THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ON THE INTEGRATION

OF ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES

by

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(Under the Direction of Larry G. Nackerud)

ABSTRACT

Increasing diversity among contemporary immigrants to the United States calls for contextualized analyses of specific immigrant groups to gain an understanding of their integration needs, strengths and resources so that these may be used to inform social work practice. This study explores the processes through which Zimbabweans in the Atlanta metropolitan area draw on their social capital to enhance their integration outcomes, in particular, employment. Using a triangulation-convergence model mixed-methods design, this study examined the effects of social capital on fulltime employment and underemployment and investigated the types of social resources that Zimbabwean immigrants find useful as they settle in the new country. Adult Zimbabwean immigrants over 18 years of age (N = 103) completed a survey that assessed their social networks, participation in groups, employment status and demographic information. Twelve participants were selected from those who had completed the survey to participate in in-depth interviews that asked about their immigration to the United States, participation in social groups, and life experiences. Logistic regression was used to test

the effects of three social capital variables, close friends, group memberships and the diversity of most important group on full-time employment and underemployment. Inductive analysis was used to identify the types of social resources that the participants in this study viewed as important to their integration.

Quantitative results provide evidence that the diversity of most important group is a significant factor in reducing underemployment. Participants who participated in groups that had members from diverse educational, ethnic, religious, occupational backgrounds and gender diversity were less likely to be underemployed. Qualitative results enhanced quantitative findings by illustrating the specific social resources that Zimbabweans accessed form diverse networks, such as information, material goods, informal services, and social support. Thus possessing diverse networks is of paramount importance for new immigrants. Social workers can assist immigrants with the creation and strengthening of bridging and linking ties that can offer social resources that promote career development. Further research is needed to fully understand the effects of social capital on various employment outcomes and with diverse client groups. Implications for theory, social work practice and research are provided.

INDEX WORDS: Immigrant Integration, Social Capital, Zimbabwean Immigrants

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This is the LORD'S doing; It is marvelous in our eyes. Psalm 118:23

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Even though social workers have a long history of orienting new immigrants to the

United States, increasing diversity among contemporary immigrants and a lack of comprehensive

immigrant integration policies pose challenges in this area of social work practice. The first

challenge confronting social work with immigrant populations is how to decipher

comprehensively questions of who are the new immigrants, how are they integrating to the new

society, and what new policies and programs are necessary to improve integration outcomes

among these newcomers (Balgopal, 2000). This challenge stems from that the number of

immigrants in the United States rose from 9.7 million in 1960 to 38 million in 2007 (Gibson &

Jung, 2006; United States Census Bureau, 2008a; United Nations Population Division, 2006a),

with increasing ethnic diversity. For instance, in 1960, 75% of United States immigrants were

from Europe, but this fell to about 16% in 2000. During that same year, the two largest

immigrant groups in the United States were Latin Americans and Asians comprising 52% and

26% of the total immigrant population, respectively. Among the smaller immigrant groups by

region are Africans, who nonetheless have grown substantially from 35,355 in 1960 to over 1.4

million in 2007 (Gibson & Jung, 2006; United States Census Bureau, 2008b). These changes in

the United States immigrant population are attributed to the passage of The 1965 Immigration

Act that removed the national origins quotas and revised the family-based preference system,

paving way for diverse immigrants (Roberge, 2009).

Whereas the removal of quotas enabled people from other world regions, such as Africa,

Asia and Latin America to enter the United States, the family-based preference system gave

lower skilled immigrants a route to the United States. Therefore, apart from varying national origins, contemporary immigrants also possess divergent levels of education, and ability to speak English. For instance, 60% of Indians completed a college degree versus 6% of Cambodians (Jacoby, 2004). English speaking abilities of non-English speaking immigrants also differed with 86% of Nigerians reporting that they spoke English very well compared to 24% of Mexicans (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Lower human capital skills, such as low educational attainment and limited ability to speak English, may pose integration problems (Francis, 2000).

The second challenge confronting social work practice with immigrants in the United States is that, in spite of the increasing number of contemporary immigrants, "integration remains one of the most overlooked issues in American governance" (Fix, 2007, p. iii). In the United States, immigrant policies remain "scattered, unlinked provisions and programs that fall, largely by default, to state and local governments" (Fix & Passel, 1994, p. 4). Although there are federally sponsored services like English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) classes, free public education for immigrant children, and refugee resettlement programs (Fix, 2007), these programs have been criticized for being piecemeal initiatives that have not successfully linked immigrants to the United States society. For example, immigrants still fail to secure jobs that are comparable to their educational qualifications in spite of attending E.S.L. classes and employment training programs. Warriner (2007) concluded that this is so because existing programs do not assist immigrants with the development of effective networks required to negotiate successfully various United States institutions. The lack of effective networks among immigrants suggests the need for understanding the role of social capital in immigrant integration. After all, successful integration is a multifaceted process that may not only depend on available government institutional supports or individual characteristics of the immigrant, but also their social capital.

Apart from individual characteristics, such as age, gender, level of education and national origin, social capital broadly defined as social relationships and the resources possessed by and exchanged among people in a network also aid when settling in a new country (Kunz, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Zhou, 1997).

This study is about settlement and integration practices of Zimbabwean immigrants to the United States. It explores the processes through which Zimbabweans in the Atlanta metropolitan area draw on their social capital to enhance their integration outcomes, in particular, employment. The literature suggests that employment is one of the key indicators of integration among immigrants (Ager & Strang, 2008). In addition, social workers have been called upon to augment their employment related services with immigrant populations (Sakamoto, 2007; Valtonen, 2001), which reinforces the relevancy of this research topic to social work. After this introduction, in this chapter, I elucidate why Zimbabweans were the focus of the study. Second, I summarize the process of immigrant integration. Third, I critique past and present social work practice with immigrants, and highlight the need to embrace social capital theory in work with immigrants. The remainder of the chapter outlines the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, assumptions underlying this study, and the significance of this research endeavor.

<div align="center">Why Study Zimbabweans?</div>

This section answers the question of why it is important to understand Zimbabweans in the United States. The first reason it is important to understand Zimbabweans in the United States is that the United States is among the top three countries that have received significant numbers of legal Zimbabwean immigrants. An analysis of the destinations chosen by 535,600 Zimbabweans who emigrated between 1990 and 2003 indicated that the United States was the

third most common destination with 6.9% of the total sample after the United Kingdom and Botswana with 36.8% and 34.5% respectively (Chetsanga & Muchenje, 2003). The number of Zimbabweans in the United States increased by 210% between 1980 and 2000 to make Zimbabweans the second largest group of immigrants from Southern Africa with a population of 12,148 (Marrow, 2007). Nine other countries fall under the Southern Africa region, and these are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zambia (McKeever, 2008). It is expected that the number of Zimbabweans in the United States will escalate because of the persistent economic and political problems the country is facing (Hanke, 2009; Lloyd, 2006). Media estimates suggested that up to 4 million people had left Zimbabwe in 2008, which is over a third of its total population (Dachs, 2008). The desperation associated with premigration situations of Zimbabweans, as well as the increasing importance of migration to this African nation, make Zimbabweans who are already in the United States a unique case to explore for their immigration and integration processes. Equally intriguing is that Zimbabweans, like other immigrant populations, are endowed with numerous strengths that can enhance social work services. For example, skilled and experienced immigrants can be consulted to assist with the development and implementation of social programs (Valtonen, 2001).

Second, there are increasing calls to understand the "particular situations" of Africans in the United States (Warriner, 2007, p. 356). Existing literature suggested that research with African descent immigrants tended to lump them under the definition of black persons in the United States (Francis, 2000) or treated African immigrants as a homogenous group (Takyi, 2002). Research on the integration experiences of Africans in the United States has focused largely on Africans from the main sending countries, such as Ethiopia (Sullivan, Senturia, Negash, Shiu-Thornton, & Giday, 2005), Somalia and Sudan (Shandy & Fennelly, 2006), Kenya

(Butler, 2006; Odera, 2007) and Nigeria (Ette, 2005; Nwabah, 2007). Yet efforts to capture adequately the diversity among African immigrants will require consideration of experiences of specific Africans including those from underrepresented countries like Zimbabwe.

In spite of their unique premigration situations, Zimbabweans in the United States are comparable to other Southern African immigrants in that they all have a fairly recent history of migrating to the United States with many having entered the United States between 1990 and 2000 (Marrow, 2007). Table 1.2 compares Zimbabweans in the United States with people from their neighboring Southern African states on several dimensions that include total population, median age, gender distribution, employment status, education, household incomes, and poverty levels.

Table 1.1

Comparison of Zimbabweans and other Southern African Nationalities in the United States

Dimension	Country of Origin				
	South Africa	Zimbabwe	Zambia	Mozambique	Botswana
Population Size	63,560	10,685	5,985	2,025	1,375
Median Age	36.5	33.2	33.3	38	24.8
Male (%)	50.2	51.2	52.8	51.1	49.1
Female (%)	49.8	48.8	47.3	48.9	50.9
Bachelor's Degree or Higher (%)	55.8	50.1	52.7	39.4	39.1
Employed (%)	68.8	66	70.8	68.4	38.7
Median Household Income ($)	69,229	50,388	52,403	65,530	6,014
Population Below Poverty Level (%)	5.5	10.5	5.2	5.3	29.2

Source: United States Census Bureau (2008c) Foreign-Born Profiles (STP-159)

Given these presented dimensions, the position of Zimbabweans does not fall among the extremes. It appears to be in between, which may make it a useful example for understanding other countries from Southern Africa. Having explained the reasons why it may be important to

understand integration experiences of Zimbabweans in the United States, the next section delineates what is meant by the term integration in this study.

<center>The Process of Immigrant Integration</center>

There is renewed interest in understanding integration processes of immigrants in the United States and other immigrant receiving nations. Specifically, integration is a key policy goal and a targeted outcome in many receiving countries, such as Australia, Canada, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the United States (Ager & Strang, 2008; Valtonen, 2008). However, implementation and specific provisions of the integration policies may vary across receiving or host nations, as explained in Chapter Two. Despite the growing interest and importance of integration, there is no unitary definition of integration. The purpose of this section is to elucidate the meaning of integration and its key domains. Scholars seem to agree that immigrant integration occurs when immigrants become active and visible participants in the cultural, social, political and economic institutions of the receiving nation (Bosswick & Heckman, 2006; Fix, 2007; Valtonen, 2008). One of the definitions of integration is by Fix (2007, p. vii) who defined integration as "the process of economic mobility and the social inclusion of newcomers. Integration implies a two-way process that involves change on the part not just of immigrant but members of the receiving community." The emphasis of integration as a two-way process sets it apart from assimilation which is viewed as a one-sided process (Bosswick & Heckman, 2006). From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that integration is a multidimensional concept, hence the next logical question is: What are its key dimensions?

In the United Kingdom Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) developed a four dimensional model to explicate the key dimensions of integration (see Figure 1.1). Although this framework was based on research with refugees, I extend it to general immigrants because "they do share

many common characteristics with regard to social needs and cultural impacts in their place of settlement" (Castles, 2000, p. 271).

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                    │  Key Dimensions of  │
                    │ Immigrant Integration│
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Indicators and Means	**Social Connections**	**Facilitators**	**Foundations**
• Employment • Education • Health • Housing	• Social Bridges • Social Bonds • Social Links	• Language • Cultural Knowledge • Stability • Safety	• Rights • Citizenship

Block arrows denote possible interconnections among the four domains
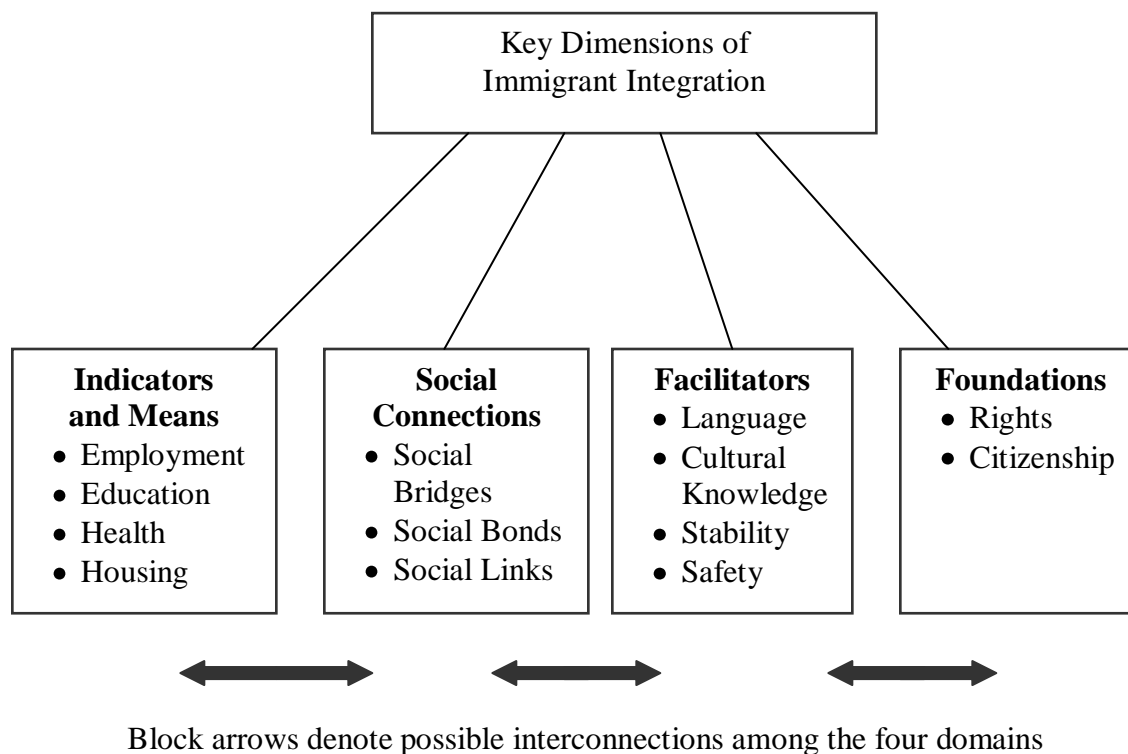
Figure 1.1: Key dimensions of immigrant integration.

As shown in Figure 1.1., the first dimension, *Indicators and Means,* denotes the key indicators of or the means to successful integration, namely, employment, education, health, and housing. Ager and Strang (2008) acknowledged that even though employment, housing, education and health were the widely recognized indicators of successful integration, wide variations in how these key indicators are achieved may limit their usefulness. In addition, these indicators do not fully explain the meanings and subjective processes that individual immigrants experience during integration (Ager & Strang, 2004), which is best addressed by qualitative research. The second dimension, *Social Connections*, highlights the value of relationships in

mediating integration process, and may be summed up in the concept of social capital. The third

dimension, *Facilitators,* is about barriers that need to be removed to allow for integration. The

fourth dimension, *Foundations*, represents assumptions and practices that underlie the integration

processes that are embodied in rights and citizenship. This latter domain also denotes the

privileges that are accorded to immigrants, and the responsibilities expected of them, which

ultimately impact integration outcomes.

Ager and Strang (2008) cautioned against interpreting this framework as a linear model.

Instead, all the dimensions are important and interrelated, although the causal links are yet to be

defined. This study sought to understand how social connections have influenced employment

outcomes among Zimbabweans in the United States. Employment is crucial to immigrant

integration for several reasons. First, being employed is a valued role for all adults in societies,

worldwide. Employment is associated with status, and it also fosters a sense of purpose and self-

sufficiency (Driedger, 1989). Second, for many immigrants employment is crucial for offsetting

migration costs that may have accrued during movement from the country of origin and

settlement in the new country. In addition, immigrants take on the responsibility of providing

financial resources to family in the country of origin, which makes getting a job in the new

country a priority (Akuei, 2005; Bertone, 2007).

Notwithstanding, immigrants are facing increasing barriers to accessing employment in

the United States, especially those from African nations. For example, analyses of pooled data

from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey indicated that in spite of possessing

comparable educational credentials, unemployment rates were the highest for recently arrived

Africans (in the United States for 10 years or less) at 6% and lowest for European immigrants at

3.4%, although both were higher than the 2.6% for natives. Another salient predicament facing

immigrants is inadequate employment or underemployment. About 33% of skilled Africans were underemployed in low-skilled jobs second to Latin Americans with 44% compared to 17.7% of native skilled workers (Batalova, Fix & Creticos, 2008). Failure to transfer educational credentials, limited English proficiency, poor job interviewing skills, limited professional networks, and discriminatory hiring practices were some of the factors that could explain unemployment among skilled immigrants (Batalova et al., 2008). An agency-based report about Somalis in Maine reported that it took about two years for Somali refugees to find employment in the United States (Center for Workforce Research and Information, Maine Department of Labor & Maine State Planning Office, 2008). Failure to get timely employment complicates the integration process and may increase vulnerability to poverty, which in turn may increase demand for social services (Valtonen, 2002). On the other end, underemployment may lead to mental health problems like depression (Sakamoto, 2007). To this end it is important to review how social workers have assisted immigrants with the integration process.

Social Work with Immigrants: Past and Present

Immigrants have always been classified among the vulnerable groups that can benefit from social work services because of their risk of social exclusion and isolation in the new country (O'Connor, 1999). Thus, driven by a commitment to social justice, social work practice with immigrants is one of the long-standing fields of practice in the profession (Balgopal, 2000). Karger and Levine (2000) stated, "…because of their training and cultural sensitivity, social workers are the best-equipped professional group in America to help immigrants" (p. 195). Social workers have assisted immigrants with an assortment of services that range from attending to immigrants' practical needs during the initial days of settling in the new country to providing and lobbying for services that facilitate the long-term integration of immigrant

populations (Valtonen, 2008). The main goal of this section is to appraise the services that social workers have offered to immigrant populations. Emphasis is placed on social work roles and their underlying frameworks that have guided service provision. I conclude the section arguing that even though social workers have done a more than adequate job of serving immigrants, a social capital approach may enhance assessments and intervention with immigrant populations.

The roles of social workers and the frameworks that underlie their services to immigrants seem to be constantly shifting depending on the prevailing policy environment and current forces within the profession, and the wider United States society. Consistent with the Progressive Era of the 1890s to the 1920s (Herrick, 2000), social work pioneers at the Hull House in Chicago served new immigrants by assuming mediating and advocacy roles, as well as providing information on jobs, and legal protection (Balgopal, 2000; Roberts & Northen, 1976). The Progressive Era was a period that was marked by little public support for social services, but social reformers affiliated with voluntary agencies provided direct services and lobbied for government attention to social problems of that time, such as poverty, child labor, and the plight of women and children. Among them was Jane Addams who was one of the co-founders of the Hull House. Notable contributions by social workers during this time included effective community development and advocacy efforts that led to changes in the labor legislation which benefited immigrant women and children. However, this period coincided with the rise of traditional assimilation theory, and the "ideal of a melting pot" was behind some of their services (Balgopal, 2000, p. 15; O'Connor, 1999). In fact, historian Shpak-Lisak (1989, p. 108) reported, "Hull House was influential among a small segment of those who were fascinated by the American way of life and ethos and sought to leave their ethnic group and integrate (assimilate) into the American mainstream." Based on

analyses of archival data from the Hull House, Shpak-Lisak (1989) reported that few adult immigrants used the services that it provided, preferring to remain in their ethnic communities.

Over the years, social workers have perpetuated the Progressive Era legacy of meeting the settlement needs of new immigrants, albeit under a more restrictive policy environment that has become more conservative in funding social work programs for immigrants. For example, after the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 that provided federal funding for settlement programs, coupled with a relatively generous period in terms of public funding for social services, social workers were responsible for administering federal and state programs for immigrants that aimed at facilitating smooth transition to the United States for immigrants until the mid 1990s (Balgopal, 2000; Padilla, 1997).

This supportive policy environment was curtailed in 1996 with the introduction of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (P.R.W.O.R.A.) whose main provisions entailed a) restricting access to public benefits for immigrants based on citizenship and b) devolving social welfare for immigrants to state governments (Fix & Zimmermann, 2004). Besides reducing the scope of social work services, P.R.W.O.R.A. undermined the core values that define social work with immigrants, that is, promoting social justice and equality for all irrespective of their citizenship status. Reisch (2006, p. 76) stated the social work profession has been placed in an "ironic position of defending policies and programs it had fiercely criticized" at the expense of promoting social justice, which is one of its main goals as a profession. Notwithstanding, the challenges created by P.R.W.O.R.A. can serve as a basis for alternative approaches to meeting the needs of immigrants. One of these alternatives is increased reliance on the strengths and resources of immigrant populations.

Apart from changes in the roles of social workers who work with immigrants, the underlying frameworks that inform services provided by social workers have also shifted from general social science theories to tailored social work models. As stated earlier, the initial framework was the traditional assimilation theory, which emphasized that new immigrants become more like the general American population by abandoning their cultural identity and language in order to achieve successful integration. Although its popularity in the general social science community started to wane in the 1970s, contemporary assimilation theorists, sociologists Alba and Nee (1997), introduced a new assimilation theory to reaffirm its usefulness in understanding diverse populations. Contesting that immigrants should forsake their cultures to make it in the new country, Alba and Nee suggested that ethnicity would assume a lesser role in determining successful integration (Hao, 2007). Defining assimilation as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 863), they envisaged that various mechanisms, such as institutional changes, social capital in the form of network ties and associated social exchanges, as well as parity in accessing education and occupations would play more influential roles in determining successful integration among immigrants (Schmitter Heisler, 2008). For example, civil rights laws in the United States have opened doors for diverse immigrants. However, a caveat with social capital was that ethnic-based social capital was only useful in the short-term because it failed to establish cross-cutting ties needed to access resources beyond the ethnic enclave (Alba & Nee, 2005). The usefulness of the new assimilation theory has been questioned. Brown and Bean (2006) argued that Alba and Nee's conceptualization of assimilation is too broad that it has lost its meaning. Nonetheless the importance of networks, institutional changes

and equal access to societal institutions for immigrants remain vital to their successful integration.

Social workers Balgopal (2000) and Sakamoto (2007) concurred that assimilation narrowly defined as the weakening or elimination of ethnicity or cultural values was no longer the goal when working with immigrants because diverse immigrant groups preserve aspects of their ethnic and cultural heritage, which in turn may influence their experiences in the new country. Of concern is that both classical and new assimilation theories do not consider the effects of power and status on the assimilation process, which is a major weakness. In view of this limitation, social workers have developed tailored practice models that are rooted in the profession's core values of social justice and cultural diversity. The centrality of social justice and cultural diversity themes in social work education and practice began in the 1980s (Healy, 2001), and this could have been precipitated by developments in the profession, such as the introduction of its first Code of Ethics in 1966, as well as advances in the wider United States society, especially, the growing recognition of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism in the 1970s (Balgopal, 2000). Whereas cultural pluralism is concerned with learning about diverse cultures to enhance inter-group understanding, multiculturalism focuses on structural inequality and power relationships (Healy, 2001). Social work practice models have emphasized these elements. For instance, one of these practice models, Anti-Oppressive Practice (A.O.P.) is defined as "a form of social work practice which addresses social divisions and structural inequalities….A.O.P. embodies a person centered philosophy; an egalitarian value system concerned with reducing the deleterious effects of structural inequalities upon people's lives" (Dominelli, 1994, p. 24). The major strength of A.O.P. is that it "allows us to move beyond a focus on immigrants' personal characteristics to recognize, also, the cultural and structural

dimensions of their marginalization" (Danso, 2007, p. 9). As a result, social work roles

subscribing to the A.O.P. model range from advocating for favorable integration policies,

promoting the hiring of professionals of similar cultural backgrounds, linking new immigrants

with the civil and secular institutions, as well as tapping into the expertise and resources of

ethnic communities (Danso, 2007; Valtonen, 2002).

Overemphasizing oppression and structural inequalities that immigrants face risks

minimizing their ingenuity and determination, especially, their ability to self-organize and to

meet integration needs through kinship and informal networks. Although Valtonen (2002, p.

118) alluded to the importance of "resources lodged in the ethnic communities" when practicing

A.O.P., she did not elaborate on the nature of these resources nor offer suggestions on how these

could be harnessed by social workers. Knowledge of the extent, nature and impact of resources

held by immigrant communities is required before these can be incorporated into social work

practice. This underscores the need to embrace social capital theory in social work practice with

immigrants. Social capital theory is a useful tool for enhancing social workers' understanding of

the nature, distribution, and effect of resources that are embedded in immigrant communities.

A Social Capital Approach to Social Work with Immigrants

This section articulates the usefulness of social capital theory to social work practice with

immigrants. At its most basic, social capital refers to one's networks or social relationships and

social resources that are exchanged or made available to the individual actor within a particular

network (Lin & Erickson, 2007). Central to social capital are everyday social relationships, such

as friends, colleagues and acquaintances that individuals interact with to meet various needs

(Halpern, 2005). Even though the importance of social networks and social support has long

been recognized, social capital theory has rekindled interest in examining how relational ties

affect individual outcomes (Hernández-Plaza, Alonso-Morillejo, & Pozo-Muñoz, 2006; Van de Gaag, & Snijders, 2004). Social capital theory supports and explains the long-held view that relationships matter in the policy and empirical research world. The relevancy of the concept of social capital to social work practice was articulated by Healy and Hampshire (2002), and most recently by Kim (2006). For instance, Kim established that social capital variables were significant predictors of community development action.

Three factors make social capital theory a useful tool in social work practice with immigrants: First, social capital theory complements other social work models like Anti-Oppressive Practice. Unlike A.O.P. that casts immigrants as in need of rescue from structural inequality or negative attitudes from the host nation (Danso, 2007), social capital theory maintains that new immigrants are endowed with social capital resources within their personal and community networks that they can harness to facilitate their own integration, which lends support to the notion of immigrants as active change agents in making possible their integration to the new country (Valtonen, 2002). The critical contribution of a social capital theory lens is that it allows social workers to learn from the immigrants about how their social network resources are aiding or hindering their integration. Above all, as employees of societal institutions working with immigrants, social workers are also a part of the formal ties that affect the lives of immigrants. A social capital approach may allow us to get important feedback on our contributions to the integration of immigrants, as well as gain insight on what they need from formal institutions.

Second, social capital theory may inform social work roles. Correspondingly social work roles that are informed by social capital theory may include efforts aimed at identifying and mobilizing helpful sources of resources in migrant communities, such as grass-roots

organizations or religious leaders and shop owners, forming viable partnerships with ethnic based organizations, as well as strengthening network relationships, for example through family-focused work or group work. However, these roles do not address structural inequalities (Healy & Hampshire, 2002; Hernández-Plaza et al., 2006). Hence, it is important to view social capital theory as a needed accompaniment to existing practice models like A.O.P when working with immigrant populations.

Third, a social capital theory lens facilitates better understanding of how community and personal relationships have shaped integration outcomes for immigrants. As Balgopal (2000) observed, family, friends and neighbors are increasingly being called upon to assist new immigrants with settlement. However, a clear understanding of the specific resources those informal networks have extended to immigrants, as well as knowledge of the outcomes that have been affected, are lacking. Sociologist Massey and Espinosa (1997, p. 952) suggested a "direct connection between networks and the costs and benefits of migration," adding that networks would reduce the cost of resettlement and raise the chances of United States employment. Social workers are yet to verify this claim with immigrants in the United States. Detailed understanding of the contributions of both formal and informal networks in immigrant integration are vital to determine if these are potential areas for policy or program development.

<div align="center">Statement of the Problem</div>

The research problem addressed by this proposed study is what role does social capital play in the integration of Zimbabweans in the United States? Social capital may reduce the costs of migrating and improve chances of integration (Alba & Nee, 2005; Massey, & Espinosa, 1997). However, the structure of these networks and the kinds of networks that are the most effective in facilitating integration may vary across immigrant populations (Della Giusta &

Kambhampati, 2006). Hence, contextualized analyses of immigrants' experiences are crucial to gain a deeper understanding of the distribution and effects of social capital on integration.

Social work professors Drachman and Paulino (2004) observed that social work literature has focused on experiences of Latinos, Asians, and immigrants from the Caribbean, and Eastern Europe. Although these are the largest immigrant groups in the United States according to census records, experiences of smaller immigrant groups like Africans are yet to be fully understood. In fact, Kamya (1997, p. 154) observed that current African immigrants "have been largely excluded from research on issues confronting immigrants." Although studies of African immigrants are emerging in the social work literature, these have tended to lump different African nationalities together (Sellers, Ward, & Pate, 2006) or use samples from larger African immigrant groups, such as those from Somalia and Sudan (Shandy & Fennelly, 2006), countries that are from the East African region.

Relying on knowledge that is gleaned from experiences of large immigrant groups may risk neglecting the unique needs and situations of underrepresented groups. This is especially relevant for African immigrants in the United States because of the diversity that they represent in nationalities, racial composition, language, culture and religion. Contrary to the view of Africa as one big country, 53 nations and over 2000 languages make up the continent of Africa (Heine & Nurse, 2000; Mwakikagile, 2005). Their diverse racial statuses and English-speaking abilities have contributed to different settlement experiences (Gordon, 1998; Kposowa, 2002). Yet little is "known about the variations and diversity of experiences of … recent African immigrants" (Takyi, 2002, p. 33). Although Zimbabweans are the second largest group of immigrants to the United States from the Southern Africa region, attempts to understand their integration processes are still in their infancy. In her analysis of immigrants from Southern Africa, Marrow (2007)

reported that there were no studies that examined the integration of Zimbabweans into the United States. This means that the unique needs and strengths of Zimbabweans, and comparable Southern African immigrants, remain unknown.

Francis (2000) observed that, as the number of a specific immigrant group increases, people have been able to develop their own resource systems. For example, the Ethiopian Community Center (E.C.C.) in Washington D.C. was created to serve Ethiopian immigrants. Although this information is documented, the extent to which individuals access such social resources to facilitate their adjustment has not been explored among African immigrants. Little is known regarding how African immigrants use social capital to re-establish their networks in order to meet their day-to-day needs in the United States. Of particular concern, little is known about the availability and role of social capital in the settlement and integration of Zimbabwean immigrants to the United States

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of social capital on the integration of Zimbabweans in the United States. The central research questions of this study are these:

(1) What are the main elements of social capital among Zimbabweans in Atlanta?

(2) What is the relationship between social capital and the integration indicator of employment?

(3) What social resources are exchanged among community members and for what purposes?

Inherent in these research questions are expectations and assumptions, that are discussed below.

Study Assumptions

The conceptualization of the proposed study has built- in expectations and assumptions. Roberts (2004) stated that assumptions are what the researcher takes for granted in relation to the study. The main expectation was that the majority of the participants would report that social capital had a positive impact on their integration experiences. Two major assumptions associated with this study are: (a) various forms of social capital exist among Zimbabweans in the United States, and (b) social capital has been a significant positive factor in their integration into United States society. It is possible that some participants may not have access to social capital, and others may view it as a hindrance to their integration. In spite of the assumptions, this study still has significance for the individual participants, social work and the general social science field. This significance is discussed in the next section.

Significance of Study

This study has significance to the individual immigrants, in this case Zimbabweans, the social work profession, and the general social science community. The significance of this study for individual immigrants is that, by telling their stories, Zimbabweans were able to make their voices heard, which is critical to bridging the gap that exists in the literature. Participating in this study could have helped Zimbabweans reflect on their contributions to the Zimbabwean community and broader United States society, which may enhance their sense of well-being, and promote a view of themselves as important and contributing members in the new society (Della Giusta & Kambhampati, 2006). The use of a social capital framework that emphasized individual and community relationships could have empowered individual participants to activate the resources in their social environments to facilitate integration.

In spite of the growing recognition of social capital as a viable public policy tool that is capable of facilitating improved outcomes for the general population, its application to

immigrant populations has been minimal in the social work literature. With waning support for relatively high levels of public expenditure in social welfare, social capital appears to be a useful concept for social workers because its foundations are personal and community relationships which if properly mobilized may enhance community development projects and self-reliance (Healy & Hampshire, 2002; Walsh, Stephens, & Moore, 2000). Immigrant populations are likely to have access to an existing ethnic community that can be strengthened to meet integration goals. For example, voluntary associations such as hometown associations that are created to promote economic development in the country of origin by immigrants have also provided participants with information about integrating to the United States, yet these remain untapped. Such immigrant organizations could be used as outreach points to inform immigrants of available social services, to provide direct services, or to form partnerships (Somerville, Duran, & Matteo Terrazas, 2008).

To this end, the significance of this study for social workers was that it sought to better understand the processes that Zimbabweans adopt to facilitate their integration. Social workers are increasingly being called upon to assist immigrants with the resettlement process (Nash, Wong, & Trlin, 2006), and this study may shed light on useful aspects of social capital, as well as effective integration practices among Zimbabweans. In addition, the findings provided insight into the occurrence and usefulness of social capital among Zimbabweans, information that may inform social work interventions. Understanding experiences of Zimbabweans may help illuminate the situations of comparable immigrant groups from Southern African countries like Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and South Africa.

Growing diversity in the United States immigrant population precludes the use of one-size-fits-all approaches, and social workers should "avoid making generalizations about new

immigrant groups" (Balgopal, 2000, p. 237). For this reason, inadequate documentation of

literature on specific immigrant populations may limit the profession's capacity to serve them.

Indeed, Padilla (1997) observed, "The increasing numbers of and diversity among immigrants,

and the pressing needs of these new arrivals present a challenge for social work practitioners" (p.

596). This study quantified the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants, as well as illuminated

on the subjective meanings that Zimbabweans attach to social capital. This information is useful

when planning intervention programs, and it may enhance cultural relevancy.

