now*. TSF allows flexibility on the cycle(s) of analysis to ensure the completeness of data. I did not repeat the cycle as I felt that no new information related to the research was being revealed.

4.5 Rigour in Analysis

Ensuring the rigour of the research process is a crucial part of hermeneutic phenomenology. The quality measures widely used in other methodologies as introduced by Lincoln and Guba (1985) are credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. These measures are not particularly utilised in hermeneutic phenomenology. Sandelowski (2006) has questioned the blind application of these rigour concepts in the ever-evolving qualitative paradigm. Van Manen (1997a) proposes that orientation, strength, depth and richness are the measures that will clearly articulate the study's quality and ensure its credibility within this methodology. I have broadly employed these quality concerns and other associated good research practices to enhance the rigour of this study.

For van Manen (1997b), **Orientation** is the involvement of the researcher in the world of the participants and their stories. As such the researcher does not separate theory from life, public from private; the approach is balanced between being researchers and being pedagogues in producing text that's oriented in a pedagogic way. I was oriented in this study by being balanced in understanding the holistic nature of parenting experiences, how the parents express themselves, paying attention to what was left unsaid and linking it further to theory as I immersed in the experiences in Phase 4 of the analysis where I had to reflect.

Strength refers to the convincing capacity of the text to represent the core intention of the understanding of the inherent meanings as expressed by the research participants (Kafle, 2011). This is closely linked to my orientation to the research. The rigorous multi-stage approach that I adopted in analysis for this study oriented me towards strengthening the narrative and interpretations.

Richness is intended to serve the aesthetic quality of the text that narrates the meanings as perceived by the participants (Kafle, 2011). As such, the text produced in the phenomenological description should be able to engage with the reader by retrieving the unique aspects and irreplaceable parts of a life experience (van Manen, 1997b). I retained some direct quotes to truly provide a rich context of the experiences as expressed by the participants (see chapters five to eight).

Depth refers to the ability of the research text to penetrate down and express the best intentions of the participants (Kafle, 2011). This is achieved by applying a level

of openness that goes beyond provided explanations through explaining meaning structures (van Manen, 1997b). In this regard, applying TSF allowed me to reconcile existing and created silences with the present experiences narrated, giving room for depth. This is critical to van Manen's (1997) hermeneutic-phenomenological method which aims to create a '*phenomenological text*,' which, begins from lived experience, reflects its essence and goes beyond describing and analysing it by intensely evoking understanding. Similarly, another component of ensuring quality in hermeneutic phenomenology is participant feedback as proposed by Landridge (2007). This helps ensure that the participants' voices are truthfully captured. This study's analysis procedure and integration of TSF allowed for participants to feedback on developed themes (Phase 2 of TSF) and I engaged with collective voices (Phase 3 of TSF) to improve the quality of the study.

Furthermore, the data analysis process was also critically discussed with my academic supervisors at the different phases of the analysis process. This engagement ensured the appropriateness of the analysis process and confirmed that the results were derived from the data.

4.6 Creation of Voice Poems

Contemporary qualitative research paradigm is increasingly identifying unique ways for researchers to best capture the essence of lived experiences beyond the scope of conventional scientific text writing. Alternative methods include story-telling, photography, painting, music and poems (Welch, 2001). During phase one of analysis, in an effort to familiarise with the data and understand the participant's 'way of being' within the participant's own lifeworld, I decided to explore the use of poetic language based on the listening guide. I came across the listening guide and I-poems from a presentation at a research group meeting. I was intrigued by work shared by a colleague who had used the listening guide with women who had gone through treatment for breast cancer. The poems presented clearly revealed the layered subjective experiences of the participants. I also felt that it was a good way to honour the voices of the participants and to pay attention to their silences. The Listening guide's theoretical underpinnings are feminist views that provide space for the previously silenced voices to be heard (Woodcock, 2015). This perspective is also shared by TSF, which appealed to me and drove my choice to apply it in my

study. Poetic expressions have been previously used in phenomenological research to deepen interpretation and understanding of resulting study themes (Öhlen, 2003). It allowed me to hear how participants speak of themselves and their '*being in the world*' with others. Within the context of this study, seeking to give power to the participant's voices is essential in order to honour the requirements of TSF.

The listening guide which only originally included I- statements allows researchers an interpretive licence to modify certain details (Petrovic, Lordly, Brigham, & Delaney, 2015). The poems presented in this thesis incorporate other self-references observed to be used by participants such as “my,” “you,” and “they”. This allowed me to see the shift in participants' voices and in a way can open a way to view their identity as parents (Woodcock, 2016). Similar to phase one of the analysis, in construing poems I began by listening to audios and simultaneously going through highlighted parts of each interview transcript. Voice poems were created by applying a flexible method to the I-poems as guided by the listening guide by extracting first person singular ("I", "me", "my", "myself"), second person pronouns (Your, you, yourself), third person pronouns (we, us, our, ourselves) and third person pronouns (they, their, them, others); and the participants' subsequent words. I maintained the sequence as the extracts appeared in the original transcripts. Some of the extracted statements had some level of context to enable the reader to follow the associative stream of consciousness carried by the first person voice. As a standard guide, the extracted phases were kept short and the order of the phrases was maintained (Koelsch, 2016). Careful attention was given to the tone and I created line breaks to form a poem while preserving the essential features of the narratives by keeping units of meaning together. By reading the poem aloud many times, the accuracy and emotional integrity of the poem was verified. In Figure 6 I illustrate how the voice poems correspond with the verbatim transcript of the interview with Lucas.

Figure 6: Example of creation of voice poem

First p:s: I=me=my=myself	Second p:s: You=your	First p:p: We=us=our	Third p:p: They=their=them=others
myself the way I grew up			
I grew up in a village			
we were living as a big family			
			they were more like family oriented
I grew up in a village			
		we could not afford to	
I go all over the world			
I can use them everywhere			
I lived in Zimbabwe,			
I lived in South Africa,			
I lived in Mozambique			
I came to the United Kingdom			
I had no problem			

In the final chapter of this thesis, I will also expand on the value that was anticipated by including the voice poems throughout the thesis. Ideally, voice poems should help us see, understand, and care about the subjective experiences of participants as individuals (Koelsch, 2016).

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reflected on the exploration of the ‘silences’ that lie at the heart of the study in the location of parenting experiences. Lessons about the nature of fieldwork have been revealed proving that it is not a clear cut objective process that is dependent on the relationships and encounters between the researcher and the

researched. Furthermore, the analysis strategy which integrates the 4 phases of TSF cyclic analysis process (Serrant-Green, 2011); and the thematic synthesis process by van Manen (1990) was set out. Revisiting and reviewing the developing and emerging research findings while integrating user and public perspectives are essential components of TSF. Scientific rigour was continually ensured in the study practices. The initial ethical considerations as well as reflections in the process have shaped the study and ensured its trustworthiness and integrity. Reflexivity, awareness and sensitivity became critical tools in ensuring my sensitivity to aspects of power, bias and subjectivities in my interactions which have significant implications on the quality of data and empowerment potential of the research process. The next four chapters move on to expose the situated views and experiences of those involved as it outlines the final study outputs arising out of the data analysis.

Tafara's Poem

I came

Me and my wife

We had to work around

We had to swap

We didn't know anybody

We had stayed

We started going to church

We got into that community

Our initial challenge

We worked the same time

When we came here initially

I think the main

How you relate to your

I think we tend to

I had to adapt

You tend to spend more time

You're looking after them

You wouldn't have that

You're bonding

You pay for it here

You hardly see them

I would say it's probably better

You're actively involved

You can ask them anything

I think all schools are all right

You can go online

I think that helped

I could compare

I was raised

I raise my children

You engage quite a lot

We speak Shona in our house

I would say about our culture

We were reassured

I wouldn't worry now

You really need to look out

You wouldn't, would you?

We had no experience

You learn as you go

You get a doctor that is assigned

Remind you at every stage

I think, unlike in Zimbabwe

I like more of our Sadza

My children tend to

I don't specifically go out of my way

We are nurses

Tafara¹²

Tafara's voice appears confident through the poem. Understandably, as he has shared this experience with his wife he often uses 'we' and 'our' statements to highlight this. In his frequent use of 'You' statements, Tafara is not separating himself from the statements; but he also appears to be voicing for others who he assumes would share his experience as parents, fathers or migrants. In his use of 'I' statements, he normally uses them when he questions his experience and wants to give a stance for example '*I think we tend to*' and '*I wouldn't worry now*'. With this reflective way of meaning making, he expresses an awakened voice which somewhat reveals his active role as a parent.

This poem shows me many aspects of Tafara as an involved father. I am also captivated by his reflective processes in the poem.

¹² Tafara is a father of two

Chapter 5: The First Theme - Shared Worlds

Summary of Theme 1

Zimbabwean parents' experience of a shared world allowed them to adjust in a seemingly unfamiliar culture while empowering themselves to have better experiences and free their children to give them better opportunities.

This section explores the theme of shared worlds which is linked to the phenomenological notion of lived other (relationality). This notion represents the relationships that people have with others and how as a mode of being in the world, they relate to others and reveal their lifeworld (van Manen, 1997). Hence, people are not in isolation as they are always embedded in the world and are socially engaged with other people. It is the way that we connect to the world that allows us to adjust in different environments.

This theme describes Zimbabwean parents' shared world with the wider population in the UK. The relational and meaningful knowledge of parenting in the UK context allowed parents to adjust to a seemingly unfamiliar culture while empowering themselves to have healthy experiences and free their children to give them vast positive opportunities. The statement "me and my wife" in the poem reflects this father's shared world with his wife as they parent together. There are three sub-themes that illustrate the world of migrant parents concerning their involvement with other people: *Raising children for the world*; *Religion, Spirituality and Church as a Source of Strength and Resilience*; and *Parental Support System and Resources*.

5.1 Sub-theme 1: Raising Children for the World

The first sub-theme '*Raising children for the world*' highlights how Zimbabwean parents and their families are existing in a multicultural space, embracing diversity while facing cultural conflicts, learning from their children and being resilient as a result of familiarity with others and their lifeworld. The parents are not just raising children but they are raising them to be able to operate in the world, the UK and

beyond. The line "*You're actively involved*" from Tafara's poem signifies the effort that is needed to raise children for the world. This sub-theme illuminates the influence of being able to integrate into the wider society and how it impacts parenting experiences.

In their accounts of their experiences, parents described how children are exposed to multiple cultures in the UK. Some parents felt that it was necessary to immerse children in different cultures to enhance their integration in society, resilience and wider awareness of the world around them. For example, one interviewee said:

I want him to be exposed to different people, different cultures, so that he can learn to engage in the society... (Paul)

Like Paul's case above, raising well-rounded citizens who can thrive in a racially and culturally diverse society was a priority for Zuva in raising her children.

Then an issue of integration, it creates peace. When people learn to tolerate people of other races and cultures it creates peace in the world, because you know I have a home away from home. Though the way you do things is different, it's definitely going to shock you, but that feeling of saying OK, I came, they embraced me with my diversity and whatever. I'm in a foreign land, I've managed to live there 16 years. It means it's a good place to live, because if it wasn't that good you wouldn't last. (Zuva)

It is visibly essential for both Paul and Zuva to immerse themselves and their families in the society. It facilitates their learning about the essence of other cultures and in a way helps them to value the diversity in society. From Zuva's extract above, there is a real sense of feeling welcomed, valued and at home in the UK. This awareness appears to be shared with her children and encourages them to integrate.

At the same time, other parents expressed what appeared to be anxious about having their children exposed to multiple cultures and the impact it may have on their behaviour. Some parents described how they were brought up within spaces in

Zimbabwe with one dominant culture which shaped their behaviours, values and beliefs with only one way of doing things. In this context, the parents used culture to denote nationhood, hence, it appears like Zimbabwe has a fixed and homogenous culture. As set out in Stage 1, Zimbabwe has a number of cultural groups that share some cultural similarities and variations. It is also common that the different cultural groups are mostly confined to specific geographical locations or limit contact with other groups. Raising children in a multi-cultural environment presents challenges that some parents may not have anticipated. This requires parents to familiarise themselves with what factors can influence their children's behaviours. Ranga recounted his experiences being raised in Zimbabwe:

Growing up, parenting... my parents will not even have problems with me that much. I will just be so cultured and so conditioned to behave in a certain way that I don't bring any new behaviours home. Whereas when you are in the UK, kids are learning from different angles, so you have to keep up. (Ranga)

In their narratives, several parents feel challenged to effectively raise their children in a diverse society. They reflect on their role in socialising their children and again relate this to how they were raised in a setting with a set of norms and values which are likely different to the norms and values in the UK. Also, when they were raised, the norms and values were shared between parents, children and society. The unfamiliarity of the norms and values of the society they live in presents the challenging task for parents to socialise children as they cannot just pass on what they learned but they have to keep up. For example, Anesu said:

An ideal family, my children look up to me as their role model. I see myself in them, they see themselves in me. But the difficulty here is they're growing in an environment that's totally different from the one that I grew up in. I was socialised in a completely different way from the way we are doing it with them. (Anesu)

There were some suggestions that parents have to immerse themselves in their children's world so that they understand the shared language which might shape their behaviours and actions. The feeling was one of needing to be supported to understand the dimensions of parenting in the UK. It was apparent that some parents are socialised by children to understand the wider cultural space. In their view, children are more exposed and integrated in the community. This was echoed by a social media personality amongst the Zimbabwean community during collective voices review:

Children are forever schooling us. We can learn from them and I believe they are influencing a lot of positive social growth. They have so much exposure out there. [Social media personality (Mother)]

Participants were explicit in recognising that they were raising their children in an unfamiliar cultural space. They described the possibility of having cultural clashes in the parenting practices. Ranga, in common with other participants, revealed:

So I'm raising a British citizen in the house yet I am an African. So there is a conflict that can arise. So I can actually learn a lot. (Ranga)

Parents mentioned their process of finding a balance between different cultural spaces whilst acknowledging the likely clashes. Zuva in particular described how children should be raised for a globalised world; not limited to the host country. This notion implied that the world is interconnected thus children need to be prepared to easily adjust in any cultural space. She however highlighted that the process is not easy. Her discussion also suggested that children should hold on to parts of their Zimbabwean culture which makes them different by her powerful use of the phrase "an X factor".

If I was raising my children for Britain I would be home and dry, because everything that they're doing is perfectly fine for the place, culture, and the way they are being raised, how they're supposed to. But when you raise them for the globalised world, you also want

them to have something extra. You want them to have an X factor.
(Zuva)

However, within the sample, some parents felt that a child being exposed to diverse groups creates an identity crisis. Ayanda implied that her views were built around incidence of mental health issues among children of foreign born parents. Although Ayanda is a mental health professional she did not articulate that her profession had influenced this conception.

Identity, so they're lost, they don't know where they belong, so they struggle to find themselves. And then they end up with mental health, like low mood, self-harming, suicide. (Ayanda)

The perceived loss of sense of belonging has not been specified in this instance. However, it is likely that their inhabiting of the Zimbabwean and UK spaces influences issues of belonging. Several parents mentioned their role in supporting their children to avoid the potential effects of an identity crisis. Participants were explicit in how they draw from their home country and host country's cultural practices as resources in raising their children. Mutsa also described the challenging process of negotiation between the two cultures. However, her discussion suggested that she actively identifies aspects she can draw from each of the cultures to adopt in her parenting and to inform her children's actions.

I'm working on and facing on, trying to mix the two cultures together: some of the things I negotiate and some of the things I use the Zimbabwe culture and tell them what to do for things to be done.
(Mutsa)

This section demonstrated the parents' experience of raising their children in a different culture whose beliefs and values, were contrary to their own. Children played a key role in socialising parents to understand UK values. Generally, the parents felt that the UK values were insufficient to raise children that can adjust in most spaces in the wider world. Thus, the findings show that the parents employed

aspects from Zimbabwean values and UK values which enabled them to accept and reject aspects of culture which they regard as superior or inferior. Completely rejecting Zimbabwean values and the dichotomous application of two cultural values raised issues about belonging for their children. In the following section, I will focus on religion, spirituality and church reinforcing their Zimbabwean identity, sense of belonging and providing resources for integration.

5.2 Sub-theme 2: Religion, Spirituality and Church as a Source of Strength and Resilience

The sub-theme *'Religion, Spirituality and church as a source of strength and resilience'* describe migrant parents' being religious, being with other church members, transmitting religious values to their children, being able to build social capital, enhancing integration through being accepted and feelings of being able to keep children safe because of the strength gathered from being with other religious beings. The line "We started going to church" from Tafara's poem signifies the importance of belonging to a church group highlighted by most participants in the study.

The majority of participants indicated that they belonged to a Christian religious group, although often different denominations. In the study, three participants specifically aligned themselves with church networks with Zimbabwean roots where Shona was the language of instruction. These religious groups were described as safe spaces for people with the same migration experiences to help each other raise children.

Tafara moved to the UK with his wife and only knew one other person in the UK. They needed to establish a network in the UK. Discovering a Catholic community from Zimbabwe enriched their interpersonal experience. The network gave them a sense of belonging and helped them with childcare arrangements.

We are Catholic so there's a Catholic community here from Zimbabwe, where you do Shona masses, our vernacular language.

So that, when we got into that community it was a lot easier, because you could actually leave the kids with friends sometimes, or they could stay at somebody's house that we knew from church, and we would also do the same for them when they needed that help, which is a bit easier. (Tafara)

For other parents, being a part of a diverse church denomination was preferred. Zuva was a member of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe which has its roots in the UK. On moving here and with a desire to integrate she attended both English and Shona church services. This reinforces the idea of integrating within the Zimbabwean diaspora population and the wider society.

When we came that was the first thing that we encouraged to do to say integrate. So when we go to church there in the morning Sundays we attend the English service, and then in the afternoon we attend our Shona service. But as part of the integration whatever we do we need to be moving in the same direction, at the same pace with the British Methodists because that's where we're housed as well. (Zuva)

The need to seek guidance, shape good behaviour and morals in children influenced most parents' decisions to become active church members or be religious. In some cases, the parents felt that being religious is what gave them the strength to navigate in a foreign place and shield their children from risky behaviour. Talking about this issue an interviewee said:

I think it helps into moulding them into being very humble, respectful kids, because at church that's what they're being taught, how to respect not only their parents but everyone. How to live with others in the community, how to present themselves as good people, like loving good people. (Tsitsi)

During the silence dialogue (participant review of themes), Lucas found the notion of church playing a part in the parenting experience resonating. At the same time, he

commented on the appropriateness of seeking support from someone based on their alignment to a church. He implied that a religious leader may not possess the qualities that are resourceful to parenting and that parents are perfectly positioned to parent their own children within their own value base.

Not every character portrayed in the church communal grounds is the same in the house. We should deal with our issues and not lean on pastors for counselling because being a church leader is nothing to do with character or parenting. (Lucas)

In talking about their experiences, some participants referenced the root of their religiosity as a key element in successfully raising children. Ayanda described how extensive church attendance (three times a week) has served to provide direction for her son. For contextual information, Ayanda created a barrier between her son and the world such that church was his only social group where he could make friends. She perceived that religion would also prevent potential problems resulting from a confused sense of belonging expressed in the previous sub-theme '*raising children for the world*'. The feeling of being supported by religion was widely reported by participants and it indeed shaped their experience.

Also knowing that whatever happens they could always find a solution, not in like obviously the population they will be drinking alcohol but you can find your faith in God. So I think that was also important. That's kept them grounded, having that God in their lives. (Ayanda)

Alignment to religion created a common basis for understanding as they operate across cultures. The strong religious values and the desire to instil these in children drew a number of parents to Catholic schools to help maintain Christian beliefs and values. Most of the participants indicated that they were Christians and thus shared beliefs with the Catholic schools. As a consequence, they believed that these schools provide support aligned to their moral and religious values which provide them with a great deal of security, confidence and a feeling of belonging. Mutsa does not always have time to transmit religious values to children and believes that

Catholic schools do a greater part of maintaining these.

Spiritual side is very important for life to be balanced. I did mention that I'm lucky that they go to a Catholic school, so the Catholic school do part of the teaching for me and they help me out. And then we try to go to church on most Sundays, and they go to Sunday school as well, which teach quite good things there. (Mutsa)

In summary, this section has shown that religious spaces help in maintaining a sense of belonging and reinforces cultural identity for the parents. Catholic schools and church attendance has been identified as places where children are imparted moral guidance and values that align with Zimbabwean values. This is important for them to raise their children within such spaces. However, dependence on religious leaders for moral guidance for children is questionable.

5.3 Sub-theme 3: Parental Support System and Resources

The sub-theme '*Parental support system and resources*' is concerned with the support system that parents established as a result of being with their church, family, friends and children's schools which facilitated their thriving in the UK. The line 'You can ask them anything' from Tafara's poem symbolises the dependence on others for information or support in the parenting journey. Sharing the parenting journey is an important part of this theme, although sharing creates tensions.

As mentioned in the previous subtheme, participants re-emphasised how church was a source of support and networks in raising children. In particular, some parents likened their church network to family. To most of the parents, kinships recognised as family were also involved in raising children.

I have also a church community who I talk to and help out with the kids. And in the church community they are like aunties, so we are like a family. (Mutsa)

As Mutsa described, the church community supports parents in raising children. This experience is found across most church communities consisting of Zimbabweans only or also within non-Zimbabwean dominant ones as the parents described. Although some church groups are diverse, Tsitsi describes their shared religious belief and the same value base as the basis for supporting each other in raising children.

Church community is mixed. We have white people, Jamaican, Thai from Thailand, Zimbabwe, Kenya, it's just mixed. But I've had so much support, especially with [Noah]. With [Noah] it's been, because there are groups, you know these youth groups. (Tsitsi)

Several parents mentioned the instrumental role that teachers and schools play in their parenting journey. However, Ranga explained how the generational and cultural differences between teachers and parents can be viewed as problematic in establishing a mutual understanding. However, the teachers' perceived shared background with the children, of possibly having been raised in the UK, is useful in them better understanding and relating to the children. He passionately described how teachers qualify for the profession at a young age in the UK. I suggest, however, that teachers also qualify at a young age in Zimbabwe as they are eligible to enrol to a teachers college at 18 years. He noted how his preconceptions of differences in life experiences based on age gap makes understanding between the two parties difficult.

Think teachers do help as well. But the problems with teachers in the UK is that some of them are very very young, no disrespect. They qualify as teachers at a very very young age so our life experiences are quite different so I feel like I can't connect with them regarding certain behaviours that my daughter might present. (Ranga)

Ranga suggests that teachers in Zimbabwe are older, more aware and easier to connect with based on the cultural similarities and shared life experiences.

Ayanda, a single mother recalled how she was directed to school-related support after a welfare report was brought forward by a neighbour. The report was described by the police as likely racially targeted, however, she was signposted to support. In this instance, though this is viewed by most parents in the subtheme ('They are keeping an eye on us') as interference from the state, Ayanda benefitted from having knowledge of such support available to her. Schools have been described as instrumental in identifying issues and supporting with childcare arrangements, language and learning needs. As Ayanda put it:

My neighbour reported me to say I left my son on his own. So the policeman came to the door. The chief was black, and said because you're only ethnic minority, we think it's a malicious report. So when they came there were other kids about, so after that the school made sure we had this family support money, so childcare was paid by the school. (Ayanda)

Several parents expressed the significant value of having a friend's network as they raise their children. Again, they described their friends as part of their family. Thus they supported each other in child-rearing. It appeared the shared migration experience meant parents had a lot of support to offer each other within their friendship circles. Ranga even forged relations for the benefit of childcare with people he was not necessarily close with. Throughout most interview data, participants drew on their work culture in describing their parenting experiences in the UK.

So friend's support, I think we were kind of in a similar situation, we were just raising our kids in a similar. Where we were always working and leaving children to people that probably we were not very close with. (Ranga)

Married participants explicitly indicated that they are stronger together and resourceful as a support system to each other in their parenting journey. Concurrently, lone parents also described their challenging parenting journey as they do not have anyone to share parenting responsibilities with. Zuva moved to the UK

together with her husband, and; as she recalled her early experiences post-migration she felt that she had better support in comparison to lone parents that she was familiar with.

Because I'm a married woman, it was not as difficult as it would be when someone is single. I'm saying that because I had friends who were single around that time, who also had single children but still they were struggling to look after those children. (Zuva)

However, her discussion also suggested that blame is usually passed onto the other parent amongst couples when children's behaviour is perceived as deviant. She particularly highlighted how this creates tension in marriages and is usually an emotional burden placed on the mothers. She noted that this predisposes mothers to a range of mental health issues and domestic violence. In the extract below, her use of the phrase "*wasiya mwana wako achihura*" (You have let your child be promiscuous) is a powerful one. This implies that the mother is to blame for a child's behaviour which does not meet the parent's expectations, and in this case promiscuity. Passing on the blame to the mother likely indicates how some fathers distant themselves from the process of socialising their children. This signifies how some fathers still consider women as caregivers and nurturers. This notion highlighted the importance for both parents to be equally involved in parenting.

This is the reason why most people are getting depressed. People are getting mental health issues, depression, suicides, even marital murders and all, they're on the rise because the dad is blaming the mother, wasiya mwana wako achihura. (Zuva)

Paul a divorced father, felt that his co-parent preferred to take overall responsibility of the child as the primary caregiver; distancing him or his network and resources in raising their child. Paul however has a problematic parenting relationship with the baby's mother. In a way, it appears he corroborates the view that the mother is the primary caregiver, particularly during infancy.

One of the hardest things if you do not have families or a very good network, especially a very good network to be lady's side. As a man I might have a very good network, but she will not accept, you get what I'm saying. Because when the baby is young it's mummy's baby, it's not our baby. (Paul)

Paul appears to understand the positive impact they would have had from external support in their parenting journey. The participants on the whole demonstrated that if they have family around, they would have been a major part of their support system. The feeling was one of loneliness by being separated from their extended families and close support networks. Mutsa who has part of her family in the UK felt that her children should also maintain strong family ties which they can also depend on for support. It was apparent that she has a trusting relationship with her family and sees a need to be close to family.

Family plays quite a lot of part in my life, whereby if I allow my relatives with their nieces and nephews to take kids to their houses, or for holiday or anything, so that they can learn not just to depend on me, but family, they can also depend on family. (Mutsa)

Zuva particularly described the support she received from home visits by midwives after giving birth. She described how they assessed her situation and offered suggestions of how she can improve her parenting experience. As a consequence, she implied that the UK healthcare staff had been supportive and possibly gave her a sense of being understood.

