

Development Capacity of African Communities in Diaspora: A Case Study of Zimbabweans Living in Botswana

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Abstract: The study critically scrutinized the development prospects of the African communities in diaspora with a critical study and analysis of the situation of the Zimbabwean community in Botswana. The study sought to fill a vacuity in the exploration of the acquiescence and capacity of Zimbabweans living in Botswana to participate in development in Zimbabwe. The inquisition was carried out in Botswana employing mail and electronic questionnaires, in depth interviews and ethnographic data. Fifty mail survey respondents, seven electronic survey respondents and twelve in depth study respondents were utilised in the current study. The mixed method approach employed yielded data that could not have been obtained with one inquiry method only. Using the transnational capability framework, the research established the existence of both adept and inept Diaspora in Botswana. The study discovered that the Zimbabwean community in Botswana is actively engaged in transnational activities. The study discovered the willingness of the diaspora to participate in the advancement of their families and communities in Zimbabwe. There are some constraints that impede the full participation of the Diaspora community that were eminent in the study. The brief interval covered by permits affect the migrants' prospects to access loans from commercial banks or engage in long term planning as they risk non-renewal of their permits in the foreign land. As regards the Zimbabwean side the economic and political ambivalence affect the commitment by some Zimbabweans in the diaspora to invest in Zimbabwe. The possibility of engagement between Zimbabweans in the diaspora is affected by lack of trust between the present- regime and the citizens in the Diaspora. The author in this study recommended that the Government of Zimbabwe should create a database of Zimbabweans living in Botswana to establish the availability of skills base for capacity development. Additionally, Zimbabweans living abroad are recommended to forge Home Town Associations (HTAs) that can aid them in partnering and sourcing Development Aid (DA) for their respective communities. Both the Governments of Botswana and Zimbabwe are diplomatically urged to consider extension of permits and providing dual citizenship to Zimbabwean applicants for the benefit of the two countries. There is also need for the Government of Zimbabwe to decrease duty on capital goods to allow the Diaspora community to bring back home the productive capital for investment.

Keywords: Development Capacity. Diaspora communities. Transnationalism. Transnational Capability Framework.

1. INTRODUCTION

The term diaspora comes from an ancient Greek word meaning "to scatter about." And that's exactly what the people of a diaspora do, they scatter from their homeland to places across the globe, spreading their culture as they go. The concept "diaspora" is defined as a large group of people with a similar heritage or homeland who have since moved out to places all over the world (Perllinerand Mullings,2013).It is eminent that mobility is one of the traits that have characterised Human societies since pre-historic times. The United Nations (2009) divulged that about 3.1 percent of the world population lived and worked outside their country of birth in 2008. For instance, in Zimbabwe, about 3- 4 million citizens are said to be living outside the country (UNDP, 2010). This signifies that about a quarter of Zimbabweans are living in the diaspora. The bulk of the Zimbabwean emigrants are found in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and the United Kingdom (UK).

In the past migration was perceived in negative terms as a cause of brain drain. Migration is now recognized as developmental in the academic world due to the realization of the contribution of migrants through abatements, investment, philanthropic contributions, tourism in their home countries, capital market investment, technology transfer and return of human capital (Davies, 2007; Bloch, 2005, IOM and MPI , 2012). Myriad studies have revealed that countries like; China, India, Taiwan, Mexico and Philippines have benefited from the capital of their citizens in diaspora (Eversole, 2008; De Hass, 2010; IOM, 2009; Davies, 2007). The capacity of the African Diasporas in countries like Ghana, Uganda, and Rwanda has been affirmatively chronicled (Davies, 2007).

The present study designated to classify other development coliseum where Diasporas can engage into besides financial abatements. The political capital, financial capital, built capital, human capital, social capital and cultural capital of Zimbabwean diaspora community in Gaborone and other parts of Botswana were explored. The study utilized the transnational capability approach that was used by Bloch (2005). Bloch used the transnational capability approach in an inquiry of the development proficiency of Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom (UK). The capabilities approach aims to bring a new dimension to the study of the diaspora communities as it deviates from the traditional scholarship which is capital centred & driven. The transnational capabilities framework aims to probe other values like; time, affiliation, respect and identity.

1.1. Research Questions

The study was directed by the following research questions:

- What human capital is accessible by Zimbabweans in Botswana?
- What are the transnational social, political and economic activities executed by Zimbabweans in Botswana?
- What are the social relations that are nurtured by Zimbabweans in Botswana?
- What are the future roles that Zimbabweans yearn to develop their families and community in Zimbabwe?
- What are the obstacles encountered by Zimbabweans living in Botswana which impede full engagements in development projects?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW; HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE MIGRATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

The development paradigms guided the migration- development nexus and the migration policy framework of the different epochs. This section outlines the different phases of the Migration-development nexus scholarship in order to contextualise the paradigm adopted by this present study.

2.1. Developmentalist Optimism

The first phase of the Migration-development scholarship was from the 1950s to the 1970s. Policy makers and researchers viewed migration as beneficial to both the sending country and the host country (Chikanda, 2010; De Hass, 2007; Hennings, 2013). The optimistic position of scholars was influenced by the modernisation paradigm. The modernisation theory held that for developing countries to achieve progress they needed capital injection and adoption of progressive values and attitudes (Kindleberger, 1967 cited in Hennings, 2013). This implies that migrants from the third world countries were to acquire skills and capital in the developed world that would initiate development in their return. It was argued that the reverse flow of money and ideas would compensate for the brain drain (De Hass, 2007). Thus, academia before the 1970s linked development to return of migration.

2.2. Dependency Pessimism

According to De Hass, (2010), the period between 1970 and 1980 witnessed a paradigm shift to a postulation of a negative relationship between migration and development. Both the academic and the policy field maintained that migration led to underdevelopment of the third world through brain drain. Brain drain meant that the human resources were siphoned from the African countries to develop the metropolis in Europe (Cussons, 2015). This was influenced by the dependency paradigm and the

world systems theory, which maintained that development in the west was parasitic as it has robbed Africa of its human capital and natural capital. Consequently, the exodus of Zimbabwean professionals to countries like Botswana and other countries across the world have been linked to brain drain by scholars like Abel Chikanda.

2.3. Agency of Migrants

The 1990s accompanied in a period of empirical studies which shifted the perspective to theorisation of the agency of migrants. New theories such as the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) emerged which held that the decision to migrate was a household strategy to diversify income rather than an individual decision (Chikanda, 2010; De Hass 2010). Thus, it can be argued that the NELM meant that migrants have an obligation to the remaining family members. The theories of transnationalism, which postulate interaction between the migrants and their countries of origin emerged (De Hass, 2007). The current study draws from the theory of transnationalism as it seeks to identify the economic, social and political interaction between the Zimbabwean community in Botswana and their native country.

2.4. Migration and Development Optimism and Remittances

The fourth phase in the migration and development scholarship commenced in 2001. This period was marked by resurgence of optimism with the link between migration and development due to a focus on remittances (De Hass, 2007; Hennings, 2013). It is an eminent fact that the scholarship during this period transitioned from the position of the Modernisation paradigm which linked development to return of migration. The diaspora was viewed as a source of brain gain rather than a source of brain-drain (Brown, 2009; Kaplan, 1997 cited in Pellerin and Mulling, 2013). The role of remittances in development was influenced by the instances of China, India and Taiwan (Pellerin and Mulling, 2013). Due to that, migrants could be mobilized to be agents of development in their home countries while residing in the host country. This study therefore traverses the possibilities of the mobilization of the Zimbabwe diaspora community in Botswana to contribute to the recovery of the nation of Zimbabwe.

2.5. Heterogeneous Impact of Migration and Development

While the scholarship of the previous decades had a unidirectional relationship between migration and development, recent scholarship advocated for by De Haas (2010), has postulated that migration has heterogeneous impacts on development. De Hass (2010) suggested a Migration Transition theory, which emphasised that migration and development had a non-linear relationship since the country passed through various stages of transitions. This current study is as well premised on a theoretical framework that acknowledges the diversity of the impacts of the diaspora on any form of development in the society.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employed the Transnational Capability approach as a theoretical framework to study the development proficiency of Zimbabweans living in Botswana. The transnational capabilities framework was used by Bloch (2005) to examine the development prospects of five hundred (500) Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom. The theory is derived from transnationalism and the capability approach of Amartya Sen. This section traces the theories of Migration and Development that are connected to the theoretical framework of this contemporary study. The present section outlines Mohan's classification of the relationship between development and the diaspora. A critique of Mohan's proposition is followed by a depiction of the transnational theory together with its critique.