The significance of this study to the general social science field is that it may add to the

existing body of social science research that examines the link between social capital and

immigrant integration. There is growing interest in understanding factors that aid or hamper

integration among immigrants across social science fields, including anthropology, geography,

public health, and sociology (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). The findings of this study may

advance empirical understanding of the concept of social capital with immigrant populations,

especially, by showing how the distribution of various dimensions of social capital, and their

effects on specific integration outcomes. In his outline of pertinent research questions that may

guide future research on social capital, Flap (2004) suggested researchers should focus on

understanding the main constituents of social capital and their distribution, as well as their

effects, aspects that were addressed in this study. This section presented the significance of the

study for individual immigrants, social workers, and the social science community.

Dissertation Chapters and Organization

Chapter 1 presented the foundation of the study, highlighting the process of immigrant

integration, how social workers have assisted new immigrants, the purpose and significance of

the research effort. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature on integration theories and models in

different countries, as well as experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants. Chapter 3 summarizes the conceptual framework used to understand how social capital influences the integration outcome of employment. Included in Chapter 3 is a review of empirical literature on social capital and employment, which is in turn used to inform the study's hypotheses. Details of the research design and methods used in the study are discussed in Chapter 4. A mixed methods research design that entailed a survey and basic interpretive qualitative study was used. Chapter 5 presents the results of the quantitative survey in relation to the hypotheses. Chapter 6 summarizes the results of the qualitative study, highlighting important themes drawn from interviews with Zimbabweans and observations. Chapter 7 articulates my interpretations of the key findings and presents implications, conclusion, and recommendations for future research studies.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I locate the present study whose purpose is to examine the role of social capital on employment outcomes of Zimbabweans to the United States, within the context of previous research to enhance our comprehension of the origin and scope of the research topic, as well as the potential contributions of the study (Ridely, 2008). This literature review is divided into four parts. First, I review theoretical perspectives on immigrant integration. Second, I synthesize existing literature on the state of immigrant integration in different host societies, including immigrant policies in the United States, initiatives which seek to enhance the integration of United States immigrants, and a summary of evidence of successful integration or lack of it among immigrant populations, as well as the determining factors. Third, I review the literature on social work interventions with African immigrants and social capital based interventions. Fourth, I provide a detailed presentation of the socio and political context of Zimbabwean immigration to the United States, highlighting their visa statuses, socio-demographic characteristics, and available empirical literature on the experiences of Zimbabweans in various destination areas like South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. Chapter Two concludes with a discussion on existing gaps in the reviewed literature emphasizing the major hoped for contributions of this study.

The literature reviewed in this chapter was obtained through keyword searches in *Google Scholar, the University of Georgia Libraries System Catalog*, *Social Work Abstracts* (from 1977 to 2008), *Social Services Abstracts* (from 1979 to 2008), and *Sociological Abstracts* (from 1952 to 2008). The literature search was conducted between May and September 2008. Different

descriptors and their combinations were used to guide the keyword searches, and these included Africans in the United States, African migration, immigration, immigration theory, migration theory, immigration policy, immigrant integration, social capital theory, Zimbabwean immigrants, and social work with immigrants.

Part I: Theories of Immigrant Integration

Immigrant integration is a complex process that has been understood through a wide variety of theoretical perspectives. In this section of the literature review, a select group of immigrant integration theories are explained in order to understand more broadly specific trajectories that new immigrants may experience in the new country. It is important to note that immigrant integration processes have been studied by different social science disciplines ranging from anthropology, demography, geography, psychology, sociology to social work, such that "the theoretical arena is far from static" (Valtonen, 2008, p. 59). The selected theories are: classical and new assimilation theories, segmented assimilation theory, and social capital theory. For each theory, I begin with a review of the main propositions, key concepts, assumptions, strengths and weaknesses. This is followed by an evaluation of the usefulness of each theory with African immigrants, and social work practice.

Classical and New Assimilation Theories

The development and use of assimilation theory in understanding immigrant integration is linked to the work of Chicago School sociologists, such as Park and Burgess, and Gordon (Alba & Nee, 2005). Assuming that immigrants start from a disadvantaged position in society, it outlines a process that immigrants follow to achieve upward mobility (Rumbaut, 1997). One of its main propositions is that with time and across generations certain behaviors and characteristics of immigrants become similar to the natives (Alba & Nee, 2005; Bean & Stevens,

2003). Inherent in this process is the diminishing of ethnic differences as "individuals' ethnic origins become less and less relevant in relation to the members of another ethnic group….and individuals on both sides of the boundary see themselves more and more alike" (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 11).

The key concepts of assimilation theory are articulated in the theory's dimensions. In his 1964 book, Gordon proposed seven dimensions of the assimilation process, but three are discussed in this section: cultural assimilation or acculturation, structural assimilation, and identificational assimilation. The first dimension, *cultural assimilation*, involved the adoption of the dominant culture by the subordinate group, and in the United States the cultural standard was that of the middle-class, White Protestant, Anglo-Saxon (Gordon, 2005). Specific cultural changes at this stage involved adopting the English language and middle-class dress. The second dimension, s*tructural assimilation*, pertained to immigrants' "large-scale entrance into the cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on the primary group level" (Gordon, 2005, p. 102). Negotiating access into the broader societal institutions remains central to immigrant integration, and an immigrant's knowledge of English may enhance accessibility (Bean & Stevens, 2003). The third dimension, *identificational assimilation*, referred to "the development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society" (Gordon, 2005, p. 102). The identities of current immigrants divert from this proposition; on the contrary, some immigrants maintain their national-origin identities and others prefer hyphenated identities (Rumbaut, 1997).

Refuting a linear and inevitable assimilation process, Alba and Nee (2005) strengthened the utility of assimilation theory by adding two dimensions of assimilation, namely, socioeconomic assimilation and residential-spatial assimilation. *Socioeconomic assimilation* can be viewed in two ways as a) the achievement of average or above average socioeconomic

position as measured by education, occupation and income, and b) participation in institutions

such as the labor market and education on an equal opportunity basis. The issue of equality

between immigrants and natives is vital because it ensures that immigrants are not left behind in

accessing pertinent societal institutions, which in turn may reflect the extent to which immigrants

are accepted in the new country. *Residential assimilation* views the spatial distribution of

immigrant groups as a reflection of their human capital and assimilation. Immigrants who have

successfully penetrated the labor markets move out of the ethnic enclaves and purchase

residences in places with better amenities, which increases contact with the mainstream (Alba &

Nee, 2005).

Suarez-Orzco (2005) highlighted the key assumptions of assimilation theory. The first

main assumption of assimilation theory is that immigration occurs in neatly bounded cultural

spaces with clear distinctions between the immigrant group and the homogeneous mainstream

group. The second assumption is that assimilation becomes more positive with time or across

generations, yet the process could be stagnated or even negative as explained in detail under

segmented assimilation theory. The major strength of assimilation theory is that it is a

multidimensional theory that captures various vital aspects of immigrant integration, such as

identity development in the new country and economic progress. The dimensions of assimilation

theory may function as a yardstick to evaluate the extent to which African immigrants are faring

in the United States compared to the other groups in the nation. As Shaw-Taylor (2007, p. 12)

remarked, "Descriptively, assimilation ideas also depict a process of immigration, survival,

success and presentation of self (definition of self) in America."

However, the major weakness of assimilation theory is that, having developed from

studies of European immigrants, it failed to consider adequately the effects of race and power

imbalances on upward mobility, yet these issues are a cause for concern among today's diverse immigrant population (Sellers, Chong, & Harris, 2007). In addition, research studies that analyzed the usefulness of assimilation theory with Africans in the United States reported minimal to modest support for the utility of this theory, and one of the questions that remained unanswered pertained to the earnings disadvantage experienced by black Africans when compared with their white co-immigrants (Kollehlon & Eule, 2003; Sellers et al., 2007). In fact, social worker Balgopal (2000) suggested that diverse immigrants are likely to experience barriers to structural assimilation. Due to this major limitation, the utility of assimilation theory in social work has been queried, particularly the implied convergence of behavior among natives and immigrants over time as this conflicts with social work's commitment to cultural diversity. Apart from assisting with potential evidence that can be used to lobby for parity between native and immigrant groups, its practical utility with regard to guiding interventions is extremely limited.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

The second theory of immigrant integration is segmented assimilation theory. Although it has been used to explain the integration of second-generation immigrant youth, it is also applicable to first-generation immigrant adults because their circumstances in the new country are likely to be similar. Unsatisfied with the notion of uniform progression towards positive outcomes, sociologists Portes and Zhou (1993, 2005) and Zhou (1997) developed a theory to explain the different patterns of adaptation among contemporary immigrants and to identify the factors that determined the varying assimilation paths. These scholars argued that immigrant integration could take three different paths: a) *assimilation* into the White middle class (Anglo-Conformity), b) *downward movement* toward "permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass," or c) *delayed or selective assimilation* characterized by "rapid economic

advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (Portes & Zhou, 2005, p. 220). Thus, the theory emphasized more than one way of integrating into United States society and posited that assimilation may not be the only beneficial path, because the third path of delayed assimilation was also useful (Xie & Greenman, 2005).

The factors that determined the assimilation paths for immigrants included individual factors, and structural or contextual factors. The main *individual level factors* included education, English language ability, age upon arrival, and length of residence in the United States. The *contextual factors* were racial status, place of residence, policies of the new country, size and structure of the ethnic community, and values and prejudices of the receiving society (Portes & Zhou, 2005; Zhou, 1997). While the individual influences of these factors were acknowledged by assimilation theorists (Alba & Nee, 1997), it is their addition and interaction that determined the assimilation path (Zhou, 1997). For example, race coupled with a negative context of reception may lead to downward mobility. This has been the predicament for Haitian and Latin American immigrants in the United States who continue to realize lower earnings in spite of their investment in education (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). The strengths of segmented assimilation theory are that by presenting the three paths to assimilation it enables an examination of both successful and failed integration.

In addition, its consideration of the impact of individual and contextual factors, as well as race and reception by the host society, make it relevant to African immigrants because all these factors have profound impact on their integration. In his analysis of the applicability of assimilation models to Africans in the United States, Shobo (2005) found that while assimilation theory was useful in predicting the outcomes for Africans, race played an important role. He

concluded that segmented assimilation theory, which recognized the interaction of race and other factors, was most relevant in understanding African immigrants.

Furthermore, when Africans come to the United States, they enter a society with a defined racial stratification. Black Africans become the most disadvantaged compared to their White or Asian counterparts because they are ascribed the black racial category, which automatically places them at par with one of the less privileged racial groups in the country (Arthur, 2000). Unless Black immigrants fight their way out of this label, downward mobility is likely (Waters, 1999). Thus, by considering the role of race and other factors in determining the assimilation paths, segmented assimilation theory becomes more useful with African immigrants because of their varied racial identities. As Kposowa (2002, p. 182) also concluded, "In the United States, ascribed characteristics, especially race and national origin," remained strong predictors of earnings. Another factor that makes segmented assimilation theory relevant for understanding African immigrants is its consideration of the context of reception. Although this context has not been empirically examined among Africans, stereotypical representations of extreme poverty and hunger that are portrayed in the United States media have negatively influenced how Americans view Africans, and this has contributed to the undervaluing of their qualifications and less confidence in their abilities (Dodoo, 1997). By including individual and contextual factors, segmented assimilation theory reveals the interplay of different factors in determining the assimilation path (Bean & Stevens, 2003), which is consistent with the person-in-environment emphasis in social work.

The main weakness of segmented assimilation theory is that it overlooked the influence of middle-class African Americans (or any non-white middle-class) in providing an alternative path for assimilation (Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999). In addition, the theory has failed to

articulate the specific mechanisms through which various factors interact to determine the assimilation path (Xie & Greenman, 2005). As a result this theory appears highly abstract and one not easy to verify and incorporate into intervention strategies.

Social Capital Theory

The third theory of immigrant integration is social capital theory, which is also the theoretical framework guiding this study. The origins of social capital theory are traced to the work of sociologists Coleman, Bourdieu, and Lin and political scientist Putnam. One of the main propositions of social capital theory is that valuable resources are embedded in social relations and access to and use of these resources can lead to better outcomes (Portes, 1998; Lin, 2001). The importance of social relationships in life is an old phenomenon that can be traced to the works of earlier writers like Alexis de Tocqueville, a French writer, and Emile Durkheim, a French sociologist. Following his visit to the United States in 1831, de Tocqueville described the associational life among American people in his book *Democracy in America*. He observed that in spite of the independence afforded by democracy, Americans participated in both political and civic associations, in pursuit of common goals. Similarly, in his classical book, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology,* Durkheim stated that variations in suicide rates across countries could be explained by social integration and social regulation variables. Too much or too little of social integration or social regulation led to suicide (Durkheim, 1951). In other words, one of the causes of suicide was a disconnection of people from social bonds.

It is within this backdrop that contemporary social capital theory has evolved. Participation in organizations, the quantity and quality of social relationships remain important aspects of social capital. The term social capital was introduced in the 1920s by Lyda Judson Hanifan, who was the State Supervisor of Rural Schools in West Virginia, to explain the

significance of community participation in successful schools. Over the years, the concept of social capital has situated the importance of community in economic language, which may be more appealing to business people and money-minded policymakers (Halpern, 2005). Although in the 1980s to early 1990s social relations generated mixed views ranging from "burdensome, exploitative, liberating, or irrelevant," the concept of social capital marked a novel attempt that generated consensus across different disciplines regarding the significance of social relationships in facilitating outcomes (Woolcock & Narayan, 2006, p. 228). At its most basic, social capital refers to associational networks among individuals or collectives that aid in the accomplishment of productive outcomes (Pennings & Wezel, 2007; Szreter, 2000).

The *social* characteristic of social capital is in that it represents social relationships among individuals, while its *capital* attributes are that it is an asset with the potential of enhancing the lives of individuals (Meier, 2005). The works of sociologist James Coleman and political scientist Robert Putnam were critical in propelling interest in social capital (Halpern, 2005). Other scholars have also contributed to the advancement of social capital theory, especially sociologists Pierre Bourdieu, Nan Lin, and Woolcock and Narayan. Consequently, different perspectives underlie social capital theory, and these are elaborated for each key contributor. In spite of diverse conceptualizations, these social capital scholars seem to agree that social capital comprises of "personal connections and interpersonal interaction, together with the shared sets of values that are associated with these contacts" (Field, 2003, p. 13).

Bourdieu's Social Capital

The first key contributor to social capital theory is Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist. A concern with questions of unequal access to resources, and the maintenance of power in society, served as the main backdrop of his analysis of social capital (Field, 2003). Bourdieu

argued that a full understanding of how society functions is achieved through analyses of the three main forms of capital, and these are economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Whereas economic capital symbolizes money or property rights, cultural capital exists in three main forms: a) as an embodied state representing dispositions of the mind and body, b) as an objectified state like books, pictures and other cultural goods, and c) as institutionalized in educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu (2001) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p. 102-103). According to Bourdieu, the main constituents of social capital included *social networks* of mutual acquaintance and recognition, and *resources*. Bourdieu added that social capital is determined by the size of the network, "The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (Bourdieu 2001, p. 103). Thus, social capital varies by network and the individual member's ability to mobilize network resources.

Bourdieu also viewed capital as power and a resource when transformed under particular conditions (Bourdieu, 2001; Granovetter & Swedberg, 2001). For example, cultural and social capital can be converted into economic capital under certain situations (Bourdieu, 2001). The ability for new immigrants to convert their social and cultural capital into economic capital may enhance integration outcomes. Of particular importance to professionals who assist immigrant populations is research that explores the specific conditions that may permit such conversions.

A comprehensive understanding of Bourdieu's analysis of social capital requires the incorporation of the concepts of field and habitus (Dika & Singh, 2002). Bourdieu's concept of

field refers to a structured social space "in which actors play out their engagements with each other" according to their different positions (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002, p. 22). People's position on the field is defined by the amounts of their capital and the comparative weight of their capital in relation to the form of capital pertinent to their particular field (Bourdieu, 2001). For instance, in this study I assumed that social capital is important in the field of immigrant integration. Fields are also arenas of conflict and competition as actors work to achieve their goals (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002). Each field has rules that not only define interaction between its members, but serve to protect the interests of those who created and obey them (Bauder, 2005).

The second concept that is central in understanding Bourdieu's analysis of social capital is habitus. Seeking a middle ground between the influence of individual decision making (subjectivism) and the force exerted by the social structure on social actors (objectivism), Bourdieu (1977) suggested that individuals have an "acquired system of generative dispositions" or habitus which guides their thoughts, perceptions, and actions in the world (p. 95). Habitus provides actors with a sense of what is required to adjust to the social context and to adapt to their social positions in the field (Hesse, 2000). Habitus results from continued exposure to specific social conditions and the internalization of external constraints and possibilities (Wacquant, 2006), and serves to reproduce the existing social structure (Williams, 1995). The concepts of field and habitus indicate the existence of power differentials among network members, with some occupying privileged positions and others being subordinates. Thus, social capital may be used to advance the interests of the privileged alone, and by so doing hinder the achievement of goals among the less privileged (De Jesus, 2005). The exclusionary effects of social capital need to be acknowledged to promote a balanced assessment of its impact on the lives of network members, which is very important for members of subordinate groups.

Regarding immigrant populations, the concepts of field, habitus and social capital may provide a holistic portrait of the difficulties experienced by immigrants in specific fields, for example, the labor market, and their survival strategies. Based on examination of how immigrants from South Asia and Yugoslavia navigated the labor market in Vancouver, Canada, Bauder (2005) concluded that the concept of habitus may be used to understand how practices by employers, work place rules and immigration status serve to include or exclude immigrants from participating in the labor market. In particular, Bauder found that unfamiliarity with the rules of the Canadian labor market was an important employment barrier depending on how one was admitted into Canada. For example, participants who entered as refugees or as family-based immigrants tended to be less familiar with the labor market rules compared to immigrants who came through the skills-based class. In the face of these obstacles, internalized patterns of perceptions and actions (habitus) influenced immigrants to fall back on their ethnic community and to develop distinct occupational preferences. For example, South Asians were concentrated in the taxi-operating sector as both owners and drivers. Ethnic networks played an important role in the maintenance of this niche by facilitating the flow of information about available taxi-driving jobs among South Asians, as jobs were filled through network referrals.

Bourdieu's analysis of social capital may be the most theoretically developed, and it is gaining prominence in social science research (Cockerham, 2007; Portes, 1998). Bourdieu recommends analyses of the *presence of social networks*, the *amount and quality of resources* possessed by that network, as well as the individual's ability to *use* those resources (Portes, 1998). One of the strengths of Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is that he acknowledges differences in the social capital possessed by individuals in a network. The major criticism of Bourdieu's analysis stems from his view of social capital as a tool used by the

powerful to maintain their social hierarchy, which downplays the importance of social capital among the less privileged (Field, 2003). The next section highlights the importance of social capital to the less privileged, a central element in Coleman's conceptualization of social capital.

Coleman's Social Capital

The second key contributor to social capital theory is sociologist James Coleman. His interest in social capital emerged from attempts to explain relationships between social inequality and academic achievement in schools (Field, 2003). Unlike Bourdieu, who emphasized the role played by different forms of social capital in the creation and perpetuation of unequal power relations, Coleman viewed social capital as "productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). He defined social capital by its function: "It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman 1988, p. S98). Therefore, social capital is a function of the social structure whose value is realized when individual actors use it to achieve desired actions. The main forms of social capital are obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures, information channels, and norms. Coleman (1988, 1990) cautioned that social capital useful in achieving a specific action may be useless or harmful for other actions. Hence, it is important for social capital researchers to understand the variable effects of social capital on different outcomes.

For Coleman, social capital develops through relational exchanges that produce trust by establishing expectations, and generating and reinforcing norms. The family plays an important role in the development of social capital, and the absence of adults in a family may represent a structural deficiency in social capital. Of particular importance is network closure that denotes

dense networks of parents and their children in which everyone is connected. Network closure facilitates the maintenance of effective norms, and the creation of trust. Family expectations and information channels create norms and obligations that prevent children from dropping out of school (Coleman, 1988, 1990). Coleman (1988) emphasized the importance of the norms of trust and reciprocity,

"If *A* does something for *B* and trusts *B* to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation on the part of *A* and an obligation on the part of *B*. This obligation can be conceived as a credit slip held by *A* for performance by *B*" (p. S102).

Thus, indicators of social capital include the number of adults in the family, levels of trust and reciprocity, obligations and expectations. Similar to Bourdieu, Coleman stressed the importance of social networks, although he gave more emphasis to parental networks (Dika & Singh, 2002; Field, 2003).

Coleman's conceptualization of social capital has been criticized for proposing a vague definition of social capital (DeFilippis, 2001), that fails to adequately differentiate social capital from its effects (Lin, 2001). In addition, Coleman is criticized for failing to consider the influence of power, varying interests and motives among network members, which may hamper the achievement of individual goals (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Field (2003) puts forth a useful comparison of Bourdieu and Coleman's positions regarding the negative effects of social capital:

"But Coleman's view is also naively optimistic; as a public good, social capital is almost entirely benign in its functions, providing for a set of norms and sanctions that allow individuals to cooperate for mutual advantage and with little or no 'dark side'. Bourdieu's

usage of the concept, by contrast, virtually allows only for a dark side for the oppressed,

and a bright side for the privileged" (p. 28).

Despite these criticisms, Coleman's major contribution to social capital theory is the proposition

that social capital may benefit the poor and marginalized because it allows them to meet goals

that may not have been easily achieved without it (Field, 2003). This productive ability of social

capital may be a vital advantage for immigrants during their integration.

Putnam's Social Capital

The third key contributor to social capital theory is political scientist Robert Putnam who

views social capital as a collective asset. Drawing from the work of previous theorists like de

Tocqueville, he initially examined the importance of civic engagement in democracy and

economic development in Italy in his book *Making Democracy Work* (1993a). Refocusing

attention to the United States in his renowned book, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of*

American Community (2000), Putnam asserted that social capital was on the decline in this

country. He defined social capital as "connections among individuals – social networks and the

norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000, p.19). Putnam

(1993b) stressed that social capital facilitated collective action for mutual benefit at the

community level. Similar to Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam views networks as basic to the

existence of social capital, and the cultivation of norms of reciprocity and trust. However, the

main difference among these theorists is that Putnam considers community networks and not

those of individuals.

Putnam extended the relevancy of his perspective to other factors by linking social

capital to a variety of outcomes, like education, economic prosperity, health, and happiness. For

example, he argued that communities with low rates of voting or volunteering were associated

with poor health and child welfare outcomes (Putnam, 2000). Positive correlations between

community social capital and health have been observed in public health research (Kawachi,

Subramanian & Kim, 2008). According to Putnam the key indicators of social capital include the

levels of trust and reciprocity in a group, community members' rates of participation in formal

organizations, volunteerism, voting and religious participation (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam is criticized for assuming that trust and reciprocity automatically follow an

individual's participation in organizations, yet power differentials may preclude the development

of trust and reciprocity (Stolle, 2003). In addition, he is challenged for failing to appreciate the

importance of informal networks, such as kin and friends (Field, 2003). This criticism has

particular relevancy in immigration research, because informal networks of family, friends and

neighbors constitute a vital form of social capital among immigrants (Boyd, 1989). Informal

networks have not only facilitated immigrants' movements from countries of origin, but assisted

by reducing the costs of settling in the new country, and in finding jobs (Aguilera & Massey,

2003; Balgopal, 2000; Hagan, 1998). However, Putnam's major contribution is that he provides

additional indicators of measuring social capital, in particular participation in formal

organizations.

Lin's Social Capital

While the preceding key contributors may be criticized for failing to explicate

convincingly the mechanisms through which social capital becomes beneficial to individuals

(Field, 2003), the fourth key contributor to social capital theory, sociologist Nan Lin, illuminated

this connection by emphasizing the notion of social resources as social capital. Lin (2001)

defined social capital as "resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or

mobilized in purposive actions" (p.12). Thus, social capital is in essence resources of other

network members that an individual can or could gain access to because of the social ties between or among them. These resources vary from material goods such as money, cars or houses to symbolic goods like membership in clubs or access to a friend's authority or occupational position (Lin, 1999, p. 468; Lin, 2001, p. 43). Social resources that one can access are not only derived from individuals that one is directly connected to (direct ties) but also from "chains of multiple actors" known through the direct ties (Lin, 2001, p. 44). When one invests in social relations, he or she can "gain access to diverse and rich resources for expected returns" (Lin & Erickson, 2007, p. 4).

One set of returns from investments in social relations comprises occupational returns, such as securing jobs, and higher earnings. Lin (2001) added that increased diversity of networks expanded the range of social resources available to its members. For example, a diverse network, comprised of members with occupations that are both less and highly prestigious, may link its members to people with higher prestige, which increases their access to prestigious jobs. Therefore, networks of immigrants who possess divergent skills and occupational positions may be instrumental in facilitating occupational mobility and employment for its members. Thus, for Lin, social capital has three main constituents, namely, social resources (resources of others accessed through social connections), accessibility, and returns. Lin's perspective may be criticized for its exclusive focus on the individual level of analysis which precludes an understanding of the collective elements of social capital. However, the main contribution of Lin's conceptualization of social capital is that it allows a detailed examination of the nature and dynamics of individual social capital (Akdere, 2005). Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and Lin's perspectives on social capital thus constitute an important foundation of social capital theory.

Another useful frame for understanding social capital theory is Woolcock and Narayan's (2006) Four-Part Model of Social Capital, presented in the next section.

Woolcock and Narayan's Four-Part Model of Social Capital

This section discusses the four-part model of social capital that was proposed by economists Woolcock and Narayan (2006). These authors posited that the question of what is social capital could be best understood using a four-part model that delineates its communitarian, network, institutional, and synergy perspectives. This model borrows from the other theorists. The following subsections explain each perspective.

Communitarian Perspective. The first perspective in the four-part framework for understanding social capital is the communitarian perspective, which conceptualizes social capital as equal to local organizations or social groups, and the associated norms of reciprocity, trust and sanctions available to members of these organizations (Kawachi et al., 2008; Woolcock & Narayan, 2006). Kawachi et al. (2008) refer to this approach as the social cohesion school of social capital. Closely aligned with Putnam's view of social capital, the communitarian perspective posits a positive association between the level of social capital and improved community welfare. Key indicators of social capital associated with this perspective include the number and density of local organizations in a specific community, membership in local organizations, norms of reciprocity and the level of trust. Local organizations can be voluntary associations, clubs and civic groups. The communitarian perspective emphasizes that social capital is a group attribute and not a property of individuals who belong to the group. However, the contextual effects of social capital allow every member within the group to benefit from it even if a member is lacking in the other indicators; for example, trust (Kawachi et al., 2008).

The major assumptions of the communitarian perspective are a) the more organizations in a community, the better the welfare of its members, and b) social capital is inherently good. Criticisms of this perspective are that it overlooks the negative aspects of social capital because organizations may serve to exclude or even harm community members who may not belong to them. In addition, the communitarian perspective concentrates on the community as the unit of analysis, yet high community social capital may not translate to any benefits for individual members (Van der Gaag & Webber, 2008; Woolcock & Narayan, 2006). Thus, analyses that include the individual as the unit of analysis may provide more information on their social capital, a condition that is considered in the networks perspectives.

Networks Perspectives. The second perspective in the four-part framework for understanding social capital is the networks perspective. In particular, the networks perspective is concerned with the patterns of relationships among network members or the network structure, how these relationships are formed, accessed and used as resources to accomplish tasks (Jones & Dimitratos, 2004; Moore, Sheill, Hawe, & Heines, 2005). Upholding Granovetter (1983)'s notion of "weak" and "strong ties" where weak ties referred to acquaintances and strong ties to close friends, the network perspective also stresses the importance of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, concepts that elucidate network diversity. Whereas bonding social capital refers to the value assigned to social networks among homogeneous groups of people such as family or ethnic groups, bridging social capital refers to social ties among socially heterogeneous groups that differ according to ethnicity, age or class, and linking social capital refers to networks among people who are interacting across defined, formal boundaries in society (Szreter &Woolcock, 2004). Different combinations of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital may lead to positive outcomes, with bonding social capital helping individuals to "get by," bridging

social capital assisting the disadvantaged to "get ahead," and linking social capital facilitating continued access to formal institutions (Woolcock, 2002, p. 11). On the other hand bonding social capital may reinforce exclusive identities that keep people with different characteristics out, while bridging social capital may promote intergroup linkages (Putnam, 2000).

The main indicators of social capital according to this perspective include network size, network types (formal versus informal), network strength, network diversity (bonding, bridging, linking social capital), frequency of contact, and social resources (Flap, 2004). For example, high network size and greater levels of diversity among network members denote higher levels of social capital (Lin, 2001). Unlike the communitarian perspective that conceptualizes social capital at the group or collective level, the network perspective considers social capital as both an individual and collective attribute (Kawachi et al., 2008). The major advantage of the network perspective is that it captures the "individual and societal structure of social capital" at the same time, which connects micro and macro level analyses (Lin, Cook & Burt, 2001, p. viii). However, both communitarian and network perspectives seem to suggest that social capital creation and maintenance rests solely on individuals or communities, overlooking institutional constraints and inequality that may interfere with social capital formation and accessibility (Griffiths, Sigona & Zetter, 2005). In the next section, the institutional perspective elaborates on how societal institutions may limit social capital.

Institutional Perspective. The third perspective in the four-part framework for understanding social capital is the institutional perspective. It argues that social capital does not develop independent of existing formal institutions. In particular, fair public policies and public institutions promote trust in institutions, and this trust is transferred to people in general. In addition, "government policies and political institutions create, channel and influence the amount

and type of social capital" (Rothstein & Stolle, 2002, p. 7). Whereas communitarian and network perspectives view social capital as an independent variable, the institutional perspective considers social capital as a dependent variable (Woolcock & Narayan, 2006). The strength of the institutional perspective is that it emphasizes the role of local institutions and policies in the formation of social capital. This has important implications for immigrants in the United States where restrictive policies such the Welfare Reform of 1996 may have eroded the development of social capital among immigrants.

The Synergy Perspective. The fourth perspective in the four-part framework for understanding social capital is the synergy view which blends network and institutional perspectives of social capital, emphasizing the importance of state-society relations in the attainment of goals. Assuming that neither the state nor local communities possess all the resources required to promote extensive sustainable development goals, the synergy perspective calls for the creation of partnerships and complementarities across states, firms and communities. Identifying the conditions which may promote or hinder these synergies is central to research and practice. In addition, researchers and policy makers need to examine the nature and extent of a community's social relationships and formal institutions and the interaction among them, to develop institutional strategies based on these social relations emphasizing bonding and bridging social capital, and to determine how social capital may counterbalance sectarianism and isolation (Woolcock & Narayan, 2006). The synergy perspective fits very well with the view that immigrant integration is multidirectional and best achieved from cooperative efforts by the new immigrants, local communities and institutions (Fix, 2007). In social work practice, the synergy perspective reinforces the idea that social workers are a resource for new immigrants because they represent a form of linking social capital and may also assist in the development of bonding

and bridging social capital (Healy & Hampshire, 2002). However, the main assumption of the synergy view is that it assumes that local communities, organizations and states pursue similar goals that would benefit from partnerships.

The preceding sections explicated the main perspectives on social capital theory. In sum, three main statements can be made about social capital:

1. Social capital is a multidimensional construct with many definitions. Nonetheless, social capital is often defined in terms of networks, trust, and reciprocity (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2004; Sabatini, 2007).

2. Social capital can be viewed as a property of the individual or collective. However, "it would be a mistake to view social capital in mutually exclusive terms, as either an individual or a collective asset; clearly, it can be both" (Kawachi, 2006, p. 3).

3. Social capital is a context-based concept that depends on the historical, social and political factors (Cheong et al., 2006).

Having highlighted key perspectives that make up social capital theory, it is important to point out the usefulness of social capital theory in understanding immigrant populations; given that it is the framework that guided this research.

Social Capital and Immigrant Integration

Social capital theory has been used by researchers to understand a wide range of outcomes in the areas of education (Dika & Singh, 2002; Kuperminc, Darnell, & Alvarez-Jimenez, 2008; Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008), health (Harpham, Grant, & Rodriguez, 2004; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001), and employment (Aguilera, 2003; Lin, 2004). Of importance to this study, social capital theory has been used to understand immigrant well-being during resettlement (Hagan, 1998). Massey and Espinosa (1997) proposed a "direct connection between

networks and the costs and benefits of migration" (p. 952), adding that networks would reduce the cost of resettlement and raise the chances of United States employment. Various tenets of social capital theory such as network size and participation in organizations or community groups have been used to understand immigrant mental health, economic and social adaptation.

Studies that have verified the utility of social capital theory in understanding immigrant adaptation found mixed results that portrayed the theory as helpful, detrimental or of minimal effect. Social support from family, friends and the community can help in assisting the effects of migration stressors. For instance, Stroller and McConatha (2001) observed that membership in different fluid communities helped West African traders in New York City deal with cultural alienation, and also enabled access to needed resources. Gellis (2003) examined the effects of kin and non-kin social supports on depressive symptoms among 79 Vietnamese male and female immigrants. The results showed that the respondents had an average of five people to whom they turned to for help with personal problems. The respondents also had non-kin contacts that averaged four people, and these included co-workers and mental health service providers. In addition, the results showed that increase in social support from kin networks contributed to higher depression scores, while an increase in non-kin networks decreased psychological distress. Different rates and patterns of acculturation in families could explain the negative relationship between kin networks and psychological distress. The finding that non-kin networks were associated with lower depression scores could underscore the critical role that various professionals including social work practitioners can play in the lives of immigrants.