When you're being supervised, the maternity supervision, where the midwives come and they're monitoring you. They also look into those things, and say OK, is there anything that you think you might need help with or what. (Zuva)

The issue of shared online spaces as hubs for parents to support each other in the UK was raised by a pioneer of a closed online group for Zimbabwean women during the collective voices review:

We also have an online space with over 10 000 members for us to integrate with fellow Zimbabweans. We talk about multiculturalism, immigration issues, discussion on religion and policies affecting us and how we can support each other and those back home. As migrants we need encourage each other to take part in community activities and integrate and be part of the community they live in. So that people don't look at each other from a distance and judge.

[Closed online group pioneer (Mother)]

The online space described seems resourceful in parents' process of embedding themselves in the wider society and shaping their parenting experiences.

Overall, the section has revealed the different resources that parents draw on for support in raising their children. The church, social networks, teachers, schools health visitors and online spaces for women are some of the resources that are instrumental to parents. Church and support networks were likened to family, especially in the absence of extended family involvement in raising children like in Zimbabwe and provision of childcare. The findings reveal that although better support exists among those raising children as couples, poor parenting teamwork reinforced perspectives of a patriarchal system that emphasises nurturing children as a woman's role. There is a concern that some Zimbabwean fathers are still silenced from active parenting involvement. Online groups involvement gave some mothers opportunities to engage with other Zimbabwean women and share the journey of being a migrant and a parent.

5.4 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter, the three sub-themes which describe the Zimbabwean born parents shared world essence of their experience of parenting in the UK has been articulated. The line '*We had no experience*' from Tafara's poem symbolises the value derived from the parents' shared world with other people which facilitated their appreciation of wider cultural values. The theme has shown that the parents are operating between Zimbabwean, UK and global cultural values which often conflict.

However, I suggest that the findings show how cultural differences are renegotiated and sometimes painfully co-exist to allow for integration. I also noted how the parents use resources such as church, social networks amongst Zimbabweans, schools and online spaces to negotiate their belonging as a family. I got a real sense that most parents are willing to immerse themselves to understand the norms and values by drawing on the aforementioned resources, and children are also instrumental in this process as they are assumed to be well integrated. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that fathers still silence themselves or are silenced from active parenting by upholding the patriarchal values that mothers are responsible for raising children. In the next chapter, I will explore the parents' experiences of raising their children within the values and standards of the various UK systems.

Zuva's Poem

I can assume

I think friends and family

We came from Zimbabwe

Us as immigrants

We are two health professionals

I'm being deemed a failure

You get to understand

We live just down the road

They used to do the same

You want to work, work, work, work

We're economic migrants

I think it caused a lot of strain

They were hands on

I'm not worried

I liked the changes

I never dreamt

I never used to

I didn't

We used to hear

They can come and report

Your language will always

I take pride

We will always be

They appreciate it

I don't know

We've got our cultures

I think it also integrates us

I'm comparing

You snooze the child is taken

I think there's a difference

You end up not trusting

We were connected

We were raised

You know

I have a home away from home

I've managed to live there 16 years

I'm not going to take failure as an option

You want to raise decent children

I think role modelling is also a very big

I want to leave you with those values

We're not raising these children for the UK only

I wanted this opportunity

I didn't really send my kids for childcare early

We are leaving them exposed

You need to find the balance

I've done my best

I wonder why there is malnutrition

They communicate very well

You always get informed

Zuva¹³

Zuva's voice was firm through the poem. She drew on her collective identity with her husband with statements such as *'We are two health professionals'*; with other migrants with statements such as *'We are leaving them exposed'*. At times when she used "you" she was not distancing herself from the statement but was also voicing for others, for example *'You get to understand'* and *'You always get informed'*. She has also weighed in on some experiences to try and understand meaning; *'I think', 'I don't know'*. Her thoughts and desire to make sense of experience were visible in the poem.

Zuva's advocacy voice captivated me, reading her poem I felt that she was a voice for herself and other parents.

¹³ Zuva is a mother of three

Chapter 6: Theme 2- Parenting in the UK System (Lived body)

Summary of theme 2

The parents' lived experience within the British system includes making assumptions about what is happening, what is expected of them and reacting in appropriate ways by adjusting to the system to feel connected.

The theme '*Parenting in the UK System*' relates to the notion of lived body (corporeality) which is a phenomenological notion that we are always bodily in the world (van Manen, 1997), in relation to learning and adjusting to parenting within the UK systems. While being-in-the-world we meet bodily; including all that we feel, reveal, conceal and parts of ourselves that we share through our lived body. It is through our lived body that we communicate, interact and experience the world (Crotty, 1996). Our being-in-the-world involves the ongoing process of understanding the values of the system which applies to different institutions which makes us connected in a *symbolic* sense, to the UK as a home.

The individual parent is a social being whose lived world is directly mediated by existing system values in different institutions they interact with as they parent. When the body is object to someone's critical gaze the body can become different because of the different perspective; depending on who is doing the gazing, many differences can arise (van Manen, 1990). Essentially, when Zimbabwean parents are interacting within systems that are likely different from Zimbabwean systems, they can make assumptions about what is expected of them and react in appropriate ways to adjust to a specific set of system values in relation to raising children in the UK. In the case of this study, this entails the parents adjusting to the system to feel connected and act fatherly or motherly.

Drawing on a phrase from Zuva's I-poem, '*us as immigrants*', this phrase symbolises the foreign nature of the UK system to the Zimbabwean born participants. The three emergent sub-themes that reveal the participants' experiences of adjusting to the UK

system are *Power balanced relationships*, *Protecting children* and *Experience with the Health and Social Care System*. They reflect the way in which parents discussed their interactions with institutional system values as migrant parents, notions of migrants' in general and their own physical existence in relation to others. This chapter will discuss these sub-themes in turn.

6.1 Sub-theme 1: Power Balanced Relationships

This sub-theme describes power relations between parents and children which primarily involve a lot of peeling back of old patterns that were integral to the parents' upbringing. The parents evaluated their approach to interaction with their children in such a way that a partnership became central to their relationship. The phrase *'I'm comparing'* from Zuva's poem is echoed in most of the narratives in relation to power dynamics as parents journeyed to how they were raised in Zimbabwe.

The UK was often described by the participants as a place where children's voices are valued. From the interviews, there was a great sense of parents viewing their children as beings who freely express themselves in the UK context. This contrasts with the Zimbabwean position towards children as described in stage 1 context chapter. This meant that parents ought to give their children choices, listen to them and value their opinions. However, participants were explicit in reflecting on how power was located in their parents as they were raised in Zimbabwe.

Commenting about this issue, some participants said:

We give them choice as well to choose what they want. So now they are planning next year for their holidays already. (Ruva)

So the kids are quite free to talk about their feelings, they can challenge you, they can question. They can have their opinions, they are very opinionated. They ask a lot of questions, a lot of why,

whereas when I was growing up I wouldn't dare ask my parents why.
(Ranga)

These extracts imply acceptance of aspects of the UK culture which value the expression of opinions by children and encourages their autonomy in decision making. Though Ranga adjusted to giving space to listen to his children in the UK, he described how he was raised in a system where a child could not openly share opinions. The participants on the whole demonstrated how open communication with children is relatively a new practice for them compared to how they were raised in Zimbabwe.

Although Lucas was not brought up in an open environment, he gathered that it was part of the UK parenting culture to openly communicate with children; and similar to a lot of the participants, he felt the need to adjust. The environment creates opportunities for most parents to spend more time with children and increases parental involvement. This subsequently allows more opportunities to hear the children's voices. In a Zimbabwean context, domestic helpers and extended family created stability to family life and thus also spent significant time with children. As set out in the context chapter, in post-independent Zimbabwe, live-in domestic helpers became a popular part of the middle class and professional families. It is also common for domestic workers to leave their families behind in the care of extended families. Lucas described how he has accepted communication aspects of the UK culture;

Because I'm here I take them to school in the morning, I pick them at school in the afternoon. We talk about school, we talk about a lot of things together. And it's a good thing that I really cherish that it makes me to be a little bit more closer to my family. And being open, and a little bit more frank to them, giving the opportunity to voice or say their voice, I have realised that it gives me the opportunity.
(Lucas)

Furthermore, three parents reported feeling that open interactions prepare children to be independent thinkers and strengthen parent-child relationships. Some

participants described instilling a sense of control for each family member in decision making. For other parents, this has to be balanced with some level of input from the parent. As such the parent can be a source of power and strength through guidance and support in decision making processes. Ayanda, in her discussion about choosing a course for university studies for her son, she revealed a collaborative locus of control where great effort was dedicated to ensuring all positives and negatives were presented to allow her son to make the best possible decision. Power, in this case, was located between mother and son. This implies parental warmth, support and care in communicating with her child.

With my son I always give him the pros and the cons, and then even if he's making his own choices I always tell him I'm always the other side of the voice. (Ayanda)

On the other hand, Zuva passionately described how she feels that children do not have Zimbabwean cultural awareness on communication with parents. Mainly because they were not socialised in Zimbabwe. She highlighted preliminary efforts by some Zimbabweans in forming a forum for Zimbabweans in South Yorkshire which aims to transmit cultural values to children born to Zimbabwean parents in the UK. As such, this would entail enlightening their increasingly Westernised children to understand their parents' upbringing experiences as well as creating a sense of belonging to the Zimbabwean community through this awareness.

Answering back to your mother; I don't want is normal, but to us I don't want to your mother you don't, as a child to your parents you don't argue with your parents. So it's something that we need to actually tell them, this is why we are forming the South Yorkshire Zimbabwean forum for Zimbabweans who are here with children who have missed this opportunity to know how we live. (Zuva)

Certainly, for some of the parents, they initially felt like there were being stripped of their power in the parenting environment. Especially coming from an environment where communication was directed one way from the parents to children and negotiating was non-existent as decisions took the form of parental pronouncements. As the parents settled, most parents described an embrace and acceptance to this

shift in power which complements the assumed current and perceived mainstream parenting practices in the UK.

As Ranga commented:

We felt like the power was becoming powerless so we... I know we talked about power imbalance earlier that there was a bit of like evening, like almost an even ground; even your daughter you are negotiating. (Ranga)

Negotiating power in parent-child relations is based on accepting, without objection of perceived aspects of UK or Western parenting in Zimbabwean culture. This section has demonstrated that power balanced relations between Zimbabwean born parents and their UK born children are dependent on multiple factors including meaning and societal expectations. In the next section, I will present the parents lived experiences with protecting children.

6.2 Sub-theme 2: Protecting Children

Parents have a natural sense of security for the child in their daily encounters. This sub-theme describes the different actions that parents prioritise when thinking about protecting their children. Similar to the line '*we are leaving them exposed*' as represented in Zuva's poem, some participants had real fear about the consequences of not being protective of children having immersed themselves in the UK. This sub-theme, therefore, includes concerns of parenting in the social media era, security fears, actions to shield children and close monitoring of any changes such as children becoming racially conscious.

Most participants revealed their fears about exposing their children to technological devices and social media. These worries come at a time when it is fairly popular for children of all ages to engage with digital devices and explore social media. The parents felt it was difficult to monitor what the children access on the internet and naturally they would want to protect their children from a perceived dangerous

internet environment. In most narratives, parents would only be comfortable with internet or social media use when their children reach an advanced age and can have a better sense of protecting themselves.

Having a world of technology, they're nine years old, so far we are, I'm a very tough firm mother, and quite strict I would want to believe myself I am. So they do not have mobile phones and we have agreed that they will have when they go to high school. (Mutsa)

Most parents were apprehensive of the possibility of their children being targeted by online predators and accessing violent content. Excessive use of social media has also been described as having an effect on parent-child relationships by decreasing everyday face to face engagement. Other participants related to the challenges described in Ranga's case below. These were the primary reasons for shielding children from so much exposure on social media discussed earlier.

I think with all the paedophiles out there, with all the gang influences, eating disorders, suicidal pacts that teenagers are getting into right now. A lot of exposure to self-harm, there is an increase ...say in eating disorders say like young girls, so that's influenced by body image and everything else. So I was kind of worried about what sort of videos or pictures she will be accessing online. (Ranga)

Amid these challenges, parents also have to familiarise themselves with the social media available and do their own assessment to be aware of the dangers associated with social media use. This was described as a new dimension to effective parenting in the social media era. I suggest that this is not particular to Zimbabwean parents, however, it is likely that due to the economic situation in Zimbabwe, owning technological devices and access to the internet is not afforded by many families.

So challenges regarding social media for example; so for me to be able to, you know, monitor social media interactions, I should be able to learn what are the positives and negatives of social media myself

to be able to be a parent whilst monitoring the threat of social media.

(Ranga)

The need to closely monitor children extended to while they were outdoors. Participants repeatedly described the need to be within the vicinity when children are playing outside which is not the case if they were in Zimbabwe. In a Zimbabwean context, parents have a feeling that children will be watched by others in the community, thus there is less perceived 'risk' to them spending significant time outdoors. Having to monitor children was framed as a hindrance to outdoor play as it consumes a lot of the parents' time.

Here you can't leave your kids just playing on their own. Even when [Sky]'s playing I've got to be on the window all the time watching them. (Tsitsi)

Some participants specified the fear of having their children kidnapped while outside and a general distrust of people.

A lot of adjustment that we needed. Because for a child to play outside I have to sit here and watch him, because the moment you snooze the child is taken away in a white van, disappeared, nowhere to be found. (Zuva)

This was usually described in comparison to the trusting environment in Zimbabwe where children could play outdoors without being closely monitored by parents or it being deemed parental neglect.

I've noticed that's quite different is we are kind of lax in Zimbabwe about how we look after the kids. They can go out and play out there. You wouldn't think about any danger. But here it's indoors, doors locked. Don't talk to strangers; don't knock on the door for strangers. That's the other thing that I notice that's quite strange. (Tafara)

Ranga described growing up in a protective Zimbabwean village where every resident was concerned and responsible for children's safety and wellbeing. This reflects the type of close relationships Zimbabweans have with their neighbours.

We were children of the village and of the society. The society was our security. The society would look after us. (Lucas)

One of the participants, Ayanda, suggested that limiting outdoor play for her child was her way to protect her child from a 'common culture' and it was also a definite way to monitor exactly her child's whereabouts. This reflects the social class categories created by colonialism in Zimbabwe which divided citizens to townships and suburbs (see chapter 1). It is likely that this informed Ayanda's experiences, signifying the importance of understanding Zimbabwean parents' experiences from an intersectional lens which take into account multiple factors including culture, social class and socio-economic factors.

I don't believe in children playing outside, I think that makes that, develops that culture where they mix and become too common, and then you don't know where your kids are. (Ayanda)

Paul who characterises himself as a part time father since he is divorced has clashed with his child's mother on the issue of outdoor play. Like Ayanda above, the child's mother does not allow outdoor play whereas Paul is open to allowing safe outdoor play.

The only time he sees those people is when I'm with him, because the mum doesn't allow him to go outside. For me I don't see there's any reason of stopping him playing outside when the area is safe to play. (Paul)

For some parents, the distrust in people made them uncomfortable with sleepover invitations that their children received. The distrust was also fuelled by the media representation of children's vulnerability to abuse. Sleepovers are not a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Zuva would only allow her children to have sleep overs

at people she was familiar with before migrating to the UK. Zuva's awareness of crimes against children made her create boundaries with families that she is not acquainted to.

to me crime really affected me so much, so much that even my child used to ask to go for, maybe to play not sleepover; I never agreed to go for sleepovers, except at my friend's house that I told you who came from Zimbabwe, because I'm thinking fine, they're good friends, they play well. I know the mum, I know the dad....what I used to hear on the news, you end up not trusting anyone. You end up with that fear of trusting anybody that you did not know before, apart from those that you came with or that you were very close to before you migrated. (Zuva)

Most parents described their experience of being racially conscious or that of their children being aware of their skin colour. This was described as a new concept that they only experienced post migrating from Zimbabwe.

The fact that he is black makes it quite different from the other children. So that's far the big issue about race, colour of your skin in schools is quite a big thing. You really need to look out for your children because when my son was four, I noticed quite a big change that he is noticing that he is black. Because more and more people are telling him. Because he used to ask me why have we got this colour and the other kids have got this colour, so that was it. Some people, I mean this is something you never ever think about in Zimbabwe, what colour you are. You wouldn't, would you? You wouldn't think oh yah I'm black and everybody else is white. That was where you needed to negotiate around and we had no experience about it, you learn as you go. (Tafara)

Like Tafara above, Zuva has been concerned about racial consciousness and susceptibility to racism on her child. This has fuelled thoughts about pulling her son from a predominantly white sports team to protect him and ensure he is comfortable.

She goes further to highlight that concerns usually arise when the children are older enough to see differences in skin colour.

You cannot tell him of changing his team. Because sometimes you be feeling is he OK, is he comfortable. But you find I think it's about kids are not racist, kids know no colour. It's only when maybe they're grown-ups, that's when they will start asking you of their differences.
(Zuva)

It was apparent in most narratives that issues of race and racism were not an easy discussion for parents to have with their children. Two collective voices also echoed this and added that an overworking culture among Zimbabweans reduces parent-child contact to discuss these issues. As a result, there are many discussions that children are not having with their parents regarding their experiences with racial discrimination. The parents miss the chance to have open conversations about race with their children. In the opinion of some of these parents, the society, including schools and other institutions in the UK are not interested in the wellbeing of Black African children and the burden falls on the parent.

Essentially as parents we need to make decisions wisely. Black kids have a label already and we have to work extra hard for that label not to stick. Mashift akawandisa¹⁴ (Working a lot of shifts) leaving kids here there and everywhere should be avoided. We need to be there to protect these children. [Healthy lifestyle Advisor (Father)]

Ayanda described below how race is a challenging subject to navigate for children; especially in their process of building their identity and familiarising themselves with their roots and their parents' migration journey.

It's still a struggle now, because obviously with identity the kids know that, they don't really understand why you moved, why you're here, and the differences. (Ayanda)

¹⁴ Mashift akawandisa is a common phrase among Zimbabweans in the UK used to denote working too many hours of shift work.

Another dimension of protecting children is related to some participants' experiences and shared experiences of leaving children home alone from the age of 13 as they went to work, especially night shift work. They also highlighted their fears and the impact of work burdens on straining parent-child relationships or familiarity that allows them to protect their children.

You hear stories about kids misbehaving at 12/13/14 you know bringing boys in or bringing girls in at that particular age. So you never really know, you have this generalised anxiety about what might happen to your daughter or what might happen to your son and that kind of anxiety can be then projected to how you make your decisions. (Ranga)

They missed out because they were always at work, and they didn't know who their kids were playing with. (Ayanda)

In accord with other descriptions, the parents above described a missed opportunity to protect children due to competing needs such as balancing work commitments and parenting. The extracts above imply the parents' responsibility to keep children safe while they develop their full independence to be able to stay home alone. For these parents, they believe that they are best placed to assess if it is safe to leave children at home at different points in time. The experiences described seem to reflect the need for a better balance between work and maintaining a bond with children which can make parents better protectors.

A few parents described being protective of what their children wear, this was a particular concern for female children. This was also coupled with what the Zimbabwean society would deem as modest and safe for the children to wear. However, when this was discussed by three participants it was in reference to girls standards of modesty in dressing. Ranga discussed his decision-making process to his daughter who also gave her input:

I think it's something that I struggled with a lot when my daughter is dressing in a certain way. I'm thinking why you are wearing that short

skirt for. "Who do you want to see you?" You have got all these men seeing you dressed like that. She never understood what I meant because that's the last thing she's thinking about. She's thinking I like the short skirt, because I feel good, it looks good on me. But I'm bringing in my fears. (Ranga)

This extract illustrates the transportation of moral and cultural notions of respectability and (un)respectability of females by reinforcing ideas around women's embodiment from a Zimbabwean perspective to the diaspora space. This dictated the way he expected his daughter to dress.

Only one participant, Anesu, discussed protecting children's mental health as an important aspect of parenting. Anesu, a father and medical doctor, emphasised protecting children's mental health by creating a mentally safe home environment. As he explained, parents should play a part in protecting and sustaining their children's health by modelling good habits in the household.

We always try to promote an environment in the home that's conducive to bringing up children. Because things like arguments, domestic violence and so forth, all these things impact negatively on the emotional development and wellbeing of the kids. (Anesu)

This section has discussed findings relating to protecting children. Fear was an integral factor common among participants especially drawing on their identity as Black Zimbabwean parents who tend to have different experiences. Some of the findings presented here are generic to parenting, some are assumptions about the UK based on how things are generally right now, which have certainly changed over time in the UK, where the participants have had to adapt very quickly. Some really important aspects are related to race and living as a racial minority in the UK, need to reinforce aspects of cultural identity and some to the particular work experiences of the immigrant parent. The section that follows considers how the parents, as migrants, experience the health and social care system.

6.3 Sub-theme 3: Experience with the Health and Social Care System

This sub-theme is related to the impact of parenting within the UK environment on the parents' inner world and subjective experiences with the health and social care system. It discusses the parents' access to health services, health-seeking behaviour, child protection laws and policies. The different needs identified for maintaining children's health and well-being prompt action in a way a responsible parent would in raising their children. The phrase 'I think there's a difference' from Zuva's I-poem was a common feeling through the migrant parent's narrated experiences.

In most cases, participants reported that they have better access to health services for their children in the UK. This was usually discussed in comparison to the past and present state of access to health services in Zimbabwe. The debilitating nature of access to healthcare in Zimbabwe is discussed earlier in stage one (see section 1.4).

We benefited a lot coming here because health wise because its easily accessible, there is more support regarding health wise which makes parenting easier. (Ranga)

Well as a developed country I would say you register for the GP, health is free at the point of access. Which is different in Zimbabwe, well it used to be free when I was a teen; it was free in Zimbabwe as well. But it's all gone now. (Tafara)

Lucas recalled receiving health-related support even from the infancy stage. This was also commonly discussed in most narratives. He described having awareness and knowledge of all due immunisations as they were issued a personal child health record containing all the vital information.

From even infant, or from the time the child is born, they're being given a red book, and the red book will tell you about all the immunisation that your child is due to have. They will also give you the leaflets to explain to you the benefits of why your child should have those immunisations. (Lucas)

It appears that better access to services has transformed the health-seeking behaviour for most parents who describe themselves as coming from a culture where one goes to the hospital mostly in cases of serious illnesses. Thus, for Ranga preventative healthcare had not been a priority in Zimbabwe. There are no costs impediments as the access to services is free through the NHS in the UK, such that they seek medical attention for concerns they used to deem minor illnesses.

I'm coming from a culture where somebody goes to the hospital when they are seriously ill. Because you can't afford to just go and see a GP because you've got a cold or you've got a simple infection or something. Most of these minor illnesses will sort themselves out where I came from because the weather might cause or the food.
(Ranga)

The accessibility and cost effectiveness of health services has widened access to other seemingly neglected preventative health services such as dental health as well:

In Zimbabwe you would never think of going to a dentist unless if you have got a tooth ache or something. (Tafara)

The wider feeling was one of satisfaction with the accessibility to health services which participants described as empowering them to maintain their children's health and wellbeing. This extracts also reinforces why people relocate to the UK for a 'better life' for their families.

There are health screening appointments, dental appointments. It's something else that I really value, because I believe a child's health is a child's future. So a healthy child is a happy child. (Lucas)

Other parents were not satisfied by the appointment system used by health services which has long waiting times, with Tsitsi below opting to have private insurance for access to immediate medical attention. It is important to note that this data was collected prior to the Covid-19 pandemic and the current added pressures on the

NHS.

With the NHS it's not easy to get like, for example if you want an appointment you have to wait for six weeks or three weeks. So what I did in the end, I had to get private medical insurance for myself and my kids, which is expensive but I would think it will give me peace of mind knowing that if anything happens to me, well if I get ill, really ill where I really need medical attention, then I've got somewhere to go to, than waiting three weeks. (Tsitsi)

This is likely reflective of her class positioning in Zimbabwe where those in the middle-higher class were able to access private medical access through medical aid schemes as highlighted in Stage 1 in the context chapter. In a Zimbabwean context where the public health system is debilitated private healthcare is preferred. Therefore, her previous class positioning likely differentiated her from the rest of the Zimbabwean diaspora and UK residents. Although access to services was generally good, some parents did not have the confidence to approach or pose questions to healthcare professionals in their early post-migration period.

I think GP's were quite intimidating areas from what I saw, when we came, first came here I think the first 2 or 3 years. These places, you don't have as much confidence to visit them. I mean, you can you don't even have a lot of confidence to be questioning certain decisions, certain clinical decisions from the GPs. (Ranga)

Zuva and her husband were both experienced healthcare professionals at their point of migrating to the UK and she felt that there was a lack of understanding of the weight monitoring scales for different ethnicities the UK healthcare professionals she encountered. This was after the school nurse had made a referral after deeming them as neglectful parents for having an underweight baby. Consequently, she described having to explain to healthcare professionals to give them an understanding of child development measures that are put in place when children are born in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, as both parents attended the referral meeting and were also visibly small in stature they explained that could be a possible cause

for their child to appear underweight, thus clearing themselves of neglect. It is possible that White English parents may also relate to this experience, Zuva was convinced that her otherness by virtue of immigration status and race led to professionals treating them with a lot of suspicion and judgement.

... the differences with the systems. And I think here they're more, because I think it's a bit of not understanding us as immigrants as well, where we're coming from and where we're going. Maybe they see our systems, like maybe they are not as thorough or they lack scrutiny, or because of that difference it takes you to explain to the people here that OK where I'm coming from we do one, two, three, four, five, six. And you can imagine we are taken from health facilities, we are two health professionals. (Zuva)

Like Zuva above, in nine narratives where the participants are health professionals, participants acknowledged how their profession helped them to understand the health system and gave them the agency to question decisions.

I think my profession helped me a lot as well to think that I became very active and proactive rather than just receiving information. (Ranga)

Participants also described their experiences with imparting knowledge to children and their desires to raise well-balanced and responsible children. The participants had the shared custom of physically disciplining children. However, the UK prohibits physically disciplining children like a lot more of the Global North countries as discussed in Chapter two. Some parents indicated that they were working towards adopting new ways of disciplining children to align with UK norms, policies and laws around disciplining guides. They wanted to assimilate and did not question the UK child welfare norms, practices and policies. There was a general feeling, however, that the Social Services policies and laws on disciplining children limited them in instilling discipline using their preferred methods. As a result, some parents who particularly hold on to Zimbabwean norms and practices feel incapable of instilling a certain level of discipline in their children.