3.1. Development in the Diaspora

According to Mohan (2002) development in the diaspora refers to the use of connections with another diaspora within the host country to secure a livelihood benefit. This refers to Migrant collaboration to develop themselves in the host country (Chikanda, 2010). The contemporary study explores intra-migrant connections within Botswana in order to explore the social capital at the disposal of the diaspora community in Botswana. It should be eminent that the current study is focused on the impact of the migrants in the home country rather than the host.

3.2. Development through the Diaspora

Development through the Diaspora refers to the use of global connections by the diaspora to secure economic and social wellbeing (Mohan, 2002; Mohan & Zack-William, 2002). This involves Diaspora networks underpinning each other from different countries (Chikanda, 2010). This may be less effective in the case of Botswana as the country lacks vibrant institutions. However, institutions like; Masiye-phambili Cultural Association and some connected individuals may be applicable to Mohan's thesis of Development through the diaspora.

3.3. Development by the Diaspora

Development by the diaspora involves 'diasporic flows and connections' facilitating development in the country of origin (Mohan, 2002; Cussons, 2015). In the current study the question of the developmental role of remittances (finance and commodities sent by the migrant to the family, friends and institutions in the home country) is the subject of development by the diaspora. Chikanda (2010) noted that the capacity of the diaspora to facilitate development is dependent on the degree of integration in the host- country.

3.4. Transnationalism

The transnational lens was introduced in migration studies by sociologists and anthropologists in the 1990s. The term transnationalism is defined by Glick-Schiller (1992:1) as "*The process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.*" In other ways, transnationalism refers to the diffusion and extension of social, political, economic processes in between and beyond the sovereign jurisdiction boundaries of nation-states. In this context, international processes are increasingly governed by non- state actors and other international institutions.

The above definition presupposes a binary relationship that links the diaspora with their country of origin. Furthermore, this is expounded by Vertovec (2001:274) as migrants' maintenance of "*attachment to the families, traditions and causes outside the nation-state to which they have moved*". This includes the interactions with other Diasporas and organisations in other countries besides the host country. The term attachment means that there must be a sustainable 'bond' between the migrant and people in the country of origin or the other diaspora (Dunn, 2005). In the context of this present study, the researchers have to substantiate the attachment of the diaspora members through the frequency of their social and financial interactions with individuals or institutions in Zimbabwe.

Portes e tal (1999) identified three (3) forms of transnational linkages, which are social, political and economic forms. Transnationalism is further divided into the binary of Transnationalism from above and Transnationalism from below (Smith & Guarzino, 1998). Transnationalism from above refers to the activities or interconnections of groups, while Transnationalism from below refers to the activities and interconnections of individuals in the society.

Mupakati (2012) duly noted the following reasons for the utilization of the transnational framework:

- It is helpful in illuminating the migrant return intention;
- It privileges social capital, remittances and circulation as key components;
- It recognises the multi-sightedness of the lives of the diaspora;
- Acknowledges the activities of networks linking the diaspora and their place of origin.

The transnational framework is not immune from critics just like other theories. The following criticisms have been advanced by scholars like Forner (1997) and Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004):

- a) It is not a new phenomenon;
- b) It is trans local as it sometimes links neighbouring villages or towns across the national boundaries;
- c) Dual loyalty is not possible since migrants may be viewed with suspicion in both countries.

The current study notes that while transnationalism refers to old practices, there have been some changes owing to the advances in communication, technology and globalisation. The transnational framework is nevertheless useful in analysing the activities of Zimbabwean Migrants in Botswana.

3.5. Capability Approach

The capability approach introduced a human centred dimension in the development discourse. Prior to the 1990s, development was conceptualised in terms of deliberate effort towards progressive change (Thomas, 1996). Consequently, measures of development in economic terms such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP) were influenced by this conceptualization which originated from the modernization paradigm. Sen (1999) conceptualized development as the expansion of people's liberty. This means the expansion of people's capabilities. Capabilities refer to "*what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead*" (Sen, 1987).

It is on this basis that the capability approach addresses people's choices and freedoms to improve their wellbeing in the community. This includes being well-fed, healthy life, good education, happy family life, political and civil liberties (Sen, 1999). Engagement of people in the development process is an imperative in the capabilities approach. This study obtains from the capabilities approach in the conceptualization of development as well as the theoretical framework of transnational capabilities.

3.6. Transnational Capability

The transnational capability framework refers to the willingness and ability of Migrant groups to engage in activities that transcend national boundaries (Al Ali et al, 2001). The transnational capability framework was used by Alice Bloch to analyse the transnational activities of 500 Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom (Bloch, 2008). The theory was also used by the IOM to analyse the Salvadoran refugees in Australia (Merle, 2012). Transnational capabilities differ from transnational activities since the latter are observable actions such as the sending of remittances, communication and frequent visits to the home country (Al Ali et al, 2001). Bloch (2008) noted that transnational capability is determined by identification with the social, economic and political processes in one's country of origin. It is also influenced by both the home country and host country institutions. For instance, the ability to acquire a job and a residents' permit in Botswana will influence one's ability to visit home and send abatement to Zimbabwe.

Merle (2012) posited that the transnational capability is influenced by mobility, communication, social relations, time allocation, education and knowledge as well as access to paid work. It should be indicated that factors influencing capabilities are context specific. Bloch (2008) discovered that in the United Kingdom, the Zimbabwean migrants' capabilities were affected by the immigration status, intention to return and possession of property in Zimbabwe. This study therefore will determine the other factors that influence the transnational capabilities of Zimbabweans living in Botswana.

3.7. Utility of the Transnational Capability Approach as a Theoretical Framework

The transnational capability approach is useful in researching migrants with manifold attributes like the Zimbabweans living in Botswana. The Zimbabwean diaspora in Botswana is heterogeneous in terms of period of stay in Botswana, immigration status, educational level and employment status. Therefore, it can be used to scan the transnational capability of undocumented migrants (Bloch, 2008; Mutsindikwa, 2012).

The transnational capability framework makes use of a broader picture of wellbeing and not just the abatement flows (Gasper and Truong, 2012). This signifies that the framework studies the diaspora contributions holistically and not just in terms of their monetary contributions. On that basis, the present study can discover multiple opportunities and restrictions of Diasporas not just in economic terms. Gasper and Truong (2012) declared that the perspective counters the capital and nation centred perspectives. A transnational capability is people centred and therefore it is useful in researching vulnerable groups like undocumented and despised migrants in a foreign land like Botswana. It will therefore be imperative to capture the concerns of the vulnerable and marginalized groupings.

3.8. Leveraging the Diaspora for Development; World Instances

According to McKenzie & Yang, (2015), Countries like; China, India, Philippines and Taiwan among other countries have benefited from their Diasporas. This segment sought to explore the role of the diaspora in these countries so as to affix the capability roles of the Zimbabwe Diaspora in a wider context. The Philippines Government policy focuses on exportation of labour. This means that the Government provides an education that will provide citizens with marketable skills abroad. Consequently, the Government of Philippines signed bilateral agreements with twenty- five (25) countries that required human capital (McKenzie & Yang, 2015). The country has to provide pre-departure orientation in order for the migrants to adjust in their countries of destination (Mackenzie & Yang, 2015).

The country further established structures to superintend over the welfare of the Philippines abroad. For instance, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration oversees the welfare of workers such as providing loans, scholarship, counselling and repatriation of distressed workers (UNDP, 2010). The legal rights of the overseas workers are guaranteed by the home government. These incentives have the merits of reducing unemployment back home. The UNDP (2010) reported that the Philippines had 7.4% unemployment by 2010 as a result of its policies.