Immigrants can face unique problems related to visa requirements needed to achieve legal immigration status as well as health related issues. For example, recent immigrants may not afford comprehensive health insurance or legal representation by lawyers to solve their legal

problems. Viladrich (2005) used social capital theory to show how tango artists and entrepreneurs from Argentina use the tango to create social networks that allow the circulation of information and resources among its members. The study employed ethnographic methods that included participant observation and 15 interviews to gain information on the participants' migratory experiences, health status, and the resources they use to solve their health problems in New York City. Through her regular attendance at different Manhattan tango events, Carmin (one of the participants) was able to meet other Argentines who helped her find alternative solutions to both her visa and employment related issues. Another tango artist in this study shared of a reciprocal relationship he had formed with an Argentine doctor whom he taught tango skills while she helped him with his medical questions and medication. The professionals who participated in the tango events were also able to recruit clients as well as develop social relationships with other Argentines.

However, social capital theory also has limitations. First, it fails to adequately address the social context. Specifically social capital does not look at the impact of limited education, power differentials within networks or discrimination. These negative aspects can remain unchallenged. Menjivar (1997) used ethnographic methods to examine the dynamics of kinship-based networks among recent Salvadorean immigrants to San Francisco, and observed that, although they provided support on arrival, they became sources of discord and even broke down because conditions in the new country hindered their maintenance. For example, poverty discouraged reciprocity which in turn threatened the maintenance of kinship networks. In spite of its limitations, social capital theory appears useful in understanding immigrant populations because it brings to light practical ways that immigrants employ to deal with their day-to-day needs in the face of limited financial resources and accessibility to formal sources of help. Social

relationships allow the transfer of information and resources among immigrant populations. Understanding the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States and its effects were central to this study.

<center>Part II: Integration Experiences of Immigrants</center>

Having reviewed selected theories of immigrant integration, this section elaborates on migration and integration experiences of immigrants in different host societies, with an emphasis on the United States. Social work interventions with African immigrants and social capital based interventions that could aid with the integration process are also discussed. I end Part II with a review of factors that promote or hinder successful integration among immigrants.

<center>*Host Societies and Immigrant Integration*</center>

This section delineates the state of immigrant integration in different receiving nations, emphasizing employment, educational attainment, and participation in societal institutions. I chose these areas because they reflect the key domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Clark, 2003). The integration of immigrants varies across the nations (Van Tubergen, 2006). According to the Program for International Student Assessment (2006) distributions of unemployment rates of natives versus immigrants revealed great differences in countries like Belgium (6.3% vs. 17.8%) and Norway (3.3% vs. 9.0%), and the least differences were observed in Australia (6.0% vs. 6.5%), Canada (6.0% vs. 8.0%) and the United States (6.4% vs. 7.5%). Whereas more immigrants than natives possessed lower levels of education in the United States and Switzerland, those in Australia and Canada had better levels. For instance, among those with less than upper secondary education, there were more immigrants (39.8%) than natives (21.9%) in the United States, yet in Australia the percentage was 38.3 for immigrants and 45.8 for natives (Program for International Student Assessment, 2006). The difference in educational levels

between United States and Australian immigrants could be explained by the point system in Australia that has favored the admission of the educated.

Naturalization rates also vary across host nations. These are highest in Canada and Australia, where 88% and 73%, respectively, of immigrants take up the new country's citizenship within 20 years of admission, and lowest in Germany (3%) and Japan (1%). In the United States 34 to 39 % of immigrants become citizens within 20 years of admission (Lynch & Simon, 2003). Even though the United States hosts the highest number of immigrants in the world a smaller proportion of them naturalize compared to Australia and Canada. Possible reasons for this variation are presented in greater detail below.

Variations in integration could be explained by certain characteristics of the host society, which Reitz (2002) identified as 1) preexisting ethnic and race relations, 2) labor markets and related institutions, 3) government policies and programs, and 4) the changing nature of international boundaries. Two of these characteristics, namely, preexisting ethnic and race relations and government policies and programs, are elaborated in the following sections. These two were selected because of their relevancy to the proposed study and social work. Preexisting ethnic and race relations in the host society influence integration processes because they provide the social framework within which integration occurs, which in turn affects the opportunities and constraints that immigrants may encounter (Reitz, 2002). This is especially relevant in United States society where a defined racial system has labeled some racial groups as minorities, and these include black populations. For example, Waters (1999) observed that immigrants from the West Indies in New York were ascribed black identities in the United States which associated them with one of the disadvantaged groups in the country, and this affected how they negotiated their integration as a distinct group. In addition, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) observed that, apart

from low human capital skills, one of the factors that contributed to lower earnings for Haitians in the United States was their identification as a minority group. Understanding the interplay of race, ethnicity, and structural factors on integration outcomes is crucial when working with diverse immigrants.

The influence of government policies on immigrant integration has received wide recognition in the literature. Canada and the United States provide useful illustrations of how government policies affect immigrant integration. Whereas United States policies promote differential access to rights, benefits and social services for its immigrants based on legal status, Canada has policies that allow immigrants immediate access to social services and settlement programs (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 2004). For example, Bloemraad (2006) stated that the citizenship gap between the United States and Canada was partly explained by Canada's settlement policies that offered support for citizenship and provided more public assistance to help with integration. One of the recent immigrant integration statutes in Canada is the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement of 2005, in which the federal government pledged $920 million to help new immigrants successfully integrate into Ontario communities (Citizenships and Immigration Canada, 2006).

The role played by the federal government in immigrant settlement is a major underlying cause for differences between integration outcomes in Canada and the United States. Whereas the federal government is actively involved in Canada, state governments and local communities have the main responsibility for immigrant integration in the United States (Cornelius et al., 2004; Fix, 2007). For example, another recent statute on immigrant settlement in Canada is the New Strategic Direction on Immigration of 2005 which has the support of federal, provincial and territorial ministers. Among its main priorities is "strengthening the partnerships and programs

needed to ensure the successful social and economic integration of immigrants, while helping to maximize their skills and contribution" (Citizenships and Immigration Canada, 2005, p. 2). This concerted support across federal, state and local government levels is limited in the United States. The preceding sections described the broader issues that have a bearing on immigrant integration in different host nations. Immigrant policies in the United States are discussed next, highlighting their effect on both immigrant populations and social work practice.

<div align="center">

United States Immigrant Policies

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Despite clearer immigration control policies, United States immigrant policies are still evolving. Fix (2007) observed that even though there were notable federally funded initiatives to assist specific immigrant groups, the absence of a comprehensive immigrant integration policy in the United States persisted. For example, whereas the refugee resettlement provision of the 1980 Refugee Act has aided refugees with integration, the state of United States immigrant policy in 2007 had not improved much from what was observed more than a decade before in 1994. Immigrant policies were composed of "scattered, unlinked provisions and programs that fall, largely by default, to State and local governments" (Fix & Passel, 1994, p. 4). This scenario was exacerbated by the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (P.R.W.O.R.A.). In this section, I discuss P.R.W.O.R.A., the refugee resettlement program, and other federally sponsored integration programs.

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (P.R.W.O.R.A.)

This subsection discusses the main provisions and effects of P.R.W.O.R.A. on immigrant integration. It is also known as Welfare Reform. In spite of its restrictive and negative connotations, P.R.W.O.R.A. significantly shaped immigrant integration by restructuring welfare benefits to immigrants. Its main provisions entailed a) restricting access to public benefits for

immigrants and b) devolving social welfare for immigrants to state governments. Although these main provisions have been revised since its passage in 1996, its negative legacies persist (Fix & Zimmermann, 2004). Below, I discuss these two main provisions.

Restricting Access to Public Benefits. This provision restricted access to public benefits for legal immigrants, especially those who came to the United States after the law's enactment in 1996, and by so doing eroded their safety net (Paral, 2004). Legal immigrants that entered the United States after 1996 were denied access to a wide range of benefits such as food stamps, Supplemental Security Income (S.S.I.), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (T.A.N.F.), and Medicaid (Fujiwara, 2006; Zimmermann & Tumlin, 1999). It was estimated that $23.7 billion would be gained from the cuts in benefits for immigrants (Hinge, 1998). However, P.R.W.O.R.A. conveyed a different message to immigrants and their advocates who believed the law defined immigrants as "outsiders who should find other ways to support their families regardless of their contributions to this country's economy and social fabric" (Fujiwara, 2006, p. 237). In addition, this law distinguished between "qualified" immigrants, such as lawful permanent residents, refugees and asylees, and "unqualified" immigrants that included undocumented immigrants, asylum applicants, and international students. According to Fix and Zimmermann (2004, p. 341), the classification of some legal immigrants as "unqualified" "disenfranchised various classes of immigrants who were arguably present by the nation's consent, including applicants for asylum and recipients of temporary protected status." The restrictions are equally frustrating for permanent residents who still have to wait for 5 years before they are eligible for services.

Devolving Social Welfare. The second major provision of P.R.W.O.R.A. was the devolution of immigrant policy to states. The role of formulating social welfare policies for

immigrants was passed on to states. This meant that state governments had the authority to decide which benefits to offer or deny. This has resulted in varying social welfare services for immigrants across the states. In their study of 13 states, Zimmerman and Tumlin (1999) observed that, while some states had limited benefits for immigrants, California had restored most of the benefits and provided new ones like health care insurance and tuition assistance at public universities. In spite of the new authority, states are required to meet two conditions: verification of immigration status before giving out services, and mandated reporting of undocumented immigrants by agencies that administer federal housing assistance, S.S.I. and T.A.N.F. These conditions have merged immigration enforcement and social welfare (Fix & Zimmermann, 2004), which has made accessing welfare harder for immigrants. Also, there are increasing concerns about the cost of immigrants at the state and community levels such that these benefits are ever-changing, depending on prevailing sentiments (Fix & Zimmermann, 2004; Fujiwara, 2006).

The overall effect of P.R.W.O.R.A. was that it removed safety nets for immigrants who have been left to make it on their own in the United States, although many find it hard to survive (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). Even though the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 restored S.S.I. and Medicaid benefits to immigrant elderly and children and offered additional benefits to refugees, most working-age immigrant adults are still excluded (Fix & Tumlin, 1997). This has affected the well-being of working families in general (Zimmerman & Tumlin, 1999). Research on the impact of P.R.W.O.R.A. on immigrant families indicates that they are experiencing increased risks of hunger and inequality (Fujiwara, 2006). In addition, the law has instilled fear and reduced trust in the welfare system, with many immigrants, even some who are eligible, avoiding seeking help because of fears of deportation (Singer, 2004). Although I was not able to locate

research that evaluated the impact of welfare reform on African immigrants, it is likely that the negative impact of P.R.W.O.R.A. is also being felt by this population. This subsection discussed the main provisions of P.R.W.O.R.A. and its effects on immigrants in the United States. The next subsection presents the resettlement provision of the Refugee Act of 1980.

The Refugee Resettlement Program

The resettlement program was one of the main clauses of the Refugee Act of 1980. Its major aim is to assist refugees to achieve economic self-sufficiency within the shortest time possible. One of its main components was the provision of federal funding to private and state agencies assisting with refugee resettlement. Refugees can participate in this program only the first 8 months after arrival (Fix, Zimmermann & Passel, 2001). According to the Office of Refugee Resettlement website (http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/data/index.htm), three main benefits can be obtained by refugees through this program: 1) Cash and medical assistance for the first 8 months. However, eligible refugees can get TANF and Medicaid for the first 5 years (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002), 2) Social services that include employment-related services, such as job training and placement, English Language Instruction, supportive services, and short-term counseling, and 3) Health screenings that include medical screenings for chronic and communicable diseases, and mental health. However, about 85% of the resettlement funds are targeted at employment-related services (Fix, et al., 2001). Thus, it is likely that other services receive less attention.

The effects of the refugee resettlement program on Africans are not well documented in the literature. Potocky-Tripodi (2003) observed that, even though the Office of Refugee Resettlement has data on refugee employment outcomes, research that examined variable relationships or practice effectiveness has not been published. However, Warriner (2007)

explored experiences of Sudanese women refugees who were participating in an English language class. She found that their employment outcomes were still bleak even after learning English because the participants either failed to find jobs or ended up working in low-wage jobs without any prospects for advancement. She concluded that programs that aimed at assisting refugees "in as short a time as possible, often provide very few of the skills, resources, and connections that refugees and immigrants need to become active, contributing members of local communities" (Warriner 2007, p. 356). In spite of its weaknesses, the refugee resettlement program meets the basic needs of new refugees and helps them deal with cultural differences and unfamiliar environments during the first days. This subsection discussed the refugee resettlement program and its potential effects on the integration of Africans to the United States

Other Federal Government Sponsored Integration Programs

There are other programs that the United States federal government has funded to assist with immigrant integration, as articulated in this subsection. Fix (2007) outlined three additional broad programs that immigrants in the United States are receiving apart from the refugee assistance program. These are 1) programs for migrant workers and their families, 2) funding for language instruction and the promotion of citizenship, and 3) funding given to communities to offset the costs of providing services to immigrants. The goals of each of the three programs and whom it serves are explained below.

Programs for migrant workers and their families are in the areas of health, education and workforce training. Although these programs were initially developed to serve United States born migrants who moved in search of seasonal jobs in agriculture, this workforce has included immigrants as 4 out of 5 agricultural workers are foreign-born. The specific components of this program include the Migrant Education Program to meet the educational needs of the children of

migrants. This provides social work and health services to children in schools or community organizations (Fix, 2007; Gelatt & Fix, 2007). There were 819,000 children participating in this program as of July 2002. However, previous evaluations had indicated that only about half of them received a high school diploma (Gibson, 2003). Despite this disappointing outcome, a qualitative investigation of the experiences of six Latino students who participated in this program showed that social capital and strong family values were critical to student performance (Gibson, 2003). Another component of this program is the Migrant Health Program. This provides grants to community organizations that offer medical care and other services to migrants and their families. The number of people served through this program rose from 580,423 in 1998 to 726,813 in 2004. Its funding is also increasing. It rose from $84 million in 1998 to $144 million in 2005 (Gelatt & Fix, 2007).

Programs that fund language instruction entail initiatives that promote English language acquisition for both children and adult immigrants and refugees, such as bilingual programs and English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) programs. For instance, the number of adult immigrants enrolled in E.S.L. classes was 1.2 million for both the 1993-1994 and 2003-2004 fiscal years (Fix, 2007), which may indicated the huge demand for such services. Programs that provide funding to communities to offset the impact of immigrants include reimbursements for hospital costs and jail costs (Gelatt & Fix, 2007). What I have shown here is that United States federally funded immigrant integration programs, except for E.S.L. classes, have largely focused on refugees and migrants, and not the bulk of other foreign-born populations. Next, I address the question of how the existing immigrant policies affect social work practice with immigrants.

United States Immigrant Policies and Social Work Practice

The challenges and opportunities that United States immigrant policies have created for social workers who work with immigrants are elaborated in this section. Whereas P.R.W.O.R.A. created challenges for social workers, the resettlement program provided opportunities for service. Social workers have participated in the refugee resettlement programs as case managers, mental health professionals and administrators (Padilla, 1997; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). However, funding for refugee resettlement programs has been declining. For example, targeted federal spending on the refugee resettlement program declined from $545 million in 1999 to $470 million in 2005, a decrease of 13.8% (Gelatt & Fix, 2007). Social work services could be threatened in the future if this trend continues. The remainder of this section focuses on the challenges that P.R.W.O.R.A. has created for social workers. These challenges stem from the restrictive nature of P.R.W.O.R.A., and its fusion of social welfare and immigration enforcement.

Apart from reducing the scope of services delivered by social workers to immigrants, P.R.W.O.R.A. has created practice dilemmas for social workers. In a study of New York social service agencies, Abramovitz (2002) reported the dilemmas experienced by workers such as: a) having to choose between client confidentiality and reporting mandates, b) promoting client welfare versus cooperating with restrictions that deny public benefits to immigrants, and c) engaging in advocacy campaigns versus remaining silent to protect funding. In addition, workers reported feelings of limited effectiveness and burnout. Reisch (2006) stated the social work profession has been placed in an "ironic position of defending policies and programs it had fiercely criticized" at the expense of promoting social justice, which is one of its main professional goals (p. 76). In addition, P.R.W.O.R.A. has undermined advocacy efforts by social

workers because its adverse effects vary from state to state depending on the immigrant

population and funding capabilities (Keigher, 1997). Notwithstanding, the challenges created by

P.R.W.O.R.A. can serve as a basis for increased advocacy efforts at the federal and state levels.

For example, devolution can provide opportunities for social workers to influence immigrant

policies at the local level (Kim, 2001). In addition, the challenges can help social workers in the

development of new innovative programs for immigrants. This section presented the challenges

and opportunities afforded to social workers by P.R.W.O.R.A. and the refugee resettlement

program. Given the restrictive policy environment and the narrowing scope of social work

services to immigrants, how has the United States immigrant population fared?

How are Immigrants Faring in the United States?

This section addresses the question of how immigrants are faring in the United States

highlighting evidence for success, challenges and factors that aid or hinder successful

integration. Evidence gleaned from census data and research studies indicate that, overall,

immigrants are integrating well to the United States. However, in the midst of this success are

pockets of hardship for specific immigrant groups. Several factors may explain this mixed

evidence, including time spent in the United States, human capital, and legal status.

Successes

Although measuring success or its absence among immigrant populations is highly

subjective because of the influence of contextual and individual factors, geographer Clark (2003)

and sociologists Portes and Rumbaut (2006) concur that this could be determined by examining

educational attainment, earnings, citizenship rates, language acquisition, homeownership, and

occupational mobility. The educational attainment of United States immigrants varies by country

of origin and generation. In the 2000 census, first generation immigrants from Mexico had the

lowest percentage of high school graduates (29.2%), while Taiwanese had the highest percentage (96.5%). When examined across generations, the educational levels of second generation immigrants from groups such as Mexicans, Chinese, Indians, and Africans are higher than the first generation (Waldinger & Reichl, 2007), which indicates improved integration outcomes across generations.

Even though there is mixed evidence about whether earnings of immigrants surpass or match those of natives and when this is likely to occur, the 2000 United States Census records demonstrated that Asians had the highest median household incomes, surpassing those of natives ($57,002 versus 49,298, respectively). On the other hand immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean had the lowest median household incomes at $38,914 (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). A cause for concern regarding immigrant earnings is that groups such as Latin Americans and Africans are most likely to have lower earnings compared to other immigrant groups with similar educational levels (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Waldinger & Reichl, 2007).

Regarding homeownership, a study by Ray, Papademetriou, and Jachimowicz (2004) found that in the 100 largest metropolitan areas of the United States, Western European and Canadian immigrants had the highest homeownership rate 64.8%, and the lowest rates were for Caribbeans (42.7%), Africans (36.8%), and Central Americans (33.4%). Researchers have suggested that homeownership is promoted by factors like English fluency, income, time in the United States, and education and that factors such immigrant status and housing discrimination against minorities may explain lower rates (Clark, 2003; Friedman & Rosebaum, 2004; Painter, Gabriel, & Myers, 2001; Ray et al., 2004). In spite of the evidence for success, immigrants also face challenges.

Challenges

Contemporary United States immigrants face numerous challenges to successful integration. These challenges include language barriers, social isolation, unemployment and underemployment, and role reversal (Drachman & Shen Ryan, 2001; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). For example, an analysis of data from the 2000 United States census indicated that 40% of the United States foreign born had limited or no proficiency in the English language (Frazier & Tettey-Fio, 2006). This has strong implications for integration because English language proficiency is positively associated with earnings for immigrants (Frazier & Tettey-Fio, 2006). Immigrant participants perceived limited language proficiency as a barrier to better jobs and vital connections in the communities in a qualitative study by Garrett (2006).

Another significant challenge that has often received limited intervention from social workers is unemployment and underemployment (Valtonen, 2001). Contrary to conventional wisdom that educated immigrants automatically find jobs and become self-sufficient in the new country, a recent survey in the United States found that 50% of legal immigrants experienced underemployment during the first year (Akresh, 2006). Of particular concern are those who may take more than a year to move out of this predicament, as this may make them vulnerable to poverty and emotional distress (Sakamoto, 2007). Achieving job-related integration is critical to reducing poverty (Mamgain, 2003). Employment is a key integration indicator because of the central role it plays in facilitating other areas of integration, such as access to health, housing and increased interaction with the members of the new country (Ager & Strang, 2008).

As stated earlier, immigrants may face unique problems related to health issues and visa requirements needed to achieve legal immigration status. Even though good health and access to healthcare are among the key indicators of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), immigrants

continue to face challenges with accessing healthcare especially with the existing policy

restrictions on their use of public assistance (Ku & Matani, 2001). In a survey by Ku and Matani

more than half of noncitizen adults (58.2%) were uninsured, and 41.6% of naturalized adults

were also uninsured. When asked about their usual source of care, 37.4% of noncitizens and

31.9% of naturalized immigrants had no source of care. Faced with multiple obstacles to

integration, Portes (1995) stated that immigrants tended to turn to each other for support. Hence,

relying on resources embedded in their networks (social capital) may be viewed as a strategy to

negotiate successful integration. However, there are other factors that may facilitate integration.

Factors that Aid or Hinder Successful Integration

It is important to acknowledge additional factors that have aided successful integration

among immigrants. Apart from social capital related factors discussed earlier on, empirical

evidence on the factors that have influenced immigrant integration suggests that legal status,

citizenship status, human capital, and time spent in the United States are also among the

important factors. Each of these factors is elaborated below. The first factor that determines

integration outcomes is legal status. United States immigrants carry diverse visa and legal

statuses. Researchers have examined how documented and undocumented statuses affect

integration to the United States. Whereas documented status denotes that an individual is in the

United States with the required immigration documentation to support the stay, an

undocumented status means that people lack the necessary papers to stay in the United States

legally (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). An undocumented status is another barrier to accessing social

services in the United States (Delgado, 2005). It also minimizes access to societal institutions

like the labor market. Cordova (2005) reported that employment opportunities of undocumented

Salvadoran immigrants have been severely limited because even those with good educational

qualifications can access only low-paying jobs. Analyses of wages using panel data for a sample of legalized men who benefited from the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act showed that, while the estimated wage penalty associated with being unauthorized ranged from 14% to 24%, the wage benefit of legalization was about 6% (Kossoudji & Cobb-Clark, 2002).

The second factor that determines integration is citizenship status. There are differences between naturalized immigrants and non-citizens. In a study of Chinese immigrants Jang, Lee and Woo (1998) found that noncitizens had a 45% greater chance of being uninsured compared to citizens. Noncitizen status has also been associated with low use of preventive health services such as cancer screening (De Alba, Hubbell, McMullin, Sweningson, & Saitz, 2005; Echeverria & Carrasquillo, 2006). Even census data reveal huge differences between naturalized and noncitizen immigrants in important economic indicators. For example, in 2005 the poverty rate among noncitizens was double that of naturalized citizens at 20.4% versus 10.4% respectively (United States Census Bureau, 2006). As Ager and Strang (2008) stated citizenship comes with specific rights and privileges that form the foundation of successful integration. For example, in the United States citizenship status is one of the criteria used to determine eligibility for public assistance an essential safety net.

The third factor that is known to influence immigrant integration is human capital. James, Romine and Terry (2002) found that an extra year of education increased expected hourly wages by 3.8% among recent immigrants. Also, among recent immigrant males, a male who reported that he could speak English well or very well was estimated to have expected wages 23% higher than those of a similar male who reported poorer English skills. The mediating effect of time spent in the United States on human capital cannot be ignored. As Chiswick (1978) observed immigrants may earn less soon after settling in the United States, but with increased time in the

United States they are able to develop the necessary skills and build up country-specific human capital, which may enable them to realize higher earnings. After this review of evidence for success or lack of it among contemporary United States immigrants, as well as the factors that determine various integration outcomes among immigrant populations, the following section articulates what social workers have done to assist African immigrants, and suggests ways of incorporating social capital based interventions.

Part III: Social Work Practice with African Immigrants and Social Capital

Prior to delineating the state of social work practice with African immigrants, I present a brief synthesis of social work with immigrant populations. Social work practice with immigrants has occurred at the micro, meso and macro levels. At the micro level are interventions that focus on problem-solving with individuals and families, with social workers performing various roles like assessments, counseling and referral services. The meso level of intervention emphasizes interdisciplinary collaborations and engaging the ethnic community. Social work roles at this level may include serving as a liaison to the agency for clients, and ensuring that meaningful connections exist between the client, the agency, and the community. Macro level interventions concentrate on social justice and advocacy work. Specific roles at this level include providing consultation services to communities about the development of community-based services, as well as policy and program advocacy (Nash et al., 2006; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002; Valtonen, 2002). While this is a useful summary of general social work practice with immigrants, knowledge of its application to contemporary African immigrants is of central importance to this research.

Social Work Practice with African Immigrants

The literature reported anecdotal case studies of social work practice with African immigrants that confirm the relevancy of the preceding social work interventions with this population. For example, in his seminal article entitled "*Therapy with African Families,*" social work professor Nwadiora (1996) presented case studies of African immigrants that required counseling to deal with changes in gender roles, loss of employment status and family conflicts. Nevertheless, he added that, in times of crisis, Africans are more likely to turn to their ethnic community leaders, religious leaders and family, instead of seeking professional counseling. Nwadiora presented a case study of a Nigerian man, Uche, and his wife who in the course of their therapy were linked with two other families in the local community for additional support. This suggests that planned integration of credible ethnic informal support systems with the client's consent may augment social work practice with African immigrants.

African immigrants have also received services linking them to social institutions in the new country. Ethnic organizations and resettlement organizations such as the International Rescue Committee enhance immigrants' access to broader societal institutions. In particular, ethnic community-based organizations (ECBOs) and ethnic associations have served as resource systems for new immigrants (Francis, 2000) facilitating such linkages and providing other needed services. Whereas ECBOs are formal organizations that "derive their ethnic identities from the composition of the board of directors, senior management, staff members, and the clients they serve" (Newland, Tanaka, & Barker, 2007, p. 10), ethnic associations are voluntary self-help associations comprised of members of a self-defined ethnic group (Jenkins, 1988).

The Ethiopian Community Development Council (www.ecdcinternational.org) is an example of an ethnic community-based organization that provides a range of services, including

orientation for new immigrants and refugees, hosting events throughout the year that bring together newcomers and members of the United States society, a radio program, business loans and training, advocacy and public education. It has offices in Arlington, Virginia, Washington, D.C., Denver, Colorado, Las Vegas, Nevada, and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. On the other hand, examples of ethnic associations that exist among African immigrants are hometown associations that permit immigrants originating from similar cities or regions to sustain ties and provide financial or material support to their place of origin (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). Beyond this primary mandate, hometown associations also assist their members with integration to the United States. There is great potential for effective partnerships between social workers and these organizations. Even though social workers may be already employed in ethnic community-based organizations and mainstream resettlement agencies that serve Africans, literature on their specific roles and challenges with regard to working with African immigrants is scarce. Francis (2000) stated that even though cultural diversity principles permeate social work education and practice, greater emphasis has been on understanding native-born blacks such that the role of social workers with immigrants of African-descent "remains to be written for the social work professional" (p. 156).

The preceding literature underscores the importance of the ethnic community and social networks in the lives of African immigrants. Even in individual counseling, it is important to appreciate the significance of kinship, family, and the community (Kamya, 2007). These informal relationships, ethnic community-based organizations (ECBOs) and ethnic associations constitute important forms of social capital for individual immigrants that social workers can harness to enhance intervention with African immigrants. Yet systematic application of social capital theory to social work practice with immigrants has not been fully explored. The next

section investigates the application of social capital theory to social work practice in general, and with immigrant populations.

Although social capital theorists do not explicitly articulate applications to guide practice intervention (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2005), prominent social work scholars have claimed that social capital theory is relevant to social work practice. After all social workers are already engaging in interventions that enhance the creation of social capital. Child welfare and family social workers contribute to the creation of bonding social capital among families (Healy & Hampshire, 2002), while community social workers create and enhance bridging and linking social capital through inter and intra community networks, and also bring different community groups together such as local people, business leaders, and church leaders (Midgley & Livermore, 1998). Similarly, social workers who serve immigrants have contributed to the development and strengthening of social capital.

The major difference between traditional intervention strategies and interventions that are informed by social capital theory is that, in the former, social capital is a coincidental by-product yet in the latter building and enhancing social capital are among the main goals of the intervention. Midgley and Livermore (1998) succinctly articulated the rationale for social-capital- theory-based interventions when they stated that creating social capital was not the ultimate goal but the instrumental channeling of social capital toward the achievement of specific goals, such as employment. These authors suggested that social workers promote links between job seekers and employers, as well as build employment referral systems through youth or women's groups, local churches, and civic associations. They also suggested that social workers could work with local informal educational systems to create effective opportunities for clients to upgrade their skills. This is essential for the credentialing of foreign qualifications for

immigrants. Social workers can forge more accessible skills training opportunities and accreditation services with local universities and associations. In spite of the potential usefulness of social-capital-theory-based interventions, Midgley and Livermore caution these may exclude other clients, especially those who do not participate in organized groups. In addition, these interventions do not address structural problems like poverty and deprivation that may require government and societal interventions.

More recently Belanger (2005) also reiterated the usefulness of social capital theory in social work practice in rural areas. While this field of practice may appear unconnected to social work with immigrants, parallels exist between immigrant populations and rural communities with regard to social capital. Ginsberg observed that, even though rural communities are endowed with limited financial, physical and human capital, social capital is one asset that they tend to have in that they encourage relationships, trust, networks and the formation of norms. This resonates with the ethnic community for immigrants. Most importantly, immigrants are increasingly settling in rural communities, for example, immigrants from Latin America, have congregated in rural communities in states such as Georgia (Vasquez, Seales & Marquardt, 2008).

According to Belanger (2005), the application of social capital theory to social work practice allows an examination of how relationships have aided or hindered the promotion of well-being for individuals, groups and organizations. In addition, it considers an assessment of trust levels between the worker and the client, which helps the worker identify sources of mistrust and forms of personal relationships that are needed to develop that trust. The need to bring together different stakeholders is widely accepted in social work practice, yet issues of trust may hamper such endeavors. Therefore, social capital theory makes an important

contribution by placing trust on the agenda. Social workers who interact with immigrants also need to present themselves as trustworthy among immigrant clients. This may need the creation of partnerships with immigrant leaders and ethnic associations in order to earn the trust of immigrant client groups.

Although the preceding application of social capital has been discussed largely at the conceptual level, the use of social capital theory in practice settings is still evolving with few social programs and agencies claiming social capital as one of their guiding frameworks. One of the examples is the HOST program in Canada. HOST is a federally funded program whose main goal is to foster the development of networks between new immigrants and volunteers who are either Canadians or foreign-born permanent residents. Volunteers assist new immigrants with daily activities such as shopping, accessing public institutions, and learning about life in Canada, and most importantly they introduce new comers to their networks of friends and family through social activities (Kunz, 2005). A 2004 evaluation of this program indicated that 90% of the key informants who served in the HOST program agreed that the services offered were appropriate for the needs of new immigrants, and the majority of service users indicated that the program helped them meet their integration goals, especially in education, language acquisition, and reducing social isolation, but less with respect to employment. Fewer service users reported that participation in HOST networks helped them find employment by providing job contact information (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004). The only limitation with this evaluation is that data from service users were collected through focus groups, which precluded quantification of observed outcomes as well as determination of statistical significance. Overall, the HOST program appears to be a deliberate effort to develop bridging social capital for new

immigrants through contact with Canadians and fellow immigrants who have lived in Canada for a longer time.

A second example is Casa de Esperanza (www.casadeesperanza.org), a non-profit organization founded in 1982 with a mission to bring together Latinas and Latino communities to end domestic violence. Using social capital as the guiding framework, service providers at Casa de Esperanza employ the following intervention strategies: a) building connections and networks among Latinas, Latinos, and other important community groups and agencies, b) assisting Latina women to identify and build on their natural support systems, and c) improving social interaction, education, support, and access to resources in order to facilitate the achievement of desired goals. Ultimately Casa de Esperanza hopes to make possible the development of "relationships, cooperation, and trust" in Latino communities and among service providers, community leaders and domestic violence clients.

The preceding sections review social work interventions with African and other immigrants, and how social capital theory may be applied to practice. Central points are that African immigrants value relationships, which makes social-capital-theory-based interventions appropriate for this group. Social workers can assist with developing various forms of social capital among immigrants like bonding, bridging and linking social capital, as well as facilitating the channeling of social capital resources to the achievement of specific goals. Social work partnerships with African associations may also enhance worker and client support systems which may contribute to improved service delivery for social workers and better outcomes for clients. The next section summarizes the literature on Zimbabweans in the United States.

Part IV: Zimbabweans in the United States

Having discussed theoretical perspectives on immigrant integration and their associated integration trajectories, and general immigrant integration in the United States, in this section I provide details of the social and political context of Zimbabwean immigration as reported in the literature, to elucidate the situations of Zimbabweans in the new country. First, I examine the visa statuses of Zimbabweans in the United States. Second, I present their context of reception. Third, I review the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. Fourth, I synthesize available literature pertaining to the causes of Zimbabwean migration and experiences of Zimbabweans in the destination areas.