My first ones obviously I used to smack and hit them, and here in this country you can't do that. So you have to find a way and a balance in terms of being firm without being tempted to hit them, or to just caution them. (Mutsa)

The law is very strict. It's very strict, so because of that it restricts us as parents to help the kids, or to bring up the kids the way we want them to be, because we try to tell them something else, they'll be telling them no you can't tell me that. You can't use any, you know what I'm saying. So that way the kids, they become wild. (Paul)

Again the experience of children being vocal reflects the sub-theme power balanced relationships where I revealed how children voices are present in the parent-child relations. Collective voices also added:

Authorities cannot dictate how we train our kids. If we state that there are rules then there are rules. A child will follow those rules accordingly and respect No child dictates on their parents or you can surely tell them off they'll feel it. If you fail to be tough with these kids they'll be tough on us parents. Once they know their boundaries they will calm down. (By firm I mean really firm not physically beating or any of that) No pocket money. No meaning no. No phone. No new clothes. Grounded..... Consistency is important. They mustn't find any loopholes in your parenting. Dad and mums word is 1. [Migrant support group pioneer (Mother)]

This reveals that she is willing to critically engage with the UK child welfare systems while armed to contest any norms and aspects of practices she disagreed with. She also highlighted that there should be consistency between a set of parents in what they perceive to be appropriate child behaviour and preferred methods of managing children's behaviour. The need for a partnership in parenting was also highlighted in the subtheme, parental support system and resources in the previous chapter.

Four parents shared other people's experiences of losing their children to the system. They described the UK as having very strict social care policies. Ranga described a fear of losing your child if one is reported to Social Services. It was common among participants to equate any engagement with professionals with the removal of children from their care and thus they painfully strived to not have encounters with the social care professionals.

I learnt to accept that in UK you can actually be disowned and hearing stories; you know I hear stories about people's kids who have left home and they reported them to Social Services. (Ranga)

Again, the state of social care policies can be seen as disempowering parents and empowering children as described by participants. While some recognise the child protective services as interfering, they concurrently described the UK environment as very protective of children which can be positive. According to Lucas, multiple sectors are on the lookout for children's wellbeing. This in a way prompts him to act in the way he is expected to according to the guiding policies and practices in the UK that maintain his children's health and wellbeing. Participants revealed perceived and real oppressive treatment from health, social care and education professionals.

From the social workers, from the school authorities, from the doctors, the local doctors, the surgeries, the dentists, and also if they're going to after school or in other clubs that they could be going to, the social clubs. In the sense that if my child has not been registered with any dentist it's an issue, and I have to be answerable for that. If my child has not been to school without an explanation of why he or she has been absent, it's an issue with the school, it's an issue with the Social Services. (Lucas)

In a sense, there is a felt power shift from the parents to the system since moving to the UK which can be viewed either positively or negatively by the participants.

This section has shown that better access to healthcare which has improved

engagement with preventative services and health-seeking behaviour, has fulfilled some of the key reasons for migrating from Zimbabwe to the UK. However, there is poor understanding by healthcare professionals, leaving parents to do most of the work of explaining. For instance, the concept of weight monitoring for different ethnic systems. The parents are aware of what is expected of them in the current system and they are aware of the severity of consequences of not acting in the way they are supposed to in the process of raising their child and maintaining the children's health and wellbeing. The parents felt conflicted over raising children in a place where the state and child welfare institutions are involved in children and young people's upbringing and their ability to discipline their children as they wished. The perceived heavy policing experience is an issue that affects them particularly as immigrants but other groups in society are likely to also feel controlled and policed in this way, especially those who feel less powerful and more vulnerable. I propose that the issue of child safeguarding and disciplining for the participants also reflects the tensions and mistrust of the system based on children's rights, cultural differences and how well they feel the system suits their approach to child-rearing.

6.4 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter I discussed the theme '*Parenting in the UK system*' which is related to the phenomenological notion of lived body. The line, 'I think it also integrates us', from Zuva's poem symbolises the benefit that migrant parents can get by respecting the set of values in the UK. The first sub-theme, *Power balanced relationships*, is about the distribution of power and Zimbabwean born parents' experiences with their UK born children assuming a level of power. The second sub-theme, *Protecting children*, is related to the different aspects of children's life that parents prioritise when thinking about protecting their children. The third sub-theme, *Experiences with the Health and Social Care System*, explores the parents' interactions with the systems as non-UK born residents striving to maintain their children's health and wellbeing. The findings reveal that parents recognise that there are cultural differences and also identify that some issues they are confronted with are not unique to them as Zimbabwean parents. Their view of cultural differences may

contribute to their attitudes towards British parenting practises. The parents find ways to renegotiate cultural differences and at times they painfully co-exist for them to effectively parent within the UK value systems. Fear was an integral factor to the parents' experiences when operating within UK system values especially drawing on their identity as Black Zimbabwean parents who tend to have different experiences, are likely to be discriminated and face racism. In the next Chapter, I will present the theme '*The parenting journey*' which elaborates the participants' past and present experiences as well as hopes for the future.

Anesu's poem

I'm a very optimistic person

We know that

I feel bringing up

I didn't used to

You've got other people

I realised it was a totally different

You can even rely on strangers

I had to be with him

I had to take him to school

You spend a lot of time with them

I find very challenging

You end up with very little time

You end up with a lot of stress

I see myself in them

I was socialised in

I could do

I want my kids to keep their identity

We try as much as we can

You can converse them in Shona

I do value that

I wouldn't want

You are losing a generation

You should be proud of it

I think we have heard of stories

What can we do?

My challenges

I think when we look

We hardly eat any takeaways

We always encourage them

I do run with them

We always try

I think it should be a lot easier

We are both professional people

They organise what are called parents' evenings

Anesu¹⁵

Anesu starts off with an optimistic voice in the first line in the poem *'I'm a very optimistic person'*; indicating hopes for positive experiences. In his use of you statements in this poem a voice of silence is visible as he tries to distance himself from the statements *'You end up with very little time'*. The interplay of *'I'* statements and *'You'* statements in this poem highlight this shift in his voice. They are instances where he makes himself assertive; *I want my kids to keep their identity, unsure; 'What can we do?'* and actively involved *'I do run with them'*. Additionally I see how his voice shifts from past tense to present tense in the poem indicating recollection of experiences (*I was socialised in*) and immediacy of some experiences (*We always encourage them*).

I was captivated by the multidimensional nature of parenting narrated by Anesu. I got a strong sense that he endeavoured to avoid pitfalls in his parenting.

¹⁵ Anesu is a father of three

Chapter 7: Third Theme: The Parenting Journey

Summary of Theme 3

Parents' lived experiences of understanding the present moment and their anticipation of the future is influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences while the perceived lived time changes as more experience is gained. This movement through time is conceptualised as a journey of learning and experience.

This theme is framed based on the phenomenological foundation of essences aspect of lived time (temporality) of the migrant parents raising their children in the UK. This does not translate to time as a measurable object, but in phenomenology, this relates to the temporal way of being in the world where events give meaning to individuals and allows an understanding of where you come from (the past), present experiences and a perspective of the future (van Manen 1997).

Van Manen explains, 1997, p.104

Whatever I have encountered in my past now sticks to me as memories or as (near) forgotten experiences that somehow leave their traces on my being -the way I carry myself (hopeful or confident, defeated or worn out), the gestures I have adopted and made my own (from my mother, father, teacher, friend), the words I speak and the language that ties me to my past (family, school, ethnicity), and so forth.

In uncovering their lived experiences, the participants' narratives were contextualised in time. In the process of striving to effectively raise their children in the UK, some needed to reinterpret who they once were and who they are at the moment. This theme reveals the migrant parents lived experiences of understanding the present moment and their anticipation of future events being influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences; while the perceived lived time changes as more lived experience is gained in the UK. The phrase '*I didn't used to*' from Anesu's

poem symbolises how the parents looked into their past as they reflected on their present parenting experiences. Two emergent sub-themes will be discussed to elaborate on this theme: *Transmitting culture- language, food and values*; and *Altering gender roles*.

7.1 Sub-theme 1: Cultural Transmission in an Ever-Changing World: Language, Food and Values

This sub-theme, '*Cultural transmission in an ever-changing world: language, food and values*', relates to the participants' experiences of how they draw on their life experiences while maintaining a Zimbabwean identity for their families. It details some practices that they have brought with them from when they were raised in Zimbabwe which they draw on in the way they raise their children in the UK with the hope that their children do not internalise negative perceptions about aspects of the Zimbabwean culture. The statement, '*I was socialised in*', drawn from Anesu's poem represents most of the parents' reflections presented in this sub-theme. This sub-theme includes how native language is maintained and how a physical journey is made to the home country to strengthen transnational ties and maintain family connections.

For most parents, their children's ability to use a Zimbabwean language (mostly Shona) was in their view, an important identity marker.

The other thing is language. That's another very big challenge, very big challenge. I want my kids to keep their identity. And you know it, identity is mainly language isn't it, your food and obviously your dressing. We try as much as we can to make sure that in this home when they're at home we speak in our own language. (Anesu)

The other thing I would say about our culture is loss of the language, and the other thing is that feeling of where do we belong? I've noticed, I've seen this in my kids, are they British, are they Zimbabwean? (Tafara)

Like Tafara above, other participants indicated how it is felt as a cultural loss when children cannot speak any Zimbabwean language. The ability to speak a Zimbabwean is assumed to create a sense of belonging. A lot of references were made to the Indian and Pakistani communities, reflecting respect for how they have managed to transmit their language(s) to their children. Simultaneously, parents who were able to transmit native languages to their children passionately described their role in transmitting language by using it at home and in a way were judgemental of those who were not successful in passing on their language to children.

I've got an auntie, their Dad's sister who lives in America, she's got kids and she's taught them in Shona, and they can speak Shona. I would love that, for my kids to be able to speak both languages. They were born there, but they can understand and speak Shona. And the Pakistani, have you noticed? (Tsitsi)

It made me want my children to keep our language, because in as much as I would want the child to speak English, we are identified as Zimbabweans because of our language. If you come here speaking Punjabi I will say you are Indian. If you come here speaking maybe English, I will say maybe you are British. (Zuva)

At the same time, some parents feel that the Zimbabwean community in the UK should be organised in such a way that they create opportunities to collectively teach children language and share Zimbabwean cultural values with them.

I've noticed [Noah] has got a friend of his who's from Pakistan, they go to their own community centres there being taught their languages. They get so much to learn there about their culture. Whereas us, because we don't have time, always working. (Tsitsi)

It was repeatedly mentioned in most of the parents' narratives that the Zimbabwean diaspora community has and in some cases had a culture of over-working. This was cited as a hindrance to prioritising the development of programmes to serve the Zimbabwean community needs such as, sharing cultural aspects with children who

are being raised in the UK. There is, however, a burning desire expressed by Zuva, Tsitsi and Ayanda to create a Zimbabwean community organisation that facilitates the transmission of Zimbabwean cultural values to children.

Like if we want to do something, there's some things that you also want to gather as a community. Like we're forming the Zimbabwe South Yorkshire community forum, and this is part of some of these that want you to use the language, the culture, to show them what is our instruments, to take pride in what is ours. (Zuva)

The impact of the overworking culture in transmitting cultural values was also reiterated during collective voices review.

The busy lifestyle in this country hustling for shifts to better ourselves and feed our folks back home leaves little time to mould our children's lives. When do we teach the culture when we do not follow through the activities because 90% time we are not there. Speaking Shona or not is not here or there me thinks. Most children are self-parenting or parented by the streets/ strangers. [Closed online group pioneer (Mother)]

There were suggestions of a desire to maintain and transmit cultural values; and some awareness that this is challenging given other requirements of settling. The parents are unable to do this, leaving parenting to others by necessity. Some parents were particularly keen on their children maintaining their language to be able to converse with grandparents and extended family when they visit Zimbabwe, thus maintaining transnational links and reinforce sense of belonging in Zimbabwe. Understanding the vernacular language also helped their children to integrate.

Now even we take them home for holiday, we don't have any problem with them. They speak, they communicate very well. (Ruva)

I wouldn't want my kids to go home and then start talking to their gogo¹⁶ in English. No, that's not right for me. (Anesu)

Adding on to why it is important to maintain their language, Zuva, shared that if children are not encouraged to use or learn their vernacular language they will begin to view it as inferior. She believes in the richness of language particularly that it will remind children of their Zimbabwean identity. In the extract below she recalls a conversation she had with her younger son who was born in the UK, in which she reinforced the idea of his roots being linked to the identity ascribed by his parents.

He said; you, dad and [Eden] are immigrants. I'm not because I didn't come. I was born here. Me and [Kai], we didn't come. I said, born of an immigrant is an immigrant, because you are born of me and your dad and we are foreign you are also. He said oh well OK then. It shows... then I referred to the language. I said you know what, the fact that you speak Shona and your surname is [Dombo] from there, it's not Smith, it's not Campbell, so it means you belong there where your grandmother is. (Zuva)

The language of family names was an important indicator of identity that Zuva used to illustrate her son's identity. She challenged his sense of identity, home and belonging which are mediated through the language of his parent's, Shona. Participants also talked about how they managed to transmit language to children. For some of the parents, delaying the point of entry into nursery and not engaging childcare services gave them the opportunity to teach children their language.

Since we said we want to maintain our culture as well, if we start sending her to the child minder that means she'll be speaking one language. So we use our language whenever we are home, so she can understand, she can speak with us our language up to now. (Ruva)

¹⁶ Gogo as used in the extract is referring to the grandmother.

By creating more contact time with children, some of the parents were able to teach their native language to their children.

During Participant review (Phase 2 of analysis based on TSF, Section 4.4.2), Mutsa commented on how being in a multicultural household limits the process of transferring the Shona language to her children. Thus for Mutsa, multicultural relationships threaten her ability to socialise her children into her language.

I try and teach mine to speak Shona, but compared to Pakistanis etc, I don't live in a Zimbabwean household. When my family visit, then we make a very valid effort to speak to each other in Shona, but I don't really feel bad about it because I know we try. (Mutsa)

Two collective voices (Migrant support group pioneer and Social media personality) appeared to assume that socialising children to the parents' language is not a parent's primary responsibility, but it is up to children if they choose to learn since the UK is their perceived permanent place of residency.

It's like trying to justify learning the language of a country where you're only a tourist. No, I will not learn Thai coz I'm going to Thailand for a few weeks. I'm happy with the English I speak for it is universal. Our children will probably never live in Zimbabwe as their lives are set out here. If they did happen to relocate, they will learn off their own free will, not because someone feels a certain way about it. We have different priorities and expectations. [Social media personality (Mother)]

These extracts focus more on the pull of the future and give children the individual autonomy to choose which language aligns with where they belong. I get the sense that while some participants are harking back to the past and cultural roots, others are allowing their children to have the autonomy to recreate their own values.

Another aspect of culture discussed by the participants relates to food being central to the participants' and their families' maintenance of their cultural identities and connection with Zimbabwe. The experience of preparing African or Zimbabwean

foods and sharing them with their children was described. Sadza¹⁷, which is the staple food in Zimbabwe, was repeatedly mentioned with some parents re-evaluating its benefits from a nutrition perspective as it is carbohydrate loaded.

Our food is quite, you know, filling. African food that we eat which is sadza, it's quite filling so I think initially we would eat that sadza. We still wanted to cling on to our old, old diet. And we would eat sadza and just share it with her. (Ranga)

Although they know they have these, they know of their, what can I say on that? Rudzi rwavo [cultural roots and ethnic belonging], they know, but I could say their behaviour is more British. They would prefer, I wouldn't cook sadza and derere; and think they would sit down and really enjoy it: oh this is really nice. But if you put fish fingers and chips there, oh my goodness, they will finish the whole plate. This is how you tell someone is really, where he is really rooted. (Tsitsi)

Rudzi rwavo in the extract above is used to refer to the children's roots and ethnic group. This is a powerful Shona phrase that entails key elements of one's identity and this is reinforced within the family space where children are socialised into their parents' heritage and food culture. Tsitsi's children are aware of traditional Zimbabwean foods but they prefer to eat British foods which to her imply that they are more inclined to the British food culture and identity. Like Tsitsi above, other participants also believe food is a big marker of one's identity. Some parents highlight how they incorporate Zimbabwean foods so that children do not internalise negative perceptions about their traditional food.

With a lens for the future, Zuva highlights her hopes for when she returns to Zimbabwe and how it will be important for her to ensure that adult children that stay behind in the UK retain a Zimbabwean heritage. I suggest that this hope is also a

¹⁷ Sadza is a cooked maize meal which is the staple food in Zimbabwe and is served as a starch component with a protein dish such as meat and vegetable stews

reflection of her fear of loss of belonging, sense of home and Zimbabwean identity. Hence, the process of transmitting cultural values is an important part of her child-rearing practices.

I don't think most of us are going back home with you guys, most children have made up their mind that they're going to stay. But when I go back I want to leave you with those values. That even when things go tough you still remember I have somewhere where I come from, and how we do things. With us there's nothing like a stranger, because it's sort of like togetherness. (Zuva)

Zuva described her experience being raised within a diverse Zimbabwean cultural space. In her view, the rich cultural aspects that shaped her experience growing up in Zimbabwe instilled in her the confidence and strength to be able to migrate to the UK. She embraces the cultural aspects that shaped her experiences growing up in Zimbabwe. Some participants have used the term Zimbabwean culture loosely to reflect a homogenous culture. I suggest that, although there are commonalities here in the responses it is important to acknowledge the diversity/ heterogeneity of the Zimbabwean culture and the Zimbabwean diaspora as referenced by Zuva.

There's so much diversity in our culture, even some things that we take for granted. But that are very good for development, for reasoning, we grew up that way and it made us who we are. If we didn't grow up that way I don't think we'd be able to even migrate. (Zuva)

During participant review, Lucas added a new perspective of negative perspectives that are sometimes aligned to upholding the Shona culture.

Identity crisis, anything to do with who we really are is considered witchcraft or backward, we easily go with the flow and get comfortable. Some of us think that when our kids don't know zvechiShona (Shona culture and values) it's an achievement, but when the true manifestation of the cultures they are adopting, we cry

foul. Problem is most of us don't really know who we really are.
(Lucas)

In summary, for the participants in this study, transmitting aspects of culture is a dynamic process. Participants draw on elements of the Zimbabwean culture from memories of how they were raised. With the growing Zimbabwean diaspora, there is hope that the community should be more organised to collectively transmit cultural elements to UK born children. Maintenance of vernacular language and traditional foods were some key elements that parents referred to, especially comparing themselves to some established diaspora communities (Pakistanis and Indians) who have managed to transmit these cultural elements to their children. I suggest that, like some participants' generalisations and homogenising of all Zimbabweans, there are likely generalisations of certain practices on all Pakistanis and Indians. In the section that follows, I present how life in the UK has pushed the parents to adopt new roles and how this shapes their parenting experiences.

7.2 Sub-theme 2: Altering Gender Roles

Change in circumstances has resulted in different gender role dynamics in parenting. The sub-theme, *altering gender roles*, is framed around the parents' past or present experiences and how these shape the future gender role dynamics in parenting in the UK. The history of being socialised in a patriarchal society is challenged when raising children in the UK. The expression from Anesu's poem, *I realised it was a totally different*, signifies the participants' lived experience with seemingly different gender norms while parenting in the UK.

Several fathers and one mother (Zuva) described the changes to parenting in which men were now a lot more involved compared to how this would have been if they were raising their children in Zimbabwe.

I had to accept that as a male parent and as a father, I had to change nappies. So I had to change it to maybe bath my daughter when she was young, which is something I would never do in Zimbabwe. I think

my sister, my dad has never washed or given a bath to any of us when I was growing up; let alone my sister. (Ranga)

Similar to other participating fathers, taking on some aspects of the parenting role was a new expectation and the first time that most fathers have had to be actively involved in raising children. This was a different experience of fatherhood. Hence, it was a challenging process that took time in the form of a journey of learning and unlearning for the parents to adjust. As Ranga described below, some fathers were not initially (early days post-migration) involved in tasks such as taking children to the park. Such illustrations of negotiation of gender roles demonstrate how migration and settlement results in loss of support resources from Zimbabwe discussed earlier in section 1.2. The fathers also described how their involvement in children's health changed. In particular with GP visits, this would have been left for the mother in a Zimbabwean context, more so because the environment requires them to fulfil the carer's role.

So to be honest with you, I still maintained my kind of approach as a dad that I would expect my partner to cancel her shift, so that she could go and take my daughter to GP because I can't, I'm the dad. No I can't. I think that was the initial, the initial approach.....I think it became exciting because when I would go to the park I'll see other fathers, mostly British fathers with their children so it became acceptable. (Ranga)

Ranga wanted to maintain traditional gender roles where child-rearing was the wife's domain and responsibility. It was clear across most narratives that migrant lives also brought in a new perspective where mothers were also economically active; thus requiring parents to reconstruct gender beliefs. Maintaining traditional roles was not feasible for Ranga as his wife was a working mother and they needed to renegotiate roles in a way that is functional for family life. Clearly, settlement in the UK opened new possibilities and other socio-cultural scripts through observation of some '*British fathers*' being actively involved in raising their children. This appeared to help to gradually shift the beliefs for some fathers regarding their roles and was in a way liberating. It is important to note that there is so much diversity in being 'British', and

like most Zimbabweans, it is used to refer to an identity based on race and citizenship in this case.

Zuva, a mother, felt that these dynamics put a strain on relationships with partners or extended family as they were seen to be challenging masculinity and cultural norms in Zimbabwe as a whole. Again she highlighted how this was a new experience for fathers moving from Zimbabwe to the UK.

On the negative culturally, because culture is culture and we cannot deny it, there are instances where maybe an in-law visits and finds your husband is busy doing chores that are traditionally stigmatised or linked to be done by women, they don't take it very well. (Zuva)

Zuva recognised her conflicted positioning based on cultural expectations for her to maintain gendered roles. In the Shona customs, in-laws are higher in the power hierarchy and Zuva's narration demonstrates the fragility of the power hierarchies being restored when the in-laws visit them in the UK. The extended family is influential in reinforcing gendered cultural expectations and behaviours in child-rearing. I suggest that this expectation from in-laws further illustrates that settlement in the diaspora disrupts family configurations and how cultural traditions are negotiated across borders. Again, this illustrates the intersection of gender and culture in reinforcing traditional gender roles, which are then used as a tool to measure women's worth. Zuva's narration is instrumental in demonstrating the building blocks that create social structures that define gender and gender roles.

One of the fathers, Paul, felt that women are still resistant to men taking on active roles in raising children. This suggests a perceived belief that a gender divide should exist with the women maintaining the nurturing role. This, therefore, affects their attitudes to gender roles in different family units.

Some women think that they are more better than men, and they think that men cannot be responsible of kids, of their kids as well. We are capable, especially when it comes to this country...We can do, this country, like in their minds and it's, we are all equal. What

men can do women can do. What women can do men can do. So this is one thing which I have learned that we can do if we want to do it, women can do if they want to do. (Paul)

This extract illustrates a perceived loss of control by women who choose to conform to the idealised womanhood which emphasises their nurturing role. For men like Paul who are less resistant to their new roles than their women folks, the diaspora space is where ascribed gender identities are contested and family life is reconfigured through involvement parenting.

Zuva also agreed that both men and women could tackle any task, making UK the equaliser for men and women. In the same breath, she described how she had to adjust to doing tasks that were previously reserved for men only.

There were lots of adjustments, and some of them, they took a lot of strength and a lot of pride to do what we were doing. Because back home I didn't know that I can change a light bulb, because I knew the dad is there when the light bulb goes, he's going to change it. (Zuva)

It is likely that encounters with beliefs of gender equality became a ground to contest ascribed gender roles in raising children for both Paul and Zuva. The negative impact to resisting a change in gender roles was also echoed in collective voices feedback who commented:

Our culture has let us down because it focuses on mainly serving the man and woman's needs are left unmet. People are suffering doing all the jobs in some households; you find the wife also works 40+ hours a week and the husband 16 hours. The wife is expected to still pick up all the pieces when she gets home in terms of housework. It feels too late for our generation but it can be different for our children's generation and the one to come. [Healthy lifestyle Advisor (Father)]

This comment illustrates how culture in some cases can be seen as oppressive and silencing to women. Again re-emphasising that women are economically active and families have lost the support of extended families or domestic helpers to pick up housework. There is a disregard for housework, which women have to do when they get home as well. Since these participants were raised with different cultural expectations for boys and girls, the family systems in the diaspora have a responsibility to reconceptualise how they socialise their children to align with new beliefs. It was apparent that these changes were challenging but provided new opportunities for parents, especially fathers to spend significant time with their children.

It was like a lot of changes that took place, of which some took it negatively, some took it positively. Because with some men they appreciated, like my son and his dad. Because they had that bonding from day one. (Zuva)

Zuva's experience was commonly shared in most narratives with the participants describing the UK as a society that allows more opportunities for both the parent and child to share family time and fewer opportunities in some instances. She avidly described the strong bond that her husband developed with the children as a result of being actively involved in raising them. For Zuva, there was a lot to gain by embracing gender role dynamics.

The findings in this section indicate that the change in gender roles was initially met with resistance from both genders. Some resistance still remains especially amongst women due to low confidence in man's nurturing ability, conformity to idealised womanhood and the negative perceptions of the extended family on men's involvement. Observing 'British' fathers being involved in raising their children also influenced their easing into more active fatherly roles and similar observations likely altered some mothers' beliefs. The UK opened new possibilities for fathers to spend more time with children and for the parents to reconfigure family life by challenging ascribed gendered cultural identities based on notions of gender roles.

7.3 Summary of Chapter

The parenting journey as reflected in the phrase from Anesu's I-poem, 'What can we do?', is a non-prescribed and subjective experience. Overall, the findings presented here indicate the influence of the past, present or anticipated experiences on the parenting journey. The actualisation of the past and future expectations is what shapes the present experience. There is a continuing balance of hope and fear of loss. The first sub-theme of transmitting culture reveals the invisible burden that parents have to fulfil their desire and perceived expectation to transmit aspects of their Zimbabwean culture which they were raised into their UK born children. The family space is where the children are socialised into their parents' heritage where they use various socio-cultural resources to maintain cultural identity. The second sub-theme reveals that traditional aspects of gender roles are deeply rooted in Zimbabwean society such that the participants' perception of mothers and fathers roles prove hard to challenge due to how the parents were socialised. However, upon migration, parents are involved in a process of reconstruction of gender roles as they are confronted with different family values and more mothers are also employed. I suggest that the diaspora provides space where internalised cultural and social scripts are challenged as the parents raise their children in spaces that are inhabited by others from different cultures which raises the tensions when issues of belonging are considered. The next chapter, therefore, moves on to discuss theme 4 which focuses on the participant's ongoing process of adjusting to the UK as their home.