The Philippines Government have set up an online portal 'Ban link Bayan' for diaspora engagement (Global Migration Group [GMG], 2013). This provides Diasporas information on business investments and other multiple volunteer opportunities at home. If the diasporas are informed and given opportunities to participate in the development programs of the country, they are compelled to work in partnership with their government.

According to UNDP (2010), Taiwan experienced a high rate of brain drain in the mid-nineteenth Century, therefore, its policy thrust is to recoup the skills from abroad (UNDP, 2010). Through its 'Brain trust' policy, Taiwan exhorts candid investment and return migration of its diaspora. According to the UNDP (2010), the following measures were adopted by Taiwan:

- a) Job placement programs at home for Taiwan Diasporas;
- b) Cross-networking between professionals in the country and those residing in the diaspora;
- c) Upgrading infrastructure such as the schools for children of returnees;
- d) Providing excellent working conditions and remuneration for returnees.

According to UNDP (2010), the policies of Taiwan are meant to incentivise the return option or short-term visits for capacity building by Diasporas. India on the other hand was reeling under the crippling economic sanctions after its nuclear test of 1998. The country therefore adopted a policy of leveraging investments from its citizen's abroad. This was done through selling bonds with an interest rate 2% higher than the prevailing United States market. The Indian diaspora was given a choice to redeem the bonds in either the US Dollars or the Germany Mark (UNDP, 2010). It is through such incentives the Indian diaspora would have an added incentive besides patriotism to buy the Government Bonds.

Furthermore, the Chinese government is presiding over a populous state with many of its citizens in the Diaspora, many have migrated to Africa. In its 'Diaspora option' the Chinese Government encourages Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and philanthropy from its citizen's abroad (UNDP, 2010). The government set up the Overseas Chinese office to administer the Chinese Diaspora (Xing & Opoku-Mensah, 2008). The government also ensures that the investments of the Chinese abroad are legally protected. The Chinese Government offers multi-entry visas for those Chinese who are no longer Citizens (Plaza, 2010). The strategy of the Chinese Government therefore is to exhort and promote investment and FDI.

It is of significance to state that the policies of the Governments of China, Taiwan, Philippines and India have varying degrees of success. The Taiwan brain trust model, owing to its incentives, attracted about five thousand (5,000) returning Scientists in the year 2000 (Saxenian, 2002). This was on account of the incentives of upgrading infrastructure and competitive salaries for the returnees. Plaza (2012) discovered that return programs mainly attract the less successful in the Diaspora, since the brightest tend to stay. In the context of India and China the policies of attracting investments from the

Diaspora seem to achieve some degree of success as evidenced by income from the Diaspora entrepreneurs. Pelling and Mulling (2013) observed that in the 1990s about one third of the businesses in the Silicon Valley were from India and China. These businesses were investing more than 1 Billion US dollars in China and India respectively. These countries were able to encourage diaspora investment at home. This resulted in the Indian Software business boom. The Migration Policy Institute (MPI) (2008) argued that there are less abatements going directly to the families of Diaspora members. The Indian Diaspora also purchased £2, 3 Billion of government bonds in just over two (2) weeks in 1998 (MPI, 2004; UNDP, 2010). As a result of this, it is arguable that the poor may benefit from employment creation by these entrepreneurs (MPI, 2010).

As per context of Philippines, the policy generates some degree of success as it managed to reduce unemployment and facilitate sending abatements to the Filipinos at home. The Filipinos abroad are said to have remitted 16, 4 billion US Dollars abroad (UNDP, 2010). The development impact of these remittances is subject to scholarly debate. However, it can be argued that the Philippines program can alleviate poverty since the money is remitted directly to the dependents of the Filipinos in the diaspora. On the similar basis, the Government of Zimbabwe has to cultivate a positive relationship with its citizens in Diaspora, if it is to follow the footsteps of the above stated Asian countries.

4. THE ROLE OF THE DIASPORA IN DEVELOPMENT: AFRICAN CASE STUDIES

The role of the Government partnering with the diaspora in order to promote development is exemplified by the case of Ghana. It should be noted that Ghana is one of the countries that experienced mass exodus of its human capital under the military regime from 1981 to 1985 (African Diaspora Policy Centre, 2011). The Ghanaian situation can be comparable to the post-2000 situation in Zimbabwe in terms of the flight of human capital. As a result, Ghana would provide a good model for the comparative study for leveraging the Diaspora for socio-economic development.

The Government of Ghana took an initiative to attract the diaspora contributions through a number of policies that entailed the participation of the Diaspora in the economic, social and political processes. The Government created the Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora relations to oversee and draft policies for the Diaspora issues (Ankomah et al, 2012). This means that the Government of Ghana officially recognised the existence and the role of the Diaspora in national issues. The Government of Ghana also granted the Diasporas dual citizenship in 2001 as well as the voting rights in 2006 (Ankomah et al, 2012). This means that they were recognised as full citizens with a voice in the governance of the country. Thus, participation leads to ownership and sustainability.

The Government of Ghana also organises events such as home coming summit, the Joseph project and Ghana Expos in the destination Countries in order to reconnect the diaspora with Ghana (Ankomah et al, 2013; Davies, 2011; MPI, 2004). These events update the Ghanaians about developments at home as well as the needs to be addressed by the Diasporas.

The chiefs also offered land to Ghanaians in order to incentivise the return migration of Citizens abroad (Ankomah, 2012). The Government encourages return for highly skilled immigrants and entrepreneurs. Philanthropy and investment is encouraged and incentivised in projects such as the Joseph project. The clergy also promote remittances. Pentecostal churches are affiliated to the main churches in Ghana and this gives the clergy a sway on the Diaspora (Motsamai&Zondi, 2010). The government of Ghana therefore recognises the potential role the Diaspora community and make some effort to leverage the Diaspora contributions.

The Ghana diaspora also partner with the Government to initiate some development projects. The Ghanaians in their different countries have formed Home Town Associations in order to contribute to the development of their places of origin. For example, the Home Town Associations undertake projects such as building of schools, clinics, setting up food gardens, construction of ablution facilities and humanitarian relief (Motsamai & Zondi, 2010). The residents of Western Ghana based in the United Kingdom, donated building material for the completion of the Medical laboratory for Khamang Health Centre (MPI, 2004:22).

Ghana citizens abroad also return home either temporarily or permanently to settle in Ghana. Ankomah and others (2012) noted that the highly skilled diaspora undertake brain exchanges through temporary volunteer teaching in Universities of Ghana. The highly skilled diaspora helps in the reconstruction of the country. For example, a returnee Information Technology professional designed specialised software for tracking inventory, payroll and Accounting used by the companies in Ghana (Ankomah et al, 2012). The diaspora therefore helps through brain gain and brain exchange upon their permanent return or temporary visits.

While the policies of Ghana have improved remittances and some development projects, there are some constraints in the policy framework of Ghana. The Change of Governments has affected continuity of some of the initiatives. For example, voting could not be done in 2009 due to logistical problems (MPI, 2004). The case of Ghana therefore can provide an insight to the Government of Zimbabwe in leveraging financial and human capital from the Botswana.

4.1. Historical Formation of the Zimbabwe Diaspora

Migration dates back to Pre-historic times. In Zimbabwe the black Zimbabweans began to migrate to South Africa during the pre-colonial times to work in mines and sugar plantations (Ncube, 2004).

Different waves of migration resulted in the formation of a significant diaspora community of Zimbabweans living in Botswana. Pasura (2008) outlined six phases of outmigration from Zimbabwe to different destinations that include Botswana, South Africa, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and USA among other countries. The current study outlines 4 episodes of migration to Botswana.

Episode 1: The Liberation Struggle

The liberation struggle resulted in the exodus of whites and black Zimbabweans to both regional and overseas destinations. Many Zimbabweans, especially those from Matabeleland fled the country and sought refuge in Botswana during the 1970s. Crush and Tevera (2010) noted that by the end of the war there were about 23 000 Zimbabwean refugees in Botswana. There was a return migration after the attainment of Independence in 1980, nevertheless, some settled permanently in Botswana after the attainment of independence.