Visa Statuses of Zimbabweans

Zimbabweans come to the United States in varying visa statuses. Prior to a description of their visa statuses, I present a general overview of the United States visa classification system. This information is important because visa statuses carry different rights and privileges (Morokvasić, Erel, & Shinokazi, 2003). There are two broad types of visas in the United States that are used to gain entry: these are the immigrant visa, also known as the 'green card' which will be used hereafter, and nonimmigrant visas. Whereas green card holders, also known as permanent residents can work and stay in the United States without an imposed time limit, nonimmigrant visas are issued for a specific purpose and bind the holder to the specified activity within a defined time frame. There are different varieties of nonimmigrant visas. Examples of nonimmigrant visas include B for visitors, F for students and H-1B visa for temporary specialty workers (Bray & Falstrom, 2007). The non-immigrant visa statuses are not fixed, and they can be changed once in the new country depending on one's circumstances.

In 2008, the number of Zimbabweans who entered the Unites States as or adjusted to a green card status was 889. During that same year, a total of 7,968 Zimbabweans were admitted under various non-immigrant statuses (United States Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2009). The eligibility to apply for citizenship after 5 years of being a permanent resident is the major distinguishing factor between the green card and all the other visa classifications (Bray & Falstrom, 2007). Of special interest is the observation that Zimbabweans who came to the United States in varying statuses have petitioned for political asylum, and the number of granted cases rose from 12 in 2000 to 264 cases in 2008. In addition, Zimbabweans who naturalized also rose from 172 in 1999 to 413 in 2008 (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2009). The dramatic increase in the number of Zimbabweans who have been granted political asylum may confirm the political instability at home.

Context of Reception

This section examines the context of reception for Zimbabweans in the United States Portes and Zhou (1997) stated that policies of the new country and identified racial status were among the key variables of context of reception. The policies in the United States that have created a positive context of reception include the civil rights legislation and the equal employment opportunity laws (Alba & Nee, 2005). These laws have created an open labor market in United States (Fix, 2007) and supported the hiring of ethnically diverse immigrant groups in the United States, including Zimbabweans. Conversely identified racial status may have negative connotations for Zimbabweans who are likely to be ascribed the "black" category and its associated constraints to mobility, similar to the experiences of West Indians (Waters, 1999).

Additional factors that could be shaping the context of reception for Zimbabweans are negative media portrayals of Africa and the persistent economic and political turmoil that is associated with Africa. These factors have negatively influenced how Americans view Africans, contributing to the undervaluing of their qualifications and less confidence in their abilities (Dodoo, 1997; Mwakikagile, 2007). Another important aspect of the context of reception of Africans in the United States pertains to potential tensions between Africans and African Americans. Even though there is no large systematic survey that examined this conflict, "cultural barriers and the social and economic differences separating the Africans and the African-Americans" (Arthur, 2000, p. 77) could explain this tension. Foster (2004) suggested that his research with students from African nations revealed that they looked down upon African Americans, and this could be fuelling tension. Olaniyan (2003) suggested that Africans and African Americans shared a "precarious space" in the United States that he referred to as "the interstice" where conflict was inevitable. In spite of the distress associated with this space, "the interstice is a fertile space for cultivating critical self-consciousness…enabling ground for fashioning new modes of life, institutions" (p. 62). These complexities characterizing the context of reception may cloud the unique issues faced by Africans in general and Zimbabweans in particular. This can only be clarified when scholars take the time on their research agendas to listen to the authentic voices of this population.

Demographic and Socioeconomic Profile of Zimbabweans in the United States

This section provides a snapshot of the general demographic and socioeconomic profile of Zimbabweans in the United States. Although larger numbers of Zimbabweans started coming to the United States after 1980, 60% entered the United States between 1990 and 2000. A breakdown of this 60% shows marked racial shifts in the type of recent admission from

Zimbabwe. Of this 1990 to 2000 cohort, only 36% were European-descent Zimbabweans, and 83.4% were black Zimbabweans. This marked a dramatic rise in the percentage of black Zimbabweans from a mere 8.5 in the previous decade. Their gender distribution indicates that males are in the majority at 54.6% of the total Zimbabwean immigrant population versus females at 45.4% (Morrow, 2007). The age distribution of Zimbabweans in the United States indicated that the 25 to 44 age group was the largest, representing more than half of the total population (United States Census Bureau, 2008c).

The educational backgrounds of Zimbabweans place them among the most highly educated groups in the United States with 49.4 % college graduates, which is higher than the national average for the total native born (24.4%) and for the total foreign-born at 24.1% (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). However, 3% of its adult population did not complete high school. In addition whereas 59.1% were employed in professional occupations, 7.9% were in service occupations and 11.8% were in production, craft and repair occupations (Marrow, 2007). This shows that Zimbabweans possess divergent educational and occupational positions. Those with lower education and those employed in the nonprofessional sectors may likely be experiencing integration problems or may not be because of the social resources that they are accessing through their community. This section shows that Zimbabweans in the United States vary in the educational and occupational backgrounds that may influence their integration trajectories. The next section summarizes settlement experiences of Zimbabweans.

Experiences of Zimbabwean Immigrants

The literature on Zimbabwean immigrants is still evolving. Few studies that primarily focused on Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom and South Africa shed light on the reasons why Zimbabweans migrate, their labor market experiences and some psychosocial issues such as

discrimination and loss of occupational status. However, the literature on coping strategies as well as experiences of Zimbabweans in the United States is still lacking. This section discusses the available literature incorporating studies of other African immigrant professionals in the United States. Three main themes are revealed in this literature, and they pertain to reasons for migrating, labor market experiences, psychosocial issues and coping.

Reasons for Migrating

The question of why Africans, and Zimbabweans in particular, come to the United States is one that has resisted several theoretical explanations, but strengthened the notion of the United States being one of the highly favored destinations for immigrants worldwide. Zeleza (2002) observed that historically international migration from African nations has gravitated towards Europe following "the historical and linguistic trails of colonialism, so that Britain and France are the preferred destinations of migrants from the former British and French colonies, respectively" (p. 10-11). In spite of the absence of a strong colonial relationship, the United States is a growing favorite for Zimbabweans immigrants. Over 80% of Zimbabwean immigrants to the United States came between 1980 and 2000.

Consistent with the push-pull models, a survey of Zimbabwean immigrants by Chikanda (2006) indicated that 56% of the participants reported that they left because of prospects of better remuneration elsewhere and 48% stated that they fled high levels of political violence in the country. Migration decisions that are based on rewards for human capital are becoming more prominent with increasing hyperinflation in Zimbabwe. For example, Matinyike (2008) observed that Zimbabwean professionals were leaving their country because of better wages elsewhere, adding that whereas middle managers in Zimbabwe earned $226.00 (United States currency),

their counterparts in countries like the Emirates, Singapore and Malaysia earned $1, 600 per month tax-free.

A minor motivation fueling migration out of Zimbabwe was the desire to study abroad (Bloch, 2006). Thus, the push factor of political victimization and pull factors such as better wages and educational opportunities may explain the movement out of Zimbabwe. Even though these findings confirm the applicability of the push-pull model of migration (Lee, 1966) on Zimbabwean migration, they do not inform us about the personal reasons or goals that may have prompted the move. It is possible that these goals may influence the behavior and perceptions of the adjustment processes in the new country. In addition, the potential role of family relations and social capital are yet to be examined among Zimbabwean immigrants.

Labor Market Experiences

The labor market experiences of immigrants vary. However, a consistent finding in studies in the United Kingdom and South Africa indicated that Zimbabweans experienced underemployment. Zimbabweans reported experiencing a loss of job status, accompanied by exploitation during the initial period of adaptation, and experiences of racism (Bloch, 2006; McGregor, 2007). Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) provided a succinct description of what a loss of job status may entail: "The loss of occupational status among refugee arrivals in reality means that doctors and engineers drive taxis, previous lecturers work as teacher's assistants, a sociologist works as an underground miner" (p. 213). This experience may also have negative mental health implications.

In the United States, fewer foreign-born professionals occupied managerial positions when compared to the native born, 10.4% versus 16% respectively (United States Bureau Labor of Statistics, 2007). This could indicate the failure by qualified immigrants to move up the

occupational ranks. For example, African immigrant professionals have expressed frustration with 'glass ceilings' encountered in their work places (Ochukpue, 2004).

However, immigrant professionals may also experience problems with accreditation processes and even with finding available jobs (Remennick, 2003). In fact, a national study by Redstone-Akresh (2006) found that highly skilled immigrants who had received their green cards in 1996 were unable to convert their prior experience and skills into comparable jobs in the United States, and more than 75% of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean ended up in lower-skilled jobs than what they had abroad. During this period of waiting for licensure papers or a job opportunity many immigrants are most likely to experience extreme financial difficulties, and even underemployment as they take up any available job to meet their basic needs.

Psychosocial Issues

Various stressors confront African immigrants as they settle and live in the United States. Falola and Afolabi (2008) observed that, "As sojourners in a new land, the obvious constraints caused by cultural adaptation, the stress of educational pursuits to improve their technical skills, employment, business opportunities, and overall American competition do lead to other social issues, which make the American dream elusive for many" (p. 262). For instance, isolation and discrimination are among the challenges reported by African professionals in the United States (Apraku, 1991; Ochukpe, 2004). Although Apraku (1991) included a sample of Zimbabweans in his study, their contributions were not identified in the analyses, such that it is impossible to decipher which information was peculiar to this group. Another important finding by Ochukpe (2004) was that the African immigrant professors in her study reported that they were satisfied with their settlement in the United States, although they had experienced

discrimination, accent barriers, questioning of their competence, and alienation at their work places. McGregor (2007) also found that the nurses she interviewed indicated that they experienced a loss of status, exploitation during the initial period of adaptation, and experiences of racism. Kamya (2007) provides a succinct description of the psychosocial issues that African immigrants, including Zimbabweans may face "...the migration process for African immigrants involves primarily a change in their life's circumstances mediated by the interaction between the individual's internal resources, the support resources available to them and their communities, and the reception or behavior of the host population" (p. 257).

Coping Strategies

The literature on the full range of coping strategies that African immigrants use is limited (Kamya, 2007). In a survey of African immigrants, Kamya (1997) observed that spiritual well-being was positively associated with hardiness and coping resources and negatively associated with stress levels. He concluded that spiritual-well being interacted with the other variables to improve the well-being of African immigrants. African immigrant professors reported valuing positive feedback from their students, and the awards they received for their work as some of the mechanisms they use to deal with the negative experiences (Ochukpue, 2004). It has been observed that, as the number of a specific immigrant group increases, people have been able to develop their own resource systems. For example, the Ethiopian Community Center (ECC) in Washington D.C. was created to serve Ethiopian immigrants (Francis, 2006). Thus, it seems as if networks of friends, relatives and participation in organizations are important factors in immigrant adjustment.

In addition, some immigrant groups have also benefited from virtual communities that allow them to communicate with people from dispersed geographical locations (Youngstedt,

2003). Transnational practices such as participating in political and social contexts of both the country of origin and new country return visits to the home country, and sending remittances may also mitigate the negative effects of immigration (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Szanton-Blanc, 1992; Vertovec, 1999). Akuei (2004) stated that remittances are important social gestures that contribute to senders' well being, although they cause financial strain on the sender. Coping strategies of Zimbabweans need to be identified so that these can also be used to guide future interventions with this population.

<div align="center">Main Contributions of the Study</div>

After reviewing the relevant literature, I believe the major gap is the overall silence about settlement and integration experiences of Zimbabweans in the United States. While it is clear that Zimbabweans vary in their educational attainment, and they may face integration constraints from negative contextual factors, the resources and processes that they have used to negotiate successful integration as a community are unknown. The bulk of the reviewed literature was based on Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom or South Africa, or on a subpopulation in a wider study. Therefore, these studies may not capture the unique experiences of Zimbabweans for the following reasons: 1) Zimbabwe was once a colony of the United Kingdom, and this historical relationship could foster a positive reception of Zimbabweans who have settled in the United Kingdom; 2) South Africa is one of Zimbabwe's neighbors. This proximity to Zimbabwe may foster positive integration outcomes. In addition, South Africa and Zimbabwe have comparable educational systems which facilitate the transfer of educational qualifications and work experiences for Zimbabwean immigrants. Given these reasons that seem to suggest that experiences of Zimbabwean in the United Kingdom or South Africa may vary from those of

Zimbabweans in the United States, this study attempted to address the gap in the literature pertaining to Zimbabweans in the United States.

This study also filled two key theoretically gaps in social capital theory research. First, it empirically investigated the relevancy of social capital theory with Zimbabwean immigrants. In spite of its wide recognition as a useful framework for understanding the influence of social relationships on specific individual outcomes, such as health and employment, social capital theory had not been examined to assess its applicability to immigrants from African nations. This study documented the main elements of social capital among Zimbabwean immigrants and their effects. Second, by employing mixed methods research, a design poised to better capture the multidimensional aspects of social capital, Zimbabweans were able to report the social resources that are important to them, information that may be useful in designing intervention programs and in the development of standardized measures for examining social resources among Zimbabweans and comparable immigrant populations.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 2 has highlighted selected theories of immigrant integration, experiences of immigrants in different receiving nations including the United States, as well as experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in other world destinations. Social capital theory is identified as the main theoretical framework guiding this study. Research is mixed on the effects of social capital on the general well-being of immigrant populations. While social capital is important in the short-term by offsetting settlement costs, providing emotional support among other things, in the long-run social capital may lead to tensions. In spite of its promise in understanding immigrants, no research has been done to understand the social capital of Zimbabweans. In fact, the literature is generally silent about Zimbabwean in the United States, gaps which this study sought to

address. Given the different perspectives of social capital presented in this chapter, it is important to delineate how social capital was conceptualized in this study. A conceptual framework that explicates social capital theory constructs applied to this study is provided in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter explicates a conceptual framework for understanding how social capital may influence immigrant integration. The conceptual framework is derived from social capital theory. A detailed general description of social capital theory was presented in Chapter 2. Given the diverse perspectives on social capital theory, this chapter, even though short, is important because it elaborates on the particular social capital perspective used to guide this study, and the study hypotheses. In addition, a focused literature review of the literature specific to social capital and employment is presented. As stated by Miles and Huberman (1994), "A conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied - the key factors, constructs or variables- and the presumed relationships among them" (p. 18). Social capital theory has gained prominence as "a theory that shows how relational networks are important for explaining various individual outcomes" such as employment status, earnings and health (Van de Gaag & Snijders, 2004, p. 199). Sociologist Woolcock (2002) added, "the basic idea of social capital is that one's family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and/or leveraged for material gain" (p. 3). Thus, for immigrants, relationships with family, friends and even service providers are a potential advantage that could be called upon to negotiate settlement and successful integration into the new society.

There are many perspectives of social capital theory as discussed in Chapter 2. This study relied to a very large extent on the network based perspective that considers social networks as the core of social capital (Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001). Key concepts associated with this

perspective include, bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital refers to social networks among homogeneous groups of people such as family or ethnic groups. Bridging social capital refers to social ties among socially heterogeneous groups that differ according to ethnicity, age or class. Linking social capital refers to networks among people who are interacting across defined, formal boundaries in society (Szreter &Woolcock, 2004).

Networks of family, friends and fellow ethnics provide essential information, assistance with housing, employment and social support for new immigrants, while bridging networks with people from different backgrounds and ethnicities broaden access to other resources external to the bonding network (Kunz, 2005). Frith (2005, p. 65) added that "Both bonding and bridging capital are important components to an immigrant's integration cycle.…immigrants need to bond in the initial stages of settlement in order to gain confidence and be prepared to take the risk of social bridging." While bonding social capital may appear to be of greater importance during settlement, it would seem that a good balance of bonding and bridging social capital is vital for immigrants to negotiate successful integration into the new country irrespective of their length of stay. For example, Yan and Lam (2006) observed that, while Chinese immigrant youths in Canada possessed high levels of bonding social capital, bridging social capital that linked them to external assets was often lacking, and this resulted in high rates of unemployment. After this introduction, I summarize empirical research on social capital and employment. Second, I delineate the conceptual model for this research and hypotheses.

Review of the Empirical Research on Social Capital and Employment

This section reviews the literature on social capital theory and employment. The goal of this focused literature review is to identify useful indicators of social capital, as well as existing gaps in social capital research with regard to employment among immigrant populations. The

literature reviewed in this section was obtained from Social Services Abstracts (earliest to 2008), Sociological Abstracts (earliest to 2008), Social Work Abstracts (1977 to 2008), the University of Georgia Libraries Catalog, and Google Scholar. This search was conducted between January and September 2008. Various combinations of keywords were used including social capital and employment and immigrants, social capital and immigrants. Terms such as networks, social networks, and social participation were used in the place of social capital. Empirical studies and conceptual papers that synthesized the arguments on social capital and employment were included in the final review.

Three main themes can be gleaned from this literature: (1) social capital may improve the chances of getting employment, (2) social capital may offset various constraints that affect employment and occupational mobility, such as low human capital and unfavorable contexts of reception, and (3) social capital has a relationship with earnings. The remainder of this subsection elucidates these three themes.

The first main theme derived from the reviewed literature is that social capital improves the chances of securing a job. Social capital affects employment outcomes by facilitating the flow of job-related information among network members (Aguilera, 2002; Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Garcia, 2005; Hagan, 1998, 2004; Lin, 2004). Smith (2005, p. 44) reported that "Personal contacts represent a major conduit of employment information and influence in the United States, matching roughly half of all job seekers to employers." For example, in the study by Garcia (2005), 35 out of the 55 participants in the study reported helping others find employment in the United States. In a larger study of 4,012 immigrants in the United States, Aguilera and Massey (2003) found that close to 60% of the participants had used their personal networks during their job search. However, females were less likely to mobilize their social capital to find

employment compared to the males (51% versus 64%). Advanced statistical analyses have also indicated that social capital may be important in securing jobs. Potocky-Tripodi (2004) observed that each additional friend slightly increased the odds of being employed among immigrants. Aguilera and Massey (2003) also found that having more distant family members with current or past U.S. migration experience increased the odds of getting a job through a friend or relative.

The second main theme from the reviewed literature is that social capital may offset constraints that affect employment and occupational mobility, such as low human capital and unfavorable contexts of reception. For example, with deficient economic and human capital resources and at times without the legal permission to work in the new country, immigrants depend on their family, friends and acquaintances "to alert them to job openings in their workplaces" (Hagan, 2004, p. 417). Bauder (2005) also found that, in the face of occupational obstacles, ethnic networks facilitated the creation and maintenance of a niche among South Asians who operated and worked for taxi driving businesses. The majority of the employees in these taxi businesses were hired through referrals from networks. In addition, social capital may offset lower human capital constraints through diverse networks. In particular, ties with acquaintances or distant friends that are commonly referred to as weak ties, as well as social bonds with people who differ in terms of gender, educational level and occupational prestige may allow linkages with other people who possess crucial resources (Lin, 2004). In a study of the general United States population, Aguilera (2002) found that having a friend who owned a business, having a friend who was a community leader, having friend of a different religion and participation in social groups were positively correlated with employment.

The third main theme from the reviewed literature is that social capital may affect earnings. However, there is mixed evidence on the relationship between social capital and

earnings. Although Potocky-Tripodi (2004) found that social capital explained little variance in earnings, Aguilera (2005) found a positive correlation between social capital and earnings among Puerto Ricans in the United States. In another study, Aguilera and Massey (2003) also found a positive relationship between network strength and earnings. For instance, immigrant participants received a 4% reward for each increment in the number of relatives and friends living in the same city or country. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of research suggesting that the impact of social capital on employment outcomes is minimal compared to human capital or educational achievement factors (Norwood, 2002).

Studies have also illuminated the disadvantages associated with relying on social capital for employment. For instance, Cranford (2005) argued that research on social capital and employment has emphasized the good effects of social networks, overlooking questions of who is benefiting, to what extent, and under which circumstances. She added that attention to such questions revealed that the use of social networks in securing employment was exploitative because it benefited employers more than individuals. For instance, of the 28 participants in her study, 18 were referred to the janitorial industry by family and friends (strong ties), and ten by ethnic acquaintances (weak ties). The ten participants who had relied on their weak ties underwent unpaid training in order to secure references before they were officially hired, which meant that the employers were benefiting from unpaid services. Social capital may also have negative effects in that networks may block advancement (Halpern, 2005).

In another ethnographic study of the Mayan community in Houston, Hagan (1998) found that social networks benefited men more than women, and these networks weakened or strengthened over time resulting in varying effects on integration. For example, Hagan observed that new arrivals who were male quickly got jobs in a supermarket chain through their networks,

while female newcomers were restricted to live-in domestic employment. Supermarket jobs had better pay and working conditions that allowed time to meet for soccer matches compared to unregulated domestic work that was likely to be underpaid with longer work hours. In addition, with extended stay in the United States Mayan men were able to develop connections with nonethnic neighbors and participate in community events and church, which maximized the flow of information, yet women remained confined to their workplaces and failed to create bridging ties. Examining how the distribution and effects of social capital vary by gender is necessary. Equally important is more research on how social capital may disadvantage other network members. This section synthesized the research on social capital and employment. The next section reviews specific gaps or problems that were identified in the literature.

Existing Gaps in Social Capital and Employment Research

This section identifies specific gaps in empirical research on social capital and employment that this research sought to address. The first gap identified in the literature on social capital and employment is that the majority of the reviewed studies used either quantitative or qualitative research methods only, yet social capital is a multifaceted concept that may benefit from mixed-method studies that combine quantitative and qualitative research techniques (Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jones & Woolcock, 2006). For instance, while previous research has measured the number of friends or family in the United States and found useful correlations suggesting the importance of these relationships in getting jobs or better wages, these studies fail to articulate the specific social resources possessed by the friend or relative that could have contributed to improved wages or chances of getting a job. The added value of a mixed methods design is that it can attend to both the need for quantification, and context-based analyses of social capital processes.

The influence of context on social capital is especially observed in social resources, one of the key indicators of social capital. Social resources can be defined by access and use of resources. Previous studies have used standardized measures, namely, the Position and Resource Generators to understand social resources useful for achieving outcomes (Lin, 2004; Nakao, 2004; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004). The measures are developed from theory or what the researcher predetermines as relevant and important for the population under study (Lakon, Godette & Hipp, 2008; Van der Gaag, 2005), yet these strategies may miss out what the targeted population defines as important, and may not capture the contextual factors that shape the definition and value associated with social resources. The use of qualitative methods, such as interviews and observations may address these limitations to facilitate an optimal understanding of social resources.

The second gap identified in the literature on social capital and employment is that many of the studies used secondary data gathered for different purposes to examine social capital. Even though the use of secondary data is less costly and may enhance access to hard-to-reach populations, the major disadvantage is that the secondary data may not be valid because the definition and measurement of important variables depend on how the original researchers framed them, which may not match the purposes of subsequent studies (Rubin & Babbie, 2008).

Having highlighted the main gaps on social capital and employment, the main contribution of this study to social capital theory it that it used combined quantitative and qualitative research techniques to better capture the multidimensional aspects of social capital, especially, social resources. The use of qualitative methods allowed Zimbabweans to report social resources that are important to them, information that may be useful in the development of standardized measures for examining social resources.

Conceptual Model

To understand the effects of social capital on employment among Zimbabwean

immigrants in the United States, a conceptual model adapted from Franke (2005) was used.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the adapted conceptual model.
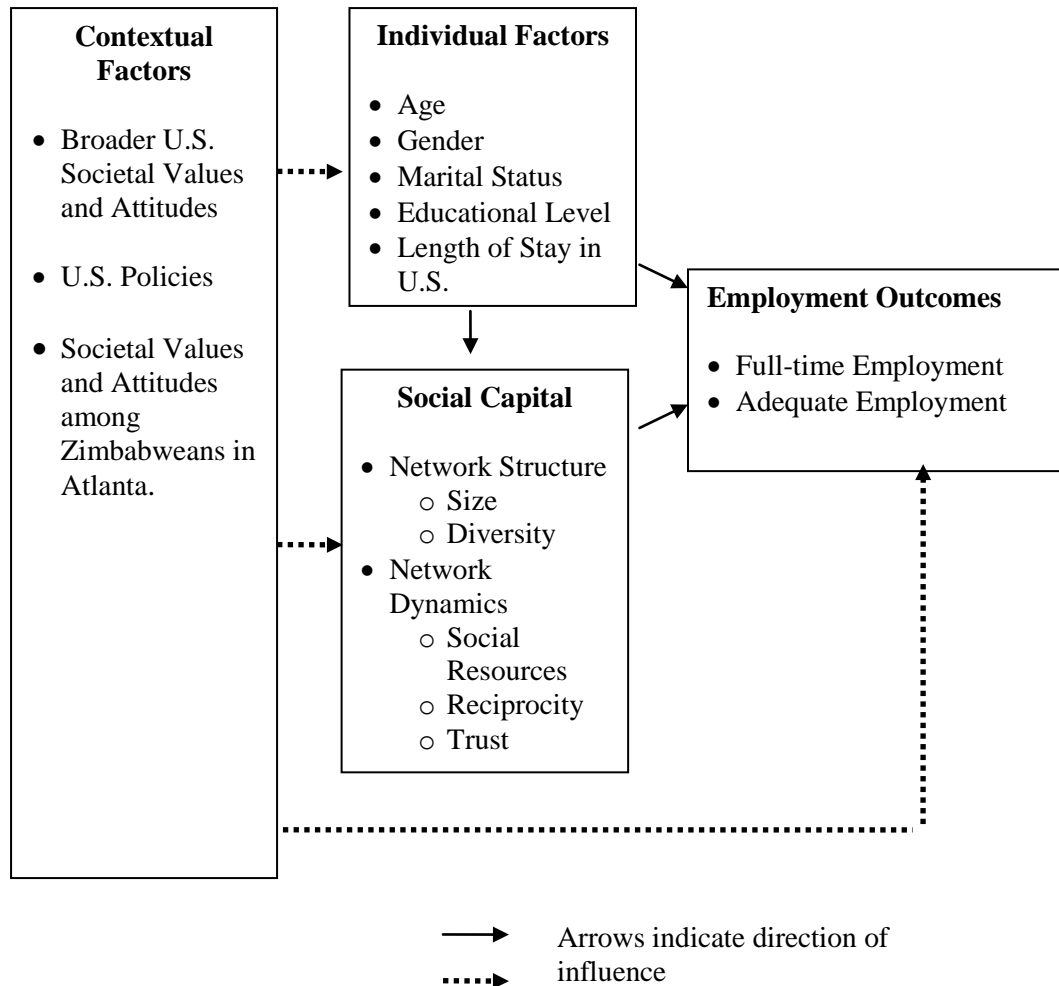
Figure 3.1: Conceptual model of social capital among Zimbabwean immigrants.

The central claim in this model is that networks are resources that Zimbabwean immigrants rely

on to facilitate their employment outcomes in the United States. The conceptual model is

comprised of four broad component areas: contextual factors, individual factors, social capital

and employment outcomes. Aspects relevant to the research are elaborated below.

The first component pertained to *contextual factors* related to the values and attitudes

held by Zimbabweans in Atlanta regarding the mobilization and use of social capital. Even

though social capital was viewed as crucial to the integration of Zimbabweans, it is possible that

some Zimbabweans benefit more than others from social capital as others are excluded

(Bourdieu, 2001), hence it was important to understand the values, attitudes and practices of

Zimbabweans in a defined geographical location, in this case Atlanta, regarding social capital.

These values, beliefs or practices may have a bearing on the quality, quantity and effects of

social capital.

The second component of this conceptual model is comprised of *individual factors* that

include particular characteristics of individual Zimbabwean immigrants, such as age and gender,

and personal resources like educational attainment. These factors may be viewed as determinants

of social capital, on the one hand, yet on the other hand they also independently influence

employment outcomes. Hence, it is important for research to single out the unique contribution

of social capital in order to distinguish its effects from individual factors, especially, educational

level (Flap, 2004).

The third component of the conceptual model is *social capital* defined as networks.

According to the Policy Research Initiative Canada (2005, p. 6), social capital refers to

"networks of social relations that may provide individuals and groups with access to resources

and supports." Besides serving as sources of valuable information, networks may provide

resources that can compensate for limited human capital to facilitate employment (Coleman,

1988; Lin 2001). As a proxy of social capital, networks are divided into two main dimensions 1) network structure, and 2) network dynamics (Franke, 2005).

Network structure pertains to the patterns of social relations. Two of the main indicators of network structure are network size and network diversity. Indicators of network size can be the number of close friends and the number of groups one is a member (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2004; Putnam, 2000). Network diversity refers to a deliberate crossover to network members of different characteristics (Son, 2005). Diversity can be assessed according to characteristics like occupation, educational level and ethnic background, while bonding, bridging and linking social capital are concepts that may be used to describe and interpret network diversity.

Network dynamics encompass the nature of network interactions, reciprocity and trust. The nature of network interactions has to do with social resources, what is exchanged, who is benefiting and to what extent, and questions of who is excluded (Cranford, 2005). Trust and reciprocity are the norms that govern social relations (Coleman, 1988; Stone, 2001). There are many types of trust ranging from trust among network members (particularized trust or social trust) to trust in institutions (civic or institutional trust). Trust levels can be captured through the use of Likert type questions that ask one's extent of trust (Harpham, 2008; Stone, 2001). Reciprocity refers to the "willingness to help others with the expectation that the favor would be returned when needed," which often implies a two way relationship (Harpham, 2008, p. 58). Indicators of reciprocity include specific behaviors displayed by network members, such as the extent of help given to others (Harpham). Higher levels of reciprocity and trust denote higher levels of social capital (Stone, 2001).

The fourth component of the conceptual model represents *employment outcomes* that social capital may influence, namely, full-time employment and underemployment. Given that research in the United Kingdom has shown that Zimbabwean immigrants may be underemployed (McGregor, 2006), underemployment defined as the "mismatch of skills and occupation" (Sullivan, 2004, p. 202) was considered as one of the key outcomes in this study. Hypotheses that tested relationships among the key constructs in this model are explicated in the next section.

Hypotheses

Numerous hypotheses can be tested from the conceptual model. While acknowledging the different components or attributes presented in the model, I state hypothesized relationships among select individual variables, social capital variables and outcome variables. Previous research has suggested that women are likely to be disadvantaged with regard to creating and benefiting from social networks (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Hagan, 2004). In addition, a study in China by Yueh (2006) found that women possessed fewer social networks (5.35 contacts) compared to men (6.21), in part because women were likely to be confined to the home due to family demands. In order to assess if the distribution of social capital varied by gender among Zimbabwean immigrants, three hypotheses were suggested:

Hypothesis 1: There is a statistically significant difference between gender of person and number of close friends.

Hypothesis 2: There is a statistically significant difference between gender of person and number of group memberships.

Hypothesis 3: There is a statistically significant difference between gender of person and level of diversity of most important group.

Participating in groups, possessing personal networks and having a diverse network may improve employment outcomes (Aguilera, 2002; Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Lin, 2004; Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). Possessing numerous and diverse networks may assist in developing bridging and linking social capital that may connect an actor to new information and better jobs that may on one hand, promote full-time employment and on the other hand, reduce underemployment (Sullivan, 2004). It is important to acknowledge that the bulk of previous studies have examined how social capital influences the job search processes or earnings with limited attention to full-time employment or underemployment. Therefore, I hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 4: A higher number of close friends is positively associated with full-time employment.

Hypothesis 5: A higher level of group membership is positively associated with full-time employment.

Hypothesis 6: A higher level of network diversity is positively associated with full-time employment.

Hypothesis 7: A higher number of close friends is negatively associated with underemployment.

Hypothesis 8: A higher level of group membership is negatively associated with underemployment.

Hypothesis 9: There is a statistically significant difference between level of network diversity and underemployment.

Chapter Summary

Employing a network-based approach to social capital theory, the researcher endeavored to investigate the occurrence of social capital, and the effects of select social capital variables on employment outcomes among Zimbabwean immigrants in Atlanta. To gain a better

understanding of the main elements of social capital three hypotheses were used to examine how the distribution of social capital varied by gender, while six hypotheses were adopted to examine the effects of three social capital variables, namely, close friends, group membership and network diversity on full-time employment and underemployment. The following chapter delineates the research methods and design that were used in this research project.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN and METHODS

This chapter delineates the research design and methods that were used to understand the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants in Atlanta and its effects on employment. This study employed a mixed methods research design, a procedure of combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Separate qualitative and quantitative studies were conducted parallel to each other and merged during interpretation. One of the advantages of mixed method research is its ability to draw from the unique strengths of either quantitative or qualitative research so that the two can complement each other. Whereas quantitative research adheres to a deductive research process with the goal of testing theories and understanding connections among particular variables, qualitative research is inductive seeking to comprehend the multifaceted worlds of study participants and the associated subjective meanings and processes (Padgett, 2008). Thus, when integrated in one study, the methods provide a more holistic picture of the phenomenon under study.

To this end, mixed methods research was deemed appropriate for this study because social capital is a multidimensional phenomenon that is context and value based (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007; Dudwick, Kuehnast, Nyhan Jones, & Woolcock, 2006). Theoretically, social capital has elements that are suited to objective measurement (e.g. network size and group membership) and other elements that require a consideration of subjective experiences and meaning (e.g. reciprocity, trust, social resources and their purposes). Furthermore, integrating quantitative and qualitative methods allows for triangulation of findings, understanding of the mechanisms behind cause-effect relations, and above all provides

balances and checks against researcher-imposed parameters (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Greene, 2007), useful for understanding social capital.

Prior to conducting a mixed methods study, researchers need to resolve three pertinent decisions: (a) deciding whether the quantitative and qualitative methods will be implemented at the same time (concurrent) or in two distinct phases (sequential), (b) considering the relative weight of the two approaches, that is, whether there will be more emphasis on one method over the other or both methods will have equal weighting, and (c) deciding how the quantitative and qualitative methods will be mixed (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Given that social capital is a multifaceted construct, I chose the triangulation design- convergence model, a concurrent design with two separate quantitative and qualitative parts that have equal weighting. Details of the triangulation- convergence model design are explained later in this chapter.