Ruva's Poem

I gave birth it was okay

We had decided

I stayed home

We want to maintain our culture

I noticed

We never sent her to nursery until

We never get involved in these
benefits

We do it ourselves

I realised myself

I come from Zimbabwe

They speak, they communicate very
well

We always want to be responsible

We had to be flexible

I was going to Uni,

We sent her to nursery

You are forced to involve other people

I'm a full time mother, I can say

You could nurture them the way you
want

I'm taking my part

We send them to Christian schools

We always work after one another

We also agreed as a family

We are seeing it's working

We don't normally do takeaways

We take them out at times

We plan ahead

We involved them

I don't have any problem

I'm a typical African woman

We always want to

We want to maintain

I think I just try

You have to be firm

Ruva¹⁸

Notably, Ruva's poem starts in past tense as she recalls her parenting journey since giving birth. Possibly indicating the lasting impact of the experiences since then. She switches from the past tense to the present tense a lot in the poem. In her use of the present tense, for example, '*We take them out at times*', she turns to immediate experiences. There are moments in her narration where she shifted from 'I' statements to 'We' statements indicating that this was a shared experience with her husband and the children. Ruva spoke as a mother who raises her children as a team and also still voiced her opinions (*I realised myself*).

I felt that Ruva's parenting process operated within a system where everyone had a voice. I was captivated by the shared parenting visible in her poem.

¹⁸ Ruva is a mother of four

Chapter 8: Fourth Theme- This is Our Home Now

Summary of theme 4

The space experience, home, which could be supportive or neglectful, open or smothering and liberating or oppressive for the child was navigated by parents. The felt-parenting environment helped parents to adjust and adapt to parenting in the UK to make it their home.

This fourth theme, *This is Our Home Now*, is related to the notion of lived space (spatiality) which in phenomenology denotes part of the ontological structure of a human being (van Manen, 1997). This does not refer to mathematical space but a subjective phenomenon of 'felt space'¹⁹. From a phenomenological point, space can affect the way we feel, hence, lived space helps us to understand our lifeworld and it is an individually experienced place that is not concrete or fixed (van Manen, 1997). Similar to lived time which was discussed earlier (Chapter 7), lived space is also temporal and relative in nature.

This theme, *This is Our Home Now*, describes the participants' lived/perceived parenting environment in the UK and how their felt-space helped them to adjust and adapt to parenting in the UK as they make it their home. This extract from Ruva's poem, *We had to be flexible*, symbolises the parents' continuous process of trying to adjust to the parenting environment. The parents' experience of space, 'home', could be supportive or neglectful, open or smothering and liberating or oppressive for the child. Hence, the parent's experience of space also affects how children find themselves at home in their process of raising them. This is revealed in four sub-themes: *Education and school choices towards better life*; *Navigating Childcare*; *Opportunities to Provide for and Raise Successful Children* and *Parenthood and Children's Health and Wellbeing*. These four sub-themes reveal the relational nature of the parenting environment and the individual participants, with their own social and cultural contexts.

¹⁹ Felt space is related to how the space in which we find ourselves affects the way we feel.

8.1 Sub-theme 1: Education and School Choices Towards Better Life

This sub-theme reveals the parents' experience with the education system in the UK which they generally described as affording them an opportunity to choose schools for their children to attend. This likely impacts whether they are provided with support to create a better future for their children; and the process impacts how each participating parent makes sense of their experiences. The phrase, *I'm taking my part*, from Ruva's poem mirrors the parents' experiences of how this process is an active process.

It was apparent that all participants felt that the school space was welcoming and allowed them more opportunities to be involved than in Zimbabwe. Particularly their involvement by attending parents' evening meetings was repeatedly mentioned.

I think over here I got somehow more involved, there is more parents evenings here with the schools so I think in England there's an expectation that you help teach your child. (Ranga)

Schools in this country, they organise what are called parents' evenings, so we do go and see our kids' work. See where they're doing, we see areas where they're lacking, and then try and identify those and then help if we can. And schools are supportive anyway. (Anesu)

For two fathers; Ranga and Lucas, the perceived high level of involvement required by schools was deemed as a burden. Lucas described the competing needs in his lifeworld which also include creating time to ensure he is involved with the school in aiding his children's success. In his view, a parents' high level of involvement with schools was synonymous with children's success. He compared this to his experience being raised in Zimbabwe where parents' involvement was limited and independent of success. At the same time, he criticised the school system for not integrating sports as part of the school activities as is the norm in Zimbabwe. Several parents shared this critique of the schools as they had to subscribe to an external sports club for their children to be involved in sports.

Overall, most parents describe being satisfied with the quality of education that their children were afforded apart from Lucas who felt that some aspects of the curriculum were not appropriate for younger students due to sensitivity of the topics such as sexuality. He draws on his African identity and how sexuality discussions were not a part of his upbringing which consequently affects his perception of this education being offered to children. It is also important to note that homosexuality is illegal in Zimbabwe and most of the African countries. The perpetuation of the heterosexual norm likely links to some rigidity around gendered beliefs within the Zimbabwean context discussed in section 1.2.

There are some of the things that I am a little bit critical with because of the nature of curriculum they're now putting for children. There's some of the curriculum that I feel either that it could be a little bit more optional, or it can be given to them when they're a little bit grown up. Especially like the LGB education, the unisex education, the level of where it's introduced to our children. Maybe it's because I have an African perception. Sometimes I feel it's introduced at a very low or at a very tender age to them. Yes, it's important for them to understand the equal rights and do whatever as they feel and they want. (Lucas)

Most of the parents except Lucas and Ruva described how important it was for their children to succeed academically especially considering their migration journey indicating that this might have been a motivation for migrating. Also considering how this was a limited and costly opportunity growing up in Zimbabwe.

Making your children focused on education. Of course obviously you are an immigrant, and then you're coming here, you want the best for your kids. (Ayanda)

Several parents mentioned their process of choosing schools. Ruva, Mutsa and Tafara were explicit in recognising Catholic schools as their first choice. Some of the reasons cited were their Christian or Catholic background and their perceived high academic ranking.

They are taught morals at school, and sometimes it's better coming from a teacher than from a parent. So I would say thank you for that, the Catholic school, because they are doing quite good work. And I want them to go to a Catholic high school to continue with that. (Mutsa)

It was for religious reasons, well that was one of them. But the most important one was school rankings, because they do Ofsted ranking where you can go online and check to see how the school performs. And most Catholic schools if you check on Ofsted they're quite high ranking. (Tafara)

As with Tafara above, it was apparent that the school performance rankings were an important factor for a majority of the participants when choosing schools for their children to attend. Tsitsi in common with other participants described how they used the internet for information on performance rankings to select the ideal school for their children.

When he finished his primary school, because I had to go on the google, sometimes you want the best for your kids. I went on Google to find one of the best schools, like secondary schools. (Tsitsi)

The strong desire to select the best schools for children and to be more involved was validated during the collective voices review. The overworking culture was also apparent in this review. It was framed as a means to afford private schools that have an environment which is perceived to nurture high academic achievement.

I think as parents we need to go the extra mile and understand the system better. Even schools publish event calendars for the year. I prefer private schools with entrance tests as they produce brilliant results. I will die kushift²⁰ than have my children get second choice. [Closed online group pioneer (Mother)]

²⁰ die kushift is an expression used to denote overworking

Although the process to get into their ideal school was characterised as a difficult task, parents have familiarised themselves with the process and described how they were able to provide sufficient reasons to gain admission to their choice of schools. These included proximity to home and in Ruva's case below, having other siblings enrolled at the same school already.

It was a bit difficult because they say it's a Catholic school. We are not Catholics, so they said first preference would give to Catholics and so forth. So for us to get the place for the first one. So the other one it was better that she had a sibling there, so they had to end up giving us that place. Because at the end of the day it was not going to work to send one to a different school, another to a different school. So that was the only advantage that now because of the sibling the other ones will just get a place. So now we want to try again for the high school, if one gets there maybe the other ones will just get there. (Ruva)

The agency that parents have in selecting an ideal school and their interaction with schools determines how the school space environment is felt by the parents. Their perceived sense of belonging in the UK is also based on how parents navigate education spaces. Together these findings provide important insights into the perceived value of good education and what that looks like to the parents. Migrant life is characterised with seeking out the best schools based on the potential for children's success and religious values. The next section discusses the participant's experiences with navigating childcare.

8.2 Sub-theme 2: Navigating Childcare

The sub-theme, Navigating Childcare, is concerned with the child-care environment where most participants felt that it was a problematic space to navigate. Some of the participants raised issues around work patterns that did not fit around childcare needs, had no access to government subsidies and were lone parents. However, with access to external support and as they settled in the UK most parents described

how they built better social capital to adjust to the UK parenting environment. The statement, "*We do it ourselves*", from Ruva's poem signifies a common way of navigating childcare as described by the parents who are separated from their extended families who stayed behind in Zimbabwe.

Most parents' narratives framed the UK as a space with a difficult childcare environment. Some parents felt that their support network was limited especially because most of them do not have extended family locally. Tsitsi imagined how she would have benefited from having the support of extended family in raising her children if she was in Zimbabwe. She envied UK-born parents who likely have a wider network of extended family that can support them in raising their children. It is important to note here that, this is not always the case for UK-born parents due to internal migration.

It's not easy, and I don't have the help. I always look at people who were born here, they've got aunties, they've got grandmas, they've got everyone who can just jump in to helping you. (Tsitsi)

All nine participants represented in this theme described the challenge in finding a balance between work commitments and life in the UK. In their view, they are mostly economic migrants who have so much ambition to work which can be fulfilled by living and working in the UK. The work environment was characterised as demanding and inflexible in some of the participants' interviews. For these participants, parenting was related to as a chore such that they neglected their personal needs. In the extract below, prior to interviewing Anesu, he had just returned from picking up his children from school and he was also going to work later after the interview. The competing needs described in the extract below reveal some limits placed on the parent's social life, predisposing them to mental stress and isolation.

One that I find very challenging is trying to balance your work time. In fact time in terms of work, the kids, and these other chores that you have to do on a daily basis. You, like what I've just done, you have to take kids to school in the morning, pick them up later in the

afternoon. You have to go to work. You still have to do these other things. Shopping, what have you, and you end up with very little time left for either socialising or going out, hanging around with friends and so forth. And if you don't do that, because that's a very essential aspect of life, you need to socialise, you need to interact, and so you end up with a lot of stress. (Anesu)

Two collective voices reviewers, closed online group pioneer (Mother) and Social media personality (Mother) verified the poor work-life balance that embodies migrant life.

Childcare is a lot, besides better money my social life is now so limited as am so tired to do anything when free and want to keep up with housework, kids, marriages. The list is endless. [Closed online group pioneer (Mother)]

This is yet another reference to greater financial capital being achieved at the expense of social capital. It appeared that work schedules described by some few parents did not fit around childcare.

If he's at nursery and I'm at work I've got to rush, I don't know how they do it, the time clashes all the time. He starts nursery at nine, I start work at seven in the morning. I finish work at around maybe six; he finishes school at around three. (Tsitsi)

Like in Tafara's case below; Lucas, Zuva and Ruva also felt that to adjust to the childcare environment, they had to arrange work schedules such that one of the parents is always there for the children.

When I came here it was just me and my wife, and we had to work around childcare because there's two of us, because my wife is a nurse, and I'm a nurse as well. That means one person had to do

nights, and the other had to do day shifts, and the two of us would swap. (Tafara)

Whilst acknowledging the challenges with finding a balance between work and childcare, during participant review, Ayanda highlighted the support that she received from her employer by allowing flexible working arrangements. Such negotiations would not be found in a Zimbabwean context where one has extended family support or domestic help to help provide a work-life balance by participating in child-rearing.

I have also benefitted from flexi-working²¹ when it comes to childcare. (Ayanda)

Sharing childcare responsibility amongst couples was commonly described by some of the parents. Ruva and other participants related to the high costs of childcare; hence the decision to not involve external people. In actuality, this was also framed as an opportunity to increase parent-child contact and to instil values that are important to them.

Since I started having my children I never went to work full time. I do part time. So I just work after my husband's rota. So I'm a full time mother I can say, because we found out that even if you want to involve this child-minder and so forth, the money, will be just working. We just give it back to the child-minder. So my husband said that it's better for you to be home with the children, and see to the needs of the children, and you could nurture them the way you want them to grow, than sending them anywhere. (Ruva)

In a way, it was a way of maintaining and transmitting cultural values and social norms. One *Collective Voices* reviewer appeared to assume that the expectation to financially support family in Zimbabwe takes away from being available to care for children amongst migrant households

²¹ Flexi-working is a working schedule which allows employees to choose when to start and end their workday.

Balancing the needs of extended family members and friends back home and the demands of life here. There are multiple pressing needs back home and you feel moved to help but these need to be balanced against building a comfortable life and legacy for immediate family here. [Healthy lifestyle Advisor (Father)]

Ranga and Ruva described their apprehensions with sourcing childcare support from sources they were not familiar with. Other participants did not mention being particular about who supported them with childcare, although the wider preference was to source support from a Zimbabwean family. Again this speaks to how important having a social network of other Zimbabweans can be resourceful in supporting each other with childcare. The experience of this support system is therefore varied based on the availability of social networks. Ranga reflected on the childcare environment in Zimbabwe where they had a large network of extended family to support them in raising children.

We were always working and leaving children to people that probably we were not very close with. Which I would never do in Zimbabwe, I wouldn't leave my daughter at my neighbour's house, I wouldn't do that back home because there will be plenty of people to support. The other issue was trust really. So leaving kids with people that you don't really know or are not very close to you; there was all that anxiety when we are at work thinking that you know, what could be happening there? Are they safe you know, are they okay? (Ranga)

This was challenged by one collective reviewer who was considering getting an au pair²².

²² An Au-pair is a young foreign person, typically a woman, who helps with housework or childcare in exchange for food, a room, and some pocket money.

I'm thinking of getting an au pair next year and need to see whether they get along, but wonder what it's like. [Closed online group pioneer (Mother)]

The use of an au-pair mirrors the use of domestic workers in a Zimbabwean context. Parents also discussed the various ways they navigated the child-care environment. For most participants, as they settled in the UK, their social network widened such that their source of support with raising children expanded. One such network was through the church which most of the participants also discussed and likened to family. For Tafara, integrating into the Zimbabwean Catholic community created a great source of mutually beneficial support in raising children. This is closely linked to the previously discussed sub-themes, *Religion, Spirituality and Church as a Source of Strength and Resilience; and Parental Support System and Resources.*

But a year after that we had stayed here we managed to sort of integrate into the Zimbabwean community.when we got into that community it was a lot easier, because you could actually leave the kids with friends sometimes, or they could stay at somebody's house that we knew from church, and we would also do the same for them when they needed that help, which is a bit easier. (Tafara)

Access to government financial support was also a means to better navigate the childcare environment. Tsitsi described how her experiences changed when she obtained an immigration status which allowed her to access public funds. I suggest that citizenship rights affect how one feels at home as mechanisms of inclusion such as access to financial benefits are negotiated.

Sometimes during that time they are not properly, you don't have proper citizenship to claim so many things in this country. So whatever little you got was going to bills, to pay rent, everything. But then when I had paperwork, I managed to get help from the government, it was really much better. I still had to find a childminder. (Tsitsi)

Zuva described how the experience of navigating childcare environments personally made her feel. She narrated how she developed resilience, which is also reflected in some of the participating parents' experiences.

It strengthened me personally. It made me very strong to an extent that nothing was impossible for me, nothing was difficult for me. I never used to say oh my goodness, what am I going to do now that the father, what am I going to do now this one is going? I just used to get on with it. As a result I didn't take child bearing and raising as a task, I just took it as my normal life to say OK they're mine, I have to raise them. I'm not going to complain to anybody, because they're mine. (Zuva)

Clearly, for Zuva, the competing needs of caring for children were not seen as a chore. She positioned herself as resilient and drew on her motherhood identity to fully embrace the competing needs and in a way silencing herself in the process of raising children, as a natural part of life. One collective reviewer specifically commented on the impacts of low involvement and poor parenting skills displayed by African-Caribbean families. Reiterating how the overworking culture deprives parent-child contact. Commenting on her observations:

Not talking and spending time with them leaves them to fall into bad influences, leaving them to be raised by technology is poor African-Caribbean children are suffering due to poor parenting skills. The increase in child and adolescent mental health is alarming. [Social media personality (Mother)]

In this section, it has been shown that separation from extended family and new aspects of migrant life have raised a need to reimagine family life in arranging childcare. Although the common view was that navigating childcare was challenging; gaining financial capital and social capital as they integrated has helped to settle in the UK as they make it home and sense of belonging. The section that follows considers the perceived success-driven opportunities available to children, which solidify the UK as home for the parents and their families.

8.3 Sub-theme 3: Opportunities to Provide for and Raise Successful Children

The sub-theme, *Opportunities to Provide for and Raise Successful Children*, describes the UK parenting environment as affording the parents an opportunity to provide a good life and better future for children. This expectation has a large impact on each parent deciding to raise their children in the UK. The phrase, *We always want to be responsible*, from Ruva's I-poem symbolises the parents tying their notion of being a good parent to the provision of opportunities that foster their children's success.

Moving to the UK was often thought of as an opportunity to generate better income and increase the family's social status to raise successful children; hence this possibility was one of the pulling factors. Accordingly, most parents described taking on a huge load of work to increase their income. The perceived expectation of financial achievements from someone who has migrated also contributes to the high volume of work commitments. Some recalled how overworking translated to missing opportunities to create memories with children, impacting on one of the key drivers for migration? In Zuva's case below, she described the goals and dreams they had before migrating which gave them internal pressure to achieve. She explicitly describes herself as an economic migrant and understandably she had so much drive to improve her family's standard of life.

Because of the demands of work, the routine is quite different. In England we work long hours, and as immigrants when you come sometimes you want to catch up. You want to work, work, work, work, and catch up with whatever you want to do. It becomes so much pressure, and you want to achieve so much in a short space of time. Some of the goals that we set for ourselves, they're not realistic at all. You only realise it later to say oh I'm just draining myself out, and nothing's going to work, let me slow down..... immigrants you just come because of what you hear. And we're economic migrants, remember when we left we were thinking oh, we saw people who came, and they would work three or six months, she's back home, she's achieved this, she's achieved that. (Zuva)

During participants' review, Lucas reiterated the hidden costs that parents suffer in the midst of trying to maximise their income by overworking to be able to afford some opportunities for their children. These include the increased risk due to the Covid-19 pandemic, missing important family moments and spending less time with their partners. It is important to note that Lucas made this additional contribution at the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic where early indications were that there was a higher risk of Covid-19 among minority ethnic groups.

Some people say that we will work hard today and enjoy the fruits but tomorrow is never promised. People are collapsing and dying with COVID kumashifts (doing a lot of shift work) before having a chance to enjoy. The more we earn the more we feel obliged to provide for everyone back home. The more our relationships with children suffer, marriages crumble and all suffer. (Lucas)

The perceived opportunities available for children raised in the UK compared to Zimbabwe were often discussed in relation to children's future prospects. Better opportunities, in this case, were framed in terms of education, work and housing.

As a father I feel bringing up my children in this country does offer them a lot of opportunities in life in terms of education, jobs, and obviously financial security later on their lives. (Anesu)

This was described as a positive feature of the UK parenting environment. It is important to note that opposing perspectives can exist parallel to the realisation of opportunities. I suggest that these are fuelled by feelings of (un)belonging through the experiences of racism (section 1.6) and different approaches to child-rearing. Ranga, Anesu, Tafara, Zuva and Ayanda described how children's failure was not an option; reinforcing that access to those children's opportunities was a driver for migration.

Of course obviously you are an immigrant, and then you're coming here, you want the best for your kids. (Ayanda)

Lucas argued that being in the UK opens opportunities aside from the academic route which is usually viewed as the only guaranteed route to success in a Zimbabwean context. He described how parents were likely to stick to what they have experience of, but he was open to exposing children to different things and opening up the world for them because of the trust he had in the guiding policies and emphasis of safeguarding of children in the UK.

It's not only about academic success, or academic education that makes someone else to be successful in life. There are all sorts of opportunities that could make a child to be successful, or to be able to make a living. Understand that I will put more effort and more pressure in things that I understand. But my encouragement would be let's try it. Society's a little bit more conducive; they have very good policies and procedures to follow. (Lucas)

For Mutsa, frequent visits to Zimbabwe with her children which exposed the children to the mostly detrimental economic conditions which other children were being brought up in with no clear future prospects where the parents perceived them as being effective in ensuring that they realise and embrace the opportunities afforded to them by living in the UK.

When we had the money kept going back, so they could see the differences between the UK and Zimbabwe. So they understood how lucky they are to be in England compared to what others were living in Zimbabwe. (Mutsa)

Better opportunities for children in the UK introduce another layer of belonging for parents as this translates to their children living in the UK long-term. Several parents have made UK their home in the physical and likely symbolic sense thereby prolonging their initial plans for return migration to Zimbabwe.

Parenting in UK has actually made it acceptable for most parents including myself to live here. Maybe on a permanent base, because I

can't go back and live somebody who is still young and kind of a career to look forward to and I need to be there. (Ranga)

For Ranga, the desire to relocate is no longer an option because of his priority in safeguarding his children's future in the UK. It implies a focus on ensuring that children reach their full potential and that parental involvement in that process is important to him. This finding was commented on by one collective reviewer who highlighted the possibility of return migration to address behavioural issues that children can present with, thus viewing Zimbabwe as a safe haven for protecting children and ensuring their wellbeing.

What I realise in life is that we all want to be with our children everyday, but when you look at how some of our children are getting lost in this country, some ending up with mental health issues, others in prison etc Zimbabwe is a place that we as parents still have access to. And every family's situation is different and sometimes it can be necessary to move back to Zimbabwe to protect children [Migrant support group pioneer (Mother)]

Negative experiences of the diaspora can fuel feelings of (un)belonging and a desire to return 'home' to an idealised Zimbabwe with its cultural values and beliefs. This extract also illustrates parents' feeling of disempowerment to navigate the parenting space. So parents would realise that, for all they might gain by coming to the UK, the associated losses are not worth it.

Overall, these results indicate that the participating parents prioritise safeguarding their children's future. They provide important insights into their collective ambitions for children and inadvertently signal a challenge to attain high levels of success given the lived realities of migrant life explored in previous sub-themes. The possibilities of their children getting more opportunities in the UK create a dilemma, based on feelings of belonging or (un)belonging for families, between deciding to stay or to return to Zimbabwe. I will now move on to discuss the inconsistency in relation to means and ways of maintaining their children's health and wellbeing.

8.4 Sub-theme 4: Parenthood and Children's Health and Wellbeing

This sub-theme describes the experiences of Zimbabwean parents moving to the UK and how they felt about maintaining their children's health and wellbeing. Some parents revealed a misperception regarding the perceived expectations and practices concerning physical activity and nutritional requirements. Depending on the level of public health awareness or access to public health support some parents felt capable and empowered to ensure a good health and wellbeing state for their children. The line, *We always want to*, from Ruva's poem symbolises how maintaining their children's health and wellbeing is an active process and a real priority.

Most parents described a food environment with so many choices. Some parents were particular about the convenience of takeaways and the negative impacts it poses on their children's eating habits and overall health. Zuva, Anesu, Ruva, Paul and Mutsa were particular in their preference of home-cooked meals over fast food which they perceived to be unhealthy for their children. While healthy food was deemed to be costly and hence out of reach for some families, other parents were able to provide healthier options.

The mother always encourages food that we prepare in the home isn't it? We hardly eat any takeaways and stuff like that. I think you know the disadvantages, what's associated with that. Takeaways bring its own problem isn't it? Obesity problems, what happens if you're obese, all these other things come into play isn't it, diabetes. They mainly eat well, and when you look at it, buying healthy food is expensive. If you have to go into a shop and buy organic food it's really expensive. So sometimes you just have to feed the kids what's there. (Anesu)

Ranga also recalled how affordability influenced their unhealthy family eating habits in their first five years post-migration. It was likely the family had not financially established themselves by then hence the cheaper unhealthy options were convenient. Settlement was an important factor in reaching financial stability and was

instrumental in having autonomy of food choices.

So health promotion, healthy eating, I would say the first five years of living here, healthy eating was something that we never talked about. Because we're coming from a place where the food was not cheaper than here because it was affordable, you could just go to supermarket with three pounds and come back with a loaf of bread and baked beans and all those things. So we were eating all the wrong things. So and kids will gain weight then, because you are not aware of that what you were eating, we were like eating whatever you can afford at that particular time. (Ranga)

Tsitsi feels that gardening offers a sense of security in being able to provide healthy meals for her family. The food described by Tsitsi mirrors the standard meal promoted as healthy in Zimbabwe, without being specific on other factors such as portion sizes. Tsitsi's garden consisted of varieties of vegetables that are unique to Zimbabwe, which she proudly showed me after the interview. The extract illustrates that preparation of traditional food such as sadza and the growing of vegetables or plants unique to Zimbabwe is likely used to maintain their cultural identities and connection to Zimbabwe as discussed in subtheme *transmitting culture*.

I've got a small garden outside with vegetables, so I always try and cook sadza, which is our staple food, and vegetables and meat. (Tsitsi)

For Zuva, her ability to ensure good nutrition is also supported by other sectors which provide information such as the children's schools. She also highlights that the support is important to challenge what she perceives to be a healthy diet based on her cultural upbringing. In this case, the UK becomes a space where aspects of cultural identity are contested and renegotiated in Zimbabwean families through their food choices. This is again closely linked to the sub-theme of transmitting culture.

When it comes to like nutrition it's a partnership. It's a multi-sectoral partnership. You cannot say my child is doing well nutritionally

because I'm giving him a healthy diet. You also get help. Because what I might call a healthy diet culturally like I was saying I can be giving sadza sadza without knowing what a balanced diet is. (Zuva)

Mutsa and other participants also described how they modelled eating habits for their children.