Episode 2: Post-Independence disturbances in Midlands & Matabeleland

The post - independence conflict between the Government forces and dissidents in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands resulted in a lot of people fleeing the country fearing for their lives if they could be suspected to be dissidents or loyalists (Mupakati, 2010). The Government responded through a full military operation known as Gukurahundi from 1983 to 1987. The operation is estimated to have led to the emigration of about 5000 people of Matabeleland to Botswana (UNDP, 2011; SAMP, 2012). This emigration phase involved the women and children who were affected by the indiscriminate killings (Mupakati, 2012). The unity accord was signed between Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in 1987, resulting in the cessation of conflict. This led to the return migration of Zimbabweans from Midlands and Matabeleland. However, a sizable number of migrants of this episode could have remained and settled in Botswana permanently.

Episode 3: Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP)

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme of the 1990s resulted in the loss of jobs and livelihoods due to retrenchments and removal of subsidies (Zinyama, 2000). Relatively poor salaries in comparison with the neighbouring countries like Botswana, South Africa and Namibia led to the large exodus of professionals, skilled workers and non-skilled workers.

Episode 4: Migrations induced by the onset of the Crisis

Zimbabwe experienced a severe crisis from the year 2000, which was characterized by the collapse of services, shortage of commodities and the hyper-inflationary environment that led to the collapse of the Zimbabwean Dollar. The unemployment situation worsened to over 80 percent (SAMP, 2012). Inflation also destroyed the people's livelihoods. Most professionals fled to neighbouring countries including Botswana and further afield into the United Kingdom and Australia.

The violent farm invasions of the year 2000 destroyed the agricultural base of the economy and displaced the farm workers (Mabhena, 2012; SAMP, 2012). As a result, most of the former farm workers trekked to Botswana and South Africa. The Migration episode starting from 2000 involved a wide spectrum of people which included professionals and unskilled labourers. Muzondidja (2011) revealed that this episode involved the migration of whole families.

It can be noted that different waves of Migration resulted in the formation of the contemporary Diaspora population in Botswana. These included the victim Diasporas as in the case of independence war refugees and Ndebeles fleeing the Gukurahundi operation. There was a trade diaspora as well as the labour diaspora of both the skilled and non-skilled job seekers. Therefore, the Zimbabwean Diaspora in Botswana is a heterogeneous entity; hence the study needed to capture this diversity.

4.2. Zimbabwean Government Diaspora Engagement Efforts

The relationship between the Government of Zimbabwe and the Diaspora has always been one of suspicion owing to the different migration waves which emanated from some hostile relations. Gomo (2015) noted that prior to the government of National Unity (GNU) of 2009; the Diasporas were associated with ‘deserters, border jumpers, traitors and enemy of the state’. The above terms mean that there was a hostile relationship between the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) and the nationals living abroad.

The Government of Zimbabwe associated the Diaspora with opposition politics especially after the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. Most diasporic issues were dominated by anti-ZANU PF activities prior to the GNU (McGregor and Pasura, 2010; Muzondidja, 2011). It should be noted that some of the Diaspora elements in countries like South Africa and the United Kingdom were asylum seekers in the host- countries. Some had left after the parliamentary elections of 2000 and presidential elections of 2002, which were marred by accusations of violence on the part of the ruling party ZANU PF by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Thus, the negative relationship between the Government and the Diaspora was not conducive to dialogue between the two parties.

4.3. Government of Zimbabwe Efforts towards Leveraging the Diaspora Remittances

The Government of Zimbabwe realised the importance of Zimbabweans living outside the country in sending remittances. This resulted in a deliberate effort to harness the diaspora remittances through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ). A team led by the late economist Eric Bloch visited United Kingdom, United States and South Africa to engage the Zimbabwean Diaspora (UNDP, 2010). It can be noted that Botswana was excluded in the visits since the Government expected the Diaspora in the developed world to be better skilled and therefore have more disposable income than the Diaspora in third world countries.

The Diaspora engagement initiative resulted in the setting up of Home link, which was an RBZ initiative for harvesting foreign currency (UNDP, 2010). Home link had a package of Money Transfer Services, a Diaspora foreign currency bond and a Housing scheme for Zimbabweans abroad (UNDP, 2010; IOM, 2009; Muzondidja, 2011). The Foreign Currency Bond had an attractive interest rate of 12 percent. In the Housing Scheme, the diasporas were to pay in foreign currency while the RBZ would pay the building societies and estate agencies in local currency (Herald, 16 June 2004, cited in Muzondidja, 2011:130). The Money Transfer Agencies (MTAs) were licensed to buy foreign currency and exchange it for Zimbabwean dollars. However, the Home link scheme failed because of several reasons including lack of trust between Zimbabweans living abroad and the Government

Several attempts were made by the Government of Zimbabwe to involve the diasporas in the reconstruction of the country but these attempts failed to produce positive results. Similar attempts were made by the Government of National Unity (GNU) formed in 2009 but like those before the GNU they failed to produce positive results. It is noted that the engagement process tended to favour the interests of the elite Diaspora at the expense of the struggling majority such as the undocumented migrants (McGregor, 2011). It is further noted that even the MDC expressed their members in the diaspora had developed selfish interests and were out of touch with the Zimbabwean problems (McGregor, 2011). Thus, mistrust between the Diasporas and the stakeholders in the GNU meant that

the transitional government could not fully involve the Diasporas in the Zimbabwean development agenda, as in the case of countries like India and Ghana.

The post-GNU government did not experience any positive relations with the Diasporas as the mistrust that existed before the GNU re-surfaced. The Diaspora vote, which had been demanded by the Diaspora groups, was not unrolled in 2013. This means that the Government of 2013 was unpopular with sections of the diaspora that demanded the Diaspora vote. Kwinjeh (2014) noted that politicians were not sincere in their engagement with the Diaspora as evidenced by the silence of both ZANU PF and the opposition parties on the crucial role of the diaspora vote.

4.4. Human Capital of the Zimbabwean Diaspora

Cussons (2012) noted that areas of strategic intervention of the Diaspora include human capacity, governance, Information technology and Brain gain. This dovetails with Pellerin and Mullings (2013) who proposed the 'diaspora option', a policy option that views the diaspora as a source of brain exchange. This means that most of the members of the Diaspora are highly educated and hence they seek opportunities abroad if conditions are not attractive at home.

Hennings (2013) noted that countries like Jordan and Philippines utilise the exportation of human capital as a strategy. This means that migration can stimulate an intensification of intellectual pursuits as a means to increase one's chances of employment abroad. The current study sought to identify the different professionals and skilled workers that are employed in Botswana. Zimbabwe had a literacy rate of 90, 7% by the year 2002, which is the highest rate in sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2003). This means that the migration of the Zimbabweans created a brain drain that is bound to affect the services and production in the country. Snell and Dean (1992, cited in Chimbodza, (2012) postulated that the concept of human capital explains that people possess skills, experience and knowledge that enhances productivity. Thus, if the Zimbabwean diaspora in Botswana is composed of the skilled and experienced individuals, it is bound to enhance productivity in the host country and can enhance productivity in Zimbabwe through skills transfer on return.

4.5. Transnational Activities of the Diaspora Communities

Transnationalism has been viewed as attachment to families, communities' traditions and causes outside the migrant's country of settlement (Vertovec, 2001). This means that transnational activities that link different countries. These economic activities imply the existence of networks linking both the country of origin and the destination countries.

4.6. Transnational Activities of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora

Most studies noted that Zimbabweans in the diaspora are actively involved transnationally, through the sending of remittances. Researchers on remittances noted that most families in Zimbabwe depended on remittances for their survival during the crisis (Maphosa, 2007). The country did not have social services and there was shortage of commodities in the post 2000 era. Thus, abatements in the form of cash and food staffs were a source of livelihood for many Zimbabwean families (Muzondidja, 2011). Bloch (2008) lists some of the gifts sent by the Diaspora from Britain. These included clothes, books, electrical goods, medicines and used cars among other items. Other activities of the Zimbabwean Diaspora communities included donations to charities, building of schools, churches and hospitals (Maphosa, 2007). Most schools are said to have benefited books and other technological devices from their former students in the diaspora. This means that some diaspora makes collective donations that are typical of Home Town Associations formed by the diaspora groups such as the Mexicans in the United States of America. This dovetails with the observation by Hove (2014), who noted that Diaspora organisations are doing great work in Chivu and Hartcliffe such as providing the community access to clean water, education and health care. However, the development impact of the monetary and in-kind remittances is subject to scholarly debate.