Another important step in mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods is clarifying one's paradigmatic position. Although scholarship that articulates mixed methods research is growing in popularity, the task of clarifying its paradigmatic position is still open to debate (Bazeley, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Critics contend that the combination of quantitative and qualitative research with different underlying paradigms is not logically possible, especially for triangulation purposes because both methods have different views of reality and of the phenomenon under study (Sale, Lohfeld, & Brazil, 2002). For example, while Guba and Lincoln (2005) agreed that it is possible to have quantitative aspects in a qualitative study or vice versa, they argued that "Commensurability is an issue only when researchers want to pick and choose among the axioms of positivist and interpretivist models, because the axioms are contradictory and mutually exclusive" (p. 201). To address this conundrum, I adopted the dialectical paradigmatic stance that accepts the use of two conflicting paradigms in a single study

proposing that all paradigms are useful in that they represent different ways of knowing about and valuing the social world, which can aid greater understanding of the complexity and pluralism of social phenomena (Greene, 2007).

I used constructivism and postpositivism philosophical frameworks to guide the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study, respectively. Whereas postpositivists believe that there is a single reality that can be split into different types of variables, such as independent variables with processes that can be understood independently of others, constructivists uphold that there are multiple realities that need to be studied holistically (Gliner & Morgan, 2000). Therefore, in this study I assumed that social capital could be fragmented into different independent elements such as trust, networks, and reciprocity. On the other hand, its occurrence and definition varied with the individual actor and social context. It is within this backdrop that the research questions for this study were deemed conducive to mixed methods research. These are:

1. What are the main elements of social capital among Zimbabweans in Atlanta?
2. What is the relationship between social capital and employment?
3. What social resources are exchanged among Zimbabweans in Atlanta and for what purposes?

Whereas the structure of social capital can be observed quantitatively through network size and diversity, the kinds of social resources and the specific purposes that they serve may not be meaningfully represented through numbers that are devoid of the context in which they occur. With this in mind, Research Question 1 focused on understanding the main social capital elements or types of social capital and their distribution among Zimbabweans in Atlanta through the quantification of network size and diversity and analyses of whether these varied by gender.

Previous research has suggested that women are likely to be disadvantaged with regard to creating and benefiting from social networks (Hagan, 2004). Research Question 2 explored the association between selected social capital variables and two employment outcomes: fulltime employment and the presence or absence of underemployment. Research Question 3 sought to understand specific network interactions and dynamics among Zimbabwean immigrants in Atlanta, and their underlying influences in various social settings through in-depth interviews and observations. This chapter is organized as follows: First, an overview of the triangulation design- convergence model and the measures that were used to answer the above-mentioned research questions are presented. Second, I provide details of the research site, recruitment, sampling, subjectivity statement, ethical considerations, data collection, and data analysis.

Research Design

The mixed methods research design that I used was the triangulation design- convergence model. Figure 4.1 provides an adapted version of the design from Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) with the methods that I employed in this study.
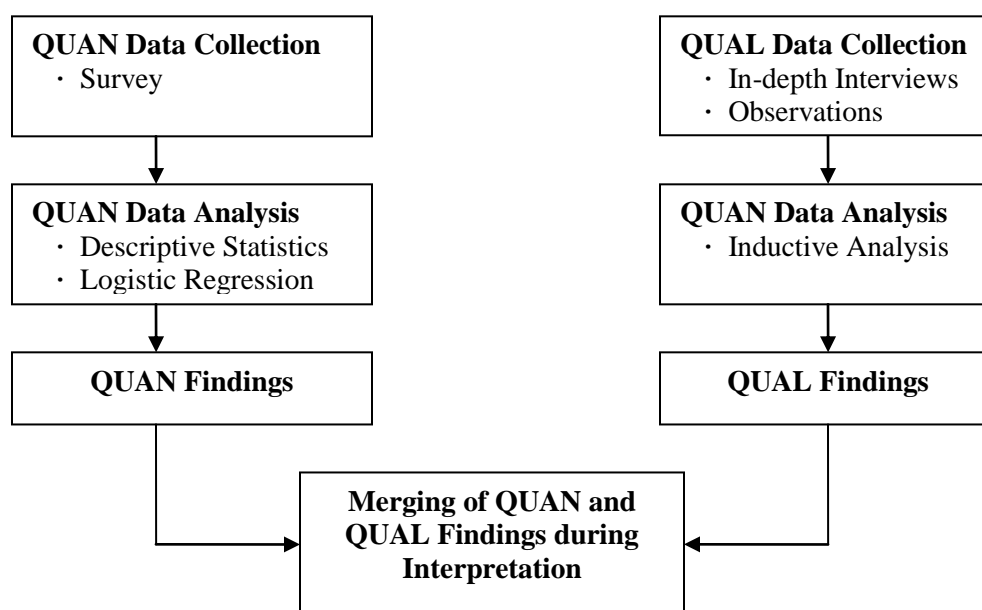
Figure 4.1: Triangulation design-convergence model and methods.

As shown in Figure 4.1 the triangulation design- convergence model has two distinct parts, quantitative (QUAN) and qualitative (QUAL) that are equally weighted and implemented simultaneously (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Its purpose is to obtain "different but complementary data on the same topic" to best comprehend the topic under study (Morse 1991, p. 122). The procedures involved (a) separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis within the same timeframe, (b) merging of the QUAN and QUAL findings during interpretation to demonstrate where the two data sets enhanced or clarified findings from the other methods.

The QUAN part of the research involved a correlational design, which is a non-experimental study that examines relationships among variables (Burns & Grove, 2005). This examined the relationships between social capital and employment. The QUAL part entailed a basic interpretive design to gather in-depth information on the specific exchanges that participants engaged in within their network systems. According to Merriam and Associates (2002), "In conducting a basic interpretive qualitative study, you seek to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved, or a combination of these" (p. 6). The main reason for employing this design was that social capital is a multidimensional concept, and the combination of both methods with equal weighting was poised to capture its multi-dimensionality (Dudwick et al., 2006). As Kawachi, Kim, Coutts and Subramanian (2004, p. 688) stated, "Indeed, a comprehensive understanding of social capital … is likely to be achieved only via the integration of different approaches."

Having outlined the study design, the next section presents conceptual and operational definitions of key study variables. These are age, gender, marital status, educational level, length time spent in the U.S., income, close friends, group membership, diversity of most important

group, reciprocity, trust, full-time employment, and underemployment. The unit of analysis for this study was the individual adult Zimbabwean immigrant over 18 years.

Measures

Drawing from the conceptual model illustrated in Chapter 3, the key study variables in this study were divided into three main attributes (1) social capital variables, (2) individual factors, and (3) employment outcomes. This section elaborates on the specific variables for each attribute, how they were measured, and whether or not they were considered dependent, independent or control variables. Appendices A, B, and C show the survey questionnaire, interview and observation protocols used in this research.

Dependent Variables: Employment Outcomes

Employment outcomes served as the dependent variables for this study. Specific employment outcome variables were employment status, full-time employment, and underemployment. Table 4.1 summarizes the conceptual and operational definitions of the employment variables.

Table 4.1

Dependent Variables Measuring Employment Outcomes

Variable	Conceptual Definition	Operational Definition
Employment Status*	Whether or not respondent is employed at the time of the survey (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004, p. 72)	Employment question on survey questionnaire (question 23)
Full-time Employment	Whether respondent is employed full time at the time of the survey or not	
Underemployment	When respondent's current job does not match educational qualifications and work experience (Sullivan, 2004)	Single item 1-5 Likert scale, higher scores indicate underemployment (q 24)

*Denotes variables used for descriptive purposes only and not used to determine the associations among social capital variables and employment outcomes.

A single question was asked to measure employment status and full-time employment. The question asked participants to choose a statement that best described their employment circumstances. The response set had 6 choices: 1 = I work full time, 2 = I work part time, 3 = I am a full time international student and I work at my university or college, 4 = I am self employed, 5 = I am not working, 6 = Other, specify. The third dependent variable underemployment was measured using a Likert type question: How suitable is your current employment situation given your educational background and previous work experience? The response set was as follows; 1 = Not Suitable, 2 = Somewhat Unsuitable, 3 = Moderately Suitable, 4 = Somewhat suitable, and 5 = Suitable.

To facilitate data analysis, the three employment variables were recoded. Employment status was recoded 0 = not employed and 1 = employed. Participants who chose responses 1 to 4 were considered as employed. Those who chose response 5 were coded as unemployed. Participants who chose response 6 where coded employed if they indicated that they worked as consultants, on a contractual or as needed basis. Those who indicated that they were not allowed to work in the United States were excluded. Full-time employment was also coded as a binary variable with "0" denoting no full-time employment and "1" full-time employment. Respondents who selected choice 2, 3 or 4, and stated under response 6 that they worked as consultants or on as needed basis were coded as "0." Respondents who were not working (choice 5) were excluded. Underemployment was coded "0" no underemployment and "1" underemployed. Responders who chose response 5 (Suitable) on the Likert type measure for underemployment were assigned code "0", while responders who chose response 1 to 4 were assigned "1" to denote underemployment.

Independent Variables: Social Capital Variables

Six key social capital variables served as the independent variables for this study. These are close friends, group membership, diversity of the most important group, reciprocity, trust and social resources. Table 4.2 illustrates the social capital variables.

Table 4.2

Independent Variables Measuring the Social Capital of Zimbabwean Immigrants

Variable	Conceptual Definition	Operational Definition
Close Friends	People that respondent considers as close friends	Groups and Networks subscale of the Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ) by Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, and Woolcock (2004)
Group Membership	Groups or associations that respondent participates in	
Diversity of most important group	The extent to which respondent's most important group is comprised of members of different characteristics	
Reciprocity*	Willingness to help others with the expectation that the favor would be returned when needed (Harpham, 2008, p. 58).	Trust and Solidarity subscale of SC-IQ
Trust*	Respondent's level of confidence that people will act as they say or are expected to act (Productivity Commission, 2003, p. 11)	Trust and Solidarity subscale of SC-IQ
Social Resources**	Resources of other individuals that respondent can gain access to or use through his or her social ties (Lin, 2001, p. 43)	Open-ended questions (see Interview and Observation Protocols)

*Denotes variables used for descriptive purposes only and not used to determine the association among social capital variables and employment outcomes.
**Variable explored in the qualitative study

The Groups and Networks subscale of the SC-IQ by Grootaert et al. (2004) asks questions about the number of close friends and groups to which one belongs. It also measures the network composition of respondent's most important group based on whether or not the group identified as most important by respondent has members with the same religion, gender, ethnic background, occupational, and educational backgrounds. Variables number of close friends and groups respondent was a member were not recoded for analysis, while the network diversity of the most important group was computed into a diversity score based on the 5 areas. This was reverse scored so that a score of 0 = no diversity and 5 = highest level of diversity. The social capital variable of social resources was measured through open-ended questions that asked respondents about their networks, specific exchanges with network members, perceived resources received through networks and how these resources aided or hindered their stay in the United States.

Control Variables

As Kim (2006) observed no analysis of social capital would be complete without an examination of individual factors, such as age, gender, and socioeconomic status. These individual factors mediate not only the creation and use of social capital but its effects. Congruent with the study's focus on employment outcomes, length of time in the United States and educational attainment were control variables considered in this study. Even though research suggested that educational attainment and length of time in the new country may have mixed effects on employment outcomes, immigrants with higher levels of education and those who have lived in the new country for longer periods have better employment outcomes compared to recent immigrants (Batalova, 2008; Chiswick, Cohen, & Zach, 1997; Price, 2001; Redstone Akresh, 2006). Including educational attainment and length of time in the United States as

control variables permitted an assessment of the relative impact of social capital variables versus these individual factors. Table 4.3 shows the control variables.

Table 4.3

Control Variables Measuring Individuals Characteristics of Zimbabwean Immigrants

Variable	Conceptual Definition	Operational Definition
Age*	Respondent's age	Demographic questions that
Gender*	Respondent's gender	asked about the respondent's
Time in U.S.	The number of years respondent has lived in the U.S.	age, gender, length of time in the U.S., marital status and
Marital Status*	Respondent's marital status	annual household income
Income*	Respondent's annual household income.	
Education	Highest level of education attained by respondent	

*Denotes variables used for descriptive purposes only and not used to determine the association among individual characteristics and employment outcomes.

Reliability and Validity of Quantitative Measures

This section on the measures is incomplete devoid of an analysis of the validity and reliability of the different measures used in this study. The SC-IQ was developed and field tested with African populations (Grootaert et al., 2004), and this makes it appropriate for use with Zimbabweans immigrants, who are a subset of the African population. In addition, the SC-IQ and all of the measures used in this study have either been used with Africans in previous studies (Boateng, 2005) or with immigrant populations (Anucha et al., 2006). However, their psychometric properties were not evaluated in these studies, neither have they been established with Zimbabwean immigrants, which is a major weakness. Nonetheless, I can assume that these

instruments have face validity because they were designed by experts in the area of social capital and successfully used with immigrant populations

Research Site

The research site for this study was the city of Atlanta, the capital for the state of Georgia. Since the 1990s, international migration has transformed the racial landscape of metropolitan Atlanta beyond black and white Americans to include Latinos, Asians, Europeans, and Africans (Hansen, 2005, p. 87). For instance, the number of Africans in Atlanta rose from 8,919 in 1990 to 34,302 in 2000 representing an increase of 284.6% (Logan & Deane, 2003). Estimates of the number of African immigrants in Atlanta vary from 14,000 to 85,000 with the majority originating from the countries of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Somalia, Liberia and Nigeria (McDermott, 2006; Takougang, 2003; The Florida-Union Times, 2000). Atlanta's reputation as home to the world's busiest airport (The Associated Press, 2009) and a vibrant business center has contributed to its continued growth in size and population (Hansen, 2005). Specifically, African immigrants are lured to Atlanta by its thriving job market and perceived lack of discrimination (The Florida Times-Union, 2000). It is within this backdrop that the Zimbabwean community in Atlanta has developed.

The 2000 United States Census data revealed that of the 12,000 Zimbabweans in the United States, 2.7 % of the European descent and 6.1% of the black Zimbabwean populations lived in Atlanta (Marrow, 2007). Thus, a sizeable Zimbabwean community lives in Atlanta which made it a good site for exploring how its community members have developed and benefited from their social capital. Regarding their settlement patterns, Zimbabweans are not concentrated in any one location but dispersed across Atlanta and the surrounding metro areas. However, forms of social organization are evident among Zimbabweans in Atlanta because there

are two churches, and a restaurant that serve this group of African immigrants. These places are

not only important meeting places for Zimbabweans but they also reconnect participants with the

familiar from the country of origin. For example, the restaurant sells traditional Zimbabwean

dishes, and the churches incorporate Zimbabwean worship songs and practices. The following

section outlines recruitment procedures for the research.

<div align="center">Recruitment Procedures</div>

The criteria that guided the recruitment and selection of participants were: (1) participants

be Zimbabwean immigrants who were born and raised in Zimbabwe before settling in the United

States, and (2) participants be at least 18 years old. Prior to the recruitment stage, I contacted the

leaders of Zimbabwean churches in Atlanta via telephone introducing myself and the research

project. I also asked the church leaders for permission to observe and distribute my surveys at

their church meetings. After the telephone conservations, I emailed them the survey

questionnaire, interview guide, observation protocol, and the consent documents to review. The

telephone and email communication was followed by in-person visits that I made to the two

Zimbabwean churches to meet with the church leaders and members. The strategy of contacting

community leaders first, followed by approaching individual potential participants was used for

other Zimbabwean community events where questionnaires were distributed. Appendix D shows

the verbal consent script that was used to approach the church leaders and organizers of events

where I observed and gave out surveys. It is important to contact community leaders in order to

obtain their approval when doing research with ethnic populations because this may help in

reducing distrust of researchers or "skepticism about the value of the research" among potential

participants (Rubin & Babbie, 2008, p. 102).

Two main recruitment approaches were used to find study participants. The first

recruitment approach relied on word of mouth to recruit participants. I approached individual

potential participants during church meetings and other community events. Appendix E shows

the recruitment script for individual participants. The second recruitment approach involved

snowball sampling whereby individuals that I had recruited into the study were asked to take

surveys to their Zimbabweans friends, family or acquaintances who could be potential

participants to the study. About 230 questionnaires were distributed using the mentioned

recruitment approaches. Participants for the qualitative interviews were drawn from those who

completed the survey. I asked those I gave survey questionnaires if they were willing to be

interviewed at a later date. If the person agreed, I requested their telephone number so that we

could schedule the interview.

Even though I managed to recruit a sizeable number of participants for this study, the

recruitment process did not go as smoothly as I had anticipated. First, in spite of my efforts to

seek endorsement from the Zimbabwean immigrant community leaders, one of the leaders was

reluctant to openly endorse the research project citing fears of deportation on behalf of the

members of his organization. Consequently, the participation rate from this particular

organization was very low. Second, despite the demographic congruence with the targeted

population in that we were all Zimbabwean immigrants, potential participants were not eager to

participate in the project despite telephone reminders and others openly refused to be involved

citing reasons, such as busy schedules. Third, cultural considerations also made it impossible for

me as a female researcher to successfully schedule interview appointments with married men in

their homes when their wives were not going to be available at the time of the interview.

Therefore, my assumption of easier access based on shared demographic characteristics with the

study population was challenged. In retrospect, demographic congruence alone can not substitute taking the time to build rapport and trust with study participants.

Sample Selection

Sampling is the process of choosing observations or units that will best provide the information needed to address the research questions, as well as accurately represent the parameters of the population from which the sample is drawn (Creswell, 2008; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). In addition, it involves determining the required number of participants (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). This study combined two non-probability sampling techniques. Purposeful and snowball sampling were used to select participants for both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study. The decision to use purposeful sampling was reached because it was impossible to come up with a representative sampling frame of all Zimbabweans in Atlanta. Even though church registers of the two Zimbabwean churches in Atlanta existed, relying on these alone would have excluded Zimbabweans who do not attend these churches. Furthermore, similar to other immigrant populations, Zimbabweans can be characterized as hard-to-reach populations that are not easily identifiable in commonly available lists like the telephone directory (Issel, 2009; Rubin & Babbie, 2008).

The main advantage of purposeful sampling was that it allowed me to use my judgment to identify participants from which I could "learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research," while snowball sampling improved access to the hard-to-reach populations (Patton, 2002, p. 46). The main disadvantage of both purposeful and snowball sampling was that they precluded an evaluation of the representativeness of the sample because they are non-probability sampling techniques (Creswell, 2008; Fink & Kosecoff, 2005; Patton, 2002).

Determining the Sample Size

An important aspect of sampling is determining the sample size. One of the approaches to determining sample size in quantitative studies is relying on published tables or rules which provide the sample size for a given set of criteria, such as X number of participants per independent variable (Israel, 2003). On the other hand, no predetermined guidelines exist for sample size in qualitative research (Patton, 2002). To estimate the optimal sample size for the quantitative part of the study, I relied on the recommended guidelines for determining optimal samples for binary logistic regression, the analytic method for the study. Even though it is generally accepted that logistic regression "requires a lager n to detect effects" (Agresti, p. 242), a minimum sample size of 100 is acceptable for multivariate statistics (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). This study used a sample of 103 that is slightly above the recommended minimum sample size. Equally important when deciding the desirable sample size for logistic regression is the distribution of scores on the binary outcome variable (Warner, 2008). A useful rule-of-thumb is a minimum of 10 events per independent variable (Peduzzi, Concato, Kemper, Holford, & Feinstein, 1996). Details of how the rule-of-thumb was applied are discussed later in this chapter under the Preliminary Data Analysis heading.

On the other hand, qualitative studies do not emphasize rigid prearranged sample sizes (Patton, 2002) because beyond the number of participants, qualitative researchers should consider factors like the nature of topic under study, the scope of the study, and the amount of useful information obtained from each participant when making sample size decisions (Morse, 2000). One of the ways used to guide qualitative researchers in deciding when to stop data collection is saturation. Saturation is achieved when the researcher decides that the participants'

responses are redundant, and there is no new information (Burns, & Grove, 2005). In view of the above-mentioned considerations 12 participants were interviewed for this study. Although this number may seem small, generally qualitative research uses small samples that are studied in-depth (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). The literature suggests that small samples are able to generate useful data in qualitative research. For instance, Guest, Bunce & Johnson (2006) systematically examined the degree of data saturation and variability over the course of thematic analysis of 60 in-depth interviews and found that basic elements for meta-themes were present as early as 6 interviews with saturation occurring within the first 12 interviews. Data from the 12 interviews were examined to ensure that it was sufficient to address the study question on the types and purposes of social resources among Zimbabweans in Atlanta. The data collection strategies that were used in this study are described next.

Data Collection Strategies

Data collection refers to the technique(s) that the researcher employs to gather research data (Johnson & Turner, 2003). While the common methods of collecting quantitative data are standardized instruments or questionnaires, qualitative data is usually collected through interviews and observations (Creswell & Plano Clarke, 2007). This study used a self-administered survey and in-depth interviews, the most common methods of data collection in mixed methods research (Bryman, 2006). The following subsections discuss data collection strategies for each part of the study, beginning with quantitative data collection followed by qualitative data collection.

Quantitative Data Collection

Self-administered surveys were used to collect quantitative data. As a data collection method, surveys are self-report instruments that are composed mostly of close-ended questions

to be answered by individual respondents (Creswell & Plano Clarke, 2007). A key characteristic of surveys is standardized questions that are compiled in a questionnaire. The survey questionnaire combined questions from existing instruments, such as the Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ) by Grootaert et al. (2004). In addition, it incorporated items from a study by Anucha, Dlamini, Yan and Smylie (2006). The survey questionnaire was pretested to identify any needed modifications in February 2009.

The pretest involved 13 international students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as well as five non-student immigrants from Africa. Suggestions that were made by pretest participants were incorporated into the final study questionnaire (Appendix A). One pertinent suggestion that was made by the pretest participants was in the measure of reciprocity. Question 13 "In the past 12 months, how many people with a personal problem have turned to you for assistance?" was deemed inadequate to capture people that are helped through family members which prompted the addition of Question 14 "In the past 12 months, how many people with a personal problem have asked for your assistance through your spouse or members of your household?"

Following the pretest, data collection was conducted between March and June 2009. Initially, I distributed the surveys in person at various community events that included church meetings, conferences and private gatherings of Zimbabweans. After an introduction of the research, I gave participants a packet with the consent document, questionnaire and a stamped return envelope. I asked them to complete the questionnaire in their own time and return it in the provided envelope. However, fewer participants completed the questionnaire immediately and returned it to me. During this initial phase of data collection, about ten potential participants requested to complete the survey online, a modification that was implemented following

approval by the human subjects office. Therefore in the end, this study became a mixed-mode survey that was primarily self-administered and to a small extent web-based. Mixed-mode surveys improve participation rates and maximize chances of securing data from different types of respondents (Schutt, 2009, p. 300). Overall, about 230 questionnaires were distributed and 103 usable surveys were returned, which gives a response rate of about 45%. The main advantages of self-administered surveys are that they are less costly and faster compared to face-to-face interviews, and they ensure greater anonymity. The main disadvantage is that there is no control over who completes the survey (Bloch, 2004; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Given high educational levels among Zimbabweans in the United States, the problem of excluding participants who are not literate was not anticipated. The 2000 United States Census indicated that about 3% of Zimbabwean immigrants did not have a high school diploma, while about 83% had some college education or higher (United States Census, 2008c).

Qualitative Data Collection

Data collection strategies for the qualitative part of the study involved interviews and observations to allow for validation and cross checking of findings (Patton, 2002). The first method of data collection was interviews. Patton (2002) suggested, "We interview to find out what is in someone else's mind, to gather their stories" (p. 314). Face-to-face interviews that asked participants to discuss the process of accessing networks and their perceived functions were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide. Appendix B presents the interview guide. I interviewed 12 Zimbabwean immigrants in their homes or in the community. The interviews took an average of 45 minutes. The shortest was about 30 minutes and the longest about 75 minutes long. The interviews were audiotaped. The main advantage of interviews is that they allow participants to share their perceptions about a topic and personal experiences that can

not be directly observed. In addition, the interviewers have control over the type of information because they can ask questions to elicit the desired information. The main disadvantage of interviews is that they are prone to social desirability bias (Creswell, 2008; Patton, 2002).

The second method of qualitative data collection was observation. This strategy involves "the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts …in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 98). I observed 10 meetings of Zimbabwean immigrants in Atlanta. The observations included church meetings, conferences, gatherings of groups of Zimbabweans and visits to a restaurant that sells Zimbabwean food in Atlanta. I asked the leaders and organizers of the various events for permission to observe in these settings. Drawing from the observation guidelines suggested by LeCompte and Preissle (1993, p. 199), I observed *who* was in the setting, how many people, and their identities. I also focused on *what* was occurring in the setting, what the people were doing or saying to one another. Appendix C outlines the observation protocol. The main advantages of observation are that it gathers detailed information about an event or situation, and allows the researcher to gain knowledge of the nature and complexity of interactions in the setting (Patton, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The strategy of observation also has disadvantages in that observations are limited to external behaviors, and may be time consuming (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Patton, 2002). The observations were done between March and June 2009.

Data Screening

Data screening is an important precursor to data analysis in social research to check the quality of the collected data (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2006), which in turn minimizes the influence of data-related problems on the results (Saunders, Morrow-Howell, Spitznagel, Doré, Proctor, & Pescarino, 2006). Two main approaches were used to screen the data. First, data were

screened for errors that could have resulted during data entry or transcription through visual

inspection. Second, quantitative data were screened for missing values by examining frequency

tables for individual variables. After which attempts were made to replace the missing values. I

used mean substitution to replace missing values because it is fairly easy to compute (Saunders

et al., 2006). Table 4.4 shows the percent of missing data for each variable and how the problem

was addressed.

Table 4.4

Missing Values

Variable	Number Missing	Percent Missing	Solution
Group Membership	6	6	Mean substitution
Diversity of the Most Important Group	4	3.9	Mean substitution
Close Friends	5	5	Mean substitution
Time in U.S.	2	2	Mean substitution

Data Analysis Strategies

Consistent with a concurrent research design, data analysis was conducted separately for

each part (Creswell & Plano Clarke, 2007). Quantitative data analysis is described first, followed

by qualitative data analysis.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Using SPSS 17.0, quantitative data analysis entailed three analytic procedures, namely,

univariate analysis, bivariate analysis and multivariate analysis. The first analytic procedure that

I performed was univariate analysis, to examine the distribution of cases on a single variable.

Frequencies, means, median, and standard deviation were used to summarize specific variables

to shed light on the demographic characteristics of the study population, to quantify social capital, and to understand participants' employment outcomes in the United States. Although univariate analysis is useful in describing properties of single variables, it does not inform us about the connections among the variables (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). To this end, the second analytic procedure was bivariate analysis.

Bivariate analysis examines relationships between two variables (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Two sets of bivariate analyses were run: an independent-samples t-test and simple logistic regression. Independent t-tests were used to compare mean differences on close friends, group membership, and diversity of most important group (social capital variables) for female and male participants. Simple logistic regression was used to evaluate the relationships between the study's main independent and dependent variables. The study's main independent variables were the three social capital variables, and two control variables time in the United States and education. The dependent variables were employment status, full-time employment and underemployment. Simple logistic regression was chosen because the dependent variables were dichotomous while the independent variables were both continuous and categorical Logistic regression not only evaluates the relationship between a categorical dependent variable and an independent variable, but assesses how well an independent variable or a set of predictors explain membership in one of two groups of the dependent variable by specifying the probabilities of particular outcomes (Elliot, & Woodward, 2007; Pallant, 2007; Vannatta & Mertler, 2002). Whereas simple logistic regressions analyses sought to understand relationships to answer hypotheses 4 to 9, I extended the analyses further to investigate the relative contribution of social capital variables through multivariate logistic regression.

Thus, the third analytic procedure was multivariate analysis "to examine the relationship between an independent and a dependent variable while controlling for the effects of one or more extraneous or moderating variable" (Rubin & Babbie, 2008, p. 496). Based on the results obtained in the bivariate analyses, diversity of most important group and education were entered into a multivariate logistic regression model to assess their relative influence on underemployment. I used the Enter Method, the default SPSS procedure for binary logistic regression. Forced entry procedures are more preferred when testing theory (Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2003), because after the researcher has specified independent predictors based on theory or his or her judgment, all the specified independent predictors are entered simultaneously into the model controlling for the effects of the other variables, unlike stepwise methods where the computer selects best predictors based on statistical criteria which may produce results that are not easy to interpret (Leong & Austin, 2006). The binary logistic regression equation for this analyses was: Logit $(p) = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2$ where: Logit (p) was the probability of being underemployed or not; a the constant term; X_1 diversity of most important group, X_2 education; and $b1$, and b_2 the estimated logistic regression coefficients for the respective independent predictors.

Preliminary Data Analysis. Prior to running logistic regression procedures, preliminary analyses were performed to ensure that the desired statistical test was appropriate for the data. Even though logistic regression does not assume linearity or normality, there are assumptions that are relevant to this method. The first issue to be examined was outliers. Logistic regression estimates can be biased due to influential outliers (Vannatta & Mertler, 2002). Outliers were checked using Mahalanobis Distance. After computing the Mahalanobis Distance in multiple

regression, three values that were greater than the recommend critical value $\chi^2(5) = 20.52$ were deleted (Pallant, 2007).

The second assumption to be examined pertained to the distribution of responses on the dichotomous dependent variable. This should not deviate greatly from the 50/50 split to minimize biased results (Warner, 2008). The rule-of-thumb recommending 10 events per independent variable was used to assess this assumption (Peduzzi et al., 1996). I examined the distribution of responses on the binary dependent variables to establish if they met the 10 events per independent variable rule. The results showed that for the dependent variable underemployment; 35 were not underemployed and 53 were underemployed. For employment status; 91were employed versus 12 not employed. For full-time employment 63 were employed full-time versus 25 not full-time. Based on the preceding preliminary analyses, full-time employment and underemployment were retained for use in the simple bivariate logistic regression analyses and employment status was dropped. As reported later in Chapter 5, based on the simple bivariate logistic results underemployment and two independent variables, diversity of most important group and education were retained for multivariate logistic regression analyses. Overall, distributions of responses on the outcome variables were low and the results of this study must be taken with caution.

The third assumption to be examined was multicollinearity for the two variables used in the multivariate logistic regression model. While it is acceptable to have independent variables that are strongly associated with the dependent variables, independent variables that are strongly related may bias the observed results because logistic regression is sensitive to highly related independent variables. Tolerance values were observed to check this assumption. The results

indicated that multicollinearity was not a problem because none of the variables had tolerance values of less than .1 (Pallant, 2007).

Qualitative Data Analysis

The aim of qualitative data analysis was to identify the key social resources that Zimbabwean immigrants reported as important during their settlement and integration. Verbatim transcripts of the audio-recorded interviews and field notes yielded data for analysis. Inductive analysis was used to make sense of data. The process of analysis comprised four steps: (1) detailed readings of interview transcripts and fieldnotes, (2) line-by-line coding of words that reflected specific behaviors and resource exchanges between participants and their networks, (3) combining codes to make categories that represent the key themes in the data, (4) describing main features of the categories by connecting them to the research questions, and (5) interpretation (Creswell, 2008; Mertler, 2006; Thomas, 2006).

The main advantage of inductive analysis is that it emphasizes the use of raw data to come up with patterns and categories thus avoiding assigning cases into predetermined categories (Grbich, 2006; Patton, 2002). This ensures that the meanings are derived from the data. Although the general social resources literature informed the category labels, there were no "set expectations about specific findings" (Thomas, 2006). The main disadvantage of inductive analysis is that the researcher may minimize experiences in the data during the process of reducing the data. By focusing on patterns and categories, it is possible that important context is removed which may not give a full picture of the experience (Mertler, 2006). However, validation strategies such as member checks may counter the problem of faulty interpretations. The validation strategies are discussed next.

Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Findings

Consistent with qualitative research, validity refers to the accuracy of findings, and reliability is concerned with consistency and repeatability of the research process (Creswell, 2009). This section summarizes procedures that I used to increase the validity and reliability of qualitative findings. To enhance the accuracy of findings, I triangulated data sources (interviews and observations), and used member checks. Data from interviews and observations were assessed for similarities or differences. The member check procedure involved emailing participants analytic categories and asking for their feedback regarding the accuracy of my understanding (Toma, 2006). Ensuring that the qualitative findings reflect the voices and perspectives of study participants is fundamental to qualitative research (Lietz, Langer, & Furman, 2006). To facilitate the possibility of repeating this qualitative research process, I have provided detailed accounts of the research process, such as the recruitment strategies, data collection and analysis procedures. Given that the researcher is the key instrument of data collection and analysis in qualitative research, it is critical that I report any potential sources of bias that I brought into this study (Patton, 2002), and these biases are discussed next.

Subjectivity Statement

One of the defining characteristics of qualitative research is that researchers should be open about potential sources of bias that may influence the research effort (Peshkin, 1988). This openness is conveyed through a subjectivity statement which can be defined as "a summary of who researchers are in relation to what and whom they are studying" (Preissle, 2008, p. 844). A subjectivity statement is important for two main reasons. First, it helps researchers to become aware of how their personal experiences and characteristics may inform or hinder the research

endeavor. Second, it can serve as a lens through which other scholars and readers evaluate the validity of the study (Preissle, 2008).