I just try and provide a balanced diet, which includes vegetables and fruit. I eat a lot of vegetables, and I eat a lot of fruit, and within the meals I try and give them that. Most kids have problems with vegetables, but because they see me eating a lot of vegetables, I am not having that much of a problem. (Mutsa)

Generally, Zuva and Ranga felt that there is a wealth of public health educational resources available to parents that support them in promoting children's nutrition. Particularly Zuva, also a health professional commented;

I think this country's quite informative. It's one of the, though I wonder why there is malnutrition in the land of plenty, because that's why they're getting obesity, because obesity is a form of malnutrition. (Zuva)

At the same time, Lucas recognises other spheres where children can reinforce healthy behaviours. These include social clubs and television programmes.

The way that we might try to talk to them, we might not really get or might not reach them, or we might not implement the points. But there are some of the good programmes that are around, which we make use of in order to teach them good behaviour. With regards to their health, with regards even to education, with regards even to behaviour. (Lucas)

For all participants exercise, sports and outdoor play were important aspects of sustaining their children's health and wellbeing. It was repeatedly mentioned that

there are costs associated with maintaining children's fitness, in that regard they felt that access to the space is limited if you have financial constraints. Although some participants acknowledged parks and free outdoor spaces for children to play and exercise, outdoor play was usually characterised as a shared space that has security issues which gave parents a feeling of insecurity. It is vital to note that none of the participants mentioned the use of private outdoor space which could be utilised for outdoor play. A limiting factor to outdoor play was that a parent is required to be present as a safeguard measure, which is not the case in a Zimbabwean context (see subtheme: 'They are keeping an eye on us', Section 2.9.2.2).

The first question is about having your kids go out and play and enjoy themselves. You, unlike in Zimbabwe, here any council or communal areas we have to pay for the activities. And you cannot let your kids just stay in the house after school, so I had to pay for them to do swimming lessons. Just to keep them fit and get some time to play and associate with others out there. (Tafara)

Like with food behaviours, parents also feel that they can model physical activities for their children.

I'm a very sports person. I run, I box, I'm just very sporty. So if I find that my kids are also turning out to be like me, so they do a lot of football, swimming, hockey, tennis, and I encourage them to walk to the park. (Mutsa)

Three of the parents described their attentiveness to mental health issues particularly because of the professional lens they are looking from. In her professional capacity, Ayanda describes how parents are unsure of what can be regarded as mental health issues because it is not a common phenomenon from a Zimbabwean or African standpoint. This experience is similar to previously discussed sub-themes which point out the implicit tension from adapting to the UK culture.

Then you know in your own culture you think is it really mental health, or is it needy behaviours? So that's also the struggle some African or Zimbabwean parents are facing through their mental health because they can't fit in. (Ayanda)

Traditional cultural beliefs still persist among many over what can be deemed mental health issues in Zimbabwe (see section 1.4). Coupled with a collapsed mental health system, mental health issues are very much silenced in Zimbabwe.

This section has reviewed some key aspects of concern in relation to the continuous act of sustaining children's health and wellbeing. Parents go through the process of knowing the 'what' and the 'where' to help inform the 'how' in best supporting their children's best interests' especially considering their upbringing in a different environment with longstanding cultural beliefs and practices. Parents describe an environment that can be potentially unhealthy without the helpful advice, modelling, financial and other input of the parent. In this way, they can be effective parents at maintaining their children's health and wellbeing in the UK.

8.5 Summary of Chapter

The phrase, *I come from Zimbabwe*, from Ruva's poem sums up the adjustments that parents (having been raised in Zimbabwe) have to put in to effectively parent in the UK. Together these results provide important insights into how the parents navigated different spaces in a bid to maintain their children's health and wellbeing. The sub-themes explored describe the UK as a place where the parents could envision as, and have made it their home. The lived space is one which offers choice (Subtheme 1, Education and School Choices Towards Better Life), opportunity (Subtheme 3, Opportunities to provide for and Raise Successful Children), but hard work to create financial capital, limited social capital (parents have to build this) (Subtheme 2, Navigating Childcare) and the need for self-help in order to maintain health and well-being (Subtheme 4, Parenthood and Children's Health and Wellbeing). I have shown that notions of 'home' and belonging are defined in many ways. Concurrently, they strengthen their cultural identities and connection to

Zimbabwe in the process. In the next section, I will present a discussion on the four themes presented in the last four chapters (Chapter five to Chapter eight), including synthesis with the wider literature.

Lucas's Poem

I grew up in a village

I had no problem

I feel that the system

I have to be answerable

I really appreciate

I would aspire

We are working around the children

I believe

I've come to realise

I will put more effort

Our work patterns

I have managed

I have not managed

I've also realised that

I could not have done that

We talk about a lot of things

I might not get the chance

I need to know where they are

We were children of the village

I prioritise

I'm a little bit sceptical

I have an African perception

I still believe

I still feel that there should be even more

I believe a child's health is a child's future

We also send them to clubs and social groups

We have also identified

You have to be planning

You see that sacrifice

You make them to wish to do much better

I am yet to understand more

I grew up

I can't be too proud myself

You lead by example

I'm ready to sacrifice

I opted to

I need to understand

I don't have to

I believe that they can

You put importance

Lucas²³

Lucas's voice was tied to his past a lot in the poem. He emphasises his attachment to the past with lines such as '*I still believe*'. His poem also shows an awakened voice which reflects a reflexive attitude to his experience as he questions the meaning of his experience and reflects on experiences. The contrast in these two lines make the awakened voice visible in the poem, '*I have managed*' and '*I have not managed*'. A wishful voice also comes out of Lucas's poem where he talks about his goal and desires as a parent, '*I'm ready to sacrifice*'. In his use of '*Our*' and '*We*' statements, his partnership with his wife and collective identity with other Zimbabweans becomes visible. A sense of the collective can also be heard in the shared '*You*' statements.

I felt that Lucas was intentional with his actions in parenting. His reflective voice comes across in this poem, revealing how he takes time to think about his parenting.

²³ Lucas is a father of four

Chapter 9: Working with Silences

In this study, I set out with the aim of understanding the parenting experiences of Zimbabwean parents in the UK. This study is informed by hermeneutic phenomenology derived from the work of van Manen (1990) to guide the research process and was conducted within the silences framework as a guiding framework. The previous chapter has revealed the evidence from the data gathered from both the silence and collective dialogue to address the research question. In this chapter which represents the fourth stage of TSF, I will reflect on the research question and present a discussion of silences arising from the study. Conclusions drawn from the study will be determined from a reflection of the current context of literature relating to the country of Zimbabwe and literature background set out in stage 1 of TSF, and the current findings. I will evaluate the contribution of the voice poems, the strengths and limitations of this research study and explore my benefits in carrying out this study. The conclusions will highlight how far the study has travelled as a key pragmatic and theoretical element of TSF and how it can shape future research and also further application of TSF. The phrase, '*I believe a child's health is a child's future*', from Lucas's poem symbolises how the parents value sustaining children's health which is of interest and significance for this study.

9.1 Returning to the Aims and Questions of the Research

It may be useful to be reminded of the aims and research questions at this point. Within this study, I aimed to explore the experiences of ten Zimbabwean migrant parents' in bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives of how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing. Having observed, with curiosity, how a few Zimbabweans were raising their children in a space with different approaches to child-rearing, I was compelled to gain insights into how the parents made sense of their world. With a view to gain an understanding of their individual experiences of parenting as migrants within the UK and the meanings of their experiences, I developed the following two questions:

1. What is Zimbabwean migrant parents' experience of bearing and raising children in the UK?
2. How do Zimbabwean parents sustain their children's health and wellbeing?

I employed "The Silences framework" (TSF) as the theoretical underpinning to guide this study. To reveal the core of the silences embedded in the migrant parenting discourse, I utilised the phenomenological approach by Max van Manen (1990) to explore the meaning of Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences. The analysis process resulted in the identification of four themes (See summary: Table 6) which were presented in the previous four chapters.

9.2 Silences Arising From the Study

This study explored the Zimbabwean participants' lived experiences as parents in the UK which provided a lens for understanding the layers that structure their experiences as presented in the themes described in the last four chapters (Table 6). This section will expose silences that are changed, exposed or newly created as a result of this exploration. The silences arising from this study reflect and/or further extend the existing research in the study of migrant parenting experiences. While some silences are generic to parenting, there are some really important aspects that embody the Zimbabwean migrants' life that came up in this study.

Table 6: Summary of Four Themes from Chapter Five to Eight

<p>Theme One: Shared Worlds</p>	<p><i>Zimbabwean parents' experience of a shared world allowed them to adjust in a seemingly unfamiliar culture while empowering themselves to have better experiences and free their children to give them better opportunities.</i></p>
<p>Theme Two: Parenting in the UK System</p>	<p><i>The parents' lived experience within the UK system includes making assumptions about what is happening, what is expected of them and reacting in appropriate ways by adjusting to the system to feel connected.</i></p>
<p>Theme Three: The Parenting Journey</p>	<p><i>Parents' lived experiences of understanding the present moment and their anticipation of the future is influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences while the perceived lived time changes as more experience is gained. This movement through time is conceptualised as a journey of learning and experience.</i></p>
<p>Theme Four: This is our home now</p>	<p><i>The space experience, home, which could be supportive or neglectful, open or smothering and liberating or oppressive for the child was navigated by parents. The felt-parenting environment helped parents to adjust and adapt to parenting in the UK to make it their home.</i></p>

Some of the original silences identified in the literature have been exposed in this study. From my reflection on the four themes which situated the parenting experiences, I will bring to the fore each of the key silences in sections 9.2.1 to 9.2.14. This stage incorporates the discussion of these silences in relation to existing literature. The pull of the past and the future is strong in the experiences of the parents in this study. Anthias (2012) has challenged migration scholars to consider the contextual factors which shape cultural identities and experiences. Hall (1997) further argues that cultural identities are constructed via the nexus of the past and the present. The parents in this study find themselves raising children and living in a cultural context that has many differences to Zimbabwe, which they must negotiate every day. Therefore, to understand the parents' reconstructions of their cultural identities in the UK, it is important to consider how aspects of their past or their upbringing in Zimbabwe have shaped their identities.

9.2.1 Loss of Class Status

The colonial encounter in Zimbabwe introduced racist policies, capitalism and division of labour which created visible class divisions between those working professional jobs, those in menial jobs or those living in the rural areas (Barnes 1992; West, 2002). Post-independent Zimbabwe's family institutions were transformed by this class division which resulted in the elite Black Zimbabweans employing domestic helpers to help with child-rearing (Noddings, 1984). The nuclear family became a space of transformation from 'African tradition' to modernity (West, 2002). In this study, participants mourn the loss of aspects of their Zimbabwean life where they had the support of domestic helpers and extended family in raising their children. This was a central way that some of the participants managed to balance work and meet their cultural gendered expectations in raising children and family life. The loss of class status experienced by some Zimbabweans upon migration was also echoed by McGregor's (2008) research with the Zimbabwean diaspora in Britain. Mapedzahama (2014) also found that while women in Australia struggle to meet family demands due to work, those in Zimbabwe benefitted from paid domestic workers or family support in caring for children. This enabled them to seamlessly participate in work outside the home.

9.2.2 Importance of Motherhood to Women's Cultural Identities

The Zimbabwean parents tended to contrast their gendered identities in the UK with how gender and parenthood are conceptualised in Zimbabwe. Unlike in Zimbabwe where mothers were responsible for the household and child-rearing, the parents in this study both have to share responsibilities. These gender-household relations that structure the process of settlement have also been documented for migrant Somali families in Sweden (Wiklund et al., 2000). The involvement of men in child-rearing was viewed as problematic by some men and women in this study. Similarly, Degna (2006) in a study with Somali parents raising their children in Finland also found that men's involvement in child-rearing was regarded as a disruption of socio-cultural borders. Other women in this study internalised their motherhood as their main identity and some were resistant to men's involvement. In a study with women in Harare (Zimbabwe), Martin-Shaw (2015) found that the women centred their identity around motherhood and religion which impacted their being in the world, and they did not challenge cultural beliefs and norms. While in the diaspora, Espin (1999) suggests that some women can be rigid to renegotiation of gender roles, so as to protect their sense of psychological safety. The importance of motherhood to women's cultural identities which also emphasises culture and religion is highlighted by some African feminists (Akujobi, 2011; Oyewumi, 2000). This present study illustrates the intersection of gender, religion and culture in reinforcing traditional gender roles. In the colonisation era, when Christian missionaries settled in Zimbabwe, they formed women's groups where women were taught to be good homemakers and mothers (West, 2002). This promoted the ideology of a real Zimbabwean Christian woman who serves the needs of her husband, bears and rears children (Horn, 2005). However, Martin-Shaw (2015) argues that participating in the groups was an opportunity for women to gain valuable skills, education and empower each other.

9.2.3 Complicit conforming to gendered roles

Individuals internalise cultural scripts which shape their social roles that reinforce cultural identities (Weedon, 2004). Most African traditions and cultural practices have

mechanisms to punish those who do not conform to prescribed roles (Oheneba-Sakyi & Takyi, 2006). These internal cultural scripts cause conflict within self among participants in this study as they face circumstances that require them to renegotiate gender roles in parenting. Events and exposure beyond the confines of the household (meeting other fathers at the park with their children) also led to the decision to adapt and renegotiate some traditional parenting practices. Similar to this study, Williams and Carmichael (1985) suggest that the involvement of fathers in child-rearing has transformed and redefined mothering in the diasporic space. The silences of Zimbabwean men parenting experiences in the UK have been changed by their participation in this study.

9.2.4 Cultural Expectations

In this study, Zuva raised an issue about the pressure to conform to traditional gender roles when in-laws visit her family in the UK. In Farmer's (2013) research, participants also noted the internal pressure to conform to cultural expectations with their in-laws. The power hierarchies and conflicts between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws represent long-running hierarchy systems that act to define gender roles as noted by Narayan (1997). The intertwining of culture and gender in some parenting practices works to confine mothers to the nurturing prescribed roles and silence them (Kolawole, 2002). Some parents in this study made effort to redefine their cultural identities to meet parenting needs without restrictions of the cultural expectations.

9.2.5 Compromise Culture

Pasura's (2008) study exploring how gender relations are renegotiated by the Zimbabwean diaspora in Britain echoed this study's findings which found that there is a continuous renegotiation of gender relations to accommodate work and life demands in the UK. According to Uwakweh (2014), shared African values are founded on principles of negotiation, compromise and balance. In this study, these principles became useful resources in the participants' parenting journey by helping them adjust to expectations and adapt to family needs in the UK by renegotiating

their gender relations. This suggests how settling in the diaspora disrupts traditional family configurations and how it requires cultural traditions to be renegotiated.

9.2.6 Socialisation process

Children of foreign-born parents, such as Ranga's children play the role of guiding parents with aspects of the UK cultural space, they are better positioned for this role as they participate in mainstream culture through attending school (Roland, 1996). Thus, children are responsible for socialising their parents to UK values, beliefs and practices. At the same time, parents hope to be in a place to teach their children aspects of Zimbabwean cultural values, traditions and native language. The integration of Zimbabwean and UK cultural aspects is common in this study. Accepting their mixed alignment to two cultural spaces can facilitate the parents' ability to fully engage in enjoyable experiences of raising their children (Akhtar, 1999). However, this acceptance was not a part of some of the participants' experiences. Other parents wanted their children to embrace the Zimbabwean culture and thus reinforce the Zimbabwean identity only. The findings presented here correspond with the internal-external dialect of identification coined by Jenkins (1996) whereby the identity of children is negotiated based on how parents identify their children, how they self-identify and how others see them. There is, however, an interesting shift in identity from the parent to the child.

9.2.7 Stereotypes and belonging

Migration has for a long time facilitated parents to obtain better conditions for their children (Uribe et al., 1993). The parents in this study also noticed how opportunities available to their children expanded once settled in the UK. Some of the participants saw no opportunities for their children in Zimbabwe. The debilitated political and socio-economic state in Zimbabwe was a key factor that led to their migration journey. However, the participants and their children experience the racism embedded in different systems, institutions and social environments. Similarly, Kanneh (1998) shared that the negative stereotypes can be internalised by migrants which affect how they see themselves. This is a fear that parents in this study have about their children going through that in their everyday lives. Internalising racial

stereotypes can contribute to their feelings of (un)belonging (Akhtar, 1999; Bar-Yosef, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 1, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's work on how migration can impact on individuals' racial identity reveals that Africans are viewed from only one lens of poverty and underdevelopment. This single story is a building block to African cultural identities from a Western perspective (Hall, 1997; Kanneh, 1998). Parents in this study recalled conversations that were initiated by their children about skin colour, which indicated their racial consciousness, particularly when they were in primary school. Barley (2019) also captured how children in a primary school context were aware of racial differences, and further highlighted how they are then socialised to have perspectives about people from different racial backgrounds which perpetuate inequalities. Understandably, parents in this study fear that their children will be subject to these inequalities. Brown (1998) argues that schools have been passive in tackling racism and suggested adopting an anti-discriminatory approach. This view is also supported by Au (2009) and Barley (2019) who reveal that this advice has not been heeded. Dewey (2006), called for policy targeted at unpicking structures of privilege in schools to tackle the marginalisation of minoritised students. However, it appears not much has been done to date to tackle Black students marginalisation in school spaces as reflected in this study. Jenkins (2014) notes that ideas of identity and belonging also consider the active processes of identification. Hence, It raises questions of belonging and (un)belonging for children born to Zimbabwean parents in school spaces in the UK.

9.2.8 Religion and belonging

Parents in this study try to cultivate an element of belonging based on religion. This is echoed by other studies on the Zimbabwean diaspora which echoed that membership to a religious group created a sense of belonging, serves their spiritual needs and connects them to other Zimbabweans (Biri, 2015; Machoko, 2013; Pasura, 2014). In this study, interacting with other Zimbabweans in religious spaces also helped the participants to fulfil their parenting responsibilities and gave their children elements of belonging. Moyo's (2009) study found out that parents in the diaspora also used various social media to discuss their everyday experiences.

Similar to religious spaces, these platforms create a sense of belonging for Zimbabwean parents and their families.

9.2.9 Discipline dilemma

Parents in this study struggled to exercise authority in disciplining their children as they viewed state policies enforced by the Social Services as mechanisms that serve to empower children while disempowering them. Due to the child-centred focus and politics led agendas on families and parenting, Raffaeta (2016) recognises the family as a site for negotiation between the role of parents and that of the state. Tettey and Puplampu (2006) note that the modes of discipline commonly used by Africans such as smacking can be criminalised or lead to an investigation by Social Services. This induced fear for some parents in this study, however, other participants did not agree with instilling discipline through spanking. This possibly reflects on how well they feel the system suits their approach to child-rearing. Again, the parents may experience the seemingly heavy policing as an issue that affects them particularly as immigrants but other groups in society are likely to also feel controlled and policed in this way, especially those who feel less powerful and more vulnerable. A study on French Caribbean's revealed that a concept called 'functional kinship' whereby the community acts as a disciplinarian is common in the Caribbean islands (Brunod & Cook-Darzens, 2002). Hence they will find policing on their disciplining approaches by the State as disempowering in destination countries. Raffaeta (2016), in a review on migration and parenting in the USA and the UK, argued that parenting practices vary even within ethnic groups. This illustrates that disciplining measures may not be defined by a shared culture. Furthermore, Tettey and Puplampu (2006) argue that the notion of labelling African ways of discipline abusive homogenises diverse cultures and families whose practises differ. This also further marginalises African diaspora families who might feel that the destination country's practices are deemed the good standard (Raffaeta, 2016). I suggest that the parents in this study wanted to reserve some forms of discipline to preserve their cultural values in a diasporic space. However, potential implications from Social Services were also a concern.

9.2.10 The Individual vs the Collective

Cultural values and systems which are grounded in communal interests are integral to defining childhood from a Zimbabwean perspective (Mtetwa & Gwanzura, 2017). The implementation of children's rights in African cultures also marginalises the girl child from having a voice in communal matters (Himonga, 2016). This study has revealed that the participants struggle to accept the voice that their children have in the UK, and it is not a gendered concern for them. In a study with African parents from various cultures in Canada, Mbakogu (2014) noted that the parents were afraid that adopting Canadian aspects of parenting practices that give power to the child would likely result in their children making wayward decisions or dropping out of school. This impacted the parent-child relationship in this study. However, Goduka (2000) suggests that although 'Ubuntu'²⁴ in the Southern African cultures supersedes the individual needs, there is room for the individual to flourish. For the participants in this study, being confronted with individualistic parenting styles which centre on the child presents a cultural conflict. I suggest that the preservation of cultural parenting practices and cultural values about collectiveness serve as a protective strategy.

9.2.11 Reinforcing Zimbabwean Values

Participants in this study also tried different strategies to preserve and teach their children about the Zimbabwean language, food and other cultural values. These aspects were cited as fundamental to reinforcing their children's cultural identities in the UK. Food was highlighted as a socio-cultural resource that would remind the family of their 'roots' and reinforce Zimbabwean cultural values. Migrant communities use language as a cultural boundary marker that reinforces their sense of belonging and as a vehicle to transmit other aspects of their cultures and traditions (Edwards & Temple, 2007; Hall, 1996; Joseph, 2004). Furthermore, in an effort to maintain transnational and extended family relationships, migrants teach their children their languages (Farr et al., 2018; Koven, 2007). This was echoed by participants in this study, who discussed their family visits and phone calls to family in Zimbabwe.

²⁴ Ubuntu-an African philosophy about the collective

Improved technology and communications offer migrants the chance to engage in cultural family practices in the countries of origin and vice versa (McGregor 2008; McGregor & Primorac 2010). Thus, technology provides a chance for children to immerse themselves in Zimbabwean culture. Similar to participants in this study, Farr et al.'s (2018) study with Spanish mothers also revealed their struggles with teaching children their language and the alternative strategies that they employed.

Intermarriage has reduced the ability of some participants to teach their children the Shona language. Consistent with the assimilation theory, race or ethnic boundaries can be porous in these circumstances where identification with any side of the boundary is not clear cut (Kesler & Schwartzman, 2015). This, therefore, represents an issue that is not confined to the Zimbabwean diaspora communities only. The parents believed that language, food, cultural values and cultural practices were important resources to pass on to children so that they also adopt Zimbabwe as their 'home'. It also serves to create distance between them and other diverse groups in the UK. Particularly, the participants' comparison to the Pakistani community who have visibly managed to transmit aspects of their culture to their children. In some ways, most participants merge their old and new identities to effectively raise their children. Shona customs²⁵, however, give the responsibility to teach children their cultural values and norms to the mothers (Bourdillon, 2006; Mbakogu, 2014). Considering that most migrant mothers are not confined in their households there is need to rethinking the process. Teaching children Zimbabwean cultural values, beliefs and practices remain a silence even for the participants as they find it a challenging task. It is clear that the parents are being caught between the past and the future; and straining themselves in the present to try to maintain the connection to Zimbabwe, despite the forces which seem to be bent on pulling it apart.

9.2.12 Transnational Burdens

This study confirms that transnational responsibilities in the form of parents remitting money to Zimbabwe and stresses related to migrant life affect parents' experiences (Merry et al., 2017; Mugadza et al., 2019). Some participants in this study feel

²⁵ It is also important to note again that there is no singular Zimbabwean culture as multiple cultural identities exist (Mawere, 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009)

pressured to take on extra work hours in order to meet up their transnational responsibilities, which limits the time they spend with their children. Similar to this study, these challenges may be a result of loss of support networks and extended family (Merry et al., 2017). The economic challenges in Zimbabwe, therefore, impact the family life for Zimbabweans in the UK. The transnational burdens could be a silence for other migrant groups who have connections to their birth countries. These transnational responsibilities impact the parents' ability to maintain their children's health and wellbeing as they are time-constrained.

9.2.13 Return Migration and Mechanisms of Inclusion or Exclusion

Return migration came up in situations where parents talked about belonging for their children, particularly perceived lack of belonging which can drive them to return to Zimbabwe. It was also fuelled by the need to immerse their children in Zimbabwean culture. Akhtar (1999) discussed the 'migrant's fantasy' of returning to the home country out of fear of having created a distance from the country and its cultural values or practices by attaching to the destination country. However, where parents envisioned their children having a better life in the UK, they had no desire to return to Zimbabwe with them. In such cases, their notions of home were tied to a better life for their children and their attachment to the UK. This confirms that mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in the destination country, emotional attachments and feeling at home form the concept of belonging (Anthias, 2001; Davis et. al, 2018; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Thus, one's sense of belonging is not bounded by cultural beliefs only, it is subjective for each of the participants (Anthias, 2001).

9.2.14 Interview Language as a Silencing Factor

I observed a concern regarding conversing in the English language while being interviewed. This is a potential silence which I unearthed during the recruitment process where I was asked questions such as 'Would this be in English?'; and before interviews where other participants would highlight statements like 'my English is not so good'. The interview language used is therefore a factor that can contribute to

'silences' in conducting this research possibly marginalising the minoritised participants who lack the confidence to converse in English while being recorded. Although I gave them the opportunity to be heard in any language comfortable for them, some participants even paused before saying a Shona phrase while others were confident. It is also important to note that the historical ties and robust education policy soon after Zimbabwe's independence enabled a large number of Black Zimbabweans to be proficient in English (Ndlovu, 2010). I suggest that my outside positioning as a researcher posing the research questions in the English language might have been a barrier in the research process. The Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK, as part of the Southern African diaspora, is considered as having the ability to speak English, which also facilitated their integration in the UK (Aspinall & Mitton, 2010). In her work with Zimbabwean women in the UK, Chikwira (2020) translated her group interview questions to Shona to elicit more in-depth responses. However, she felt that some meanings were diluted following translation. Critics have also argued that the validity of language translations remain a challenge in cross-cultural studies (Squires, 2009; Van Nes et al., 2010). This study has not addressed this silence around interview language which likely further compounds some silences harboured by Zimbabwean migrant parents. The use of language is key to silencing identities.

9.3 Unintended Consequences for the Study

Unintended consequences are examples of silences that are revealed as a result of using TSF, they represent unintended outcomes of the study. In the initial data analysis, the sub-theme, *value of time*, was included. However, most of its aspects did not quite address the research question without repeating the other themes but were indicative of an unintended consequence of this study. I had a sense that the participants had used the interview opportunity as a vehicle to scream about their experience of work and migrant status. These perspectives are what TSF enables me to pay attention to as they are often hidden.