4.7. Remittance-development Nexus

During the crisis in Zimbabwe, the remittances were the main means of survival for most families and remittances played a crucial role in the alleviation of poverty where the state was incapacitated. Bloch (2008) noted that since remittances were mostly used for basics that include housing, they played a developmental role as they helped to improve health, reduce diseases and improve nutrition and

housing. This is in congruence with the argument postulated by Tevera and Chikanda (2009) that meeting the immediate needs of the families like housing, water, food, education and health care are significant investments in human capital. Therefore, through sending remittances to pay fees for their children, the Diaspora can contribute to volte-face the brain drains in Zimbabwe.

Mudungwe (2009) posited that the remittances in Zimbabwe have the potential to revive the industry if they are properly channelled as lines of credit to revive the production capacity of the industry. The remittances also act as a source of foreign currency in a country like Zimbabwe where international balance of payment support has dried up (Mudungwe, 2009). Therefore, remittances have a developmental role, especially if they are sent through the formal channels. Other studies have noted that remittances are not developmental since they are sent directly to the beneficiaries. Magunha and others (2009, cited by UNDP, 2010) noted that most of the remittances are channelled towards conspicuous consumption and therefore cannot promote sustainable economic development. Beneficiaries of remittances may develop an extravagant lifestyle of consuming expensive foreign products that undermines local production.

4.8. Transnational Socio-cultural Activities

“Socio-cultural transnationalism concerns the emergence of practices of sociability, mutual help and public rituals rooted in cultural understandings that pertains to the sense of belonging and social obligations of immigrants” (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002 cited in Schunck, 2014:50).

Transnational social activities are dichotomised into those with a home country focus and activities with a host country focus (Bloch, 2008). Activities with a home country focus include visits to families and friends in the country of origin, contributions to newspapers and cultural events. Activities with a host-country focus include membership of clubs, religious groups and cultural gatherings (Bloch, 2008).

Studies noted that most Zimbabweans frequently communicate with their relatives in Zimbabwe. The research by Bloch (2008) revealed that 70 % of the Diaspora members were in contact with their families at least once a week. The studies by Mupakati (2010) also confirmed that there is regular communication between Migrants in South Africa and United Kingdom with their relatives in Zimbabwe. The medium of communication by Zimbabweans in UK and South Africa included telephone, short message services, email, and letters (Mupakati, 2012). The Internet and its related social media are a new addition.

The social bonds between Diaspora members and their families and relatives are also maintained by frequent visits to the country of origin. Bloch (2005, 2008) noted that Zimbabweans in the Diaspora frequently visited their home country. The other social link that connects Zimbabweans to their home is food. Zimbabweans in the UK buy staple food products from Zimbabwe (Mupakati, 2012).

4.9. Transnational Political Activities in Zimbabwe’s Diaspora Communities

Schunck (2014) maintained that transnational political activities entail electoral and non-electoral activities that are aimed at influencing decisions in the sending country. Political activities involve membership of a political organisation in the country of origin or participation in politics related to the country of origin (Schunck, 2014:49). This means that there is political transnationalism when a Diaspora member maintains connection with a political party, organisation or causes related the home country situation. Transnational political activities could also involve activities that are aimed at improving the condition of the Diaspora in the host country if the cause gains assistance from the sending Country (Kuhlmann, 2010). For example, if the diaspora community demonstrates against Xenophobia in South Africa with the support of the Zimbabwean government, then it becomes transnational political activity. Zimbabweans in the diaspora engage in political activities on a variable degree.

The Zimbabwean diaspora have formed many organisations that deal with the Zimbabwean cause. Prominent political parties like MDC, ZANU PF and ZAPU have branches in countries like South Africa and the UK. Zimbabwean Diaspora has variable engagement with the home government. Diaspora activities include human rights and opposition support, support for the government, secessionist activism and Rhodesian lobby (Kuhlmann, 2010). The activities of the diaspora political

activists in London included lobbying against ZANUPF and the military in Zimbabwe. The Diaspora activists lobbied for the extension of sanctions against President Mugabe and some members of ZANU PF and the army (Mbiba, 2010).

4.9.1. Return Migration

Return migration has been a subject to scholarly and policy debates. The debates are centred on the potential benefits and costs of return migration. Cerase (1974, cited in Makina, 2012) postulated a threefold typology of return migration. This included the return of migrants who come back as a result of failure to achieve what they intended. For example, some may return because of failure to secure a job. The second typology of return migration is the return on retirement or at old age. The last typology is the return of innovation. A study by Logan (1992) revealed that Zimbabweans who were returning from the United States of America were in the forefront in setting up businesses in Zimbabwe. This concurs with Wanba (2015) who noted that return migration is beneficial since migrants who have accumulated wealth can set up businesses.

Studies investigating the return intentions of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora noted that the majority of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora indicated that they would want to return in the near future (Bloch, 2005, Makina, 2012; Mupakati, 2012). The conditions for return included accumulation of wealth, change of Government, improvement of the economic and political situation (Bloch, 2005; Makina, 2012).

5. OBSTRUCTIONS TO RETURN MIGRATION

The conditions in the home country as well as opportunities in the host country may be a hindrance to return migration. Khonje (2015) declared that return may be deferred until children complete schooling. This could be true of the post 2000 episode that involved the migration of whole families. Decision to return means that the returnee would encounter with the society that has changed radically from what they were familiar with (Mandiyani, 2014). Similarly, Makina (2012) noted that migrants who left after 2000 were more likely to return than those who left before. The medical system of Zimbabwe is said to be less favourable compared to the countries where Zimbabweans live (Mandiyani, 2014). The conditions cannot lure the Diaspora members to return as they feel insecure. The health workers also lamented the exorbitant registration fees, which are not commensurate with their salaries upon their return (Mandiyani, 2014).

6. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure (Kothari & Gaurav, 2021). The researcher used the mixed methods approach that combines both the qualitative and quantitative techniques in collecting and analysing data. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2007 cited in Holstein, 2014:4) define mixed methods approach as the “*type of research in which a researcher or a team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.*” The research used the quantitative techniques through distribution of questionnaires that yielded quantitative data. The survey was combined with ethnography and in-depth interviews that applied qualitative techniques resulting in qualitative data. The application of mixed methods enabled the researcher to have a deeper insight and a thorough understanding into the life experiences of Zimbabweans living in Botswana who are scattered throughout the country.

The application of both the survey method and the qualitative methods of ethnography & in-depth interview was opted in order to offset the weaknesses of both the quantitative and the qualitative methods (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2011). The qualitative method is criticised for its arbitrary selection of respondents. According to Burns & Grove (1993), Qualitative research was used as a way of gaining insights through discovering meaning, exploring the depth, richness and complexity inherent in the phenomenon. The quantitative method on the other hand ignores the social context in which the actors attribute meaning to their actions (Holstein, 2014). Hence, the present design had the merit of mixing the two methods for data triangulation.

The research questions and the theoretical framework of the study demanded the use of both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The transnational capability approach studies people’s real

freedoms and opportunities which cannot be measured statistically. A combination of a survey, observation and in-depth study was therefore a pragmatic attempt to capture the voice of the research subjects and minimise subjectivity on the part of the researchers.

6.1. Target Population & Sampling Techniques

The research was carried out in Botswana and the study population consisted all Zimbabweans (documented and undocumented) living in Botswana. Zimbabweans living in major cities of Gaborone and Francistown and those residing in major cities and villages of Lobatse, Palapye, Molepolole, Thamaga and Kanye were the target population of the study. The researchers targeted seventy (70) Zimbabweans and received 57 responses. The current study used the snowball technique to recruit subjects for the research. Tshabalala (2001, cited in Bloch, 2004) refers to snowball sampling as a process of onward referral. In this present study, the researcher used every day contacts through church, workmates, former colleagues living in Botswana, friends, workmates of friends, relatives and other service providers like mechanics and insurance agents. The absence of a sampling frame and the sensitivity of the data being collected meant that respondents had to gain some trust in the researcher for them to freely give away data. The research used purposive sampling in order to select different categories of the Diaspora in order to capture the diversity of the group. The researchers chose 15 respondents for in-depth interviews and managed to interview 12 of them because of their compacted programs.