One of the personal qualities that could have influenced this study is that I am a Zimbabwean who migrated to the United States seven years ago to join my spouse. Knowing that I was migrating to unite with him made the journey exciting and less stressful. Upon my arrival, my spouse's acquaintances and other Zimbabwean families that had come before us were valuable sources of information on how to get by in the new country. This background undoubtedly influenced how I perceived social networks and social resources.

Participants for this research were fellow Zimbabweans. Although I had not met all of the Zimbabweans in Atlanta prior to data collection, I considered myself as an insider to this group because we shared the same country of origin and the experience of being immigrants. While this shared experience was a strength that facilitated access to the study population, it could have weakened the study in two main ways. First, the participants knew that I was from Zimbabwe, and this could have made them want to come across favorably to me. Second, as an immigrant who also uses social capital resources, I could have emphasized on the variables and forms that I am familiar with, and thus failed to capture other variables that may be important to the participants.

I am also a social worker, a profession that seeks to support the vulnerable groups in society. Thus we tend to emphasize social supports and linkage with community resources. This orientation may bias my view regarding the usefulness of networks, because I already see them as important problem-solving options. On the other hand, the social work training I have received, and my work experience with families and communities in Zimbabwe were important assets as I undertook this research project.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are an integral component of the research planning and implementation (Mertens, 2005). Ethical issues that were unique to this study included confidentiality, and informed consent. Appendices F and G show the consent forms that were distributed to the survey and in-depth interview participants, respectively. As I asked participants to share about the people in their lives it was important to uphold confidentiality to protect their identity. I informed study participants that any information that they shared was confidential unless if asked by law. In addition, I made them aware that this research was for a dissertation and my committee members would have access to their information. I also informed them that the information that they shared would be made public but without their identities. In order to protect the identity of participants' pseudonyms are used throughout this report. Consistent with the need to promote voluntary participation in research, written informed consent was sought from each interview participant. In addition, approval to conduct the study was sought and obtained from the University's Institutional Review Board prior to data collection.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the mixed methods research design and the quantitative and qualitative methods that were used in the study. A concurrent triangulation mixed method design with two separate quantitative and qualitative parts was used to capture the multidimensional aspects of social capital. The study had two distinct parts, one quantitative to quantify the social capital of Zimbabweans and to examine its effects, and the second part was qualitative to explore the types of social resources exchanged among Zimbabweans and the purposes that they served. A questionnaire that combined different social capital measures was used to gather quantitative survey data and in-depth interviews and observations were used to obtain qualitative data. The

study sample was 103 for the surveys and from this group 12 participated in the qualitative interviews. Given that two separate studies were conducted to be mixed during interpretation, Chapter 5 and 6 report the quantitative and qualitative findings, respectively, and I merge these findings in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 5: QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Given the convergence model triangulation design, a mixed method design with two distinct quantitative and qualitative parts that was employed in this study, the research findings are divided into two separate chapters. Chapter 5 presents the quantitative findings, and Chapter 6 focuses on the qualitative findings. Highlighted in this chapter are descriptive, bivariate and multivariate findings from analyses of the quantitative data to shed light on the occurrence and effects of social capital on the integration of Zimbabweans in Atlanta. First, I present the results of the univariate procedures to describe sample demographic characteristics, quantify their social capital and summarize selected employment-related variables through the use of descriptive statistics such as frequencies, mean, and median. Next, bivariate analyses are presented. Of note in this section are: (1) the results of a t-test of independence that explored differences in social capital variables between males and females, and (2) results of six simple logistic regressions that assessed the relationship between independent and dependent variables. Last, multivariate logistic regression was used to understand the effects of diversity of the most important group on employment outcomes controlling for educational attainment.

The main study variables were divided into three categories: (1)Social capital variables-close friends, group membership, and diversity of the most important group, all of which were measured as continuous variables; (2) Individual characteristics of participants, in particular, time in the United States (in years) and educational attainment; (3) Employment outcomes-employment status, full-time employment and underemployment. In some cases, continuous variables were collapsed into categories to allow for a more meaningful representation of the

patterns in the data (Babbie, Halley, & Zaino, 2007). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.) 17.0 was used to run the analyses. The conventional alpha value of .05 was used to evaluate statistical significance.

Univariate Analysis

The first step in data analysis is to describe the distribution of single variables in the study through univariate analysis procedures (Babbie, 2009). The results of the univariate analyses are presented in the following order: demographic variables, social capital variables, and employment variables.

Demographic Variables of Survey Participants

Participants for the survey were 103 Zimbabwean immigrants to the United States who were in Atlanta at the time of the survey. Therefore, the unit of analysis in this study was the individual adult Zimbabwean immigrant aged 18 years and above. Participant's ages ranged from 18 to 75 years ($M = 37$, Median 37, $SD = 9.5$). More than half of the participants fell under the 30 and 41 years category. In general, Zimbabweans are among the new immigrant groups to the United States. About 65% of the participants had been in the United States for less than 10 years. The length of time in the United States ranged from 0 to 30 years ($M = 8.9$, $SD = 5.4$, median 9 years). Regarding educational attainment, approximately 64% had earned at least a Bachelor's degree, and 11.7% had only completed high school. The majority of the participants were married and about 75% lived in households of two or more people. Children under 18 still living in household ranged from 0 to 4. Table 5.1 presents information on participants' gender distribution, age, education, marital status, time in the United States, and household income. In addition, a column comparing the study sample to the United States 2000 census data, Foreign-Born Profiles (STP-159) was added (United States Census Bureau, 2008c). Variables that lent

themselves to easy comparison such as gender and marital status and categories like median age, participants with a bachelor's degree or higher, participants with household income under $10,000, and participants in the United States for 10 years or less are highlighted. Not all the variables or categories were comparable to the census data because of coding differences.

Table 5.1
Demographic Variables of Survey Participants

Demographic Variable	Category	Study Sample Number	Percent	2000 U.S. Census Data Percent
Gender	Female	52	50.5	51.2
	Male	51	49.5	48.8
Age	18 - 29	22	21.4	
	30 - 41	55	53.4	
	42 - 53	20	19.4	
	54+	6	5.8	
	Median Age (years)	33.2	N/A	37
Education	High school	12	11.7	
	College Diploma	25	24.3	
	Bachelor's	37	36.0	
	Masters	23	22.3	
	PhD	6	5.8	
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	64.1	N/A	50.1
Household Income (N= 98)	Under $10,000	8	8.1	11.2
	$10,000 to $19,999	3	2.9	
	$20,000 to $29,999	8	8.1	
	$30,000 to $39,999	12	12.2	
	$40,000 to $49,999	8	8.1	
	$50,000 to $59,999	15	15.3	
	$60,000 and above	44	44.9	
Marital Status	Married	62	60.2	56.4
	Single	31	30.1	34
	Divorced	6	5.8	6.4
	Separated	3	2.9	1.8
	Widowed	1	1.0	1.3
Time in the U.S.	Less than 5 years	17	16.5	
	5.00 - 9.99	50	48.5	
	10.00 - 14.99	25	24.3	
	15.00 - 19.99	5	4.9	
	20.00+	6	5.8	
	10 years or less		74.8	60

Comparison of the study sample and the 2000 United States census data indicates that there were no major differences in the gender distribution, marital status, and the percent with household income less than $10,000. However, the study sample had higher values in: (1) the median age, which may suggest an aging Zimbabwean immigrant population or that older Zimbabweans are also coming to the United States; (2) percent with bachelor's degree or higher; (3) percent in the U.S. 10 years or less reflecting a more recent immigrant population.

Description of Social Capital Variables

The second set of univariate analyses examined the main conceptual elements of social capital among Zimbabwean immigrants. Three main elements were examined: networks, reciprocity and trust. A minor yet essential element that pertains to the exclusionary aspects of social capital was also explored. Descriptive results of these elements are presented in that order.

The first conceptual element of social capital examined in this research was networks. These were measured at two levels: (1) networks at arrival, and (2) current networks. To capture participants' networks upon their arrival into the United States, they were asked to state the number of friends and extended or immediate family that they had in the United States at the time of their arrival and whether or not they were affiliated to any United States based organizations. Participants' networks on arrival are summarized in Table 5.2. The variables family and friends in the United States were categorized with "Yes" denoting 1 or more friends or family and "No" indicating participants who reported zero number of friends or family. These results suggest that Zimbabweans come into the United States with ample amounts of social capital from family and friends but less from organizations.

Table 5.2

Participants' Types of Network on Arrival to the United States

Type of Network	Percent	
	Yes	No
Family Members in the U.S.	71.8	28.2
Friends in the U.S.	69.9	30.1
Affiliated to U.S. based organization	14	86

To understand the roles served by friends, family, acquaintances and organizations at the time of arrival in the lives of participants, respondents were asked to indicate the various types of assistance that they received from these networks. Table 5.3 shows that three of the most frequently reported types of assistance were housing, orientation, and emotional support. It is in the provision of practical needs such as housing that social capital may contribute towards offsetting the costs of moving to a new country.

Table 5.3

Commonly Cited Types of Assistance Received from Social Network on Arrival

Type of Assistance Received	Percent
Housing	73.3
Orientation	68.3
Emotional Support	59.4
Getting Driver's License	58.4
Information about Jobs	57.4
Financial Support	56.4
Making New Friends	55.4
Friendly Visits	53.4

Cognizant of the possibility of change in the number of networks over time, this study inquired about participants' current networks. These were measured by the number of close friends and group membership. The number of close friends ranged from zero to 20 ($M = 4.4$, $SD = 3.8$, Median 3). Frequencies of the categorized variable indicated that 4.9% had zero close friends, 31.1% had 1 to 3 close friends, and 64.1% had 4 or more friends. The cases were split by gender to compare the distribution of close friends between men and women. Table 5.4 shows that overall men had fewer friends than women. In particular a higher percentage of men had zero friends compared to women. Thus, compared to women, men appear to have less social capital when close friends is used as the indicator.

Table 5.4

Comparison of Men and Women on Close Friends

Number of Close Friends	Percent	
	Women	Men
0	1.9	7.8
1 - 3	36.5	25.5
4+	61.5	66.7

The number of groups that participants belonged to ranged from 0 to 20 ($M = 2$, $SD = 2.5$, Median 2). Univariate analyses of group membership revealed that 75.7% of Zimbabweans belong to 1 -3 groups, 12.6% belong to 4 or more groups and a smaller percentage (11.7) did not belong to any group. The percentage of those not belonging to any group is quite high given that group membership is one of the key indicators of social capital. When the distribution was split by gender, fewer men participated in groups. For instance, 74.5% of men belonged to 1 to 3

groups versus 76.9% of women. In addition, 13.7% of men did not participate in any group

versus 9.6 % females, which may suggest that men have less social capital if the measure of

group membership is used.

Simply belonging to a group may in itself fail to portray either the quality of social

capital contained in such groups or the extent of access. To address these two areas, the internal

diversity of the group identified as most important by the participant was assessed, and their

frequency of participation in that group. Participants were asked to name their most important

group and describe its internal diversity based on gender, education, ethnic background, religion

and occupation. Given that 12 participants reported that they did not belong to any group, the

cases considered for this variable were reduced to 91, unless in situations where missing data

was encountered. The decision to leave out the mentioned 12 participants was reached because

not participating in any group precluded their ability to name the most important group or

describe its internal diversity. Table 5.5 shows the type of groups and organizations cited as the

most important group by the participants.

Table 5.5

Types of Organizations Representing Participants' Most Important Group

Type of Organization	Percent
Religious	61
Professional	18.3
Zimbabwean Association	12.2
Other	8.5

The category 'other' represented groups such as groups of friends or high school alumni, personal businesses, women's groups and online groups. A closer examination of the most important groups indicated that there was variation in the types of organizations reported as important by gender. For example, fewer women specified professional associations and Zimbabwean associations as their most important group (see Figure 5.1). The extent of participation in the organizations or groups averaged three times a month. However, women participated fewer times ($M = 3.36$), compared to men ($M = 5.45$). These results suggested that women may be disadvantaged compared to men regarding access to social capital.
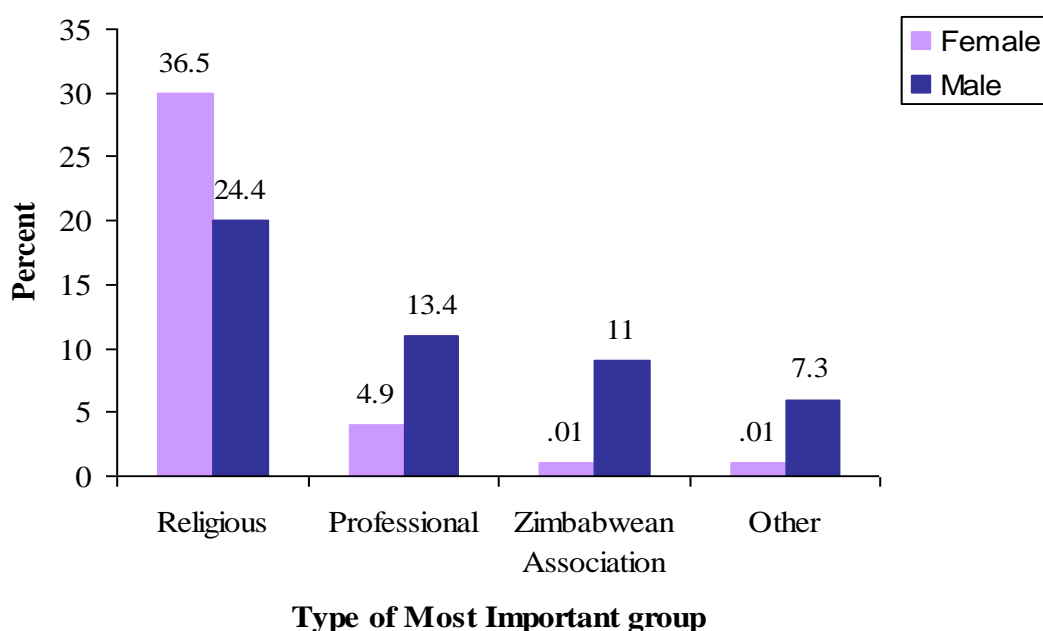

Figure 5.1: Type of most important group clustered by gender.

As stated earlier five dimensions, gender, occupation, religion, ethnic background, and education were used to assess the diversity of most important group. About 69% reported that the members of their most important group had diverse educational backgrounds, occupational

diversity (66%), gender diversity (67%); diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (56.3%), and

religious diversity (20%). It is not surprising that religious diversity was fairly low compared to

the other measures because over 50% of the participants reported religious organizations as their

most important groups. A score that ranged from 0 to 5 was computed to represent the diversity

of most important group. Females had slightly lower means than males for the diversity score

(3.33 versus 3.56). Table 5.6 shows a transformed diversity of most important group based on

equal percentiles to indicate those with low (a score of less than 3), medium (a score of 3 to 3.99)

and high (a score of 4 or higher) levels of diversity. More than half of the participants belonged

to groups with medium to high levels of diversity, suggesting higher levels of social capital.

Table 5.6

Level of Diversity of Most Important Group

Level of Diversity	Frequency	Percent
Low	10	11
Medium	36	39.6
High	45	49.4

After networks, reciprocity was the second conceptual element of social capital that was

investigated. The extent of reciprocal behavior was captured by the number of people helped by

the participant in the last year, assuming that participants responded to requests for help from

others as a way of giving back the kindness received from others in their network. Overall,

90.3% of participants had helped at least one person in the last year. The mean number of people

helped was 5 (median 3; range 0 to 100). Men had helped an average of 5.16 people ($SD = 13.9$),

and women an average of 4.75 ($SD = 7.49$). The results suggest a high level of reciprocity among

this sample of Zimbabweans.

The third conceptual element of social capital examined in this study was trust. Trust was measured using three different sets of items that included the extent to which one trusts people overall (generalized trust), trust in specific types of people, and individual perceptions on whether Zimbabweans are willing to help or to act as expected. The results for each measure of trust are presented accordingly. Generalized trust was measured using the item 'Generally speaking, would you say that most Zimbabweans in Atlanta can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" The results were inconclusive because that 44.7% felt people can be trusted and 45.6% selected you can't be too careful. However, on the measure on specific types of trust, a more meaningful pattern was observed. The majority of the participants reported the highest levels of trust in people from the same church, while neither great nor small extent was frequently cited for trust in people from other ethnic other groups, and small extent of trust was reported toward social service providers (See Figure 5.2).
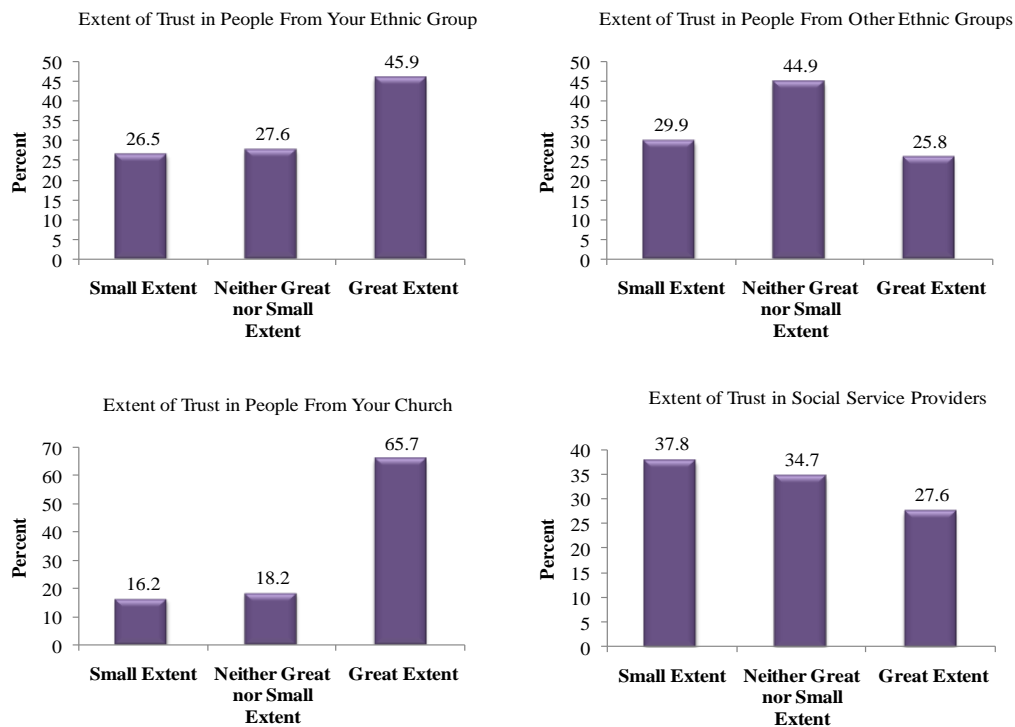

Figure 5.2: Participants' extent of trust in specified groups of people.

When asked if they agreed or disagreed that most Zimbabweans were willing to help if needed, 17.6% agreed strongly, 30.8% agreed somewhat and 34% neither agreed nor disagreed, 12.1% disagreed somewhat and 5.5% disagreed strongly. Overall, whereas the patterns of generalized trust were mixed, trust in fellow church members was high, and trust in social services providers was low. Participants also demonstrated higher levels of trust in their expectations of fellow Zimbabweans with regard to needed help. These results suggest that generalized trust was not clearly defined among the study participants. The inconclusive generalized trust results may be due to measurement error as participants could have attached different meanings to the question. Grootaert et al. (2004) stated that "trust is an abstract concept that is difficult to measure…. because it may mean different things to different people" (p. 12).

The last conceptual element of social capital investigated in this study involved the exclusionary effects of social capital due to differences among network members. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which differences in specified ten areas caused divisions by stating "not at all," "somewhat," and "very much." The top five areas that participants perceived as causing divisions were differences in wealth, between young and older generations, social status, political affiliation and religious beliefs (see Figure 5.3).
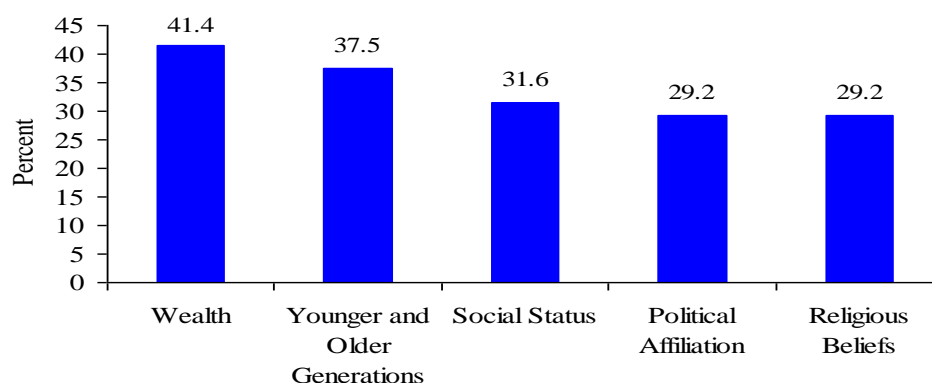

Figure 5.3: Areas of difference perceived as causing very much division.

When asked if the identified differences caused problems, 69.9% reported that the differences led to feelings of being left out, denial of needed help (60.2%) and quarreling (50.5), suggesting that these differences may limit the flow and access to social resources.

In sum, the main conceptual elements of social capital investigated in this study included networks (number of close friends, group membership and diversity of the most important group), reciprocity (number of people helped in the past year), and trust. A minor element about exclusionary aspects of social capital due to differences in specified characteristics of network members was also examined. The results showed that Zimbabweans in the sample possessed substantial networks, but reported mixed levels of generalized trust. Differences in the areas such as wealth, social status, and religious beliefs contributed to feelings of being left out and denial of needed help, factors that may limit the overall importance and usefulness of social capital for the individual actors.

Description of Employment Outcomes

The last set of univariate analyses examined variables related to employment outcomes of Zimbabweans, namely, employment status and suitability of current job given one's educational and work background. Table 5.7 shows participants' employment status.

Table 5.7

Employment Status of Survey Participants

Employment Status	Frequency	Percent
Full-time	66	64.1
Self employed	10	9.7
Part Time	15	14.6
Not working	12	11.7

To assess whether participants' current jobs matched their educational and work experience, I used a 5 point Likert scale that asked them to indicate the suitability of their current job. Less than half of the participants, 41% reported their job as suitable, while 23% rated their current jobs as somewhat suitable, moderately suitable 14%, somewhat unsuitable 6%, and not suitable 13%. The results from the Likert question on suitability of current job were recoded to create a new variable underemployment to assess its presence or absence through the multivariate procedures to follow. Excluding participants who indicated that they were not working, 91 cases were used for this variable. The majority of respondents 59.3% were underemployed, and 40.7% were not underemployed. Underemployment affected more women (62.5%) than men (55.8%). Conversely, the majority of full-timers were female (77.1%) versus 67.4% male. Another striking observation was that 81.8% of the participants who did not participate in any group were underemployed, compared to 53.8% of those who belonged to 4 or more groups. These comparisons illustrated the existence of linkages among variables, and these were examined through bivariate analyses.

Bivariate Analysis

Following univariate analyses to summarize single variables, the next step was to understand connections in the data set. Two statistical tests were used to conduct bivariate analyses. First, independent-samples t-test was used to examine mean differences between the social capital variables (close friends, group membership, and diversity of most important group) and gender to answer study hypotheses 1 to 3. Second, I ran simple logistic regression analyses to test hypotheses 4 to 9. The study hypotheses are stated in Chapter 3.

Variations in Social Capital by Gender (Study Hypotheses 1 to 3)

To understand variations in social capital variables by gender, three hypotheses were proposed. First, it was hypothesized that there would be a statistically significant difference between gender of person and close friends. An independent-samples t-test that compared the means for females and males on the number of close of friends revealed that there was no statistically significant difference in the number of close friends between females and males t (86) = -.602, p = .55. The mean number of close friends for females was 4.15 (SD = 2.96) and 4.61 for males (4.52). The results suggest that the number of close friends for females was similar to those for males.

Second, I hypothesized a statistically significant difference between gender of person and number of group memberships. An independent-samples t-test conducted to compare means for females and males on the number of group memberships indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the number of group memberships between females (M = 2.11, SD = 2.31) and males (M = 2.43, SD = 2.77), t (101) = -.637, p = .53. This suggests that Zimbabwean immigrant women belong to approximately the same number of groups as their male counterparts.

Third, the hypothesis that there would be a statistically significant difference between gender of person and level of diversity of most important group was also not supported. A third independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare means for females and males on the diversity score of their most important group. Results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the diversity scores of most important group between females (M = 3.33, SD =.796) and males (M = 3.56, SD = 1.04), t (86) = -1.171, p = .25.

Associations between Social Capital Variables and Employment Outcomes

Simple logistic regression analyses were conducted to evaluate hypotheses 4 to 9. To make the interpretation more meaningful, diversity of most important group was categorized into two groups with 0 = low diversity, and 1 = high diversity. Overall, none of the hypotheses were supported. Table 5.8 summarizes the results for each hypothesis.

Table 5.8

Simple Logistic Regression Analyses Results for Hypotheses 4 to 9

Hypothesis	Main Variables	*Wald*	*p*	*B*	Conclusion
4	Close friends Full-time employment	.670	.413	-.051	Not Supported
5	Group membership Full-time employment	.606	.436	-.133	Not Supported
6	Diversity of the most important group Full-time employment	1.164	.28	1.187	Not Supported
7	Close friends Underemployment	.002	.962	-.003	Not Supported
8	Group membership Underemployment	.966	.326	-.158	Not Supported
9	Diversity of the most important group Underemployment	3.796	.051	-1.664	Not Supported

Even though the results of the bivariate analyses did not demonstrate statistically significant relationships between the social capital and employment variables, the logistic

regression coefficients showed that the direction of relationship was as hypothesized for diversity of the most important group and full-time employment. High levels of diversity were associated with an increased likelihood of full-time employment. In addition, all the social capital variables had a negative relationship with underemployment with diversity of most important group approximating significance ($p = .051$). In other words, these results suggested that respondents with a high number of close friends, group membership, and a high level of diversity in their most important group were less likely to be underemployed. In particular, the bivariate results suggested that diversity of most important group may have minimal influence on underemployment. However, the legitimacy of this claim can only be assessed through a multivariate analysis that takes into account individual factors that are also known to have an effect on the employment outcomes of immigrants, such as time in the United States and education.

<p style="text-align:center">Multivariate Analysis</p>

Social phenomena are often multidimensional and determined by a combination of several factors. Multivariate statistical methods allow for the examination of several variables simultaneously to determine the unique influence of a specific variable while holding others constant (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2008; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Therefore, I used multivariate logistic analysis to assess the relative influence of diversity of the most important group on underemployment controlling for time in the United States and education. Because of the limited sample size, it was important that I only enter the relevant variables in the multivariate model. Therefore, a model building strategy was adopted and variables to be used in the multivariate analyses were selected based on the results of simple logistic analyses using a cut off p-value of .25 as recommended by Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000). As established in the preceding section,

diversity of the most important group was the only social capital variable eligible for inclusion in the multivariate model. Additional simple logistic regression analyses were run to test the association between the control variables (time in the U.S. and education) and underemployment. Education qualified to be included in the model (Wald Statistic = 1.965, p = .161), but time in the United States did not meet the criteria to be included in the model (Wald Statistic = .771, p = .38).

Multivariate Logistic Regression

A multivariate logistic regression model was fit to the data to examine the relative influence of diversity of most important group on underemployment controlling for education. Diversity of the most important group was coded 0 = low level of diversity, and 1 = high level of diversity. Education was coded as 0 = Less than Bachelor's Degree and 1 = Bachelor's Degree or Higher. Underemployment was coded 0 = Not Underemployed and 1 = Underemployed. The alpha level of p = .05 was used to evaluate statistical significance. The two independent variables were entered simultaneously, using the enter method. Therefore, parameters express each variable's unique contribution to the regression equation while controlling for the other predictor variable. Table 5.9 shows the beta coefficients (*B*), standard error (*SE*), Wald statistic, p-value, and odds ratio (*OR*).

Starting with the position that all the regression coefficients in the model were equal to zero, the omnibus significance test, also known as the likelihood ratio, indicated that the model was statistically reliable in predicting underemployment or its absence (χ^2 (2) = 8.534, p = .014) in support of the alternative hypothesis that one of the regression coefficients was greater than zero. This meant that at least one of the predictors was significantly related to underemployment. The significance of each predictor was tested by the Wald statistic that identified diversity of

most important group as the only significant predictor of underemployment (Wald test = 4.119, p = .042), while education was nearly significant (Wald test = 3.768, p = .052).

The regression coefficient for diversity of most group (B = -1.799) showed a negative relationship, suggesting that the logged odds of being underemployed are 1.799 lower for respondents with a high level diversity compared to those with a low level of diversity. Conversely, the logged odds of being underemployed are 1.066 higher for respondents with a bachelors' degree or higher compared to those with less than a bachelor's degree. To understand the magnitude of this relationship, odds ratios indicated that respondents with a high level of diversity were less likely to be classified as underemployed by a factor of .165 compared to those with a low level of diversity. Participants with a bachelor's degree or higher were likely to be classified as underemployed by a factor of 2.904 compared to those without a bachelor's degree. The model correctly classified 64.9 % of the cases. The pseudo R^2 values were: Cox & Snell's = .105 and Nagelkerke's = .142 showing that the model accounted for 10.5% and 14.2% of the variance in underemployment.

Table 5.9

Multivariate Logistic Regression Analysis of Education and Diversity on Underemployment

Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*Wald*	*p*	*OR*
Constant	.235	.296	.632	.427	1.265
Diversity	-1.799	.886	4.119	.042	.165
Education	1.066	.549	3.768	.052	2.904
Likelihood ratio test	χ^2 (2) = 8.534, *p* = .014				
Cox & Snell R^2	.105				
Nagelkerke R^2	.142				
Overall Classification of Entries (%)	64.9				

Chapter Summary

Chapter 5 presented the quantitative research findings. Results from this study demonstrated that Zimbabweans possess substantial stocks of social capital, and the main elements of their social capital include networks, reciprocity and trust. The distribution of their social capital did not differ by gender. Nine hypotheses were tested to examine relationships between social capital variables and employment outcomes. The results of simple (bivariate) logistic analyses did not support any of the hypotheses, although all the social capital variables were negatively related to underemployment. The relationship between diversity of most important group and underemployment approximated significance ($p = .051$). Based on the results of the bivariate logistic analyses, a multivariate logistic regression analysis was run to evaluate the relative importance of level of diversity and education on underemployment. The results indicated that diversity of the most important group significantly predicted underemployment ($p = .042$) holding education constant, while education was nearly significant ($p = .052$). The observation that several of the study's hypotheses were not supported in the bivariate analyses may portray underlying complexities regarding the structure, use, and benefits of social capital among Zimbabweans immigrants in this study. Consistent with the research design, the next chapter reports qualitative findings on the types of social resources that Zimbabwean immigrants reported as important in their integration to the United States.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chapter 6 presents the qualitative research findings. These findings illuminate the types

of social resources exchanged among Zimbabwean immigrants, and the purposes that they

served. As stated in Chapter 4, inductive analysis was used to make sense of the qualitative data.

I conducted line-by-line coding of words that reflected specific behaviors and resource

exchanges between participants and their networks. These were later grouped into categories or

main themes to capture the resources important to Zimbabwean immigrants, and the associated

network dynamics. This chapter begins by telling the story of one of the study participants, Jane.

This story is drawn from the events and actions that Jane shared during the interview to provide

the reader with an integrated account of her experiences as she migrated and settled into the

United States (Polkinghorne, 1995). This is followed with an overview of the 12 participants

who comprised the study sample. Chapter 6 ends with a presentation of the main themes that

emerged from the data. Supporting quotations from the interview data are included, and

pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of the participants.

Jane's Story

Jane is a 62 year-old Zimbabwean woman who came to the United States 11 years ago,

after her eldest son successfully filed for a visa on her behalf to come and live in the United

States. After weighing the cost and benefits of coming to the United States or continuing to live

in Zimbabwe, Jane concluded, "I had to be realistic… I was a single parent then and part of my

goals was to get my children in good schools…economically things had changed in Zimbabwe."

With an initial plan of returning to Zimbabwe after five years, Jane flew to the United States with

one of her younger children and landed in New Jersey. She stayed with her eldest son and his friends for a few days before securing her own housing. Jane's first home was rented from a retired African American nurse whom she described as "a very generous lady." Whereas finding appropriate housing did not pose huge problems for Jane, getting a job in her field of training was an unanticipated challenge. Jane expected that she would get a job within a week of arriving to the United States, only to find that there were no jobs. In spite of possessing a Master's in Social Work, Jane found herself stranded "they wanted licensed social workers. And I really didn't know what else or who else to ask or what to do." After two months without getting a social work job, Jane reluctantly took up a job that her Zimbabwean acquaintances had recommended "I just couldn't handle it…and finally I prepared myself to doing what needed to be done. I did the CPR First Aid and then I got a job in a home for developmentally disabled people…As I did that I got to find out how one becomes licensed."

When she relocated to Georgia from New Jersey four years ago, Jane failed to get a social work job immediately and spent another two months without a job, "I had sent so many applications online and nothing happened." One day her sister-in-law who also lives in Georgia took her to the Zimbabwean church, and Jane told the Pastor that she was looking for a job. The Pastor told his assistant who connected Jane to the people who helped her find a job as a medical social worker. In spite of the initial setback in finding a social work job when she arrived in 1998, with the help of the contacts through her job at the home for the developmentally disabled and through her Pastor's social ties, Jane was able to secure a career in her field of training, and at the time of the interview she was a licensed clinical social worker.