The sub-theme described the possibility of more or fewer opportunities to share parent-child time. Although most of the parents had a strong desire to create meaningful moments with their children, work patterns were strong determinants of

time spent with children. The nature of work commitments, especially during the early post-migration period is characterised by a "*mashift culture*" which has implications on family life. Participants' narratives describing how hard they have to work is indicative of how work is central to their migrant life. Although I did not enquire about the participants' migration routes, all the participants were economically active. A common theme across their different professions (sample was over-represented in the health sector) was that taking on a lot of shift work is problematic amongst Zimbabweans in the UK because of how it impacts the quality of family life. Collective voices also problematised this as a hidden load that migrant individuals have. Coming from a country with low standards of living, high inflation rates, political instability and poor health outcomes described in Chapter 1, migrants are likely driven to take on a lot of shift work so that they are able to send remittances that can sustain their extended family in Zimbabwe. Most of the migrating population have left their families behind in Zimbabwe and they have a desire to achieve a certain standard of living for their families. This shared mindset likely motivates them to achieve even more. A few of the participants even mentioned the unrealistic expectations they had before moving to the UK and the level of success expected by those that remained in Zimbabwe which also act as drivers to increase income. McGregor (2007) in her study exploring the experiences of Zimbabwean carers also highlighted the long hours and 'double shifts' (combining day and night shifts) that Zimbabwean carers and others in low paid unskilled jobs normalised. This 'double shift' pattern was facilitated by signing on to different work agencies supplying temporary staff in or outside the care sector (McGregor, 2007). However, what appears somewhat clear is how the Zimbabwean migrants' work ethic likely shifts from when they are new migrants as they get settled in the UK, acquire professional qualifications and find space in the labour market. It is also important to note that despite their skill levels before migration and professional backgrounds, migrants from new African diaspora's become concentrated in low skilled jobs where they are required to work according to shift patterns (McGregor, 2007). Considering the negative impact on physical and mental health presented by shift work, particularly night shift work, it is concerning that this is being normalised among the Zimbabwean diaspora community, the new African diaspora in the UK, The South East Asian diaspora and other migrant groups (The Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2018). This was also mentioned during collective voices,

in relation to susceptibility to Covid-19 which is a relatively new crisis where preliminary evidence suggests that racial minorities who work in shift work were disproportionately impacted by the disease compared to those who worked regular jobs (Sharma, 2020).

Immigration status was also central to the participants' experiences. As some of the participants narrated, there was a transition in various aspects of their sense of belonging (work, education, housing) when they got their 'papers'²⁶. Due to my insider positionality, I was familiar with some words, actions and deeds attached to immigration status among the Zimbabwean community such as the 'papers' or 'kupotera'²⁷ comments. This allowed me to expose the silence around revealing immigration status for fear of being reported or stigmatised. It appears that immigration status or routes to the UK may make some individuals silenced as observed during the recruitment period. Some potential participants approached chose not to participate last minute or at the point of recruitment, thus representing a limitation to my insider status and their concerns about revealing status. In his study, Miriyoga (2012) found that some undocumented Zimbabweans in Leeds were suspicious of strangers, including fellow Zimbabweans due to fear that anyone could potentially use their information to cooperate with secret investigations and the Home Office about their immigration status.

The sensitivity of the migration topic might further silence this group and their parenting experiences for fear of drawing attention to their immigration status. Revealing their immigration status can potentially lead to deportation; this was also identified as a fear for other immigrant communities (Ahmad, 2008; Waite, 2009). Similarly, Hynes (2003) argues that multiple insecurities and layers of mistrust which embody a migrant's life affect how they form social relationships, thus contributing to their marginalisation and self-silencing.

Sampling becomes more complex when researching sensitive topics since potential participants are likely to have a greater incentive by masking themselves (Lee, 1993). This raises questions for more considerations during the recruitment period

²⁶ Papers- Among the Zimbabwean community this refers to one's immigration status

²⁷ Kupotera- is used to refer to the process of seeking asylum or trying to regularise immigration status

such as reassurance that the study is not linked to the home office and ethical commitment to confidentiality, anonymity and privacy. This section illustrates the most striking impact of paying attention to hidden perspectives enabled by applying TSF. It appears that the open-ended nature of the interview questions also enabled participants to reflect on their whole experience of their identity as migrants in the UK.

9.4 The Value of Poems

At the beginning of each chapter, I have presented a voice poem for each individual participant. In this section, I will evaluate the impact of including these poems.

'In the process of listening and re-listening to the interview audios; and reading the interview transcripts I was repeatedly struck by the stories expressed in the participants' first-person voice. I felt some of the stories were relatable, eye-opening and revealed a range of co-existing emotions. It aroused different feelings in me; sadness, empathy, joy and inspiration. It made me view the participants as individuals and sometimes a collective hanging onto a form of identity. Their narratives were entangled stories that are shared with their partners, friends, family, church-mates, Zimbabweans in the UK, parents in the UK and other migrant groups. I felt something intense in listening to the participants' voices; something I am so keen to convey to the reader.' (Research journal entry)

In the process of considering how to convey the poems, I had to critically decide how to include the poems and whether to include all the poems. I was in a position where I had the researcher risk and responsibility in revealing silences at this stage, considering my positionality that I laid out in stage 2 of TSF (Section 3.2). While voice poems are commonly presented consecutively within the findings chapter, in this thesis I intentionally dispersed them throughout all the chapters. My objective of presenting a poem before each chapter was to allow the reader to also give precedence to the participants' voices. Then engage rationally with the research throughout. I felt that it was essential in this study to facilitate sympathetic resonance

in the reader as a way to honour the participants' voices and unite them with the reader. Additionally, this format of presentation may allow the reader more space and time to notice, observe, and reflect on the impact of research poetry as they move through each chapter.

Poetry was identified as a unique mode to reporting research aligned with TSF which is usually invisible from the major discourses. It also challenges conventions by utilising creative approaches which allow the reader to have an idea of what something feels like (Tracy, 2012). This process of amplifying often silenced voices can potentially empower both the speaker and listener by illuminating the subjective and variations in experiences for each participant (Petrovic, Lordly, Brigham, & Delaney, 2015). Empowering marginalised voices was important in this study because TSF guiding this study is underpinned by the criticalist approach which aims to re-address power imbalances (Serrant-Green, 2011).

The poems helped to illuminate the diversity and complexity of the participants' making sense of their own experiences, even among a homogenous group of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK. The shift in perceptions through their parenting and migration journey was also visible through the poems. By returning to Lucas's poem at the beginning of this chapter, for instance, we can see him as an awakened (*I have not managed to*), desiring (*I'm ready to sacrifice*), feeling (*I feel that the system*) and thinking (*I still believe*) being. Additionally, in the way he narrated his own story we can see the ways he holds on to his individual (*I have an African perception*) and collective identities (*We were children of the village*). At times he was critical of himself (*I have not managed*) and other times he was assertive (*I will put more effort*). Participants' use of third person pronouns revealed aspects of each of them and their relations; aspects they chose to own and distance themselves from through the use of personal pronouns such as 'they', 'their' and 'others'. This reflects the complex nature of participants' experiences; hence, we cannot reduce Lucas and other participants to a simple stereotype. To demonstrate this, and the diversity of experiences, I have included all the participants' poems in this thesis. This process of constructing the poems allowed me to gain a closer understanding of the participants and enabled me to listen to the participant's voices in greater depth. A day before my

research supervision meeting to show the progress of my poems I wrote this reflection in my diary:

What if these poems don't resonate with the supervisory team. I have never written a poem before. Does this even sound like a typical poem that can move people? I feel like I have ventured into a foreign territory and this might be a waste of time. What does a good poem even mean? (Research Journal entry)

These poems represented a powerful voice to me. By reading them I felt they needed to be heard for other people to also honour the participant's voices.

At the meeting, I presented the poems and also shared what I benefitted from them. I discussed what the poems added to the study which emphasised on tapping into marginalised voices. After this meeting, I also wrote my reflections down after sharing some poem drafts;

I felt confident in including voice poems as part of this study. The supervisory team has received them well. Maybe they do work in amplifying the participants' voices. They too have observed the voicing of different layers of experience and have had a glimpse of the participant's collective identities. (Research journal entry)

I also decided to offer my reflections on the poems and how the participants' talked about themselves after each poem entry as a way of bringing my own voice into the thesis. This was a suggestion from my supervisors as I had struggled to bring my voice to the poems. There are times when researchers feel they have to silence themselves because of the traditional focus on objectivity. However in the spirit of TSF, not silencing myself and bringing in my voice seems appropriate. I will reflect on this further in Section 9.5. I have also drawn some lines from the poems to highlight some symbolic expressions to solidify theme meanings. It was important for me to offer a commentary to the voice poems to facilitate the relationship between the poem and my experience as a reader. Bakhtin (1982) introduced the concept of 'multivoicedness' in which the meaning is created through the interaction between the speaker and the reader. I have provided commentary after each poem presentation to convey the meaning each of the poems created for me. Additionally, drawing on the principle of hermeneutics which focuses on the whole-the-parts-the

whole, the voice poems in this thesis represent the whole, the objective being to understand the whole complete with the appropriated meaning of parts of the phenomena expressed in the thesis chapters.

I shared the poems with all the participants (only their individual poems) and two of them commented. This was important to share the poems as a way for me to reinforce the concept of empowering participants in the meaning-making process urged by TSF. The poems' validity was confirmed through the positive reception, although limited to two participants' feedback. One participant observed the power in their voice and another felt honoured to have their own first words bring light to their experiences. Considering the impact that reading these poems had for these participants as they read their own words and relived their personal experience, it would be interesting to share the poems with key policymakers and other migration professionals, who may benefit from understanding the often silenced voices of migrant parents and their multi-layered experiences described herein qualitatively rich ways. This section has clarified the value of exploring voice poems for this study.

9.5 Researcher benefits in carrying out the study

In this section, I reflect on my insider and outsider positionality as set out in stage two of the TSF, and I interrogate the benefits and challenges of doing this study from my position. To deconstruct my writing and researcher identity (Section 3.2) it is necessary to reflect on my contribution to the research process. As a qualitative researcher, in the conception stages of this process, I wanted to remain in the well-trodden territory which is similar to the common approach adopted by other qualitative researchers. I, however, took a challenge by adopting TSF which has not been tested in migrant family studies, and, integrated new and established methods in my approach such as the use of poems and visual methods to reveal silences in this study. I found myself stumbling on the expected and unexpected, considering whether my research was of any impact or if its value to honour the participants' voice would resonate with the reader. These thoughts were likely due to having imposter feelings. The imposter phenomenon is generally understood as experiences of continuous feelings of insufficiency and fraudulence, irrespective of

confirmation of accomplishment or capability (Calvard, 2018). There is evidence that the imposter phenomenon disproportionately affects women (Price, 2013; Hill, 2020), first-generation students (Dickerson, 2019) and minoritised students (Cokley et al., 2017; Mullangi & Jagsi, 2019). Imposter feelings often made it harder for me to bring out my voice as a researcher. This awareness and my positionality meant that I was more aware and reflective on how to deal with my imposter feelings through the research process.

This experience in conducting qualitative research helped to transform my thinking as a novice researcher and my understanding of the migrant parenting experience, and doing so within your own community is another additional challenge. I observed how my insider and outsider identities played out throughout the research writing process; indicating how the process expanded my understanding of my personal experience and reflexivity. For example, my insider positionality often allowed me to interpret other aspects which were not explicitly voiced by the participants. I became even more aware of how my position could potentially hinder or assist the co-construction of meaning in this study (Lietz et al., 2006). I was aware of the inevitable impacts of my actions and decisions upon the meaning and context of the parenting experiences. As such, I have been reflective at various junctures of this research endeavour to strike a balance of the researcher 'risk and responsibility' about revealing silences in the different stages of the framework. For illustration, I reflected on my identity as a researcher in Section 3.2 and dedicated chapter 4 to reflect on the research process. Discussions during my supervisory sessions were instrumental in refocusing me to be reflexive.

The coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19) was also a defining moment to reimagine what is possible in the future of research. I had to rethink the process of getting back to participants and reaching out to collective voices without face-to-face interaction. Within the period (March 2020- to date) I also got reacquainted with the various ways that can be adopted to gather qualitative data online (Video calling services such as Zoom/Skype/Microsoft teams). Notwithstanding problems, such as accessibility, video calling remains a close substitute to in-person interviewing (Krouwel, Jolly & Greenfield, 2019). Similar to face to face interviews, video call interviews also deliver the synchronous seeing and hearing experience with the participants, allowing for

interview scenarios that are effectively face to face. While in-person interviews were longer and more detailed, yielding slightly more depth, video call interviews possibly offer substantial savings of time and budget (Krouwel, Jolly & Greenfield, 2019). Hence, the use of video call interviews can be justifiable in situations where otherwise carrying out the research would not be possible, such as the Covid 19 pandemic. The use of video call interviewing can be applied to migration studies across a large geographical space, allowing for comparisons across different diaspora communities even in the absence of a pandemic. In this study, further qualitative responses were collected through open-ended questions where participants and collective voices could provide commentary. Clearly, online surveys can also be used to gather large qualitative data in other cases.

As I approached the end of the journey with this study, I expressed;

I am beginning to see how research is a learning and reflective process. I have been stunned and stimulated by the way in which the study has progressed. It has changed me. (Research journal entry)

This excerpt seems to appropriately capture my experience as a whole. All encounters along the research journey served to expand my understanding of my positionality, my growth as a researcher and the phenomenon of migrant parenting. It has changed me by drilling in me aspects of the research process and recognition of how research evolves. I have gained creative skills, critical reasoning to inquiry, negotiation skills, communication skills and the confidence to navigate as a professional. My commitment to the research project will also extend beyond this thesis through further dissemination. The section below is an account of the strengths and limitations of the study, also moulded by my ability to be reflexive.

9.6 Further Exploring the Strengths and Limitations of the Study

In this section, the strengths and possible limitations of the study will be further explored. I have discussed some of these earlier in Section 4.5. The use of TSF which allows greater flexibility within a structured process to researchers in pursuance of new knowledge (Serrant-Green, 2011); allowed me to be creative in

ways of ensuring that issues of power were addressed in the process. Although the framework has not been tested in migration research prior to this study, the clear marginalisation of the participants and lack of in-depth research into the parenting experience which are some of the elements considered by previous research that has been guided by the framework strengthened the choice and application of it in this study. Integrating approaches such as the use of visual methods to aid data collection, van Manen's approach to analysis and use of voice poems was after very careful deliberation. I had to make a lot of considerations if the approaches would support the framework as a lens through which truth is revealed in the study. Therefore, I have justified how I have assembled the study throughout the thesis in order to give a clear trail. The flexibility allowed by the framework could likely be viewed as a limitation to others. TSF has greater potential for application in diverse areas of migration research to enhance listening on layered issues which are often hidden, devalued or "silenced".

My insider positionality in the study could be perceived in more than one way. It is possible that as a result of my shared identity elements with the participants, I was better equipped to understand any implied experiences shared during interviews. My proximity may have helped me to listen deeply to their silences, and maybe hear silences that were not accessible to others with no insider experience for a deeper understanding of their experiences. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) warn of the dangers inherent of adopting the insider perspective whose involvement can make one lose awareness of their role and rely on assumptions that may not have a basis in reality. Approaching this study with the guide of TSF allowed me to declare my identity and positionality within the study in stage two of the framework. I was reflexive through all stages of the study, hence, I also acknowledged my prejudices (pre-judgements) which may have affected my understanding of the parent' experiences. Interpretation exists within a context as we tread through the hermeneutic circle (Bohman, 1991). Hence, aspects of my researcher identity are inevitable aspects of understanding. Although I was personally known to a few of the participants, as an interviewer I adopted the outsider perspective to introduce myself to them as a researcher, observed research protocols and reiterated my ethical responsibility of ensuring anonymity and confidentiality. This was particularly important as some potential participants were probably not willing to participate in

the study maybe out of fear of sharing their experiences or migration statuses with someone from the same community who can likely spread it as gossip.

The research sample was limited because it was drawn from within South Yorkshire and was composed of nine Shona speaking Zimbabwean parents and one bilingual Shona and Ndebele speaking parent. The Zimbabwean diaspora is heterogeneous, consisting of mainly Shona speaking and Ndebele speaking groups. Zimbabwe is a diverse nation so is its diaspora as demonstrated by other studies which have provided context for this study. Yet, this study is not reflective of this diversity. Mupakati (2012) recognised that some categories of Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK and South Africa have masked themselves and changed their identities hence they are not visible to researchers. As some Zimbabweans have assumed transnational identities and naturalised as British, they cease identifying as Zimbabwean. Others, however, still describe themselves as Zimbabweans and reinforce this by visiting Zimbabwe regularly (Levitt, 2001). Pasura (2008) who classified the Zimbabwean diaspora into four groups, called this the silent group, as they have also chosen to dissociate themselves from Zimbabwe and self-identified as Rhodesians (now Modern Zimbabwe), British, South Africans or Malawians. The sample could have included a lot more Ndebele Zimbabweans who are also a part of the Zimbabwean diaspora and could have also sampled across different areas of the UK. The focus of our study raises issues and questions regarding generalisability. Essentially, the findings from this study cannot be generalised beyond the 10 respondents out of the entire population of the Zimbabwean born and raised parents settled in the UK. The nature of qualitative research relates to smaller numbers that are manageable for a single researcher with an emphasis on getting depth instead of breadth. Therefore it was not possible to conduct much wider research within this study. The purpose of this study is not to generalise the experiences of the participants to all Zimbabwean parents in the UK. Instead, the study is a phenomenological examination of the parents' experiences of parenting in the diaspora.

Another concern related to the sample was the exclusion of new migrants and possibly grandparents who as shown in stage one of the framework are heavily involved in parenting in a Zimbabwean context. Although it is not clear how many grandparents are represented in the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK, they remain a

relatively silenced group. Their inclusion would have allowed for an additional opportunity to triangulate data. As defined, triangulation is the use of multiple methods in qualitative research which allow one to develop a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Patton, 1999). However, in this study, I ensure a comprehensive understanding is valued through collecting feedback from participants and collective voices as facilitated by TSF which strives to uncover silences. Furthermore, within the participant's narratives and collective voices comments, the Zimbabwean parents refer to the transferability of their experiences to other members of the diaspora community.

9.7 Recommendations for Policy and Practice

I will discuss some recommendations for policy and practice that were derived from the interview data as expressed by participants and the analysis of data presented in Chapters five, six, seven and eight. This study provides insights into the experiences of Zimbabwean parents in the UK, which offers baseline information for interested parties in practice and policy.

The revealed everyday experiences of migrant parents are too complex to be understood by 'outsiders' intending to contribute to their lives. Yet, their voice is often not heard in policymaking and practice. The validation of the complexity of migrant life and parenting in a foreign country for those with limited exposure to Western notions of parenting is an important aspect of addressing negative discourses (Simich, 2005). This applies to authorities, teachers, health care workers, child protection workers and social workers who also need to be made culturally aware of the diversity of migrants' traditions, norms, values and practices. This understanding will potentially allow for any interventions to exist in a mutually compatible space of understanding. I make the following suggestions for practice:

❖ For Educators

This study has revealed how educational institutions are a key place where children build their identities. Particularly, the process of racial consciousness for children within institutions was framed as fostering hierarchies of discrimination. Educators are perfectly positioned to observe the experiences of minoritised students.

Therefore, they need to engage in discussions and curated trainings that enhance their cultural understandings of minoritised students' experiences in schools. This would bring to the fore understanding of nuanced elements of race in education. With this understanding, educators have potential to be key agents of change in school environments who can connect and collaborate with all students to address racism or discrimination. This can create an environment where children born to migrant parents can also thrive and develop a sense of belonging.

➤ **Embedding the Ubuntu concept in promoting health and wellbeing**

Ubuntu is a philosophy reiterated by participants in this study when framing elements of their family's health and wellbeing. It emphasises the importance of the community to the thriving of individuals (Goduka, 2000). Aspects of the Zimbabwean community such as role of religion, culture, gender role dynamics and the collective support system within the Zimbabwean community should be considered on the training and health and wellbeing of Zimbabwean communities.

Health professionals should be educated and receive trainings on the meanings of the Ubuntu philosophy in health and wellbeing. I will refer to health visitors who practice in the community and interact with families, such as those raising children as highlighted in this study. Moving away from a bio-medical view and focusing on a holistic consideration of health and wellbeing should be factored in. An understanding of cultural resources that migrant parents have should be recognised by health visitors and allowed to flourish. Health visitors have the opportunity to build on these understandings of how diverse migrant families effectively function to also develop their public health role and promote children's health and well-being.

In the process of reconfiguring family life the parents in this study struggle to adjust to the UK parenting environment, with some parents feeling disempowered especially thinking about how they would be perceived by social workers. I suggest that embedding Ubuntu concept in social work practice centralises the recognition of aspects around migrant's lives and recognises different aspects of an individual. For instance, migrants rely on influences of their religion, culture and elements of their shared world in the UK. Bringing to the fore African constructions of family life and raising children, local authorities should ensure that training programmes for social

workers include elements of cultural competence to enable them to embed these Ubuntu concepts in their interactions with migrant families. Parents in this study are at a point of transition finding their own sense of belonging. They need to engage with social workers who can recognise their own capabilities and resources, or sensitively support them in navigating the systems in which parents and children can thrive.

❖ Curriculum Development

This study can help to shape my contribution to the Race, Ethnicity and Migration course which I am currently a module leader for at a higher education institution. I recommend that the curriculum should represent diverse migrant community perspectives on their family lives. This is an important element to laying foundations for future public service providers with increased knowledge about the diversity of family life experiences in the UK. This study has revealed that some of the migrant parents' experiences of (un)belonging are fuelled from their negative interactions with public service providers. It is therefore imperative that curriculums are revisited to ensure that academic content is representative.

For the wider community, suggestions for the local councils would involve promoting cohesion of the communities by sensitively raising their awareness of migrant issues to enhance their empathy and sense of responsibility for migrant families. Acculturation is a lifelong process and migrants in this study are also a work in progress. Sharing poems with these groups is a key way for them to understand the often silenced voices of migrant parents and their multi-layered experiences through the wider dissemination of research findings.

9.8 Future Research

It is recommended that all the themes that emerged from data analysis in this study be subjected to further research so as to gather more stories surrounding the parenting experiences of the Zimbabwean diaspora. The following specific areas of research would benefit from further attention:

- ❖ The Zimbabwean diaspora is scattered in different countries, including within

the Southern African region (Muzondidya, 2004; Pasura, 2005). For example, the Zimbabwean diaspora has settled in Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique in their numbers for some time now. Yet, not much exploration of their experience has been examined in comparison to the body of work in South Africa and the UK, as I have done in this present study. This is also similar to other Zimbabwean diaspora's in China, Dubai and Cyprus amongst other growing popular destinations. There is abundant room to further the migrant parenting discourse by exploring their experiences too, to appreciate each unique context. This indicates a need to fill this gap in terms of scholarship on the Zimbabwean diaspora.

- ❖ There is also a need to collect more detailed information on some of the issues raised in this thesis for other migrant communities in the UK that may have different contextual backgrounds and experiences of transitioning to parenting in the UK. These communities can be from some common countries of origin for migrants in the UK. For instance, Pakistan, India, Poland, China and Ireland. Asylum seekers are also particularly worthy of attention.
- ❖ Further studies which take the role of extended family in the migration context is an important gap to address since this study, and prior studies have established that parenting in Zimbabwean culture is shared beyond the mother and father. Extended family members experiences in child-rearing might be of interest. They can be a significant resource for understanding migrant families (Tingvold 2012; Carpenter-Aeby, 2014).
- ❖ The pull of the past demonstrated in this study calls for better generation of knowledge of transnational resources, and how these can be optimised to inform services towards supporting migrant families raising their children in the UK. It is important to gather such knowledge through research, this knowledge is useful in evaluating the current health and social care interventions. Social workers, healthcare workers amongst others working closely with migrant families may then be better equipped to promote protective factors, mobilise untapped resources and support migrant families in dealing with their day-to-day life challenges.

9.9 Original Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributed to the existing body of knowledge by making the following original contributions to the migrant parenting discourse, Zimbabwean migrant life and the study methodology.

9.9.1 Contribution to the Zimbabwean Diaspora Research

This study has added to the growing body of knowledge on the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK by exploring their parenting experiences. I have achieved this by focusing on both Zimbabwean born mothers and fathers who are settled and raising their children in the UK. In contrast to existing studies that have focused on transnational mothering, this study explores experiences on parenting in which both parents are considered. What came up showed that parenting while a Zimbabwean in the UK has different layers. The thesis enhanced understanding of ideas of transnationalism and context in understanding the parents' present experiences. It enabled a fuller picture of the migration journey from Zimbabwe and aspects that embody migrant life to be revealed. By privileging the voice and experiences of Zimbabwean born parents, this thesis contributes to knowledge because of its place in specificity. Previous studies have focused on a broader group of migrants and homogenised Zimbabweans under African migrants.

9.9.2 Contribution to Migrant Families' Research

The emphasis on families in the migration literature continues to grow. Following on from the previous contribution, this study adds to the growing body of knowledge on migrant families. Families are predominantly perceived as nuclear, bound by the same country borders and living within the same household. However, the way that participants define families in this study is broad. They function effectively as extended families, therefore the definition of families for different contexts needs to be accounted for in migrant families' research. By adding insight into migrants' origin culture, this study has shown the nature of Zimbabwean families. Due to strong family ties, some family practices in the UK mirror practices in the home country.

These are important in the way they maintain their children's health and wellbeing in the UK. Through the analysis of this data, it appears that settlement in a destination country stresses family ties with those who remained in the home country, and this affects their present parenting experiences. This is also shared by other migrant groups.

9.9.3 Contributions to Methodology

The use of TSF in this study proves that it can be a valuable addition to research toolkits in migrant family studies. Its emphasis on contextualising is a key requirement for exploring migrant families' experiences. The process of contextualising has shown the different ways participants are marginalised and the silences inherent to their status. Exploring this made me aware of how omission from the study could further marginalize the participants. Thus, I have included fathers as they have a valuable contribution to the parenting discourse as well. Other groups that could have been omitted included asylum seekers and refugees; engaging with TSF brings this to light. Migrants are usually spoken for by the mainstream media, politicians and they are rarely included in research and as a result 'silenced'. This framework is user friendly even for novice researchers and crucial for improving research quality in migrant family studies. Characteristics of migration such as issues of power, marginalisation and the need for advocacy or action are concerns that can be addressed by using TSF. The framework also allowed me to understand and empathize with migrant parents and their everyday experiences which impact their children's health and wellbeing. I suggest that the use of I-poems alongside TSF also strengthens the voices of the participants. The flexibility allowed by the TSF challenges and allows for migration researchers to be creative in ways to explore migrants' experiences. TSF can certainly be used in other areas, not the originally intended only.