6.2. Data Analysis & Presentation

Quantitative information from the structured questionnaire was converted into tables and was subjected to the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software in order to generate graphs and pie-charts. The qualitative information from open ended questions of the Questionnaire and In-depth interviews was grouped under themes and then analysed using literature and the theoretical framework. The data from in-depth interviews, ethnography and primary data was analysed qualitatively together with the survey data.

7. RESULTS FOR STUDY

7.1. Human Capital of Zimbabweans Living in Botswana

In this sub-section the researcher presents and analyse data under the topics that deal with Educational qualifications, Occupation, Work experience, skills gain and skill loss.

7.2. Educational Qualifications of Respondents

The survey results indicated that 15.79% (n=9) of the respondents had ordinary level education. Twenty-four percent (28.1 %, n=16) of the respondents indicated that they have attained Diploma or Certificate level of Education. The highest number (45.6%, n=26] of respondents had attained a Bachelors' Degree. The respondents who had attained a Masters level of Education comprised 5.26% (n=3) of the total number of respondents. Five percent (5.3 %, n =3) of the respondents indicated 'other' as the highest qualification. This included an Honours Degree, a Higher National Diploma, and a PhD candidate with the University of South Africa (UNISA).

The in-depth interviews and personal observations disclosed that others have done short courses such as Computer courses that include International Computer Driving Licence (ICDL). *Maria Oyela* (pseudo name), who is a farm worker, revealed that he has done many courses which are freely offered by the Animal health services department. Some have done early childhood education courses in Botswana.

7.3. Pursuit of Studies in Botswana

The survey results indicated that 45.6 % (n=26) of the respondents did not read further studies during their stay in Botswana. This could mean that they did not manage to pursue further studies due to their work commitments or lack of funds. One of the respondents wrote 'The Government of Botswana should reduce the fees for foreigners who wish to study in their tertiary institutions like; University of Botswana'. The tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe were also said to be out of reach for many Zimbabweans who wished to pursue further studies from Botswana. There were 19.3 % (n=11) of respondents who indicated that they were currently pursuing further studies in Botswana. The

remaining 35.1% (n=20) indicated that they had undergone further studies while in Botswana. According to the capability approach (Sen, 1999); pursuit of further studies increases one's chances of employment and thus increasing one's exchange capability.

Faith Mukuka (pseudo name), an insurance broker noted that for one to acquire a permit in insurance there is need for one to attain relevant qualifications. The same sentiments were echoed by Chalo Dzuba (pseudo name), a midwife, who noted that the government used the point system in issuing them work permits. She noted that pursuit of further courses or attendance of staff development workshop increased one's points.

This means that a significant number of Zimbabweans living in Botswana have pursued further studies, hence increasing the human capital in the Diaspora. This interlocks with other studies that have noted that Zimbabweans in Britain have increased their level of Education (Bloch, 2008; Mupakathi, 2010).

7.4. Occupation of Respondents

The results of the survey indicated that the majority of the respondents are in the professional and Business occupations. There were 63.2 % (n=36) of the respondents in Education and training. This includes teachers from Primary schools up to tertiary level. Seven percent (n=4) of the respondents are Business persons while 5.3% (n=3) are company Directors. The construction industry is occupied by 3.5 % (n=3) of the respondents. The self-employed occupy seven percent (n=4) while 5.3% (n=3) are in the domestic industry. A paltry 1.75 % (n=1) is occupied by health workforce and the respondent indicated that she is an animal health specialist.

The 'other' category was occupied by 5.3% (n=3) of the respondents. One respondent indicated that he is a business person specialising in the distribution of laboratory and medical supplies. The other respondent is an investment manager and the last respondent is a student at the University of Botswana. This confirms the observation by other scholars that the Zimbabwean diaspora after 2000 is composed of a large pool of both the skilled and non-skilled workers (Muzondidja, 2011, Pasura 2009).

Botswana statistics also confirmed that Zimbabwe had the largest recipients of workers permits. The latest available information from Botswana Statistics is for work permit holders by nationality in the last quarter of 2012. According to Botswana Statistics (2015), Zimbabwe had the highest number of permit holders at the end of 2012, with 3, 823 having been issued work permits. This represents 34.6% of all the nationalities issued with work permits.

7.5. Skills Acquisition

The survey questionnaire asked respondents about whether their work environment presented opportunities for professional growth and skills gain. The results of the survey revealed that 54.4 % (n=31) of the respondents said that they had gained skills. Across the spectrum of occupations, respondents expressed that they had gained skills. According to *Kandulo* (pseudo name), an insurance broker, he had gained much in terms of skills as he has trained more than 80 Batswana. He also noted that in general Zimbabweans do apply themselves fully in their work, in order to secure the renewal of contracts. Other studies also confirmed the experience of skills gain by Zimbabweans in the diaspora (Bloch, 2008).

7.6. Deterioration of the Skills

The sinking of skills only occurs when people do not use the skills for which they had acquired. Survey results depicts that 38, 6% (n=22) of the respondents had underutilised their skills in Botswana. Seven percent (n=4) of the respondents were not sure whether they gained skills or underutilised their skills. This included those occupations which are less demanding in terms of skills e.g. domestic workers.

Other highly educated Individuals like subject specialist graduates who were teaching in Primary school felt that their skills were underutilized. Thokozile (pseudo name), who is a primary school teacher, had this to say; "when I arrived in 2007, I had to work as a domestic worker for two months before I could be absorbed in the teaching field." This is in tandem with studies by Mbiba (2012),

who stated that Zimbabwean asylum seekers in the United Kingdom (UK) experienced de-skilling since they could not be employed because of their immigration status.

The conclusion of the research is that Botswana has a diverse human capital that can be deployed for the reconstruction of Zimbabwe. The study validates the assertion by other scholars that Zimbabweans are comparatively highly educated than other nationals (Bloch, 2006; McGregor, 2008). Most of the professionals have acquired good work ethics as they seek to impress their employers in order to renew the contracts. There is evidence of continuous learning in order to keep them competitive. Even some who were not skilled in Zimbabwe have gained experience in technical areas like landscaping, Information Communication and technology (ICT) and construction (Mutsindikwa, 2012). Some have undergone some studies in tertiary institutions in Botswana. The study also authenticates that some of the skills have been underutilised as individuals could not access the relevant jobs go for entrepreneurship or other Income Generation Activities (IGAs).

7.7. Transnational Activities of Zimbabweans Living in Botswana

The respondents declared that they have a sense of obligation towards the development of their communities. The transnational links analysed under the topics of obligation, communication, remittances and political engagements.

8. MORAL OBLIGATION BY THE DIASPORA MEMBERS

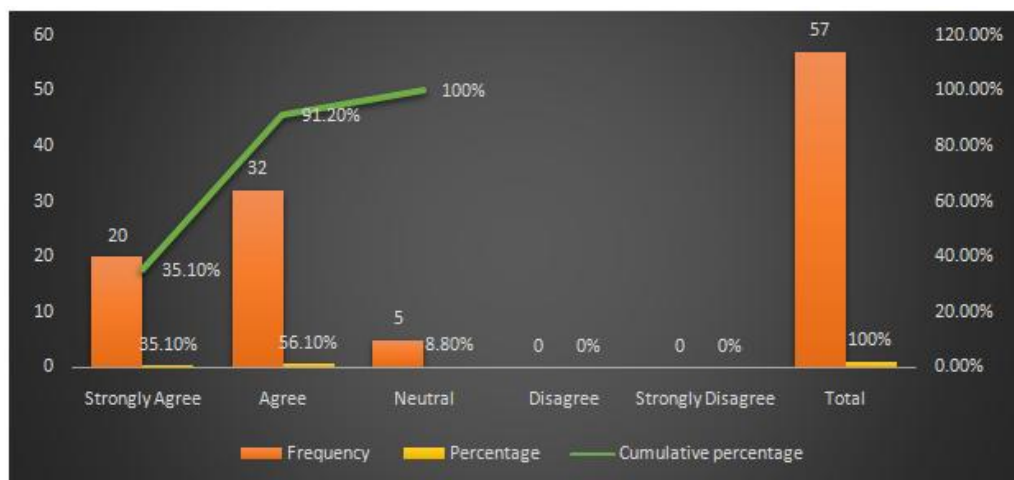


Fig1. Depiction of moral obligation by the diaspora members

Source: field

The survey revealed that 35.1% (n=20) of the respondents strongly agreed that they have a sense of obligation to the development of their communities. There were 56.1 % (n=32) who agreed that they have a sense of obligation to participate in the development of their communities. Only 8.8% (n=5) of the respondents were neutral. This means that the bulk of the respondents are willing to be agents and partners in development (Mbiba, 2005). No one completely rejected the obligation to participate in the development of their community. Bloch (2008) asserted that transnational capability is determined first by the willingness on the part of the Diaspora to engage in activities that transcend borders.