Since her arrival in the United States in 1998, Jane has managed to form close relationships with both Zimbabweans and Americans. One of her long-standing relationships is

with her former landlady from who she rented her first home in New Jersey. Even though Jane

now lives in Georgia, she has maintained a very strong relationship with her former landlady

such that she stays at Jane' house "each time she visits Georgia." Jane reported that she makes it

a point to visit at least one American or Zimbabwean older adult on "a weekly basis" for

company. Evaluating how the people that she knows have influenced her life in the United States,

Jane remarked "Here in Atlanta, I don't even think I am in America, it's like I am home… I do

get very homesick but I know that if I make a phone call and talk about things that are familiar

from home we just laugh and before I know it I am not even homesick." Besides maintaining

close relationships with her Zimbabweans and American relatives, friends and acquaintances,

Jane participates in both Zimbabwean immigrant community and broader United States

institutions. She is a leader in the Zimbabwean church and one of the founding leaders of a

Zimbabwean Association that seeks to promote the well-being of Zimbabweans in the United

States and to make the issues of Zimbabweans known to the broader United States society.

But why has Jane who came to the United States intending to stay for five years only

prolonged her stay with six more years? For Jane, and probably many other Zimbabweans in the

United States, the plan to return to Zimbabwe has now become an elusive dream "I had this

dream that one day I will go home, you know when I first came I would say I would go home in

five years' but things haven't been that good at home. So, the five has gone to ten years now. So,

I have stopped talking about going home. I am just living on a day to day basis…telling myself

'This is it.' This perspective has helped Jane to achieve personal goals that she once brushed off

as she viewed her stay in the United States as temporary " I was so focused on going back home

all the stuff I was doing, 'Well, I won't buy this because I am going home. I won't do this

because I will be going.' Jane believed that this preoccupation with returning to Zimbabwe was

one of the least useful factors in her resettlement process because it slowed down her progress in the new country. This section summarized Jane's story as she settled and integrated into the United States society. While this story is unique to Jane, it reflects important themes that other participants in this study expressed, and these themes are discussed later in this chapter.

Description of Participants

This section introduces the study participants. First, their demographic information is presented. This is followed by a brief summary of their migration history, networks at arrival in the United States, and current networks.

Participants' Demographic Information

This data set comprised 12 participants. Seven participants were female and five were male. The age range of the participants was 28 to 64 years. The length of stay in the United States ranged from 2 years to 33 years. The majority of the participants (7) had come to the United States in pursuit of education, although most had completed their studies at the time of the interview. Table 6.1 presents participants' age, gender, time spent in the United States, and reason for coming to the United States. As shown in Table 6.1, this sample ranged from recent immigrants to some who had been in the United States for over 30 years.

Table 6.1

Participants' Age, Gender, Time Spent in the U.S., and Reason for Coming to the U.S.

Pseudonym	Age (Years)	Gender	Time in the U.S. (Years)	Reason for Coming to the U.S.
Chipo	28	Female	2	Join Spouse
Gina	30	Female	7	Studies
Kelly	32	Female	3	Studies
Anesu	33	Male	14	Studies
Stan	33	Male	3	Studies
Sally	37	Female	13	Visit Friend
Tanya	38	Female	9	Studies
Ben	40	Male	13	Join Spouse

Dan	40	Male	17	Conference/Studies
Paul	44	Male	10	Studies
Jane	62	Female	11	Work
Farai	64	Female	34	Join Spouse

A comparison of the study participants and the 2000 United Census sample indicated that the present sample was older and it had more females. Participants' median age was 37.5 years that is higher than the Census 2000 median age of 33 years for Zimbabweans in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2008c). The gender distribution of the participants in this sample was 58% female and 42% male, which deviates from the 2000 United Census sample where males were slightly more than female at 51% and 49% respectively. About 92% (11) of the participants had been in the United States for less than 20 years, which is consistent with the 2000 United States finding that about 60% of Zimbabweans had entered the United States between 1990 and 2000. While age, gender and time in the United States were easily comparable to the 2000 United Census sample, reasons for migrating to the United States could not be compared because the data was not available in the census records. However, contrary to Bloch (2006)'s observation that education was a minor motivation for migration out of Zimbabwe among immigrants to the United Kingdom and South Africa, more than half of the participants (58%) cited the intention to pursue studies as their main reason for coming to the United States.

Migration History

Participants' migration histories were diverse. Whereas the majority of participants moved directly from Zimbabwe to the United States, Tanya and Farai came via the United Kingdom and Canada, respectively. The importance of social capital in determining the choice of where to settle in the United States was evident in this study. Eight participants had migrated to Atlanta because of relatives or acquaintances that were already living there. Four participants had

lived in other states before coming to Georgia, such as Virginia, Michigan, and New Jersey. Although, Gina's original destination was Virginia, she relocated to Atlanta after a relative had informed her of the lower cost of living in Atlanta.

An interesting observation pertaining to their migration stories in general is that six participants (Ben, Dan, Jane, Paul, and Sally) came to the United States with plans to return to Zimbabwe but none of the participants had returned at the time of the interview. As revealed in Jane's story the persistent economic and political hardships that Zimbabwe is currently are contributing to the decisions to continue staying in the United States. On the other hand, frustrations associated with the challenges of maintaining legal statuses and transferring educational credentials from Zimbabwe appear to have convinced Sally that she may have to go back to Zimbabwe one day.

Networks on Arrival

Participants' networks on arrival varied from relatives, friends, acquaintances (American, immigrants from other countries and Zimbabweans). Jane had a son living in the United States. Kelly, Stan, Ben and Dan were affiliated to organizations, although they knew of relatives somewhere in the United States. Anesu, Chipo, Farai, Gina, and Paul had relatives in the United States. Tanya and Sally had friends. These networks aided with the move to the United States by inviting and taking care of them on arrival. For example, Jane's son sponsored her visa to come to the United States The organization that Ben was affiliated with facilitated the family's relocation after his wife had secured a job in the United States.

Current Networks

Participants' current networks did not deviate greatly from the ones they had on arrival. Family, relatives and organizations were the most common type, followed by acquaintances from

the Zimbabwean immigrant community, and work mates. The majority of the participants (11) reported having at least one friend or acquaintance from other ethnic backgrounds, except for Paul who stated "I never got any American friends and up to now I don't have any Americans. But I wish I can have them."

Regarding participation in organizations, all the participants except two, were active in various organizations with some serving in the leadership. Jane and Dan were leaders in the Zimbabwean church. Stan was one of the founders of a Zimbabwean organization together with Jane. Participants faced challenges with participation in groups. The main challenge was how to balance the time demands of work and raising a family. Although Farai was now active in several groups, she reported that she only participated in church prior to her retirement because she "didn't have time." Anesu agreed, "The hardest thing to work through in the United States for me is to try and balance work and family… we work so many hours. If you don't work that many hours you suffer financially so it's like a double edged sword." In sum, participants reported having networks which suggests that they do have social capital. The specific social resources that these networks provided are presented next.

<div align="center">The Context and Types of Social Resources of Zimbabwean Immigrants</div>

This study sought to understand the types of social resources among Zimbabwean immigrants, and the purposes that they served. Two major findings emerged from the qualitative data. The first finding indicated that the types of social resources exchanged among Zimbabweans included: (1) material goods, (2) informal services, (3) instrumental assistance, (4) information, (5) emotional support, and (6) social support. The second finding was that the transmission, quality and effects of the social resources varied depending on their source. These

findings are organized under three major themes: (1) social resources of Zimbabwean immigrants, and (2) network quality and dynamics.

<div align="center">*Social Resources of Zimbabwean Immigrants*</div>

Zimbabwean immigrants had access to diverse forms of social resources that played important roles in their short-term settlement and long-term integration. These included: (1) material goods, (2) informal services, (3) instrumental assistance, (4) information, (5) emotional support, and (6) social support.

Material Goods

The first type of social resources among the participants was material goods. Arriving mostly with only their clothes, most participants in this study needed basic goods for day-to-day survival in the United States. As Chipo recalled,

> On arrival, of course, we didn't have accommodation by then, but ... there were plans that we were going to get accommodation and we were lucky that the same day that we arrived we got our keys from the leasing office and then we came to this place… Of course, there was nothing. There was no seat, there was, you know, it was just our bags…They (Zimbabwean church) threw a party for us… They gave us a lot of things. Beds for kids, we didn't buy that, and quite a number of things.

Through the church, Dan had access to furniture that was given to college students:

> We have things like beds, furniture… we had three or four bedroom suits for a long time that college students would come and use and bring them back (Dan).

Participants received and exchanged other materials goods, such as clothing and money. Kelly had received clothes and also loaned money to others:

At one point we had a revival so I was singing in a choir and we were supposed to wear black. I didn't have a black dress in my closet, and I told my classmate, who was my roommate, and who was my friend. She said to me, 'Okay. We can go for shopping, but let's pass through my sister's house.' When we passed through her sister's house, she was wearing the same size with me. She went into her closet. I think she gave me a black dress, she gave me a black skirt…she gave me like six dresses…And even financially when I still had my scholarship I just heard someone saying, 'I am supposed to pay my rent, but I think it's short by $100.' Then I said, 'Okay here is my stipend, when you get the money just give it back to me' (Kelly).

Informal Services

The second type of social resources was informal services. Apart from material goods, participants received informal services through their networks. Instead of relying on the market for services such as child care, health care for minor ailments, and car repairs, participants called on people in their networks or referrals by networks. Car repairs through specialized shops can be expensive, but knowing where to find a mechanic who works from home can save money, as Anesu stated:

If I have a problem with my car and I can not afford to take it to the shops, one of my friends can refer me to a local mechanic who works from home and it can cost probably a third. We have an old van and it had a problem that the shop asked for $700 or so, a local mechanic fixed it for about a 100 bucks.

Knowledge of local mechanics who can work from home or wherever a car breaks down is an important resource that was confirmed in the observations. At one of the meetings that I observed a speaker expressed his appreciation for the Zimbabwean mechanics that he knew

stating that they provided useful tips when planning to buy a car, information that he could not easily access prior to knowing them. During the course of the observations, I got to hear of two Zimbabwean mechanics in Atlanta.

Informal healthcare services for minor ailments were also exchanged with healthcare professionals. Tanya, a healthcare professional stated:

> With my background… a lot of people ask me a lot of advice on what to do, you know, with minor ailments that I can help with. So, I just tell people you know general things that I know can help without going to the hospital.

Another valued informal service was childcare assistance:

> Some people in the church are helping. Like I know after school my son is taken care of so that I can be at peace at work. I know we have somebody reliable who is helping us with our son (Paul).

> Of course being a mother my daughter started to go to Sunshine House where I also interacted with some parents who were going there. We made some arrangements. If I can't come to pick up my daughter, you can do that. If I can't do this, you can do that (Chipo).

Instrumental Assistance

The third type of social resources was instrumental assistance. As they tried to find their feet in the new country, participants needed instrumental support to help them achieve specific goals, such as finding housing, getting a social security card, getting a job, and securing transportation. Nine participants reported that relatives, friends and acquaintances provided them with housing on their arrival to the United States. For example, Tanya, who had come to study, stayed with her friend's friend "for the whole summer and then … moved to school

accommodation." Acquaintances' positional authority or influence also aided in accessing housing for Dan and Stan. Dan, who had initially came to attend a conference, and was invited to come and study at a certain university during the course of the conference by the college president, stayed in university housing for free over summer. Stan was helped to find accommodation in Atlanta by the director of the United States Public Service Agency in Zimbabwe who used her authority to link him to the right contacts:

> One of the directors, Mrs. Banda … she helped me to get accommodation here at Paces...
> She wrote an email to the director of International Students here, who then wrote to the
> housing people so I could get accommodation because I had no way of looking for
> accommodation here…in Atlanta in particular because I didn't know anyone,

Besides acquaintances, relatives also provided accommodation as in Paul's situation "My wife's aunt and her husband were waiting for us (waiting at the airport), and …lived with us for about six months until we got our place."

Another instrumental resource received by the participants was transportation to go shopping, especially, during the initial days. When Stan arrived to his new apartment with an American acquaintance that had picked him from the airport, they both:

> …realized there was nothing in the house that I came to live in, and he helped me to do
> the first shopping because I didn't have a car. I didn't know where to buy anything. He
> just didn't dump me there he also helped me to go buy some food, some blankets and
> things that I could use in my room.

Assistance with finding jobs or career advancement was another instrumental resource received by Zimbabweans, although fewer participants were able to successfully mobilize this resource. Whereas more participants were successful in obtaining help with housing and

transportation, only four people received assistance with getting jobs or funding for further studies. Stan and Kelly who came to the United States for studies were not only able to secure jobs through their respective universities, but to also secure scholarships to attended graduate school for career advancement. Jane was able to get a job in her field of training through her pastor's networks:

> When I got to Georgia…I was taken to and met with the pastor who was very good, and I told him I was looking for a job, and he was very active. In fact I got my job through the … pastor who, you know, told his assistant about me and then I was introduced to people who got me a job. It was very hard because I stayed two months here without a job but once I was with Grace Church it didn't take long for me to meet with somebody who knew their boss was looking for someone for a social worker at West End so that's how I got it. It was through word of mouth. I had sent so many applications online and nothing happened.

Based on the above examples, it would appear as if resources accessed through organizations and distant ties were useful in securing jobs and opportunities for career advancement. However, Anesu reported that his wife's uncle could use his authority to help him with finding a job,

> If I am looking for a job and her uncle is working for a certain company, she will say my uncle is working for such and such a company and I could actually get in touch with him because he knows the Human Resources there.

Contrary to Anesu, Paul questioned the extent to which social resources from relatives, friends and the ethnic church would assist with locating jobs in his field of training:

> Normally what they really provide is just general opportunities. If they can provide specific leads that will help to get the job that I have been trained to do…

Information

The fourth type of social resources was information. The types of information received ranged from how to apply to and survive in United States universities, accreditation procedures, where to buy cheaper goods, and immigration related issues. Information on immigration issues was among the commonly cited information-related resources. Eleven participants reported exchanging this type of information, as Ben stated, "we exchange things like immigration issues what you do in certain circumstances, uhh if someone tell us they have a particular immigration issue, we try and explore and find ways to help the out," although not everyone used it:

> People here in Atlanta they talk about immigration. So the information that you get from them is how to go about getting being legal or how to go about helping people come here from Zimbabwe or to go to other countries…It's not information that I have used personally but its information that I pass on to other people who may need it (Tanya).
>
> Information on where to buy cheap goods and ethnic goods was also esteemed.

Relocation can be expensive and knowledge of where to get cheaper goods is important:

> It was very difficult because we didn't know anything, but the good thing which helped was that we were a member of the Salvation Army when we left Zimbabwe. So all we knew was that the Salvation Army had thrift stores where you could go and buy things at a lower price so we depended on the Salvation Army … there were no Zimbabweans and we couldn't go and ask for anything… the Salvation Army was our savior (Farai).

Coming to a new country may require changes in many areas including diet. As a result information on where to buy comparable foods to what was found in Zimbabwe was essential:

> So, I kind of connected with these two Indian students and that also helped me... one managed to take me around introducing me to places like the Farmer's Market. We went

there to buy stuff even to buy more things that I couldn't buy the first time with the American guy (Stan).

Five participants reported that they received information on how to apply to United States universities. Acquaintances were the most likely source of that information, followed by Zimbabwean friends in the United States. Whereas the information provided by friends was mostly on immigration issues, and how to survive in the United States, acquaintances provided information that opened better opportunities for advancement. The superiority of acquaintances in providing information that help with career advancement is demonstrated by how Stan met an acquaintance that advised him to apply to the college where he is currently studying:

He is a professor at Town College. I actually met him at a dinner.… So he said, "I see you are young, what are your plans regarding a PhD?" Then I told him uhh that I was applying then for a place to study a PhD, and he asked me, "Which universities are you applying to?" And of course coming from Zimbabwe sometimes we only know about the big universities…Then he mentioned Paces. "Have you considered Paces?" Paces? I don't even know about Paces. Then he said… he just gave me the website and he said go look at the website and if you like the program….He told me specifically that they are building their African studies section of the African History and he knew the person who was trying to build the African history section… So I went. I looked at the website I found that it was a very good program. So I told Tim, "You know what I am interested to apply." Then he said, "Okay, I have known you." I think by then I had given him some chapters, some papers, some versions of the paper that I was working on during my residence. And the he said, "based from what I have seen; what you have been doing here, I think also if you want I can recommend, I can be one of your recommenders. So I

applied whilst I was still in MA and before I left, the chairperson of the Paces history department had written to me to say "the board had not met, but personally I am impressed with your application packet.

In this case Tim, a university professor, had inside information about the African History Program, a resource that the ordinary person could have not known.

Zimbabweans who are already employed in a desired field provided important information when trying to find a job. As Tanya stated:

I have assisted by giving information, a lot of people ask me about how to go about working as a nurse here in this country uhh because they have done nurses training elsewhere and they want to come and work here and I always tell them about how to go about working here. That's what I mostly tell people.

Friends also helped with information on how to negotiate challenges during job hunting and at work. As Sally stated:

I would say the most useful was my friend … giving me the information that I needed as far as going to work, how to approach people. That was very useful. And most importantly, how to listen to them and understand them since we have different accents, and how to talk to them in such a way that they would understand you.

Ben and his friends exchanged information on "corporate issues as to what do you do to get a better salary, what do you do during interviews, how do you express yourself in interviews or wherever you are."

Besides information on universities and how to get jobs, access to knowledge on accreditation procedures was another important information related social resource. As Chipo stated:

It was when I met this lady Mrs. Maya. I didn't know her but ... she helped me to understand what you are supposed to do to teach here, 'take your transcripts, have them evaluated, go to Georgia Professional Standards Commission' and everything.

Although Chipo was the only participant who received guidance on the accreditation process, others perceived it as important to facilitate integration.

For me, what I have learned based on my least useful practices is ….not to take short cuts but stay on a tried and trusted path.... When you start a process and you complete the process it's laying a strong foundation for the future yet nobody will be able to take it away from you. .. If you have something stable like a good education, a good bachelors, masters or PhD or if you are in training or vocational finish your certification, and keep accumulating those certifications (Anesu).

Because of not being able to access information on the certification and licensing process, Jane ended up opting to be underemployed:

But uhh when I got here there were no jobs. I mean they wanted social workers, and I am a social worker but they wanted licensed social workers. And I really didn't know what else or who else to ask or what to do until uhh some of the girls from Zimbabwe who worked as care people said try care work (Jane).

These findings reveal that information on immigration issues, United States universities and how to transfer educational credentials and get licensed was received was also thought to be of benefit.

Emotional Support

The fifth type of social resources was emotional support. Emotional support in the form of advice on family issues, and support when going through loss, was received and given out by

all study participants. Participants reported that they had provided or received emotional support during bereavement, as Stan observed after the loss of his father:

> The church (Zimbabwean) showed that we have a community and people around us. And also (members) of the organization that I helped to build (a Zimbabwean association) were the first people to come here when they heard that my father had passed away. And I found that quite moving just the feeling that you have people who are thinking about you when you are in that moment when you have lost.

Without any family members to assist during sickness, acquaintances and friends stepped in to provide emotional support to deal with sickness:

> I remember one day I was sick, one of my roommates took me to West End Hospital she stayed with me for almost, I think close to ten hours. She was just there by my side until I was discharged" (Kelly).

> She was having surgery… I took off my time. I went there she was having eye surgery. I went for the surgery with her… I stayed at her house until she could see clearly and then I left and started working… I was doing this because she was my friend (Gina).

Describing interactions with his family and friends, Anesu stated:

> These are the people that when things get rough at home financially or whatever uhh they are available to assist you through the tough times. So the reason there is so much interaction with those kinds of people is because we know that when things get rough for them we are there for them, and when things get rough for us they are there. And it doesn't have to be a crisis. For example you know Ann will call and say "This is going on" and we will just come over and spend time with her like we did today. .. I think

providing emotional support is one of the biggest things that I have been to provide to my

family and networks.

Social Support

The sixth type of social resources reported by the study participants was social support.

General feelings of being supported or belonging to a network were expressed by all the study

participants.

When I came to Atlanta I found you can go to a Zimbabwean church … I think that's the

only Zimbabwean organization … that I participate in. We help each other spiritually,

emotionally, and physically if they need help, and you also get help…It's like a family

away from home that people provide in their own way (Tanya).

Participants formed fictive kinships with friends and acquaintances:

I knew of two ladies who then took me as their younger sister because I had told them

that I had three sisters back home so they embraced me as their little sister… I could go

to their houses and they would come to my house (Farai).

Gina reported that her friend whom she had nursed after eye surgery viewed her as a sister to the

extent that when Gina graduated from college, her graduation party was held at this friend's

house.

Participants also celebrated popular holidays, like Thanksgiving and Christmas with their

networks:

Because not everyone has a family around here we decided to celebrate together….It's

very good (Sally).

In sum, participants exchanged six main types of social resources that helped with their day-to-

day survival and with career advancement. However, an analysis of participants' social resources

would not be complete without an examination of the network quality and dynamics that may enable or hinder the usefulness of social resources.

Network Quality and Dynamics

The "Network Quality and Dynamics" category encapsulates the second major finding of the qualitative analysis that the transmission, quality and effects of the social resources varied depending on their source. Generally, their social resources were not only mainly from relatives, friends or fellow Zimbabweans but from individuals with limited positional authority and expertise. Social capital scholars agree that a comprehensive understanding of social capital goes beyond the number of networks to the quality of the network (Lin, 2001; Moerbeek & Flap, 2008). For instance, when evaluating the effect of the people you know on employment, Smith (2000) suggested that we also examine "what these types of job contacts and their level of influence 'buy' job seekers in the labor market" (p. 509). Various factors that may limit the quality and exchange of social resources were expressed by the participants. First, Zimbabwean immigrants are incapacitated by their immigration statuses and social position. As Chipo observed,

> I don't really think when it comes to issues like employment or going to school there is really anything that the Zimbabwean community can do, considering that most of them they don't have papers here (Immigration documents).

As Zimbabweans individually struggle to make it in the United States, some have settled for low-paying jobs that do not accord them the authority or influence to assist their fellow country men with better jobs.

> There is a certain expectation regarding work, so because of that they think working with the elderly is the only job that one can do. That's the most talked about kind of job (Stan).

Their expectations are that once you come to America just do what ever it takes to stay

here. They have certain jobs that they say 'if you come here you should do this' (Chipo)

Even though Jane possessed specialized training in social work, the Zimbabweans she knew

recommended care work:

I did the CPR First Aid and then I got a job in a home for developmentally disabled

people and that started me off (Jane).

In some cases, participants' networks did not possess expert knowledge on where or how to get

specific types of jobs or services.

Basically to me …the network that we have is … just general. Maybe if they can provide

maybe a specific lead, maybe in employment opportunities… to get the job that I have

been trained to do that will be very helpful (Paul).

Describing the limitations of his network, Anesu stated, "Networks won't discuss a lot about

investments not because they don't invest but they might not know or have an interest whatever

it might be."

The second issue regarding the network quality pertained to the predominance of

religious social capital among study participants. The majority of the participants (10)

participated in church groups. The importance of religion to the participants is demonstrated in

the following quotations:

The church (Zimbabwean church) has been a very useful connection and it was a very

wise decision for me to be a member … I was not a frequent church goer in

Zimbabwe…so when I came here sometimes when you are away from family, loneliness.

It helped me to go back to church (Stan).

The importance of church was echoed by Kelly:

> When I came to Grace Church I met people from home people who know me. I mean people who know my culture, people who know my language and I could feel at home relating to them especially when you want to do a lot of stuff you could ask those who have been here for longer... at Grace Church it's kind of like, they know if I have a problem, they know they have to come to help me. I even know if I have a problem I can call someone.

Although church was important it offered fewer opportunities for networking:

> With the friends at church we fellowship uhh we have prayer groups and we meet once a week, and we also go to church… at church you get a little bit of information about networking opportunities. Some people are business oriented so you get some ideas (Paul).

The above accounts seem to imply that church offered more opportunities for participants to strengthen each other emotionally or socially with limited exchange of resources that are geared toward employment or career advancement.

Apart for the network quality issues discussed above, specific network dynamics also affected the flow and usefulness of social resources. The first dynamic pertained to divisions based on religious affiliation and ethnic background. As a result of these divisions, there were opportunities for networking that participants refused to participate in or felt they could not be a part of. For example, Sally found it difficult to continue interacting with her old friends who were not of similar religious beliefs.

> I have friends that are outside the church, but I see it very difficult to find common ground now that I am more involved with the church….It's difficult now to interact with them…. I don't see more common ground to spend more time with them (Sally).

Kelly reported turning down invitations to certain functions because of differences "if you are invited to a function, you first check to see who is organizing it, what is their ethnic background, which church do they go to because you do not want to go there on your own and feel left out." Even though understanding the consequences of refusing to network with others because of differences in religion or other views is not an easy task, Chipo's statement may illuminate what this might mean:

> Sometimes I really feel that I shut doors that could be helping me because I guess people would do things to you judging on what you do to them. Then if I had been friendlier things could have been different, I don't know.

The second dynamic, involved personal differences and how the needs of particular actors affected the usefulness of social resources, as Tanya stated:

> Sometimes … the information doesn't help you. Some of the things that they talk about don't build as a person or they don't help you to settle they rather destroy… So you have to pick and choose what is best for you.

<div align="center">Chapter Summary</div>

Chapter 6 outlined the qualitative research findings. Participants in the study reported six types of social resources that they exchanged or thought of as important to their integration. These ranged from material goods, informal services, instrumental assistance, such as transportation, and finding jobs, to information, emotional support and social support. Although participants reported access and use of diverse social resources, a closer look at the network quality indicated that the majority of participants received their social resources from friends and relatives and fellow Zimbabweans whose social resources were incapacitated by immigration status and limited positional authority, which in turn limited employment returns. The results

also seem to suggest that Zimbabweans are building a niche for themselves in care work for several reasons, including failure or limited knowledge on how to transfer educational credentials from Zimbabwe, over reliance on fellow ethnics on information about jobs. On the other hand, it is important to highlight that the findings presented in this chapter were based on data that was collected in spring 2009 when there was a global economic recession including the United States. During this time, jobs were likely to be found in the health care, education and government sectors. For instance, in April 2009 government, education and health services were the only three sectors that added jobs in the United States (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 8, 2009), which could explain why care jobs were perceived as popular among Zimbabweans by the participants. However, if Zimbabwean immigrants continue to experience barriers with transferring their educational credentials and accessing critical information on the accreditation processes, occupations in the low-paying care work sector may become the trend for this group of immigrants.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

Chapter 7 contains a discussion of the major quantitative and qualitative findings of the study, the limitations of the study, and the implications for social work practice. Building on the presentations in Chapters 5 and 6, this discussion seeks to contribute to: (1) our empirical understanding of the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants, (2) our understanding of the effects of social capital on full-time employment and underemployment, and (3) propose ways that social capital theory can be used to enhance social work practice. In spite of the widespread acceptance of social capital as influential in shaping various individual outcomes (Van de Gaag, & Snijders, 2004), empirical research on social capital has tended to bypass African immigrants, particularly, Zimbabweans in the United States. This study represents one of the earliest attempts to empirically assess the relevance of social capital to Zimbabwean immigrants, and it is therefore, largely exploratory.

Researchers agree that social capital is a multi-dimensional construct (Dudwick et al., 2006) that is context and value based (Cheong et al., 2007), and may therefore, benefit from research designs that combine quantitative and qualitative methods. For that reason, I used the convergence model triangulation design, a concurrent design with two separate quantitative and qualitative parts that have equal weighting to gather complementary data on the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants, which in turn provided a more holistic picture of the phenomenon under study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Morse, 1991). After identifying and quantifying the main elements of social capital, nine hypotheses were tested to determine if social capital varied by gender, and the relationships between close friends, group membership, the diversity of most

important group, and full-time employment and underemployment. In addition, I investigated the types of social resources exchanged among Zimbabweans and their underlying dynamics.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: First, a summary of the major quantitative and qualitative findings is presented. Second, I merge the quantitative and qualitative data sets and discuss them in the context of the literature on social capital theory, and its effect on employment outcomes. Third, the study's main contributions to social capital theory are proposed based on the study findings. Fourth, the limitations of this research project are addressed to guide the reader in making judgments about the inferences made in this study. Fifth, implications for social work practice and future research are presented with an emphasis on social capital as a useful lens to adopt in social work with immigrant populations and also in the development of employment-related social work services.

Summary of Major Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The quantification of social capital suggested that Zimbabweans in the sample possessed substantial amounts of social capital as indicated by close friends and high levels of reciprocity, but debatable amounts as indicated by group membership and trust. An interesting observation related to the main conceptual elements of social capital was that the men and women possessed comparable levels of social capital. The second major quantitative finding suggested that network diversity may have partial influence on underemployment. Even though the results of the bivariate analyses did not demonstrate statistically significant relationships between the social capital and employment variables, high levels of diversity were associated with increased likelihood of full-time employment, and all the three social capital variables were negatively associated with underemployment. A multivariate logistic regression analysis indicated that

diversity of most important group significantly predicted underemployment holding education constant.

Considering the multifaceted nature of social capital, the qualitative study examined the types of social resources that were exchanged among participants and their networks. There were two major qualitative findings pertaining to social resources: First, participants in the study reported six types of social resources: material goods, informal services, instrumental assistance, information, emotional support and social support. Second, the transmission and quality of the social resources varied depending on their source, and so did their effects on employment. For example, in general social resources from friends, relatives and fellow Zimbabweans were limited by immigration status and a lack of positional authority, which in turn limited their effects on employment returns.

Merging of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Having recapped the major quantitative and qualitative findings, this section merges the two data sets to illuminate where selected quantitative and qualitative findings enhance, clarify, or illustrate findings from the other method to create a holistic understanding of the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori, & Teddlie, 2003). The merged findings are presented within the context of the literature. The study's research questions are used to organize this section, and these are:

1. What are the main elements of social capital among Zimbabweans in Atlanta?

2. What is the relationship between social capital and employment?

3. What social resources are exchanged among Zimbabweans in Atlanta and for what purposes?

Research Question 1: What are the main elements of social capital among Zimbabweans in Atlanta?

Networks, reciprocity, and trust were the three main elements of social capital examined in this study. The findings from the univariate quantitative analysis suggest that Zimbabweans had ample amounts of social capital as measured by the number of close friends, but questionable amounts based on group memberships. Whereas 4.9% of the participants reported zero friends, participants who reported not participating in any group were more than double (11.7%). Qualitative findings substantiated the lack of participation in groups by showing that work and family demands left the participants with less time for participating in groups. This observation concurs with previous research that has found that participation in formal groups is lowest among first-generation immigrants (Ramakrishnan, Viramontes, & Public Policy Institute of California, 2006). Thus, group membership may not be the best indicator of social capital among immigrants.

Among those who participated in groups, the majority participated in religious groups, mainly church. Professional groups were a distant second place and Zimbabwean associations were third. The qualitative findings illustrated the importance of religion in the lives of Zimbabwean immigrants. Church was the group in which 11 participants reported membership. Of these, eight were members of the Zimbabwean churches. Immigrant churches are "the primary voluntary institutions in the lives of many immigrants" (Foley & Hoge, 2007, p. 91). When church members fellowship after service or in small group meetings, they create opportunities to share resources and information that may ease the integration process. Kamya

(1997) noted that religion played an important role in the adjustment of African immigrants in the United States.

The majority of the study participants belonged to groups with medium to high levels of diversity. This diversity was based on gender, ethnicity, education, religion and occupation of most important group. On the other hand, participants in this study perceived differences in wealth, social status, religious beliefs and political affiliation as causing "very much" division. Furthermore, when asked if the identified differences caused problems, they stated that these differences led to feelings of being left out, denial of needed help, and quarreling. Therefore, even if participants belonged to diverse groups, divisions due to variations in wealth, social status and religious and political affiliation seemed to limit interaction and the exchange of social resources, highlighting the negative effects of social capital.

In the same vein, participants displayed mixed levels of generalized trust, but higher levels of trust in people from church. Participants' experiences could have influenced how they defined and evaluated generalized trust. For instance, Rothstein and Stolle (2001) observed that immigrants in Sweden generally reported lower levels of generalized trust for other citizens based on their experiences of discrimination. Alesina & La Ferrara (2002) observed that belonging to a group that historically felt discriminated against, having encountered a negative experience in the past year (e.g. disease, separation, or financial misfortune), and living in a racially mixed community and/or in one with a high degree of income disparity were among the factors significantly associated with low trust in others. It is possible that the history of colonization and ethnic divisions that Zimbabweans carry with them from the home country coupled with unexpected demands that come with being an immigrant contribute to low trust in others. Divisions due to religious or political affiliation and ethnic background were reported in

the qualitative interviews results. While it is generally accepted that diversity is a good quality that may provide better opportunities, it may also threaten cohesion (Putnam, 2007).

Quantitative results suggested a high level of reciprocity among Zimbabweans. On the other hand, qualitative findings demonstrated the complexities involved in reciprocal relationships. There were no expectations of having the favor returned among the participants who reported their willingness to help relatives and close friends even if the favor would not be returned. Finch and Mason (1993) observed that the norm of reciprocity within family and kinship groups permitted uneven levels of exchange and its return could be delayed. This suggests that reciprocity among family, close networks and acquaintances is likely to differ among Zimbabweans.

The distribution of the social capital elements did not vary by gender, contrary to the finding by Yueh (2006) that women had less social capital than men. The failure to observe variation by gender could be due to the fact that the majority of the respondents were married and lived in households with two or more people. It is possible that such arrangements augmented the social capital of participants through overlaps in networks. Lai (2008) also found that men and women reported similar access to social capital among married individuals. Qualitative data elaborated on this quantitative finding by showing that married people tended to have access to each other's networks.