9.10 Final Words

To conclude this thesis, this chapter has provided a discussion of the research findings in relation to the current literature regarding migrant parents' experiences. Informed by hermeneutic phenomenology, four themes were identified that formulated the Zimbabwean migrant parents' life-world: *Shared Worlds*, *Parenting in the British System*, *The Parenting*

Journey and This is our Home now. Parenthood for Zimbabwean migrants involves emotional, physical and cultural changes which impact their parenting experiences. Throughout the thesis I have shown that migration is a complex process, I demonstrated that migrant parents are not passive to their experiences, as they actively negotiate and renegotiate aspects of their being in the world as parents. I have identified the strengths and weaknesses of the study to highlight characteristics of the study design that affected or influenced the interpretation of the findings in this study. The reflexive components embedded in this study contributed to the transparency of the research by contextualising the research process as it evolved, as well as by providing a commentary on my personal journey and formulating my researcher identity. The design of this study allowed for the voices of Zimbabwean migrant parents to be heard, hence the results of this study may be a useful source to policy decisions, practices in different sectors and a point to establish further research on issues raised. Finally, just as the Zimbabwean migrant parents' pre-assumptions are a vehicle to their understanding of their experiences in the UK, the presentation and interpretations offered in this thesis were also filtered through my contextual influences as a qualitative researcher. The possibilities of interpretation can be infinite but I would like to conclude this thesis here. It is now up to the readers to listen to the silences of the migrant parents with their own prejudice.

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Appendix A: Ethical clearance

converis@shu.ac.uk

16 Oct
2018,
11:30

Dear Ruvimbo

Title of Ethics Review: Zimbabwean Parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK

Ethic Review ID: ER6378305

The University has reviewed your ethics application named above and can confirm that the project has been approved.

You are expected to deliver the project in accordance with the University's research ethics and integrity policies and procedures: <https://www.shu.ac.uk/research/ethics-integrity-and-practice>.

As the Principal Investigator you are responsible for monitoring the project on an ongoing basis and ensuring that the approved documentation is used. The project may be audited by the University during or after its lifetime.

The following advisory amendments were suggested, which you may wish to address:

Each of the reviewers have focused on different aspects of the proposal. The first two comments are directly related to the ethical considerations that must be addressed before continuing. The third reviewer has suggested a number of changes some of which are procedural such as additional forms but mostly they relate to presentation or about the research methodology itself. Please consider the numbered issues in close consultation with your Director of Studies and make the changes you see as appropriate. If you disagree with any reviewer's comments please explain why you do not wish to make the recommended changes.

Should any changes to the delivery of the project be required, you are required to submit an amendment for review.

Wishing you success with your study.

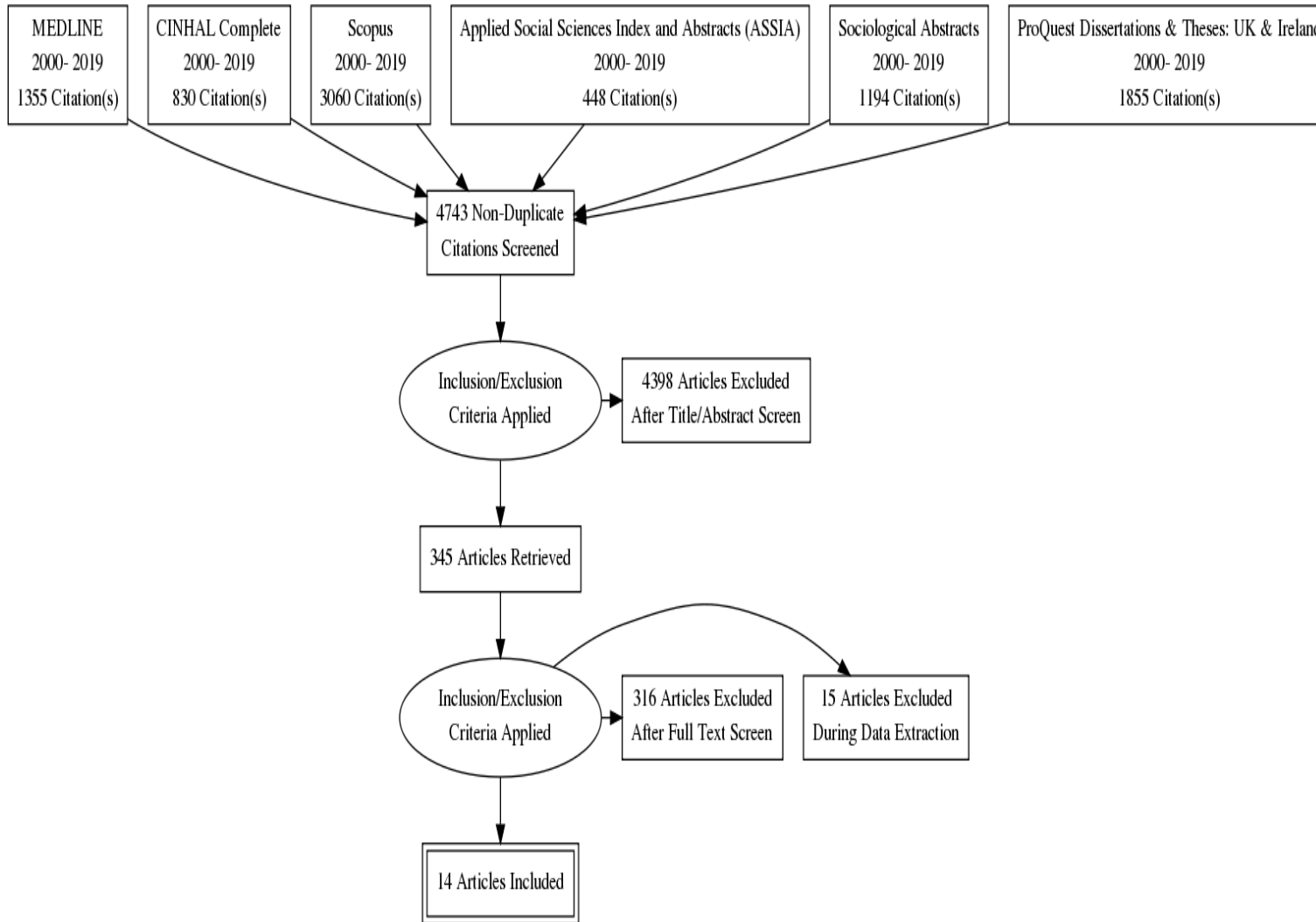
Appendix B: ENTREQ Statement protocol

1.Aim	<p>What are settled Southern-African migrants experiences of bearing and raising children in Global North destination countries?</p> <p>How do they conceptualise sustaining children's health and wellbeing?</p>
2. Synthesis Methodology	Thematic synthesis (To formalise the identification and development of themes)
3.Approach to searching	Pre-planned comprehensive search strategy to seek all available studies
4. Inclusion Criteria	<p>Inclusion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Primary qualitative studies that use qualitative analysis and mixed methods studies with a qualitative part that can be extracted. ● Population: Settled Southern- African migrant parents or one Southern African parent in a bi-national family ● Topic: parents voices or perspectives on child bearing ,rearing and their children’s health and wellbeing ● Publication Year: From 2000 to date ● Written in the English language <p>Exclusion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Studies that only provide numerical data and statistical analysis will be excluded. ● Topic: Articles with all child/-ren born outside of the UK, focus Children with long term conditions ● Population: African migrants with asylum seeker status, immigrants residing within Africa, parents living in different countries with their children with no experiences of bearing or raising any children in the UK, sole migrant parents from other continents, Those that identify as Southern-Africans but are not immigrants from those Southern African country
5. Data Sources	Electronic databases (MEDLINE, Scopus, CINAHL complete, Sociological Abstracts, ASSIA, Proquest dissertations and theses); Generic Web searches (Google scholar), Extensively look through grey literature through

	contact with experts and book chapters, Relevant organisational websites (Migration Observatory). The reference lists of any existing reviews on similar topics, and included studies will be scanned for potentially eligible studies not identified in the initial electronic searches.
6. Electronic search Strategy	"ethnic minority" , "Minority Groups" , foreigner* , "foreign born", migrant* , immigrant* , settler* , "naturalised citizen*" , (MH "Emigrants and Immigrants")(MH "Minority Groups") , child* , daughter* , son* , "child development*" , "developmental milestones", parent* , mother* , father* , child* N3 rais* , child* N3 rear* , childbearing, family OR families, (MH "Fathers") OR (MH "Mothers") OR (MH "Parents") , namibia* , zambia* , zimbabwe* , swazi* "Southern Africa*" , africa* , "South Africa*" , angola* , botswana, batswana, lesotho, malawi* , mozambique*
7. Study screening methods	Screening title and abstracts by hand; full text reviewer(one reviewer; rm). Second reviewer independently double screens 10%. Both reviewers will complete a pilot exercise. If the pilot or the 10% extraction reveals significant disagreement between reviewers then more double screening will be done. Studies will be included if they meet the inclusion criteria
8. Study characteristics	These will be tabulated with the following data extracted : year of publication, purpose of the article, theoretical framework, method,data collection, sample, source country, destination country, main results from the primary studies
9. Study selection results	A PRISMA flow chart will be used to report different phases from searching, screening and identifying studies for inclusion. This will be accompanied by an elaborative statement which will be attached as an appendix.
10. Rationale for Appraisal	Assessment of conduct (validity and robustness), assessment of reporting (transparency), assessment of content and utility of the findings
11. Appraisal items	NICE Quality appraisal checklist – qualitative studies, focusing on the following domains: theoretical approach,

	study design, data collection, trustworthiness, Analysis, Ethics.
12. Appraisal process	Appraisal and data extraction by one reviewer (rm), but a proportion (10%) cross checked. Both reviewers to complete a pilot exercise
13. Appraisal results	Results from quality appraisal will be clear from the tools checklist for each study in a separate sheet
14. Data extraction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data extracted will be tabulated to indicate author, year of publication, purpose of the article, theoretical framework, method, data collection, sample, source country, destination country, main results from the primary studies, funding information • Text under the headings “results /conclusions” will be extracted for analysis
15. Software	NVivo
16. Number of Reviewers	(RM) involved in coding (RM) involved in analysis
17. Coding	line by line coding of text from primary studies to search for concepts
18. Study Comparison	Subsequent studies were coded into pre-existing concepts, and new concepts were created when deemed necessary
19. Derivation of themes	Thematic synthesis through inductive coding to derive themes
20. Quotations	Participant quotations will be included from primary studies to highlight themes
21. Synthesis Output	insights into migrant parenting experiences and how they maintain their children's health and wellbeing

Appendix C: The Prisma diagram



Appendix D: Data Extraction Chart

Reference	Purpose of article	Theoretical framework	Methodology and data collection	Sample	Source Country	Destination country	Main results
(Mcgregor, 2008)	To examine the way in which Zimbabwean professionals re-examine family life in a transnational context	Not specified	Qualitative; semi structured interviews	37 black Zimbabwean Professionals (21 nurses, 16 teachers) both Shona and	Zimbabwe	United Kingdom	Parents highlighted the moral debates around raising children in the UK fuelled by everyday interactions with the British context created by the crisis in Zimbabwe, reality of exclusion of migrants in the UK, problems created by feminisation of employment, different gender norms and resulting high divorce rates

				Ndebele living in London, South East and West Midlands who had children except 2			
(Nyemba & Chitiyo, 2018)	To learn about parental involvement practices by Zimbabwean immigrant mothers and how their practices build upon Epstein's	Parental involvement framework	qualitative; in depth semi-structured interviews	6 Zimbabwean immigrant mothers with children from grade K-	Zimbabwe	United States (Cincinnati, Ohio,)	Mothers revealed that parental involvement is important both at home and school. Their understanding of parental involvement was revealed in the following; emotional and social support, effectively communicating with teachers, assisting with homework, helping with classroom

	(2002) parental involvement framework			12 residing in Cincinnati, Ohio			activities and workshops, participating in school decisions and community partnerships.
(Makoni, 2013)	To explore the construction of gendered identities by analysing language use in response to men engaged in activities that , in normative gender discourses, are considered 'womens work'	Feminist Critical Discourse analysis	Qualitative; inter-discursive photographs/ photo elicitation techniques individual discussion	3 couples (6 participants , both husband and wife)	Zimbabwe	United Kingdom	Household tasks represented femininity and upheld the African cultural value systems. Some women were reinforcing set norms about gender roles while others were contesting such. As men try to balance off maintaining masculine ideals and taking on childcare, male migrants experience a loss of identity as family providers, leading to a redefinition and reproduction of a 'new' patriarchal position within the household based on remembered significance.

(Stewart et al., 2015)	to examine challenges face by Sudanese and Zimbabwean refugee new parents in Canada	Not specified	mixed methods (ethnographic, quantitative); standardised questionnaires, semi-structured individual individuals	72 participants, 36 Sudanese (19 females, 17 males), 36 Zimbabwean (24 females, 12 males)	Zimbabwe, Sudan	Canada	Participants mentioned loneliness, isolation and migration related stress linked with new parenthood. Marital discord was reported due to assuming new gender roles. Some parents reported barriers to health services because of language barrier, time restrictions for family support, discrimination, prolonged family reunion process, cultural insensitive services and uncoordinated government services
Benza & Liamputton g, 2017)	to discuss the meanings and experiences of motherhood from the perspectives of Zimbabwean women living in	Moral Career and Motherhood	qualitative; in-depth interviews, drawing and photo elicitation	15 women	Zimbabwe	Australia (Greater Melbourne)	Mothers' defined motherhood differently apart from that motherhood had a significant meaning. Motherhood came with a sense of sacrifice for the children as they strive to be good mothers. Some expressed joy and pleasure

	Melbourne, Australia						while others found it burdensome in a new homeland. They expressed how cultural expectations of motherhood silenced them from sharing challenges for fear of being deemed a 'bad mother'. They cited unfamiliarity with the health system, bad treatment and perceived discrimination as challenges.
(Williams et al., 2012)	to investigate African and African-Caribbean fathers' beliefs about fatherhood, health and preventive primary care services	Not specified	qualitative; focus group discussions (9)	46 African and African Caribbean fathers above 18 years and English speaking	African, Caribbean, Zimbabwe, Nigeria	United Kingdom	Fathers placed fatherhood at the centre of their identity and they enacted these identities in a number of ways including caring for and protecting children. They mentioned the influence of spirituality, relationships with women, paid work and racism. They had concerns about their own health but they were primarily

							focused on maintaining and improving their children's well-being. They reported little or no interaction/awareness with primary care services. Fathers also acknowledged structural constraints such as racism which influenced their perceptions and access to local health services.
(Stuart et al., 2010)	to examine questions in families who are actively involved in negotiating the acculturation	Acculturation theory	qualitative; individual interviews	39 interviews (16 pairs of 1 parent: 1 child; plus 5 parents and 2 children)	Zimbabwe, Uganda, Iraq, Egypt, Morocco, Philippines and	New Zealand	Parents and adolescents differed in their expectations across a number of domains (privacy, trust, relationships) and intergenerational conflict may be worsened by acculturation. 3 areas of consensus between the 2 include cultural maintenance, anti-social behaviour (smoking, drinking) and education. Family was seen as a supportive

					Burma		system
(Mupandawana & Cross, 2016)	to explore attitudes towards HPV vaccination among UK based African parents of daughters aged between 8 and 14 years	Not specified	descriptive qualitative; semi structured interviews	5 mothers and 5 fathers	Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, South Africa	United Kingdom	Parents were not aware of HPV vaccines, especially fathers. They generally accepted the vaccination but expressed fears of promiscuity, unknown side effects or infertility. Others had a denial of HPV; citing religion and good cultural upbringing as lowering their risk, they also perceived HPV and cervical cancer as a "white people" disease. Religious values and cultural norms also influenced decisions, with fathers being the ultimate decision maker.

(Cook & Waite, 2016)	to investigate experiences of settlement and intergenerational relations	modernisation and acculturation	mixed qualitative methods; 7 focus groups, 40 one to one interviews	20 families (with 2 generations in each family)	Zimbabwe, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan	United Kingdom (Yorkshire Humber region)	Families highlighted 3 main areas of intergenerational change. Disjunctures in parenting practices and values between generations were worsened by being in a new country. Shifts in parenting upon migration included embracing new parenting approaches. They also noted transforming gender norms and expectations as they parent. Thirdly, parents emphasised transmission of culture, values and practices to sustain intergenerational bonds
(Williams et al., 2013)	To understand the ways that African Caribbean fatherhood is changing and the	Changing gender relations	qualitative; 9 in-depth qualitative group	46 African Caribbean fathers	African, Caribbean, Zimbabwe	United Kingdom (City location)	Fathers talked about their migration process. They talked about fatherhood across different generations including the experiences of racism. They

	implications it has on health and social care		interviews		Nigeria		highlighted the influence they draw from their own fathers. They advocated a style of parenting centred on good communication.
Agbemenu et al., 2018a.	To describe the experience of African mothers living in the United States Providing RHE to their daughters aged 10-14 years	Not specified	qualitative descriptive approach ; individual semi-structured interviews,	20 African mothers	Nigeria, Kenya, Guinea, Zambia, Liberia, South Sudan	United States of America	Mothers talked about the reproductive health education of their home countries , their communication with their daughters and highlighted changes due to moving to the United states

(Dune & Mapedzaha, 2017)	To understand how sexual health and well-being are constructed and communicated from their migrant parents' cultures and host 'cultures'.	Not specified	qualitative design; Focus groups (in both Shona and English)	14 Shona Zimbabwean women (Purposive Sampling)	Zimbabwe	Australia (Adelaide)	Parents talked about various source of knowledge in communicating about sexual health and well-being. Some restrictions to imparting sexual knowledge, communication facilitators and message content issues were discussed by the mothers
Agbemenu et al., 2018b	To understand factors that influence how African migrant mothers living in the US provide RHE to their teenage daughters by examining the sexual myths and	Not specified	qualitative descriptive approach; in-depth semi structured interviews	20 immigrant African mothers	Nigeria, Kenya, Guinea, Zambia, Liberia, South Sudan	United States of America	Mothers noted that discussing these issues was taboo and they had learnt a lot about sexual intercourse, pregnancy prevention or termination using non hormonal ingested substances through myths they were told growing up. Majority of the mothers did not believe the myths

	taboos the mothers grew up in						
(Dryden-Peterson, 2018)	To explore the types of family-school relationships that promote academic, socio-economic, and social and emotional well-being of black African immigrant children in the US.	Not specified	Qualitative; participant observation, in-depth interviews, review of documents (school surveys, standardised test scores, school newsletters)	17 parents from each of the 2 schools ; 24 long-time resident teachers/school administrators/community leaders	Liberia Cameroon DR Congo Kenya Somalia Ghana Ethiopia Zimbabwe Guinea Bissau Liberia Nigeria	United States of America	Building relationships between black African immigrant parents and school staff was complicated by racial, socio-demographic, and residential differences. They argue that intersections between demographics and school culture are central, as related to the possibilities for relational power, which can allow parents and school staff to transcend persistent inequalities.

Appendix E: Example of Critical Appraisal

Checklist

<p>Study identification: Include author, title, reference, year of publication</p>	<p>Benza, S & Liamputtong. (2017). Becoming an 'Amai': Meanings and experiences of motherhood amongst Zimbabwean women living in Melbourne, Australia. <i>Midwifery</i>, 45, 72-78.</p>	
<p>Guidance topic:</p>	<p>Key research question/aim: To discuss the meanings and experiences of motherhood from the perspectives of Zimbabwean women living in Melbourne, Australia</p>	
<p>Checklist completed by:</p>	<p>RM</p>	
<p>Theoretical approach</p>		
<p>1. Is a qualitative approach appropriate?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the research question seek to understand processes or structures, or illuminate subjective experiences or meanings? Could a quantitative approach better have 	<p>Appropriate</p> <p>Inappropriate</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>A qualitative approach is appropriate as it helps in identifying personal meanings by focusing on mother's lived experiences of motherhood</p>

addressed the research question?		
<p>2. Is the study clear in what it seeks to do?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the purpose of the study discussed – aims/objectives/research question/s? • Is there adequate/appropriate reference to the literature? • Are underpinning values/assumptions/theory discussed? 	<p>Clear</p> <p>Unclear</p> <p>Mixed</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Clearly set out guiding research questions and parameters for addressing the research aim</p>
Study design		
<p>3. How defensible/rigorous is the research design/methodology?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the design appropriate to the research question? • Is a rationale given for using a qualitative approach? • Are there clear accounts of the rationale/justification for the sampling, data 	<p>Defensible</p> <p>Indefensible</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>the design and methods allows for the research question to be answered and has been clearly justified</p> <p>The choice of sample and sampling method was clearly set out, the sampling strategy was no convincingly justified; few generic shortcomings of the sample were identified.</p>

<p>collection and data analysis techniques used?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the selection of cases/sampling strategy theoretically justified? 		
Data collection		
<p>4. How well was the data collection carried out?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are the data collection methods clearly described? Were the appropriate data collected to address the research question? Was the data collection and record keeping systematic? 	<p>Appropriately</p> <p>Inappropriately</p> <p>Not sure/inadequately reported</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>The methods of data collection were most appropriate given the aims of the research. No details of data storage system provided</p>
Trustworthiness		
<p>5. Is the role of the researcher clearly described?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has the relationship between the researcher and the participants been adequately considered? 	<p>Clearly described</p> <p>Unclear</p> <p>Not described</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>The primary researcher exercised reflexivity making her role clear</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the paper describe how the research was explained and presented to the participants? 		
<p>6. Is the context clearly described?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are the characteristics of the participants and settings clearly defined? Were observations made in a sufficient variety of circumstances Was context bias considered 	<p>Clear</p> <p>Unclear</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Broad aspects of the research context identified</p>
<p>7. Were the methods reliable?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was data collected by more than 1 method? Is there justification for triangulation, or for not triangulating? Do the methods investigate what they claim to? 	<p>Reliable</p> <p>Unreliable</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Method used to collect the data is appropriate for what they initially claim to investigate.</p> <p>More than 1 method has been used to collect data which allows for triangulation</p>
<p>Analysis</p>		

<p>8. Is the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the procedure explicit – i.e. is it clear how the data was analysed to arrive at the results? • How systematic is the analysis, is the procedure reliable/dependable? • Is it clear how the themes and concepts were derived from the data? 	<p>Rigorous</p> <p>Not rigorous</p> <p>Not sure/not reported</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>the analysis method is clear, cross checking involved on codes with the second author</p>
<p>9. Is the data 'rich'?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How well are the contexts of the data described? • Has the diversity of perspective and content been explored? • How well has the detail and depth been demonstrated? • Are responses compared and contrasted across groups/sites? 	<p>Rich</p> <p>Poor</p> <p>Not sure/not reported</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Detailed enough to give insight into the research participants experience within the context, including comparison and contrasts.</p>

<p>10. Is the analysis reliable?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did more than 1 researcher theme and code transcripts/data? • If so, how were differences resolved? • Did participants feed back on the transcripts/data if possible and relevant? • Were negative/discrepant results addressed or ignored? 	<p>Reliable</p> <p>Unreliable</p> <p>Not sure/not reported</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Second researcher checked the coding for consistency and participants were allowed to verify the transcripts of their interview.</p>
<p>11. Are the findings convincing?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are the findings clearly presented? • Are the findings internally coherent? • Are extracts from the original data included? • Are the data appropriately referenced? • Is the reporting clear and coherent? 	<p>Convincing</p> <p>Not convincing</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Findings are clearly represented and coherent for the 2 data collection methods. Extracts and images from the original data were included. The reporting is clear</p>

<p>12. Are the findings relevant to the aims of the study?</p>	<p>Relevant</p> <p>Irrelevant</p> <p>Partially relevant</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>the findings are relevant to the study aims</p>
<p>13. Conclusions</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How clear are the links between data, interpretation and conclusions? • Are the conclusions plausible and coherent? • Have alternative explanations been explored and discounted? • Does this enhance understanding of the research topic? • Are the implications of the research clearly defined? <p>Is there adequate discussion of any limitations encountered?</p>	<p>Adequate</p> <p>Inadequate</p> <p>Not sure</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>A balanced conclusion provided with clear research implications presented. It enhances understanding of research topic by linking to existing literature.</p>
<p>Ethics</p>		

<p>14. How clear and coherent is the reporting of ethics?</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have ethical issues been taken into consideration? • Are they adequately discussed e.g. do they address consent and anonymity? • Have the consequences of the research been considered i.e. raising expectations, changing behaviour? • Was the study approved by an ethics committee? 	<p>Appropriate</p> <p>Inappropriate</p> <p>Not sure/not reported</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>The study was approved by an ethics committee. Not all ethical issues were explicitly addressed, although the reported actions reflect an ethical practice.</p>
<p>Overall assessment</p>		
<p>As far as can be ascertained from the paper, how well was the study conducted? (see guidance notes)</p>	<p>++</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>Comments:</p> <p>Some of the checklist criteria have been fulfilled, where they have not been fulfilled, or not adequately described, the conclusions are unlikely to alter.</p>

++ All or most of the checklist criteria have been fulfilled, where they have not been fulfilled the conclusions are very unlikely to alter.

+ Some of the checklist criteria have been fulfilled, where they have not been fulfilled, or not adequately described, the conclusions are unlikely to alter.

– Few or no checklist criteria have been fulfilled and the conclusions are likely or very likely to alter.

Appendix F: Example of coded text

Coded text from the theme, They are keeping an eye on us

Questions were raised about the surveillance of families by primary care services couched in terms such as: 'they are keeping an eye on us', when considering the 'safeguarding children' function of local health and social care services.

Refugee parents wanted to maintain some control in their children's lives, and impart traditional wisdom and values. Many were skeptical of their destination country's values regarding freedom of choice.

The unacceptability of physical punishment in Britain, which some parents felt weakened their ability to control their children. Male parents tended to refer more to the threat their families felt around the impact of this aspect of British culture on their children's behaviour.

Others decided not to smack their children in the light of stories circulating about children ringing Childline (charity helpline) or the police, and parents being monitored by Social Services and threatened with the removal of their children, having disciplined them in ways considered normal in Zimbabwe.

Parents with children in the UK differed in whether they smacked their children some tried to maintain control as they would have done at home, drawing distinctions between discipline and abuse, depending on the reasons for and levels of smacking.

The little one is here with us at the moment, but we don't like that either, we can't discipline like we would at home, he's very rude. It's not human, they don't allow you to treat kids in a way that makes them nice to be with, they answer back all the time, he's too noisy. We're planning to take him back to Zimbabwe for a year, just to discipline him, we'll send him to his grandmother" (19).

One mother stated: I always like the beauty of choosing private education. It's expensive but I chose to do that and one of the things that I liked about my son's Catholic school besides community involvement and going to mass is that it just really helps bring not only the community part but good behaviour and some of those

basic principles of everyday life.

For some of the Christian and Muslim fathers, protecting their children from 'evil', defined in religious terms, was reported to be part of the role of a father.

The importance of providing moral guidance, advice, creating rules and teaching 'values' or 'principles' to help protect children was discussed, by the Muslim and Christian fathers in particular.

Moses a South African father in his late 40s said; "My wife takes the children to church and they are being raised well, so no"

Religious beliefs and principles were thought to shape a child's behaviour such that their risk was greatly reduced due to good moral behaviour; "...and all my children are growing up in the church; in the Christian way. The school said it's [HPV] caused by sex, so my children won't have sex until they're married" (Susan, South African, age 42 years).

These cultural and religious principles also made discussions about the vaccine and associated sexuality difficult between couples. However, a small minority felt they could discuss the importance of good moral behaviour with their children as a way of safeguarding them against HIV and other STIs

It is by grace [of God]. God made it as a natural thing. Can I teach you how to feel? When you have education you can choose [to control yourself].

Appendix G: Participant Information Sheet

Title of Project: Zimbabwean Parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK

Please will you take part in a study that explores Zimbabwean migrant parents' experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK and their perspectives of how they sustain their children's health and wellbeing. It is intended that knowledge gained from this study will help add to understanding of migrant's experiences in the UK. This study forms as part of my PhD study. Please take time in understanding the information below before you consider taking part in the study.

Why have you asked me to take part?

You have been invited to take part in this study because you are a Zimbabwean migrant in the UK who has intention to settle and have been in the UK for at least 5 years, with experience of bearing and raising children in the UK.

What will I be required to do?

You will be required to share your personal experiences of bearing and raising children in the UK. This will be through a visual method (picture drawing or photo elicitation by participants) followed by a face to face interview which will be recorded with a voice recorder. You will be given opportunity to read the interview transcript to ensure that your views are being faithfully and accurately represented. A summary of the interview will also be availed to you to determine if the essence of the interview has been correctly captured following analysis of data.

Where will this take place?

The picture drawing or photo elicitation will take place within your own time and space in the absence of the interviewer before the interview. The interview will be arranged to take place at a time and space that is convenient for you; and will be undertaken face to face. The interview should take no longer than 1 hour

How will you use what you find out?

Findings from this research will be published in my doctoral thesis. It is also anticipated that, both during research and after completion, papers will be submitted to relevant journals and findings further shared through talks, conferences, wider publications and interest groups. All findings from this research will be anonymised at all times.

Will anyone be able to connect me with what is recorded and reported?

All responses to this study will be strictly confidential. Before publication, only I (and my supervisors) will have access to your original responses, which will be anonymised. You will be given a pseudonym or choose one if you wish and any identifiable information about you will be removed in my published doctoral thesis and in any related materials. Directly identifying information (e.g. names, addresses, recruitment sites) will be safeguarded and maintained under secure controlled conditions and consent forms will be stored separately from interview recordings, transcripts and notes. You will not be identified in any publication from this study.

How can I find out about the results of the study?

If you take part in this research you will receive a summary of findings at the end of the study period. This is anticipated to be between two and three years from the time of your participation.

What will happen to the information when this study is over?

All datasets produced, and that are retained after the end of the research project will be registered in Sheffield Hallam University Institutional data repository (SHURDA) as a requirement of the University's Research Data management Policy. Raw data will be kept for a minimum of 10 years after completion of the project according to the University policy. Anonymised data will be shared upon request by peers or

examiners to validate the research findings. Future researchers may also re-use the anonymised data for scientific and educational purposes, thus creating new insights.

What if I do not wish to take part?

Your decision to take part in this study is entirely voluntary. A copy of the information provided here is yours to keep along with the consent form if you do decide to take part. You can still decide to withdraw up to the point at which your data is anonymised and amalgamated; without giving a reason or you can decide not to answer a particular question.

Legal basis for research for studies

The University undertakes research as part of its function for the community under its legal status. Data protection allows us to use personal data for research with appropriate safeguards in place under the legal basis of public tasks that are in the public interest. A full statement of your rights can be found at <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/individual-rights/>.

However, all University research is reviewed to ensure that participants are treated appropriately and their rights respected. This study was approved by SHUREC with Converis number ER6378305. Further information at <https://www.shu.ac.uk/research/ethics-integrity-and-practice>

Who has reviewed this study?

The study was reviewed by the Sheffield Hallam University Ethics committee

Do you have any other questions?

If you have any questions about this study at any stage please contact me. My contact details are:

Ruvimbo Machaka

Address: Sheffield Hallam University, Chestnut Court, Collegiate Crescent,

Sheffield, S10 2BP

Telephone: 0114 225 2358

Email: Ruvimbo.Machaka@student.shu.ac.uk

Details of who to contact if you have any concerns or if adverse effects occur after the study are given below,

Researcher/ Research Team Details:

Director of studies: Professor Laura Serrant

Telephone: 0114 225 5974

Email: hwbls8@exchange.shu.ac.uk

Research Supervisor: Dr Ruth Barley

Telephone: 0114 225 5585

Email: dsrb@exchange.shu.ac.uk

You should contact the Data Protection Officer if:

- you have a query about how your data is used by the University
- you would like to report a data security breach (e.g. if you think your personal data has been lost or disclosed inappropriately)
- you would like to complain about how the University has used your personal data

DPO@shu.ac.uk

You should contact the Head of Research Ethics (Professor Ann Macaskill) if

- you have concerns with how the research was undertaken or how you were treated

a.macaskill@shu.ac.uk

Postal address: Sheffield Hallam University, Howard Street, Sheffield S1 1WBT

Telephone: 0114 225 5555

Finally thank you for considering taking part and taking time to read this sheet

Appendix H: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF RESEARCH STUDY: ZIMBABWEAN PARENTS' EXPERIENCES OF BEARING AND RAISING CHILDREN IN THE UK

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies

- | | YES | NO |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any point. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study within the time limits outlined in the Information Sheet, without giving a reason for my withdrawal or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study without any consequences to my future treatment by the researcher. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out in the Information Sheet. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I wish to participate in the study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I consent to the information collected for the purposes of this research study, once anonymised (so that I cannot be identified), to be used for any other research purposes. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Participant's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Participant's Name (Printed): _____

Contact details:

Researcher's Name (Printed): Ruvimbo Machaka

Researcher's Signature: _____

Researcher's contact details:

Telephone number: 01142252358

Email address: Ruvimbo.Machaka@student.shu.ac.uk

Appendix I: Data management plan

Data collection

What data will be produced?

Data capture will be performed during months 12-18, one element of the study will be indepth interviews

with approximately 10 participants. These will generate recordings of interviews which will be transcribed into written files in word format. These will be stored and analysed using NVivo software. Documentation files are organised also according to type of documentation file and research activity. For instance:

Information sheets

Consent forms

Text (Interview transcripts)

Sound (interview recordings)

The following file format namings will be used for each participant's interview transcripts, analysis and voice recordings

/Analysis/YYYY-MM-DD-<Technique>.xls

/Data/Text/InterviewTranscripts/Interview-<Participant number>-<Interviewer name>-YYYYMM-DD.docx

/Data/Sound/InterviewRecordings/Interview-<Participant number>-<Interviewer name>-YYYYMM-DD.flac

Versioning within file names will be used where appropriate

Data documentation

How will your data be documented and described?

There will be one data set- interview transcripts.

The metadata will be recorded within each data file.

The full metadata and data will be discussed in the methodology chapter and in the results and discussions section of the thesis.

Ethical and copyright issues

How will you deal with any ethical and copyright issues?

Ethical issues have been considered and have been submitted to the SHU research ethics committee via conversis for approval. Written consent will be gained. Participant information sheet and consent form have been written and submitted with the ethics approval forms.

Original responses will be anonymised by assigning pseudonyms and removing any directly identifying information (names, address) in my published doctoral thesis and in any related materials. Directly

identifying information will be safeguarded and maintained under secure controlled conditions and consent forms will be stored separately from interview recordings, transcripts and notes. There will not be identified in any publication from this study.

Data storage

How will your data be structured, stored and backed up?

The files are filed in the agreed format including -date created/date amended/version no.)

When sending these data via email, the email will be encrypted, and when sending via USB stick, an encrypted USB stick will be used with the University's policies and guidance on electronic data encryption by encrypting all personal and sensitive data. All active research data will be stored securely on the University networked storage system (Q:\researchdrive) where data are automatically backed-up. Personal, confidential and sensitive information can be stored on the Q: drive under the condition that access permissions have been set up appropriately.

Data preservation

What are the plans for the long-term preservation of data supporting your research?

Primary data generated by research (paper and electronic form) will be kept for a period of 10 years from the moment that the data have been made available according to the University's Records Retention Schedule - Research (E4).

Data sharing

What are your plans for data sharing after submission of your thesis?

All datasets produced, and that are retained after the end of the research project will be registered in Sheffield Hallam University Institutional data repository (SHURDA) as a requirement of the University's

Research Data management Policy.

Anonymised data will be shared with the supervising team prior to publication and after publication of the doctoral thesis, the examiners or peers may request to access the anonymised data which will be deposited in SHURDA to validate the findings or to re-use the data for scientific and educational purposes, thus creating new insights.

Appendix J Risk assessment form

Description of the Process/Activity: Recruitment and Travel for Interviews in different venues including participant's houses	Location(s): Various in South Yorkshire region
	RA Ref:

Hazard	Who could be harmed?	Existing safety precautions	Risk level	Additional safety precautions needed to reduce the risk level?	Revised risk level	Action by whom?	By when?	Date completed
Risk of offence: Carrying out interviews and questionnaires in face-to-face environments	Researcher, Participants	<p>Researcher will be trained in good interview techniques.</p> <p>Participant information sheets will explain in layperson's terms expectations from participants</p> <p>Researcher will behave inconspicuously, avoid making personal remarks,</p>	Low	Reassure participants of competence and qualifications to carry out research	Low	Researcher	Prior to start of research activity	

		and dress appropriately Researcher to discontinue interview if it gets uncomfortable						
Travel risks to location of research project: - Road/rail accident - Physical assault	Researcher: -Physical injury - Psychological harm	Awareness of options for mode of travel Awareness of physical environment, e.g., alleyways, open spaces Researcher to be aware of health and safety policies of research location: -Location of fire alarms & exits	Low	Researcher to be aware of public transport, timetables and live departures. Check local sources, such as the police, for their assessment of risks in the neighborhood, and follow advice.	Low	Researcher	Prior to start of research activity	
Discussion of a		offer to cease interview	Medium	Signpost interviewee to internal or	Low	Researcher, Supervisor	Prior to start of research	

<p>sensitive topic in an interview has potential to cause distress to participant</p>	<p>Participant: Psychological stress</p> <p>Researcher: - Anxiety about dealing with a complex situation</p>		<p>m</p>	<p>external support services (For example, migrant family support which supports african families in the UK in areas of parenting support, marriage support and bereavement)</p>		<p>y team</p>	<p>h activity</p>	
<p>Data collection taking place in an unfamiliar location with people not already known to researcher</p>	<p>Researcher: physical injury or psychological harm</p>	<p>Allow extra time to familiarise participants with research and environment Researcher to have contact details and means of making timely contact with back up</p> <p>Researcher has read the Sheffield Hallam lone working policy</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>The researcher will leave a nominated contact with a sealed envelope containing interview related information. The outside of the envelope</p>	<p>Low</p>	<p>Researcher , Research supervisor</p>	<p>Prior to start of research activity</p>	

		<p>and guidance.</p> <p>Researcher to discontinue interview if she feels unsafe or if safety or wellbeing is threatened/undermined</p>		<p>will have (1) expected time of arrival, (2) time you expect to finish, and (3) time you expect to be home. The researcher will call on expected times and further action directive to take will be provided should the researcher not call.</p>				
<p>Issues of access/ inclusion, and risk of offence.</p>	<p>Researcher</p>	<p>Researcher is aware of cultural norms in the Zimbabwean community by virtue of being Zimbabwean and will strive to act respectfully all times.</p>	<p>Low</p>			<p>Researcher</p>	<p>Prior to start of research activity</p>	

		<p>Researchers will be aware of the power imbalances that can occur and manages this by making research participants aware of their right to withdraw from the research without giving an explanation.</p>						
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Communication of significant findings		
<p>Method of communication (describe): Participants will be notified verbally as well as in information sheets, The researcher and research team will have the risk assessment form on file, Ethics committee will also have copy of risk assessment copy and any finding will be reported</p>	<p>Person/people to communicate findings: Study participants, Research team, Ethics committee</p>	<p>Target date(s): Prior to study and ongoing as needed</p>

Appendix K: 36 holistic themes

Nodes\1 Holistic Approach

I continued to read the whole text and described it as represented by a phrase with an aim to capture the fundamental meaning of the text as a whole

Name	Description	Files	References
Actively parenting differently from how they were raised	in comparison to how they were raised	2	4
Better ability to provide	This relates to access to better financial opportunities and structures that supports provision for all children to have a better future	3	5
detachment with children as they become adults	Letting go of adult children- thoughts, experiences, fears, strategies	2	5
embracing the parent role	Acknowledging the challenges and harnessing the parent identity	4	7
Ensuring childrens mental health	Actions to ensure children have a healthy mental state	1	1
Exposure to diverse cultures	culture clash experienced when raising children and adapting amongst global cultures	6	26
Factors around outdoor play	limitations of outdoor play and experiences	6	17
Fear		3	6

Name	Description	Files	References
financial challenges	initial financial challenges	4	7
Food and diet	Perceptions on health, diet and experiences; food as an identity marker	7	24
future for children	Framed as a motivation for migration and sacrifices made to ensure a better future for children	5	7
Gender role dynamics	changes to roles for both fathers and mothers in raising their children and maintaining their households	5	13
Healthcare access		6	12
language		7	21
links to family in Zimbabwe	how wider family relations are maintained for children with regular trips etc	2	2
maintaining discipline		4	7
Navigating childcare	How they manage childcare	8	22
parental involvement with school and education	Involvement in schools and active interactions	6	12
Parenting styles	difference in parenting styles between parents	3	7
Power balance in parent child	Including negotiations and communication required which is not	5	14

Name	Description	Files	References
relationship	similar to how they were raised		
Promoting physical Activity	Maintaining physical activity- a way of integration and to maintain physical health	7	13
protective parenting	parents acting in a protective way because of security fears and fear of the unknown	6	9
Public health awareness	Issues they were aware of, sources of public health info	5	13
race consciousness and racism	Process of children identifying as black ; and incidences of racism	2	5
religion and church		6	11
return migration	thoughts about returning to Zimbabwe	3	4
role modelling		3	5
safe use of technology and social media	Concerns about access to gadgets and what they are exposed to on social media	4	12
School choices and education	Process of choosing schools and factors influencing decisions; importance of education	9	27
Single and lone parenting	issues relating to divorced parents or lone parents, perceived strengths and challenges	2	7

Name	Description	Files	References
social life		3	4
Spending time with children	Changes that took place with more contact with children	9	17
strict laws and restrictions	Laws and guidelines are seen as strict	4	5
Support structure in Zimbabwe	Family support in Zimbabwe makes it easy to raise children; Involvement of others; family and house help	6	9
Support system in the society	branches of supports system	9	26
work life balance	experiences balancing work life and involvement in parenting	6	10

Appendix L: Initial themes for study participant verification/comment

Four main themes emerged from the study:

- 1) Shared Worlds
- 2) Parenting in the British system (Lived body)
- 3) The parenting journey
- 4) This is our home now

A summary of the findings in each theme is provided below for you to comment:

Theme 1: Shared Worlds

Interviewees expressed their awareness to existing in a multicultural space and the continuous process of embracing diversity while also facing cultural conflicts. There was a sense that children played a part in bringing awareness of diversity to parents; and resilience was also built on familiarity with others and their cultures. People also talked about the positive benefits of being within religious groups or having a strong belief in something of higher power. This gives an opportunity to transmit religious values to children and integrate with the local Zimbabwean or wider UK society; all which strengthened their feelings of being able to keep children safe. People also talked about the support system they created as a result of being with their church, family, friends and children's schools. Some also acknowledge the challenges of not having a very good network in their parenting experiences.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 1?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 2: Parenting in the British system (Lived body)

People talked about various acts of adjusting to the system in order to feel connected and act out fatherly or motherly. A variety of perspectives were expressed about relations with children and the move towards power balanced relationships

compared to how most participants were raised in a Zimbabwean system. Some expressed feeling powerless in their role as a parent by transitioning to power balanced relations. Parents detailed aspects that heighten their sense of protecting their children, these include; parenting in the social media area, security fears, children's race consciousness or racist encounters and a need to provide a safe home environment. Access to health services was mostly described as a positive experience. People described a positive change in their health seeking behaviour in response to the mandatory checks required for children and free healthcare. Some parents highlighted attentiveness to child protection laws and policies so that they act in a way a father or mother is expected to within the UK system.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 2?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 3: The parenting journey

People's present experiences and hopes for the future were described as being influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences. People on the whole demonstrated a desire to transmit aspects of culture (language, food and values) with a goal to have their child/ren maintain a strong Zimbabwean identity. Some experienced difficulties in transmitting language whilst others saw it as a natural process. People also highlighted how the change in circumstances also shifted the previously assigned gender roles when raising children in the UK context. Some felt that this was a positive change which resulted in fathers increasing contact with children although initially this was seen as a huge change. The UK society has allowed both the parent and child to share family time and fewer opportunities in some instances. People particularly value opportunities for fathers to spend time and bond with their children as they compare their experiences as children in Zimbabwe.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 3?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 4: This is our home now

Experiences with the education system afforded parents an opportunity to choose which schools their children will attend. Most people preferred Catholic schools while a few considered distance from home and rankings. People interacted with schools through regular communication or parent evenings. Some parents were critical of the curriculum and some the teaching style which required a lot of their involvement. Most people talked about the complex child care environment which was difficult to manage. Some had work patterns which did not fit around child-care, others found it costly and it was also harder for some lone parents and those without access to public funds. People talked about how they adjusted to the parenting environment as they settled in the UK. Some parents felt some confusion with the perceived expectations and practices in relation to physical activity and food or diet. Most parents felt capable and empowered to sustain their children's health and wellbeing because of their professions and level of public health awareness. The UK parenting environment was described as affording parents an opportunity to provide a better life and future for children. This has a large impact on each parent deciding to raise their children in the UK. While most people described the ongoing struggle of work-life balance; some have managed to find the balance.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 4?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Appendix M Draft 1 of the study findings

Draft 1 findings summary

(changes following participant review/Silence Dialogue underlined)

Four main themes emerged from the study:

- 1) Shared Worlds
- 2) Parenting in the British system (Lived body)
- 3) The parenting journey
- 4) This is our home now

A summary of the findings in each theme is provided below for you to comment:

Theme 1: Shared Worlds

Interviewees expressed their awareness to existing in a multicultural space and the continuous process of embracing diversity while also facing cultural conflicts. There was a sense that children played a part in bringing awareness of diversity to parents; and resilience was also built on familiarity with others and their cultures. People also talked about the positive benefits of being within religious groups or having a strong belief in something of higher power. This gives an opportunity to transmit religious values to children and integrate with the local Zimbabwean or wider UK society; all which strengthened their feelings of being able to keep children safe. People also talked about the support system they created as a result of being with their church, family, friends and children's schools. Some also acknowledge the challenges of not having a very good network in their parenting experiences.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 1?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 2: Parenting in the British system (Lived body)

People talked about various acts of adjusting to the system in order to feel connected and act out fatherly or motherly. A variety of perspectives were expressed about relations with children and the move towards power balanced relationships compared to how most participants were raised in a Zimbabwean system. Some expressed feeling powerless in their role as a parent by transitioning to power

balanced relations. Parents detailed aspects that heighten their sense of protecting their children, these include; parenting in the social media area, security fears, children's race consciousness or racist encounters and a need to provide a safe home environment. Access to health services was mostly described as a positive experience. People described a positive change in their health seeking behaviour in response to the mandatory checks required for children and free healthcare. Some parents highlighted attentiveness to child protection laws and policies so that they act in a way a father or mother is expected to within the UK system. They also take account of the children being mostly independent thinkers who can easily call Social Services if they have clashes with parents.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 2?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 3: The parenting journey

People's present experiences and hopes for the future were described as being influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences. People on the whole demonstrated a desire to transmit aspects of culture (language, food and values) with a goal to have their child/ren maintain a strong Zimbabwean identity. Some experienced difficulties in transmitting language, particularly in multicultural households, whilst others saw it as a natural process. People also highlighted how the change in circumstances also shifted the previously assigned gender roles when raising children in the UK context. Some felt that this was a positive change which resulted in fathers increasing contact with children although initially this was seen a huge change. The UK society has allowed both the parent and child to share family time and fewer opportunities in some instances. People particularly value opportunities for fathers to spent time and bond with their children as they compare their experiences as children in Zimbabwe.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 3?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 4: This is our home now

Experiences with the education system afforded parents an opportunity to choose which schools their children will attend. Most people preferred Catholic schools while a few considered distance from home and rankings. People interacted with schools through regular communication or parent evenings. Some parents were critical of the curriculum and some the teaching style which required a lot of their involvement. Most people talked about the complex child care environment which was difficult to manage. Some had work patterns which did not fit around child-care, others found it costly, one had flexible working patterns at one point to manage and it was harder for some lone parents and those without access to public funds. People talked about how they adjusted to the parenting environment as they settled in the UK. Some parents felt some confusion with the perceived expectations and practices in relation to physical activity and food or diet. Most parents felt capable and empowered to sustain their children's health and wellbeing because of their professions and level of public health awareness. The UK parenting environment was described as affording parents an opportunity to provide a better life and future for children. This has a large impact on each parent deciding to raise their children in the UK. While most people described the ongoing struggle of work-life balance; some have managed to find the balance with time. Poor work-life balance strains relationships with children and marriages.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 4?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Appendix N: Draft 2 findings

Draft 2 findings summary

(Changes following Collective Voices review underlined)

Four main themes emerged from the study:

- 1) Shared Worlds
- 2) Parenting in the UK system
- 3) The parenting journey
- 4) This is our home now

A summary of the findings in each theme is provided below for you to comment:

Theme 1: Shared Worlds

Interviewees expressed their awareness to existing in a multicultural space and the continuous process of embracing diversity while also facing cultural conflicts. There was a sense that children played a part in bringing awareness of diversity to parents; and resilience was also built on familiarity with others and their cultures. People also talked about the positive benefits of being within religious groups or having a strong belief in something of higher power. This gives an opportunity to transmit religious values to children and integrate with the local Zimbabwean or wider UK society; all which strengthened their feelings of being able to keep children safe. People also talked about the support system they created as a result of being with their church, family, friends and children's schools. Some also acknowledge the challenges of not having a very good network in their parenting experiences.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 1?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 2: Parenting in the British system

People talked about various acts of adjusting to the system in order to feel connected and act out fatherly or motherly. A variety of perspectives were expressed about relations with children and the move towards power balanced relationships compared to how most participants were raised in a Zimbabwean system. Some expressed feeling powerless in their role as a parent by transitioning to power

balanced relations. Parents detailed aspects that heighten their sense of protecting their children, these include; parenting in the social media area, security fears, children's race consciousness or racist encounters and a need to provide a safe home environment. Access to health services was mostly described as a positive experience. People described a positive change in their health seeking behaviour in response to the mandatory checks required for children and free healthcare. Some parents highlighted attentiveness to child protection laws and policies so that they act in a way a father or mother is expected to within the UK system. They also take account of the children being mostly independent thinkers who can easily call Social Services if they have clashes with parents.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 2?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 3: The parenting journey

People's present experiences and hopes for the future were described as being influenced by their upbringing in Zimbabwe and personal experiences. People on the whole demonstrated a desire to transmit aspects of culture (language, food and values) with a goal to have their child/ren maintain a strong Zimbabwean identity. Some experienced difficulties in transmitting language, particularly in multicultural households, whilst others saw it as a natural process. People also highlighted how the change in circumstances also shifted the previously assigned gender roles when raising children in the UK context. Some felt that this was a positive change which resulted in fathers increasing contact with children although initially this was seen a huge change. The UK society has allowed both the parent and child to share family time and fewer opportunities in some instances. People particularly value opportunities for fathers to spent time and bond with their children as they compare their experiences as children in Zimbabwe.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 3?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)

Theme 4: This is our home now

Experiences with the education system afforded parents an opportunity to choose which schools their children will attend. Most people preferred Catholic schools while a few considered distance from home and rankings. People interacted with schools through regular communication or parent evenings. Some parents were critical of the curriculum and some the teaching style which required a lot of their involvement. Most people talked about the complex child care environment which was difficult to manage. Some had work patterns which did not fit around child-care, others found it costly, one had flexible working patterns at one point to manage and it was harder for some lone parents and those without access to public funds. People talked about how they adjusted to the parenting environment as they settled in the UK. Some parents felt some confusion with the perceived expectations and practices in relation to physical activity and food or diet. Most parents felt capable and empowered to sustain their children's health and wellbeing because of their professions and level of public health awareness. The UK parenting environment was described as affording parents an opportunity to provide a better life and future for children. This has a large impact on each parent deciding to raise their children in the UK. While most people described the ongoing struggle of work-life balance; some have managed to find the balance with time. Poor work-life balance strains relationships with children and marriages.

Do you see your experiences of raising children and maintaining their health and wellbeing reflected in theme 4?

Yes

No (If no, please provide a comment in the space provided)