8.1. Communication

The study disclosed that the respondents communicate regularly with those remaining in Zimbabwe as well as their relatives and friends in other countries. Sixty-six percent (66.7%, n=38) of the respondents noted that they communicate weekly while 8.8% (n=5) noted that they communicate monthly, the other 8.8% (n=5) sometimes communicates while 15.8 %(n=9) percent indicated the other category. Others indicated that they communicated when need arose.

The findings of the study also disclosed that respondents use different media for communication that include mobile phones, WhatsApp, email and social media as well as Skype. The writers observed that most of Zimbabweans living in Botswana subscribe to Bemobile which they say has cheaper rates for communicating outside the country.

8.2. Financial and Non-cash Remittances

The findings of the study noted that Zimbabweans are regular remitters. An 89.5 % (n=51) response rate of the survey indicated that they remit cash to Zimbabwe. There were 10.5% (n=6) of the respondents that did not send remittances. Those that did not remit included those with financial constraints and those who did not have dependents in Zimbabwe. There was a high preference for Western Union among those who remitted cash. The interview respondents noted that Western Union is safe and reliable. This confirms the previous work by Mutsindikwa (2012), Dillon (2013), and SAMP (2012) which noted that there was a higher preference for formal channels among the Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana. There was 1.8 % (n=1) of the survey respondents who indicated that they used the bank while 3.5 % (n=2) of the respondents indicated that they use Post office for remittances. The study also found the popularity of bringing along the cash and sending cash through friends because of the proximity of the country.

The amounts remitted according to the needs of the recipients as well as the financial endowments of the remitters. The most common range of remittances sent is between BWP 3000 to BWP 10 000 per year with 41.2% (n=21) of the respondents. There was 21.6% (n=11) who indicated that they remitted over 20 000 per year.

The uses of money included daily expenses with 94% of the respondents selecting that option. The next popular option was education with 80% of the respondents selecting it. The research interviews revealed that some of the respondents were paying fees for their children who were studying in countries like China, Ukraine, Russia and South Africa. Investment in development properties and savings was also mentioned by 18% of the respondents. Other respondents indicated that they were investing in urban houses hence they indicated that they also send building materials. Other respondents mentioned that they invest in Agriculture. There were 3.9% of the respondents that indicated that they remitted farm implements.

The respondents stated a variety of other uses of remittances. These included medical fees, items for resale, tithes and various needs of the recipients. The common remittances in kind included clothes, groceries, electrical gadgets, household property like refrigerators. This means that most of those items are cheaper in Botswana.

8.3. Political Engagement

Table 1 below depicts the nature and level of transnational political engagement by the Zimbabwe Diaspora Community.

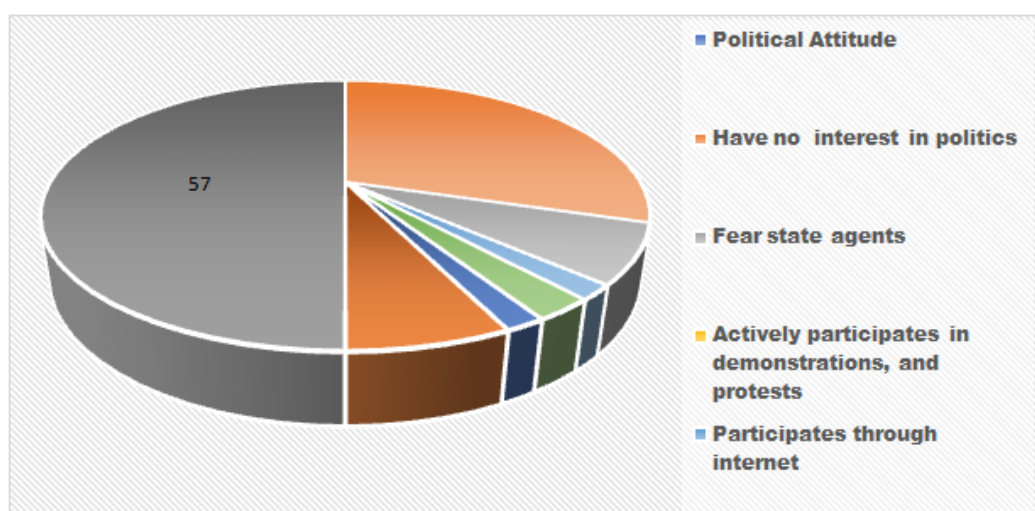


Fig2. Attitudes towards Zimbabwean Politics

Source: field data

The responses to the survey indicate that 59.6% (n=34) of the respondents claimed that they had no interest in politics. These could include what Pasura (2010) call dormant members, who do not participate in politics because of time constraints due to work and business commitments. One of the

respondents indicated that he lost interest in politics because of political violence. The survey also revealed that 14 % (n=8) of the respondents feared state agents. It is interesting to state that 5.4 % (n=3) of the respondents indicated that they travel to Zimbabwe to vote in national elections. Three percent (3.5%) (n=2) of the respondents are members who participate in politics through the internet. Another 3.5% contributes to newspapers and/or comments on radio. The other 14 % (n=8) indicated that they had other preferences. These included keeping themselves informed but not participating actively.

One of the respondents informed the researchers that there are quite a number of political and civic organisations based in Matabeleland. These included Inkundla, Umhlahlo, Matabeleland Liberation Front and others. He said the only organisation that is absent is the more radical South African 'imbokodo'. A book by Jonathan Maphenduka found itself in Botswana as soon as it was published. This book is associated with Mthwakazi, an organisation seeking an independent state including Midlands, Matabeleland and Bulawayo provinces. The books were sourced from Zimbabwe and sold to members of Masiyephambili Cultural Association.

The study established that the majority of Zimbabweans maintained communication with Zimbabwe. The majority had dependents in Zimbabwe which included spouses, children, parents and extended families. The majority of Zimbabweans were proud of their identity as Zimbabweans. The majority of the respondents accepted the obligation to assist in the development of their communities. Zimbabweans also frequently visit Zimbabwe with some going every month. The research findings revealed that Zimbabweans remit regularly in cash and in kind. The research also established that Zimbabweans held some cultural days in which they invited delegates from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Masiyephambili Cultural Association, an organisation representing the Ndebeles living in Botswana have organised these cultural days each year from 2012 to 2016. The majority of Zimbabweans living in Botswana indicated that they had no interest in politics. A significant number also expressed that they feared state agents in Zimbabwe. There are some Zimbabweans (5.3%) who revealed that they travel to Zimbabwe to vote in national elections. A number of professionals revealed that they follow the political processes in Zimbabwe even though they are not active in Party politics.

The study concludes that there is willingness on the part of Zimbabweans living in Botswana to participate in the development of their communities. The proximity of Botswana to Zimbabwe also renders this diaspora community a potential vehicle for development partnership as they have closer contact with the issues in Zimbabwe and can easily visit more frequently than other Diasporas in overseas such as USA & UK. The study notes that the migrants in Botswana are diverse and fragmented as noted by other scholars (Mupakati, 2010). The current study confirmed the existence of different classes of diaspora proposed by Mupakati (2010) and Pasura (2010).

9. SOCIAL CONTACTS AND AFFILIATIONS MAINTAINED BY ZIMBABWEANS IN BOTSWANA

The survey responses indicate that the church and work are the most dominant arenas where migrants interact with the locals with 82% interacting through the church and 80% interacting at work. The church is one of the institutions that play a significant role in integrating the Zimbabwean migrant to the mainstream society in Botswana (Hungwe, 2013). The writers observed that many Zimbabweans are affiliated to churches. Zimbabweans are active in churches like the Seventh Day Adventist, the apostolic sect and others where some of them occupy positions of responsibility in the church. Church members provide spiritual and financial help in times of need or crisis.

The other popular area of social interaction between Zimbabwean diaspora and the locals is social clubs with 48% indicating that they interact with locals in social clubs. Thirty-four percent of the respondents interact with locals through business. It can be noted that those who are self-employed provide services mainly to Batswana. Eight percent of the respondents indicated that they relate to Batswana through marriage. One of the female respondents noted that her husband and daughter had successfully applied for Botswana citizenship. The respondents also indicated that they related with other foreign nationals like Basotho, Zambians, Indians and Ghanaians. The main factor strengthening the relationship was that they were all foreigners. Eight percent of the respondents indicated that they were affiliated to organisations addressing socio- economic development issues.

The study concludes that Zimbabweans living in Botswana have established robust connections with the local people, through church, marriage, business and social clubs. The presence of Batswana with a Zimbabwean background such as the Ndebele and Kalanga of the North and Bazezuru of the apostolic sect also helps to integrate the migrants from Zimbabwe. These connections can assist in investing in Zimbabwe or mobilising other Batswana for business and tourism.

9.1. Future Role in Developing Immediate Families and Communities in Zimbabwe

The survey established that 45% of the survey respondents intended to relocate to Zimbabwe. Some indicated that they were relocating at the expiry of their permits. Others indicated that they would relocate when conditions improved. A small number of respondents indicated that they would only return after a change of government. There are some who indicated that they would consider relocating to Zimbabwe after saving and acquiring productive capital. This also confirms the studies of return migration by scholars like Makina (2010), who established similar observations. The findings also revealed that some Zimbabweans, especially the professionals, intended to further relocate to other countries in Africa. The possible countries of destination were South Africa and Namibia. A smaller fraction of respondents indicated that they intend to relocate to a country outside Africa. The other options indicated by the migrants included establishing businesses in Botswana. Some also indicated that they intended to acquire permanent residency or Botswana citizenship. These included those who are married to Botswana nationals.

The research further concludes that not all migrants in Botswana will return to Zimbabwe. There are some who have acquired citizenship, while some are processing permanent residence permits and citizenship. Some have relocated with their entire families and are more comfortable with the services and infrastructure in Botswana. These cannot easily return but need to be mobilised to contribute from the diaspora. The same applies to those who will relocate to other countries such as: Zambia, Namibia and South Africa.

9.2. Challenges Encountered by Zimbabweans Living in Botswana

The research findings disclosed that the astronomical problem affecting the majority was acquiring permits. This was followed by poor working conditions, lack of advancement, finding employment, xenophobia and accommodation. There were broad spread raids by police which were targeting undocumented Zimbabweans. One of the respondents was in Molepolole prison awaiting deportation during the time of collecting data for this present study. The other problem indicated by the respondents was a shorter period covered by permits, which affected their capacity to get loans from banks. On the part of the Zimbabwean government, the Zimbabwean diaspora indicated lack of employment, corruption and economic mismanagement. They also noted that the police and Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZRA) were a constant threat whenever they travel to Zimbabwe.

The current study concluded that there are some structural barriers that are affecting the transnational capabilities of Zimbabweans living in Botswana. The shorter periods covered by permits affect the migrants' capacity to access loans from banks or engage in long term planning as they risk non-renewal of permits. On the Zimbabwean side the economic and political uncertainty affect the commitment by some Zimbabweans in the diaspora to invest in Zimbabwe. The possibility of engagement between Zimbabweans in the diaspora is affected by lack of trust between the current government and the citizens in the Diaspora. The study theorises three-fold taxonomy of attitude of Zimbabweans towards the Government of Zimbabwe. These are the despondent, optimistic and withdrawn.

The Despondent

These have no trust in the government of Zimbabwe and do not have any hope that something positive can come from the current government. One respondent wrote 'I have long given up on the government of Zimbabwe'. The other respondent also wrote 'There is nothing that the current government of Zimbabwe can do for the people of Zimbabwe under the sun, except enriching themselves each and every second'. The other respondent also wrote "It is an illegal government". This shows that there are some who are not willing to engage the government of Zimbabwe because of lack of trust in its institutions.

The Optimistic

These are willing to engage with the government of Zimbabwe on patriotic grounds. They are aware of the government's negative attitude towards foreign based nationals. One of the respondents wrote 'The government of Zimbabwe must view us positively. They should inform us where they need assistance'. Echoing the same sentiments, the other respondent wrote 'The Government of Zimbabwe should not assume that all Zimbabweans in the diaspora are aligned to the opposition party. They should embrace them in reconstruction and development of the economy. The economy should be liberalised to encourage more competition among global suppliers and manufacturers. This means that there are some who are willing to engage the government of Zimbabwe on development issues.

The Withdrawn

These do not want to discuss political issues but put their trust in other institutions such as religion. One of the respondents, Ester (pseudo name), who is a hair dresser said 'I don't want politics, it doesn't help us this side. I trust in God. The prophet Magaya is coming from 2-4 July. Please go there too; all your problems will be solved'. The other businessman said 'I trust in God. He has solved all my problems in business. For problems of permits, just visit Kopong, there is a man of God there'. This group of people are not eager to engage or partner with the government as they are withdrawn from political issues.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

Drawing from the foregoing conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations:

- a) The Government of Zimbabwe should create a database of Zimbabweans living in Botswana to determine the available base of skills.
- b) There is need for the Government of Zimbabwe to tap the skills of the diaspora community through arrangement for the visits of skilled professionals for capacity building.
- c) The Government of Zimbabwe should recognise the qualifications and skills acquired in Botswana for the returnees. There may be need for testing and validating some of the skills and qualifications acquired in Botswana.
- d) The government of Zimbabwe needs to engage Zimbabweans living abroad in drafting the Migration policy so that they have an input on the conditions under which they can assist the development processes in Zimbabwe.
- e) There is need for Zimbabweans living in Botswana to form a vibrant organisation which can represent their issues and give them a voice in negotiating with the government of Botswana and the Government of Zimbabwe.
- f) Zimbabweans living abroad should form Home Town Associations that can assist in them in partnering and sourcing development aid for their communities.
- g) There is need for the Government of Botswana and Zimbabwe to discuss about extension of permits and granting of dual citizens to Zimbabwean applicants for the benefit of both countries.
- h) Organisations such as the International Office of Migration (IOM) can assist in capacity building for diaspora members and matching skills for brain exchange with Zimbabwe.
- i) There is need to grant dual citizenship for those who decide to naturalise as citizens of Botswana.
- j) There is need for the Government to reduce duty on capital goods to allow the Diaspora community to bring productive capital for investment.
- k) The Government of Zimbabwe should improve infrastructure such as roads and reduce police corruption on the roads to allow free movement of citizens and their Botswana counterparts who will be visiting the country.

11. SUGGESTED AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study suggests the following study areas for future research:

- a) The perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants by the citizens of Botswana.
- b) Roles of Diasporas in socio- economic & political development after returning to Zimbabwe.
- c) The Diaspora and Socio- Economic Development in Africa. Lessons from Zimbabwe.

12. CONCLUSION

The research sought to determine the development capacity of Zimbabweans living in Botswana. The study established that there is willingness to participate in the advancement of their families and communities in Zimbabwe. The study noted that the development capabilities of Zimbabweans living in Botswana are affected by the conditions in both the host country and their country of origin. The study recommended that both governments of Botswana and Zimbabwe should engage the Zimbabwean diaspora communities as development partners. Some policy recommendations such as the implementation of dual citizenship need to be considered to cater for the dual lives of the diaspora communities.

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