What is the relationship between social capital and employment?

The second research question addressed in this study examined the association between social capital variables (close friends, group membership, and diversity of most important group) and employment outcomes (full-time employment, and underemployment). Consistent with the findings from previous research, social capital variables of close friends and group membership

did not explain full-time employment or underemployment (Norwood, 2002; Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). In spite of the insignificant results, the number of close friends and group membership were negatively related to underemployment. Previous research has shown that jobs accessed through social contacts are more likely to be linked to the area of training (Franzen & Hangartner, 2006).

Conversely, a high level of diversity of most important group was positively related to the likelihood of full-time employment and significantly reduced the likelihood of underemployment controlling for education. These findings are in line with social capital theory and the proposition that access to diverse networks may provide more opportunities, which in turn improve individual outcomes. Research on status attainment that has shown that access to diverse networks may improve employment outcomes (Aguilera, 2002; Lin, 2001; Nakao, 2004). Qualitative findings revealed an important dynamic that could explain the relationship between network diversity and underemployment. Specifically, weak ties were more influential in linking participants with jobs relevant to their training area, while co-ethnics were more likely to recommend care work.

The observation that distant ties assumed more importance in securing jobs that match one's training is consistent with the literature on social resources (Granovetter, 1995). Research on social resources suggests that networks that are similar tend to provide redundant information that may not have leveraging effects. However, networks of people that are different, for example, in terms of social class are likely to provide new and better information (Dominguez, 2008), and "the advantages of weak ties lie in their abilities to provide timely access to non-redundant information and to influence employers directly" (Yakubovich, 2005, p. 408). As Moerbeek and Flap (2008) stated, "It is more profitable to know someone with a relatively high

status and a great deal of influence than to know a person of relatively low status" (p. 133). Thus, it would seem as if participants in this study lacked networks with expert knowledge and high positions in specific fields, which in turn limited the social capital returns on employment. As previous research has shown, ethnic networks tend to lead new immigrants into low paying positions (Bauder, 2005; George & Chaze, 2009), as they use their "workplace reputation to find jobs for co-ethnics in the same worksite" (Bashi, 2007, p. 252). In addition, participants' friends and relatives may lack specific information about where to find jobs that match one's training causing new immigrants to settle for the low-paying job as long as they are able to earn a living (George & Chaze, 2009).

What social resources are exchanged among Zimbabweans in Atlanta and for what purposes?

The types of social resources exchanged among Zimbabweans in this sample varied from instrumental resources such as housing, finding jobs, transportation, to information support and emotional support. These social resources were congruent with the types of assistance that survey respondents received from the networks on arrival to the United States. The social resources served instrumental and expressive purposes. Whereas instrumental action enables one to gain a resource that he or she did not have, such as a job, expressive action is concerned about maintaining or preserving what one already has in possession, such as their emotional well-being (Lin, 2001; Van de Gaag, 2005). Social resources that were exchanged for instrumental action included information about housing, jobs, and college. Emotional support was the most common resource for expressive action. Consistent with other research on immigrants, respondents relied on their relatives and friends for orientation to the United States, housing and general support during the early days of settlement (George & Chaze, 2009; Kunz, 2005). On the other hand, relatives, friends, and co-ethnics were less influential in realizing economic development

because not only did they also grapple with the various limitations associated with their immigration statuses, but were likely to link newcomers with care work that did not match educational credentials.

Social support from participating in church was expressed by the participants and observed by the researcher. Not only did church facilitate spiritual growth, but it also provided social support, emotional support, instrumental resources and a forum to exchange material goods, and important information on surviving in the United States. Social capital accessed through religious institutions is common among immigrant groups. However, relatives, friends and church networks were less influential in realizing economic development because they did not offer useful help with employment. As Foley and Hoge (2007) observed, the ability to derive social capital returns from church depends on several factors, such as the diversity represented in the church members, whether or not church members fellowship together after church, and in the case of immigrant churches, whether the church is linked to other resource-rich organizations. Mensah (2009) observed that even though Ghanaian immigrant churches in Canada were able to provide members with instrumental resources such as temporary housing and information about jobs, overall, these churches did not promote integration with the broader Canadian society, partly because:

> the general lack of interest in, and awareness of, Africans and their religious activities, has compelled many Ghanaians in Toronto to recoil into their ethnic enclaves/churches… these churches increase the social isolation of their members from the broader Canadian society, by accentuating their self-reliance (as a group) and, implicitly, reducing their social participation outside of the Ghanaian diasporic community (p. 41).

Overall, the merging of qualitative and quantitative data served several purposes: (1) to illuminate the different facets of the social capital elements of Zimbabweans, as well as their underlying dynamics, (2) to explain the mechanisms through which social capital has aided or hindered the achievement of employment outcomes among Zimbabwean immigrants, and (3) to uncover the types social resources available to Zimbabwean immigrants, and the contextual factors that define the quality and effects of social resources.

To sum up the discussion, the quantitative results showed that network diversity was important in reducing underemployment, while qualitative results substantiated these findings by showing that weak ties were influential in linking participants to jobs that matched their skills and to opportunities for career advancement. However, on the other hand, qualitative findings showed that while networks were rich in social resources, such as emotional and social support, and information on how to get jobs in the care sector, they could not provide information about specific employment leads that matched one's skills. It is likely that Zimbabweans in this study were close friends with people that were similar to them, and probably going through the same challenges such that their ability to help with employment outcomes was very limited. Thus, it would seem as if participants in this study were rich in bonding social capital but lacking in bridging and linking social capital that could facilitate specific employment-related leads.

Study Limitations

Although the use of a mixed methods design enabled complementarity of data to uncover the types and dynamics of the social capital of Zimbabweans, several limitations must be considered when interpreting the study findings. The limitations pertain to the use of cross-sectional data, snowball and purposeful sampling, small sample size, social desirability, the use of a social capital theory lens, and limiting the study site to Atlanta. In spite of the wide use of

cross-sectional data in social research, they prohibit an examination of changes over time and they do not allow the researcher to determine causality (Liu, 2008; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). The development of social capital and the realization of its effects are both likely to occur over time. It is possible that the types of social resources identified in the qualitative study change over time. Even though a combination of purposeful and snowballing sample was appropriate for the study because the population could not be easily ascertained, the trade-off was sample representativeness. Snowball sampling relies on a referral process where by participants recommend others that they know and it is possible that these networks of relationships are of people with similar opinions. The external validity of this study was therefore limited because random sampling procedures were not implemented. Related to this limitation, is the small sample size that resulted for the quantitative study. Even though the overall sample size was 103, the sample size for the bivariate and multivariate analyses was reduced to 88 after 12 participants reported not participating in any group, and 3 outliers were removed. In spite of this limitation to external validity efforts were made to recruit participants from various social settings which could have improved the external validity of the study.

Generally people want to present themselves "in the best light" resulting in social desirability bias (Druckman, 2005, p. 137). It is possible that participants could have overstated the number of close friends, extent of network diversity and participation in groups because having friends, interacting with people from diverse backgrounds and participating in groups, especially, church are enviable characteristics.

The use of social capital theory to understand integration experiences of Zimbabweans, yet this theoretical frame may not be relevant to them, especially, knowing that a considerable number of participants did not participate in groups. The usefulness of group membership as an

indicator of social capital appears debatable for this study population. By limiting the research

site to Atlanta, this study fails to capture the influence of geographical location in the

development and returns of social capital. Another potential limitation pertains to the biases that

I brought into the study, and these were discussed under my subjectivity statement in Chapter 4.

Having outlined the study limitations, it is important to illustrate potential sources of error that

could have contributed to these limitations across the research process. Table 7.1 provides a

summary of the main sources of error through the research process and how I attempted to

control them. This table is adapted from Bailey (1994).

Table 7.1
Potential Sources of Error through the Research Process

Stage of Research	Type of Error	Control Strategy
Conceptualization	Lack of face validity	Literature review of previous research for the definition and operationalization of social capital
Construction of Questionnaire	Lack of reliability	Compiled questionnaire using an existing instrument and questions that were successfully used in previous studies with immigrants
Sampling	Lack of external validity	Recruited participants from various community events and settings, including two churches, meetings organized by other Zimbabwean associations in Atlanta
Data Collection	Social desirability	Wording of questionnaire
	Relationship between researcher and participants	Examined and made myself aware of my biases through the subjectivity statement
	Interviewing process, for example participants misunderstanding question	Clarified questions to participants during the qualitative interviews and used probes
Data Preparation	Incorrect information due to missing data	Implemented data screening procedures, and replaced missing values
	Incorrect information due to data entry errors	Visual inspection of entered data , and cross-checking with the original data (questionnaire or audio recording)
Data Analysis	Misuse of statistics	Preliminary data analyses to check if the statistical method was appropriate for the data
	Misinterpretation of qualitative data	Member check- emailed the identified categories to participants

Reflections on Social Capital Theory

This section reflects on the use of social capital as the guiding framework for this research effort by elaborating the main contributions of this study to social capital theory. The first main contribution of this study to social capital theory lies in that it is among the first efforts to gain an empirical understanding of the social capital of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. Drawing from one its main strengths, the use of a mixed-methods design, the present study was able to provide a holistic and contextualized examination of the social capital of Zimbabweans. As Cheong et al. (2006) observed the usefulness of social capital as a public policy tool may be improved by consideration of the particular contexts and values of immigrant social networks. Whereas close friends and network diversity were useful in capturing the social capital of Zimbabweans, the usefulness of group membership was limited. Qualitative data revealed that participants found it difficult to participate in groups because of family and work demands, and those who participated were primarily involved in church. Thus, the use of group membership as an indicator of social capital with Zimbabweans may not be appropriate in future studies.

The second, main contribution of this study to social capital theory was that it investigated the types of social resources that were valued by this sample of Zimbabwean immigrants. As stated in Chapter 3 previous questionnaires on social resources have relied on theory or what the researcher predetermines as relevant to the population under study (Lakon et al., 2008), this study allowed Zimbabweans to define what they perceived as important. This information may be useful in the development of standardized measures for social resources of Zimbabweans and comparable African populations. Apart from illuminating valued social resources, this study provided insights on the effects of social resources from weak ties and

strong ties. Even though networks of friends, relatives and co-ethnics (strong ties) could provide job referrals, these contributed to underemployment, while acquaintances (weak ties) were influential in securing jobs in the area of expertise. Thus, better employment returns were associated with weak ties. Knowledge of which type of social tie is important for particular outcomes is useful for program development, which leads this discussion to implications for social work practice.

<div align="center">Implications for Social Work</div>

Having summarized possible effects of social capital on the employment integration of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States, this section highlights implications that social workers may consider to improve practice with Zimbabweans and other immigrants. These implications pertain to social work theory, research, practice, and education.

Implications for Theory

The first social work implication pertains to social work frameworks that can be used to understand and serve immigrant populations. Effective social work practice with immigrants or refugees requires knowledge of social science theory that explains both the movement and settlement of new immigrants (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). This study reinforced the usefulness of social capital theory in understanding immigrant integration by shedding light on the specific social resources that everyday relationships offered to the study participants and their particular effects (Valtonen, 2008). For example, participants reported receiving an assortment of symbolic and material social resources from their networks to meet various integration goals. In particular, participants with higher levels of network diversity were less likely to be underemployed. As Balgopal (2000) observed, friends, relatives and neighbors are stepping in to support new immigrants, and the use of social capital theory may provide social workers with a useful guiding

framework for empirical examinations of how social ties assist immigrants with their day-to-day needs and integration goals. An intentional focus on understanding the types and effects of social resources exchanged among social ties may add specificity to social work assessments complementing other social work frameworks, such as the anti-oppressive social work and ecological models that consider interactions with the environment, the influence of environmental factors, structural inequalities and power.

Implications for Social Work Practice

Inherent within most social work interventions is the idea of creating, expanding or strengthening social relationships of clients. For example, child welfare and family social workers contribute to the creation of bonding social capital among families (Healy & Hampshire, 2002). As stated in Chapter 2, the major difference between other social work intervention models and interventions that are informed by social capital theory is that, in the former, social capital may be a coincidental by-product yet in the latter building and enhancing social capital to achieve specific outcomes is the main goal of the intervention (Midgley & Livermore, 1998). Given that network diversity and weak ties were associated with reduced underemployment in the present study, immigrant assistance programs must augment the social ties of immigrant populations by facilitating the creation and strengthening of bridging and linking ties that are able to offer immigrants with new information and resources that promote career development. Social workers can advocate on behalf of immigrant job seekers to potential employers, as well as build employment referral systems through youth or women's groups, local churches, and civic associations (Midgley & Livermore, 1998).

Apart from the above mentioned general practice implications, implications for policy require elaboration. Commenting on the literature of social capital after the Hurricane Katrina in

New Orleans, Mathbor (2007) observed that even though there was evidence of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital in New Orleans during that time,

> A crucial weakness in this was the lack of well-coordinated preparedness, including the human service professions, at the grassroots level. Therefore, there is a need for some persuasive work in formulating policy directives that will emphasize community collaboration, solidarity, coordination and utilization of social networks as a vehicle for effective service delivery (p.361).

I extend Mathbor's argument to social work practice with immigrants. Federal, state, community and agency structures need to incorporate social capital concepts in their programs and policies for immigrants and refugees. Although resettlement and other social services agencies have done a commendable job of providing employment-related services including, English language lessons and skills training (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002), these services have not aided immigrants with career development because they do not facilitate the development of sufficient networks (Warriner, 2007). Policy strategies that facilitate the access of immigrant communities to people or organizations with needed social resources, and promote the participation of immigrant groups in the decision-making structures need to be developed. Specific issues that social workers can lobby for include, requiring settlement agencies to assist with employment-related services and facilitate job placement in mainstream organizations (Anucha et al., 2006).

Implications for Social Work Research

The main implication for social work research is that social work researchers need to integrate social capital concepts in their research on immigration to gain more understanding on the distribution of and variations of social capital among different immigrant groups and the effects of social capital on specific outcomes. In spite of the usefulness of social capital in

understanding immigrant populations, few social work researchers are exploring its potential benefits in this field.

Although this study found a significant positive relationship between network diversity and underemployment controlling for educational level, previous quantitative research failed to establish a significant relationship between the number of networks and employment status (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). On the other hand, qualitative studies suggested that weak ties are more influential in realizing employment returns (George & Chaze, 2007), while strong ties may limit employment outcomes by facilitating employment in low-paying jobs (Bauder, 2005). Clearly social work research on social capital and employment is evolving. The need for more research to fully understand the effects of social capital on various employment outcomes is imperative.

Throughout this dissertation, it is evident that different conceptualizations and operationalization of social capital have been used by researchers. Hence, another important implication for social work research is that there is need for a research agenda that can advance "coherent ways to conceptualize and measure social capital" (Saracostti, 2007, p. 525), and assess its relationship to immigrant integration. Among the promising conceptualizations of social capital are concepts such as social resources, bonding, bridging and linking social capital (strong or weak ties) that go beyond simple counts of the number of friends or groups to examine the quality of network, or resources that are available, which is consistent with the multidimensional nature of social capital. For this reason, mixed methods research that facilitates a richer understanding of the different features of social capital in a single study should be encouraged among social workers.

In summary, this study is important to social workers because: (1) it contributes to the general literature regarding social capital and immigrant integration, (2) it expands the social

work knowledge base by suggesting ways that social workers can adopt social capital theory in their work with immigrant populations, and (3) it is among the earliest studies to explore the integration of Zimbabwean immigrants to the United States, advancing our knowledge on this particular group of African immigrants.

Chapter Summary

This study used a mixed methods research design to understand the effects of social capital on the integration of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. Special emphasis was placed on their employment outcomes, given that the literature suggests that employment is one of the key indicators of immigrant integration. The study found that Zimbabweans possessed substantial stocks of social capital. The effects of three social capital variables on full-time employment and underemployment were examined. Close friends and group membership were not significantly related to any of the outcome variables, but were negatively related to underemployment. A statistically significant inverse relationship was observed between network diversity and underemployment controlling for education through a multivariate logistic regression analysis. Qualitative interviews revealed that where as friends, relatives, church and co-ethnics provided essential emotional, social and instrumental support, their help with finding employment was limited. In fact, co-ethnics facilitated access to low-paying jobs. Overall, the results suggested that network diversity may reduce the problem underemployment in that weak ties (distant relationships, acquaintances, people that differ in education, ethnicity, or occupational status) were able to link participants with jobs that matched their education and training. Zimbabwean immigrants and other vulnerable groups may benefit from strategies that augment their bridging and linking social capital. Social workers can play an important role in the creation of these cross-cutting ties.

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APPENDIX A

Survey Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Please be open and honest in your responding. This questionnaire asks you about your participation in social groups, interactions with the people you know, employment, life in the U.S. and demographic information. The purpose of this research study is to find out how the people you know affect your settling into the U.S. The questionnaire is divided into the following sections:

    A. Social Networks
    B. Trust and Solidarity
    C. Exclusion
    D. Employment
    E. Demographic Information

A. Social Networks

Questions 1 to 5 ask you about your social networks (family members, friends, acquaintances, and organizations) that you were connected to at the time of your arrival in the U.S.

1. How many family members did you have in the U.S. at the time of arrival?

    Please enter the number in this box

2. How many friends did you have in the U.S. at the time of arrival?

    Please enter the number in this box

3. Were you affiliated to any U.S. based organizations at the time of arrival?

            Yes___   No___

4. How did your family members, friends, acquaintances, and/or organizations assist you at the time of your arrival? (**Check all that apply**)

    (1) Orientation to and information about the U.S.

    (2) Financial support

    (3) Assistance with getting a driver's license

    (4) Housing assistance

    (5) Emotional support

    (6) Information about jobs

(7) Finding new friends and acquaintances

(8) Friendly visits and socializing

(9) Other, specify: _____

(10) Not applicable

The following questions ask you about your current social networks.

5. This question asks you about the groups or associations to which you belong. These could be formally organized groups or just groups of people who get together <u>regularly</u> to do an activity or talk about things. Of how many such groups are you a member?

   Please enter the number in this box

6. Of all these groups to which you belong, which one is the most important to you?

   _____[Name of group]

7. Regarding this most important group; how many times do you participate in the activities of this group in a month? *Please enter the number in this box*

8. Thinking about the members of the most important group you mentioned above, are most of them of the same:

A. Religion	Yes___	No___
B. Gender	Yes___	No___
C. Ethnic or linguistic background	Yes___	No___

9. Do members mostly have the same:

A. Occupation	Yes___	No___
B. Educational background or level	Yes___	No___

10. Does this group work with or interact with groups *outside* the Zimbabwean community in Atlanta?

1. No	_____
2. Yes, occasionally	_____
3. Yes, frequently	_____

11. About how many *close friends* do you have these days? These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help.

Please enter the number in this box ☐

B: Trust and Solidarity

12. If you suddenly needed to borrow a small amount of money equal to about one week's wages, are there people beyond your immediate household and close relatives to whom you could turn and who would be willing and able to provide this money?
Please check your best answer

    (1) Definitely

    (2) Probably

    (3) Unsure

    (4) Probably not

    (5) Definitely not

13. In the past 12 months, how many people with a personal problem have turned to you for assistance? *Please enter the number in this box* ☐

14. In the past 12 months, how many people with a personal problem have asked for your assistance through your spouse or members of your household?
Please enter the number in this box ☐

15. Generally speaking, would you say that most Zimbabweans in Atlanta can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? **Please check your best answer**

    (1) People can be trusted

    (2) You can't be too careful

16. Using the 1-5 scale below, **indicate your agreement with each statement by placing the appropriate number on the line before each item.** Please be open and honest in your responding.

Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Neither agree or disagree	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

_____ Most Zimbabweans in Atlanta are willing to help if you need it.

_____ In the Zimbabwean community in Atlanta, one has to be alert or someone

is likely to take advantage of you.

17. Using a scale of 1 to 5 shown below, where 1 means a very small extent and 5 means a very great extent, <u>how much do you trust the people in each category</u>? Please indicate your response by **placing the appropriate number on the line preceding each item**.

To a very small extent	To a small extent	Neither great nor small extent	To a great extent	To a very great extent
1	2	3	4	5

_____ People from your ethnic or linguistic group

_____ People from other ethnic or linguistic group

_____ Your church

_____ Local Government

_____ Social service providers

18. If a community project among Zimbabweans in Atlanta does not directly benefit you but has benefits for many others in the Zimbabwean community, would you contribute time or money to the project? (**Please check your response)**

      A. Time   (1) Will not contribute time

                        (2) Will contribute time

                        (3) I don't know what I will do

      B. Money   (1) Will not contribute money

                        (2) Will contribute money

                        (3) I don't know what I will do

C. Exclusion

19. Differences often exist between people even if they came from the same country. <u>To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in the Zimbabwean community in Atlanta?</u> Using a scale of 1 to 3, where 1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, and 3 = very much, please indicate your response **by circling your response for each item.**

	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much

(1)	Differences in education	1	2	3
(2)	Differences in wealth/ material possessions	1	2	3
(3)	Differences in landholdings	1	2	3
(4)	Differences in social status	1	2	3
(5)	Differences between men and women	1	2	3
(6)	Differences between younger and older generations	1	2	3
(7)	Difference between Zimbabweans who have been in Atlanta for a long- time and new comers	1	2	3
(8)	Difference in political party affiliations	1	2	3
(9)	Differences in religious beliefs	1	2	3
(10)	Differences in ethnic background	1	2	3
(11)	Other differences (specify) _____	1	2	3

20. Do these differences cause problems, such as

        (1) Feelings of being left out   Yes___   No ___

        (2) Quarrelling   Yes___   No ___

        (3) Denial of needed help   Yes___   No ___

D. Employment

21. Who helped you get your first job in the U.S.? (**Check one only**)

        (1) Employment Agency

        (2) Friends

        (3) Relatives

        (4) Recruiters who came to Zimbabwe

        (5) The company that I worked for in Zimbabwe transferred me to the U.S.

        (6) The University that offered me a place to study in the U.S.

        (7) Other, Specify_____

22. Using the scale below, how suitable was your first job given your educational background and previous work experience? (**Circle one only**)

Not Suitable	Somewhat Unsuitable	Moderately Suitable	Somewhat suitable	Suitable
1	2	3	4	5

23. Which statement best describes your current employment circumstances (**Check one only**)

    (1) I work full time

    (2) I work part time

    (3) I am a full time international student and I work at my university or college

    (4) I am self employed

    (5) I am not working

    (6) Other, specify_____

24. Using the scale below, how suitable is your current employment situation given your educational background and previous work experience? **Circle one only**

Not Suitable	Somewhat Unsuitable	Moderately Suitable	Somewhat suitable	Suitable
1	2	3	4	5

25. If you were looking for a job today, what would you do: **Check all that apply**

    (1) Ask relatives

    (2) Ask friends

    (3) Look at help-wanted advertisements and job postings

    (4) Approach a Zimbabwean association or church for assistance

    (5) Approach an employment agency

    (6) Ask a neighbor

    (7) Other, specify_____

The following questions ask about how you feel regarding your career development and life in general in the U.S.

26. Using the scale below what are your perceptions regarding your career development in the U.S.? **Circle your response for each item**

	Not at all				Very much	
(a) I am disadvantaged in getting a job	1	2	3	4	5	6

(b) My work status is lower than it used to be	1	2	3	4	5	6
(c) I have fewer career opportunities than Americans	1	2	3	4	5	6
(d) I can not compete with Americans for work in my field	1	2	3	4	5	6
(e) The work credentials I had in my original country are not accepted	1	2	3	4	5	6

27. Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item **by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item.** Please be open and honest in your responding.

> 1 = Strongly disagree
> 2 = Disagree
> 3 = Slightly disagree
> 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
> 5 = Slightly agree
> 6 = Agree
> 7 = Strongly agree

_____ In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

_____ The conditions of my life are excellent.

_____ I am satisfied with my life.

_____ So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.

_____ If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

F. Demographic Information

28. What is your gender? Male_____   Female _____

29. What is your age? *Please enter the number in this box*

30. What is your marital status?

> Divorced _____
>
> Married _____
>
> Single _____
>
> Separated _____

Widowed   _____

31. How many years have you stayed in the U.S.?
Please enter the number in this box

32. What is the highest level of education that you attained?

Less than High School   _____

High School   _____

College Diploma   _____

Bachelor's Degree   _____

Masters Degree   _____

PhD   _____

33. What is your annual household income? $_____

If you are unable to give the figure use the option below: **Check one only**

(1) Under $10,000

(2) $10,000 to $19,999

(3) $20,000 to $29,999

(4) $30,000 to $39,999

(5) $40,000 to $49,999

(6) $50,000 to $59,999

(7) $60,000 and over

34. How many people are in your household?
Please enter the number in this box

35. Do you have any children less than 18 years living with you?

Yes___   If yes, how many? *Please enter the number in this box*

No___

THANK YOU COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

Demographic Information: Gender and Age

Immigration Experiences and Networks

1. Tell me about the last three months, prior to your departure from where you lived prior to coming to the U.S.

    Probes: Reason for leaving; What if anything did you know about America?

2. Walk me through your first day and subsequent week in the U.S.

    Probes: What happened on arrival?

    Where did you live, and with whom?

    Any organizations involved?

    What were your feelings at this time?

3. Tell me about the relationships you have developed with your neighbors and/or other members of the community.

    Probes: Who; What activities do you do together, and how often?

    Any exchanges?

4. Tell me about the groups or organizations that you participate in.

    Probes: Names of organizations; Joining process

    Activities done with group, and how often?

    What is the most important group?

Social Resources

5. What are some of the resources that your networks have helped, or could help you with?

    Probe: Specific incidences of network exchanges

6. Tell me about some times you may have assisted someone in your network.

Effects of Social Resources

7. In what ways have your relationships (in 1.3) influenced your adjustment process?

8. What have been the most useful and least useful in your resettlement process?

9. What are some of the needs that have not been addressed through your networks?

10. You have been very helpful. Are there any other thoughts you would like to share in order to help me understand how your social relationships have helped you to adjust in the U.S.?

APPENDIX C

Observation Protocol

Who is in the setting?

1. How many Zimbabweans are in the setting?

2. What other nationalities are represented?

What is happening?

3. What are the people saying to each other?

4. Who is talking, and to whom?

5. Who is listening?

6. What interactions are occurring among the people?

7. What activities are done in this setting?

8. What exchanges are being done?

Researcher's Perceptions

9. What do I see as potential benefits for Zimbabweans who are in this setting?

10. What do I see as potential problems for Zimbabweans who are in this setting?

APPENDIX D

Verbal Consent Script

Hello, my name is Josphine Chaumba, a graduate student from the Department of Social Work at The University of Georgia. I would like to invite you to contribute to my research study about how Zimbabwean immigrants settle into the United States. Through this study I wish to observe Zimbabweans in various settings that they frequent. Your church/grocery store/ restaurant was identified as a potential setting to observe from because it caters for Zimbabweans in Atlanta. Therefore, I request your permission to observe Zimbabweans, activities, and events in your church/grocery store/restaurant.

If you grant me the permission, I will visit your church/grocery store/restaurant four different times over the months of February and March 2009, and stay for 30 to 45 minutes each time. I will need to take notes of what will be happening during the observation, but real names and private conversations among individuals in the setting will not be recorded without their consent. I will identify myself as a researcher to the people I may interact with in this setting. Anyone uncomfortable with the observation will not be included. I intend to observe the nature of interactions in these settings, focusing on who is in the setting? What is happening in the setting? What do I see as potential benefits for participants in these settings?

The information that I record in my notes will be kept confidential, unless if it is required by law. No risks or discomforts are expected. The benefit of this project is to add to what is known about what helps or hinders settlement of Zimbabweans into the U.S. The direct benefit for your organization is the opportunity to share how you have contributed to the settlement of Zimbabweans into the U.S.

Your participation is in this research study is voluntary. You or anyone in your setting at the time of the observation can refuse to give me the permission to observe in your setting or ask me to stop observing at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. You can ask to have all of the notes that I write in your setting to be returned to you, removed from the research records, or destroyed. The notes will be removed from the data and destroyed by January 31, 2012.

Do you have any questions now? If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at **706-542-5585** or send an e-mail to jchaumba@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 612 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

Thank you.

APPENDIX E

Verbal Recruitment Script

Hello, my name is Josphine Chaumba, a graduate student from the Department of Social Work at The University of Georgia. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study to learn about how the people you know affect your settling into the U.S. You may participate if you were born and raised in Zimbabwe but moved to the U.S. to live here. Please do not participate if you are just visiting your family or friend for a few weeks.

As a participant, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire that asks about your participation in social groups, interactions with the people you know, employment status and demographic information. This questionnaire will take about 30 to 45 minutes to complete. In addition, you will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview at a later date to discuss your integration experiences. If you agree to be interviewed later, you will choose the date, time and place to have the interview. The interviews will last approximately 45 to 90 minutes. The information that you share will be kept confidential, unless if it is required by law. No risks or discomforts are expected. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. This study will give you an opportunity to share your ideas about integrating into the U.S. You can skip any questions that you are uncomfortable responding to.

If you would like to participate in this research study, I will give you the questionnaire and a letter that explains the project today. You can complete it in your own time and return it in the provided envelope.

In addition, I kindly ask you pass on this survey to your Zimbabwean friends, relatives and family members who may be interested in this study, or if you can please provide me with names and contact details of other Zimbabweans whom you think may be potential participants of this study.

Do you have any questions now? If you have questions later, please contact me at 706-542-5585 or you may contact my advisor, Dr. Larry Nackerud, at 706- 542-5470.

Thank you.

APPENDIX F

Informational Letter

March 15, 2008

Dear Participant:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Dr. Larry Nackerud, School of Social Work at The University of Georgia (706- 542-5470). I invite you to participate in a research study entitled "The Effects of Social Capital on the Integration of Zimbabweans into the United States." The purpose of this study is to find out how the people you know affect your settling into the into the U.S. Your participation will involve completing a questionnaire that asks about your participation in social groups, interactions with the people you know, employment status and demographic information. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate. If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked:
1) To complete the accompanying questionnaire and return it in the provided envelope.

Completing this questionnaire will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can ask to have all of your identifiable information returned to you, removed from the research records, or destroyed. Individually-identifiable information about you, or provided by you during the research, will be kept confidential, unless if it is required by law. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. Your identity will not be associated with your responses in any published format. The information gathered will be kept for at least 3 years after completion of the study in a secure location. Federal regulations require that data and all other records connected to the research be kept for this time period (3 years). Contact information will be removed from the data and destroyed by January 31, 2012.

The benefit for participation in this study is that findings from this project may add to the knowledge about useful integration practices among Zimbabweans in the U.S. The direct benefit for you as a participant is that this study will give you an opportunity to share your ideas about integrating into the U.S. No risks or discomforts are expected. You can skip any questions that you are uncomfortable responding to. No incentives will be given for participating in this study. By completing and returning this questionnaire, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project. Once the completed surveys are received, they will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at **706-542-5585** or send an e-mail to jchaumba@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 612 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely,

Josphine Chaumba, MSW.

APPENDIX G

In-Depth Interviews Consent Form

I, _____, agree to participate in a research
study titled "The Effects of Social Capital on the Integration of Zimbabweans to the United
States" conducted by Josphine Chaumba from the School of Social Work at the University of
Georgia (706- 542-5585) under the direction of Dr. Larry Nackerud, School of Social Work,
University of Georgia (706- 542-5470). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can
refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without
penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the
information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

Purpose of this Study: I understand that the purpose of this study is to find out how the people I
know affect my settling into the U.S.

Procedures: If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:
1. Complete a consent form.
2. Participate in an interview with the researcher that will last approximately 45 to 90
   minutes. The interview will involve questions about my immigration to the U.S., my
   participation in social groups, interactions with the people I know, and demographic
   information. I also understand that the researcher may call me to clarify my information
   on a later date, if needed.
3. I will be asked permission to be audio taped. If requested, the researcher will stop
   recording my answers at any time without penalty to me. I also understand that my
   answers will be transcribed and that the transcriptions will be kept by the researcher
   indefinitely for research purposes. **I understand that all audio tapes will be destroyed
   by January 31, 2012.**

   _____I consent to have my interview taped.

   _____I would prefer to have the researcher take hand written notes of the interview.

Benefits: The benefit of this project is to add to what is known about what helps or hinders
settlement of Zimbabweans into the U.S. The direct benefit for me is the opportunity to talk
about how I have settled in the U.S. and share my ideas about how other Zimbabwean
immigrants may settle into the U.S. I understand that I will not receive any incentive for
participating in this study.

Risks: I understand that no risks are expected in this project.

Discomforts or Stresses: People may get uncomfortable with discussions about their immigration

experiences. If any questions make me uncomfortable, I can skip the question or stop the interview. The researcher has assured me that there will be minimal discomforts, and she will also assist by suggesting a change of topic.

Confidentiality: The researcher has informed me that all of the information that I give will be confidential, unless otherwise required by law. My real name will not be used on all documents in the study. Audio tapes of the interviews will be kept in a secure limited access location until the researcher destroys them. I understand that the research will be made public, but my identity will remain confidential. Contact information will be removed from the data and destroyed by January 31, 2012. Audio tapes will not be publicly disseminated.

Further Questions: The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project. The researcher can be reached by telephone at **706-542-5585** or by email at jchaumba@uga.edu.

Final Agreement and Consent Form: My signature below indicates that the researcher has answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

Telephone: 706- 542-5585
Email: jchaumba@uga.edu

Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu